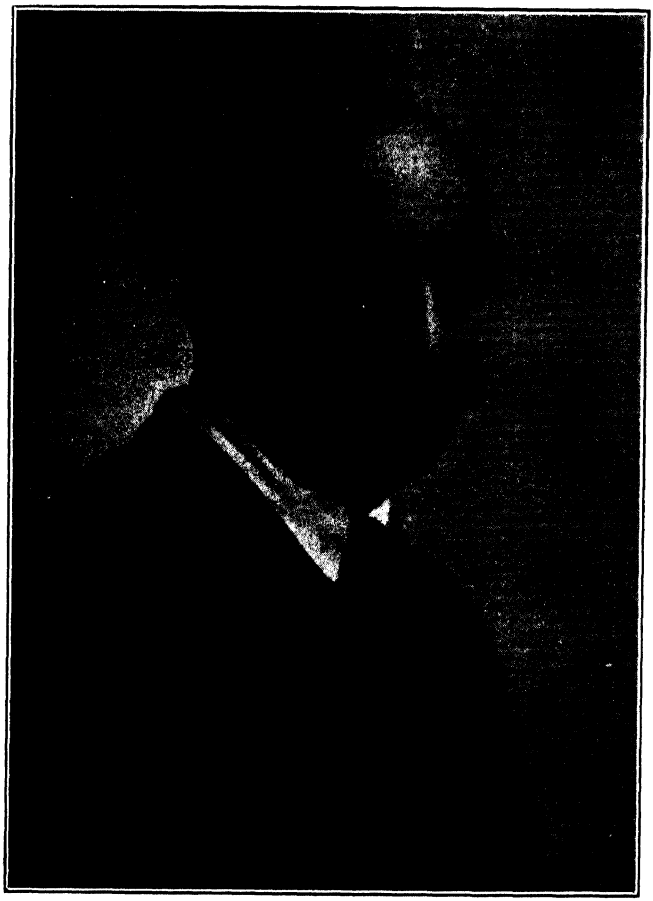
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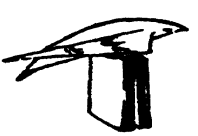


PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR

MEMOIRS OF A BOLSHEVIK

BY

O. PIATNITSKY



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PREFACE

THE Memoirs of Comrade O. Piatnitsky, one of the oldest active members of our Bolshevik Party, cover a long period, from 1896 to 1917, i.e. the whole period of the rise and development of the Bolshevik Party up till the February Revolution, 1917.

Comrade Piatnitsky's Memoirs contain a mass of factual material and thus serve as a valuable contribution to the literature on the history of our Party.

The special feature of these Memoirs is that they present a complete picture of the uninterrupted militant work of a Bolshevik working underground, of an organiser working throughout the whole period of the struggle for power. These Memoirs should serve as excellent material for training our younger generation of workers who are joining the Communist Party. In this respect Comrade Piatnitsky's book might serve as a sort of text-book, and an excellent text-book at that, which would help our comrades abroad, who are carrying on their revolutionary work in capitalist countries, to learn the methods of organising underground work and help them to become model Bolshevik Party workers.

The first Russian edition of this book appeared in 1925 and was published by the History of the Party Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Since that time the book has appeared in a number of other languages, including German (two editions, 1927 and 1930), Czechoslovak (two editions, 1927 and 1930), Japanese (1928), and French (1930), and an edition is now being prepared in Spanish. The English edition is presented to the reader for the first time. In foreign countries Comrade Piatnitsky's book has had a very wide circulation.

The present translation has been made from the second Russian edition, which was considerably revised by the author.

THE MARX-ENGELS-LENIN INSTITUTE.

A Few Remarks about My Memoirs

At the time of the purging of the Party in 1921 all the old members of the Party had to submit to the District Purging Committees a written statement on the work they had carried on for the Party since they joined. I failed to do this because, instead of my Party biography, what resulted from my efforts were recollections of my joining the Party and of Party work carried on a long time ago.

In the summer of 1922, after I had fulfilled a number of commissions for the Moscow branch of the History of the Party Committee, I continued my Memoirs and brought them up to the beginning of 1904. As I was overwhelmed with work and had little spare time I was able to finish my Memoirs only in 1924, during my vacation. In writing these Memoirs I was unable to refer to letters or documents. My frequent journeys to and from Russia, living underground in Russia and abroad, imprisonment and exile, prevented me from preserving letters and documents. Moreover, owing to lack of spare time I was unable to examine the numerous magazines and works written by various comrades on the History of the Party. The whole of the Memoirs covering the period from 1896 to 1917 have been written from memory, and of course this must have had some effect upon the nature of the contents and completeness of my book. Much that I have written I showed to comrades with whom I worked in various towns at various times. They have all confirmed the correctness of what I have stated.

Only after I had completed my Memoirs was I able to verify the dates and to obtain the real names and surnames of the comrades referred to in the book, whom I knew only by their Party pseudonyms. This I was able to do almost completely.

If the young members of our Party and of the Young Communist League obtain from my Memoirs at least an idea of the conditions in which the old members of the Bolshevik Party were obliged to work (in the main the conditions under which I worked were similar to those most Bolsheviks had to work in; many, however, had to work in perhaps even worse conditions), and if only one line of what I have written can be used for the purpose of compiling the History of our Party, I shall consider that the time I have spent in writing my Memoirs will not have been spent in vain.

CHAPTER I

I BEGIN MY REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES (1896-1902)

IN 1896, while serving as an apprentice in a tailor's shop, I often heard the workers talk about the Socialists who had been deported to our town (their birthplace) from various towns of Russia. From casual talks I learned that these Socialists used to meet the local intellectuals and workers, teach the latter how to read and write, give them books to read, etc. Also, they often talked in my shop about secret meetings that were held in the capitals of the different provinces—in Vilna, Kovno and Warsaw—and about arrests which were made there. All this was of the greatest interest to me, but I did not succeed in learning any further particulars.

At the end of 1896 two of my brothers came home for the holidays. Great was my astonishment when I discovered exiles in our own house, as well as representatives of the local intelligentsia, workers, and even several women who were employed with me in the same shop. My two brothers, it turned out, were connected with the pioneers of the Labour movement who had been exiled to their native town or had come home for the holidays.

The town where I was born, Vilkomir, had a population of 14,000. Besides innumerable artisan shops, there were two or three minor leather works, a few small bristle factories, and a large machine shop in the town. Among the workers of these industrial establishments there were some who had lived in big cities as well.

On important holidays the workers who worked in Kovno, Vilna, Dvinsk and Warsaw usually came home to see their relatives. Our town became quite lively on such occasions. The new arrivals, together with the class-conscious workers of Vilkomir, presented plays in the woods or in private houses on the outskirts of the town, or organised meetings and parties where they sang revolutionary songs, gave toasts, delivered speeches, etc. (I found the same thing in 1906 when, after a long absence, I returned to my native town for a few weeks.

The *Bund** must have existed in Vilkomir from 1900 to 1901, but in the summer of 1906 a big organisation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was already in existence with a membership of Russian, Jewish, Lithuanian and Polish workers and labourers from the neighbouring large estates.)

I wanted to earn my own living as soon as possible. About that time I was offered work on favourable terms in the town of Ponevezh, in the province of Kovno. I eagerly accepted this offer and left for that town without the consent of my relatives.

In the shop in Ponevezh, where I started work, from fifteen to seventeen people were employed. The working day dragged on for fifteen to eighteen hours. The mental darkness of the men and women workers was incredible. The wages were low, but they endured this without a murmur. My position in the shop was even worse, for I had no room to live in and I had to sleep on a table in the workshop. In spite of the fact that the working day was very long and tiring, I was unable to rest, even when all the workers had gone home; for my employer would start cutting on the table where I had to sleep. I was never so exploited in my life as at that time. It was not of this kind of work nor of such workers that I had dreamed before leaving home. I searched for an organisation, for reading circles, for meetings, but could find none. Moreover, I was very homesick. All this made me accept the invitation of my relatives to return home. But I stayed there only a very short time. At the end of 1897 I was in Kovno. I worked in a shop where I got three roubles a week, and lived with one of my brothers, at whose house meetings, readings and discussions frequently took place. At first they used to turn me out of the room, but later I became a "rightful" though silent member of all these gatherings. About that time raids and arrests began. The active members of the self-education circle of the illegal trade union of carpenters who used to gather at my brother's house began to entrust me with conspirative and responsible commissions, such as carrying literature from Kovno to Vilna, delivering packages, etc.

My two brothers were carpenters by trade, and for that reason I mixed with carpenters much more than with my fellow workers in my own trade. This was explained by the fact that the former tacitly accepted me into their midst, while my own fellow-workers considered me too young to be recognised as their equal. I myself, as long as I was only a looker-on, preferred to associate with the carpenters, for they were

*Bund—Jewish Social-Democratic League in Poland and Lithuania.

staid, mature workers; in addition, they were more numerous than the workers in other trades.

When I first arrived in Kovno I noticed that comrades would very often come to the house of my brother (who was older than myself), where I lived, and that someone would read to them and explain what was read. Often they read till past midnight. Sometimes the same comrades would come to my brother's house, and would begin arguing loudly, sharply and angrily, and it would seem to me that they were quarrelling. Later, of course, I understood that the first gatherings were something between self-education and political circles, while the others were simply organisational meetings of the carpenters' trade union. Try as I may, I cannot recall the presence of workers of any other trade at these meetings. At the organisational meetings the daily and weekly wages for the various categories of carpenters were fixed. No one was allowed to accept work below this scale. There was a labour exchange for carpenters in the street (it was summer) where employers and contractors used to come to hire men. As far as I remember, there were no big carpenters' strikes that summer, although there were some in other trades (cigarette factories, tailoring establishments, etc.). I was never present at any general meetings of the carpenters, and I don't even know if any were held. But carpenters used to meet at the general labour exchange of all workers (when I first arrived the labour exchange was on the Aleksotsky Bridge, and later it moved just by the governor's house) or in the tea room of the Temperance Society, where again workers of all trades gathered, and I used to be there too. Naturally, those were not the kind of meetings we are used to now, with an agenda, a secretary and a chairman. There was merely a rapid exchange of opinions on various subjects.

The active elements among the carpenters often organised social evenings. At these parties short speeches were made and every one in turn had to give a toast, such as: "Down with Capitalism," "Long live Socialism," etc. Two carpenters stand out clearly in my memory: one was a young fellow, about twenty to twenty-one years old; the other was an old man. The first was very energetic, quickly grasped the gist of a problem, and spoke well and eloquently. The workers liked and respected him. His name was Zundel. When he was called up for military service many comrades waited impatiently all day outside the recruiting office to learn whether he had been accepted or not. (In 1905 I met him in Berlin. He was a

follower of the majority in the R.S.D.L.P.* and was going to Russia on the instructions of the newspaper *Vperyod* (Forward)). The second came either from England or America, I am not sure which, where he worked in a Party club or a library. He used to tell us a great deal about meetings abroad and, as he was well-read, he would also tell us about books. We respected him, and would listen to him with great attention. Unfortunately, I have forgotten his name.

The workers of the various trades displayed great solidarity. During strikes in other trades the carpenters not only helped with money and advice, but agitated among the strikers, picketed the workshops and factories on strike, and prevented blacklegs from getting near them. The same thing was done by the workers in other trades. It was not only the Kovno strikers to whom the working-men and women of Kovno extended their solidarity and aid. I remember the readiness with which the class-conscious workers received the striking bristle workers of Kibart, Vilkovishek, Souvalok and other towns into their poor homes; this was when there was a general strike of bristle workers in the regions bordering Germany; and the bristle workers' trade union, in order to frustrate the plans of the owners who were trying to put pressure upon the strikers (the inhabitants of these towns), through their relatives, sent the strikers to Kovno. Often clashes occurred between strike-breakers and pickets, and many pickets were arrested. I must mention that the attitude of the workers to those who were arrested was splendid; I might even say, reverential. I remember how, soon after my arrival in Vilna in 1899, we learned that a shoemaker named Mendel Garb and some other comrades were being exiled to Siberia. The workers left their work, ran to the railway station, and when the train with the prisoners van appeared on the track they shouted greetings to the exiles and curses on the Tsarist regime. As far as I can judge now, the demonstration was quite spontaneous. This was not the only case. I remember how, even before, during the Jewish autumn holidays, when Vilkomir was full of workers from the large towns within the pale,† it became known that a certain tailor's apprentice, who up till then had been in prison, was to arrive from Kovno as a transported convict. He was awaited many hours by a great number of workers. When at last he was at liberty the workers dragged him about from one house to

*Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. After 1903 the Party split into the majority (Bolsheviks) and minority (Mensheviks).—ED.

†Under the Tsarist regime the Jews were compelled to live in a special region called the Pale of Settlement.—ED.

another; each one wanted to express his warm feelings towards him in one way or another.

Since those who were arrested used to be beaten at the police stations, there was the danger that while under examination they might involuntarily and unconsciously disclose their comrades. Therefore, the active and class-conscious comrades carried on energetic propaganda on how to conduct oneself when arrested and questioned. (Later on a special booklet on that subject was even published; I think, by the *Bund.*)* Those who did not conduct themselves properly when questioned were expelled from the workers' midst, and were shunned like the plague. Those who deliberately gave away their comrades were dealt with unmercifully and summarily. (I can remember an instance when there was a rumour on the Vilna exchange that a traitor had arrived from Riga. He was found, decoyed into a blind alley near the exchange, and there beaten to death.) As raids were made on every pretext on my brother's rooms where I lived, I thoroughly mastered the science of how to conduct myself during an arrest, even before I could have been arrested for my own activities.

Towards the middle of 1898 I became an active member of the illegal tailors' union—against the wishes of my elder brother, who wanted me to study before entering the revolutionary movement.

In Kovno the workers with whom I then had to associate were mainly skilled artisans, organised in illegal trade unions, according to trade. The struggle was mainly for the reduction of working hours to twelve hours a day and for an increase in wages. The methods of work were: individual and group agitational work for these demands; strikes; and intimidation of workers if they worked more than twelve hours a day. At the meetings of men and women workers Dickstein's *How We Get Our Living* and Lafargue's *The Right to be Lazy* were read. The first was very easily comprehended; the second was much more difficult. As to the strike-breakers, we used force as well as persuasion. And where it was impossible to organise a strike because of the lack of class-consciousness among the workers we broke the employers' windows. This helped a good deal. These were also the methods resorted to by the union of which I was a member.

There was some sort of a centre which provided literature

*The Jewish Social Democratic League. The writer probably refers to Bakharev's (V. Akimono-Makhnovet's) pamphlet *How to Conduct Oneself under Examination*, published by the League of Russian Social Democrats abroad in 1900.—ED.

from abroad, from St. Petersburg and other towns; it organised self-education circles, reading circles, etc., taught them to read and write, and took charge of the general education of those workers with whom the centre or centres were connected. The centre sometimes organised meetings, May Day celebrations and also ordinary holidays in the woods, which were very abundant around Kovno at that time. These always drew large crowds. At such meetings speeches were delivered, toasts were offered, occasionally something was read. The substance of these speeches I cannot remember. The participants came to these meetings singly. As they passed the sentry they had to give the password agreed upon, after which the sentry directed them to the meeting place. But they left the woods all together, and usually marched to the town singing revolutionary songs and carrying red flags. In the town they again parted one by one. Through the workers who participated in the self-education circles the centre exerted an influence on the illegal trade unions.

As I was an active member of the trade union, a "nihilist" and "striker," none of the ladies' tailors would employ me at the end of 1898. I was therefore forced to leave for Vilna. Comrades gave me connections and through these Vilna comrades I immediately found employment and started earning five roubles a week. I at once joined the illegal Ladies' Tailors Trade Union, and soon became its secretary and treasurer; but I naturally did not give up the work at my shop.

At that time trade unions already existed in all trades; among the metal workers, carpenters, painters, mens' tailors, ladies' tailors, underwear workers, milliners, etc. In Vilna the unions were not yet linked up organisationally. But occasionally representatives of the trade unions were called together, evidently by the *Bund*, to decide on questions of First of May demonstrations or some other revolutionary holiday, etc. There was, however, no necessity for this, for even the least active elements of the unions met daily on Zavalnaya Street, which served as a sort of unofficial labour exchange and which had existed for a very long time, in spite of the fact that the police had attempted several times to break it up. Immediately after work, from every street men and women workers hurried to Zavalnaya Street, and there, as they walked up and down, they transacted their business. The "labour exchange" played an important part at that time, as the following incident proves.

Once three women comrades (E. Raitsug, R. Zak, and S.

Leifer) were informed against and arrested with leaflets in their possession in the Novy Gorod (New Town), one of the suburbs of Vilna—not far from the "labour exchange". The "labour exchange" learned about this. Immediately, and without being summoned by anyone, the workers were off to the police station. The workers of the entire suburb joined those of the "exchange." The whole crowd demanded the release of those arrested. This was refused. Thereupon the telephone wires were cut, and after a regular battle the police station was wrecked and the comrades set free.

During the storming of the police station several workers were wounded by sabres. The mood of the workers at that time can be judged if I describe the storming of the police station. The prisoners were sitting upstairs on the top floor. Consequently, when the workers had broken into the lower floor they had to go upstairs. But on the top of the staircase policemen were standing and slashing about right and left with their swords. The attacking party then got up on to the roof, and from there into the garret; and then they began to throw stones at the police below. The latter were thus forced to give way, and the crowd below broke in. Towards morning the workers took their wounded away with them and the suburb of Novy Gorod was cleared. In the morning all the roads leading from the suburb to the town were roped off, and everybody who was denounced by the police and the spies was taken into custody. And notwithstanding the fact that the numbers of workers injured far exceeded the number of prisoners released, I cannot remember that any of the workers who had participated in the attack, whether in the shop or on the "exchange," ever regretted the incident. A week or two later it was suggested that I should accompany first one and then another of the liberated women workers to the frontier, to which I, of course, agreed at once. We left Vilna safely and reached our destination. All this happened in June 1900. I was proud of the fact that such responsible work had been entrusted to me.

The intellectuals studied with the more class-conscious and active workers. Thus, in the Ladies' Tailors' Union there were two circles. I also participated in these circles as a student. One of these circles was studying political economy; the other studied problems of workers' parties abroad, of the colonial policies of the Great Powers, etc. Some time later soldiers were sent from Vilna to China, to suppress the "Boxer Rising," I think. The soldiers were accompanied by their weeping parents,

wives and children. As I watched these scenes I clearly understood from what I had learned at my study circles, that it was not in the interests of the peoples of Russia and of China that these soldiers were being sent to the slaughter.

The circles were attended regularly, and the students really did receive an elementary political education. Such circles existed in all the trade unions.

I had very little time left for reading. I could only read at night. Good books were very difficult to get then; for my earnings were too meagre by far to enable me to buy them, and libraries were either not yet established or else we did not know of their existence. The libraries of the unions, on the other hand, were not very good. When I did get hold of good books, legal or illegal, I read them in one breath, as it were. *Andrei Kozhukhov*, by Kravchinsky, made a profound impression on me, as did another book (I do not remember the title) about the Paris Commune. I could hardly wait for the next night to continue my reading.

Once, at the end of February 1899, or perhaps 1900, I was informed on the exchange that someone was waiting for me in a certain house on the outskirts of the city. I went there immediately. A meeting, consisting of representatives of the unions and one comrade-intellectual, was in progress. The question of the First of May celebration was being discussed. The point at issue was: should they gather on the First of May in private houses, in the woods, or in the street?

After a long debate it was decided to organise a demonstration on the main street. Each union was to organise a meeting of all its members before the First of May and put the question of the demonstration before them. At each of these meetings an "intellectual" was to be present.

I summoned a big meeting of the members of the union. We waited a long time for the intellectual who was to be the speaker, but he did not put in an appearance. I was therefore obliged to explain the meaning of the First of May and why we should demonstrate on the streets on that day (until then the First of May had been celebrated either in the woods or at home). This was not so simple; for at that time our work was confined to the economic struggle with our employers, who had the police on their side. This was all that the members of the unions of that day knew.

As far as I can recall, the reasons I gave at that meeting for the necessity of demonstrating on the streets were that the strikes of the last two years had accomplished nothing as far

as we workers were concerned, and that it was now necessary to show the highest governmental authority in our town, the governor, that the workers were dissatisfied with their conditions and that they were protesting against them. The meeting unanimously decided to participate in the demonstration. Then and there captains of ten men were appointed who, in the evening of April 18th (corresponding to May 1st, new style), after work, were to be in one of the side-streets near the Bolshaya Street (the main street of Vilna), where the demonstration was to take place, together with the ten demonstrators for whom each captain was responsible.

At the appointed time I was there with nine comrades. When the moment arrived for coming out into the Bolshaya Street everybody was assembled. The main street was immediately filled with men and women workers, who mingled with the bourgeois promenaders. The mounted Cossacks and police scented the presence of unusually large numbers of persons in the streets, and they were on the alert. Suddenly the red flag was displayed. The crowd began to sing disjointedly in various places; great confusion ensued. The shops were hastily closed and the promenading public scurried to cover. The Cossacks and the police threw themselves upon the demonstrators and lashed out with their whips right and left. This was probably the Vilna workers' first baptism of fire.

A year later the May Day demonstration was held on a public holiday. The meeting place was in a park at the end of Bolshaya Street. When the demonstrators came out of the park the Cossacks fell on them, and a great many were injured. Numerous arrests were made.

The year between the first demonstration and the next had not passed in vain. There was no question now of discussing where to meet on the First of May: in the woods, in private houses, or in the street. Now there was merely an announcement in all the unions that there would be a demonstration, and each union was given directions as to the meeting-place and time. That was all. A great many people came to the demonstration even without our having taken the preparatory measures we had taken a year before.

If I were asked to what organisation I then belonged I could not answer as definitely as I or any one else could answer this question now.

The work in the trade unions at that time consisted mainly in drawing into the union as great a number of men and women workers of a given trade as possible, shortening the

working day and increasing wages. Various organisations would send out leaders of self-education circles from the unions. Undoubtedly, before a demonstration representatives of the unions were also called together by some organisation, but as far as I can remember this question did not then interest us.

In my room I kept, wrapped up, the printing outfit of *Rabochaya Znamya* (Workers' Banner). I handed this outfit over to Moissei Vladimirovich Lurye, who was one of the organisers of the *Rabochaya Znamya* group which published the illegal paper of the same name. At the same time I used to go to Kovno for literature and bring it to Vilna for the *Bund* organisation, thanks to the personal ties which I had retained from my Kovno circles.

Finally, in the summer of 1901, when I was already closely connected with the *Iskra** (Spark) organisation, during one of my trips to Kovno on *Iskra* business, the local members of the *Bund* asked me to take a hand in organising and leading a strike of workers who were shipping timber into Germany on the River Niemen. Naturally I accepted.†

In the circles we students were educated in the spirit of internationalism. We were also told about the parties abroad. At that time I had an idea that it would be very difficult for the Russian workers to achieve such freedom as the workers abroad already had; that the latter would come to our assistance; and that together with them we should succeed in establishing a system under which it would be possible to read whatever we wished, where nobody would be arrested for keeping revolutionary literature, where the police would not interfere in strikes and, finally, where prisoners would not be beaten in police stations. But quite the contrary happened: after a lapse of eighteen or twenty years, in no country has the working-class been able to wipe out even these few ills, which had then been my dream; on the other hand the working-class of Russia

*The *Iskra* was founded by Lenin abroad in 1901 and the organisation for its production and distribution became the first nucleus of the Bolshevik Party.—ED.

†The workers taking part in this strike were ripe in years, but quite devoid of class-consciousness. My elder brother was the first to organise them. They kept very united, though they were out on strike several weeks. I cannot but note the sympathy displayed by the remaining Kovno workers for those on strike. We knew that the strike would be won, for the owners would not want to lose the season; but it was necessary to give the strikers material help. Of course, there was no money. We then asked the workers at the "exchange" to give us their watches, rings, and other things that could be pawned, so that the money thus raised could go to the strikers. The workers responded generously and the strike was won. Afterwards the participants in it refunded the money. Some of the strikers were arrested, but a crowd broke into the police station and liberated them all.

has destroyed the entire capitalist system in Russia, and gives the utmost aid to the proletarians of every country wherever it can. I do not think that during that period there was any talk in our circles about the *Bund* or the P.P.S. (Polish Socialist Party), which came out in the open soon after. I only remember that leaflets appeared frequently and that I, as well as other active workers of the union, distributed these leaflets according to a previously arranged plan. The distribution of literature was then better organised than it is now in the illegal parties abroad. A group of comrades would meet in a previously arranged place. There each one would receive a package of leaflets for distribution in one or several streets. After finishing his task he had to return and report on what he had done. Thus the centre obtained a clear picture of events. It knew where anything had happened, where we had succeeded in distributing, and where we had not.

At that time I was not interested in knowing who issued the leaflets, or by what organisation they were signed. The main thing for me was that what we were doing was in the interests of the proletariat; wherefore one might take risks, get arrested, be beaten—anything, as long as it was for the cause.

The year 1899 to 1900 passed in discussions between the representatives of the *Bund* and the P.P.S.* The *Bund* had captured the illegal trade unions of the Jewish workers (perhaps it had even organised them). The P.P.S. began to compete with the *Bund*. The tactics of the trade unions had failed; for the workers had not won anything from their employers for many years. This was explained by the fact that during the busy season the employers made concessions to the workers, but as soon as the slack season came on the employers took everything back. The workers were naturally dissatisfied with this state of affairs.

Even before my first arrest (March 1902) I already understood that the seasonal work of the artisans was not the only thing which compelled the trade unions to mark time. The causes lay deeper. The Jewish workers were organised earlier, and work among them was easier than among the Lithuanians, Poles or Russians. The directing centre of the Jewish workers did not do any work among non-Jews and did not want to work among them. For instance, after my escape from prison in August 1902 I was hiding in Zhitomir, in the house of a leading fellow Bundist (his Party name was Urchik). I was present at a meeting of a *Bund* committee, where the fact was

*Polish Socialist Party.

discussed that owing to their lack of class-consciousness the Russian workers were hindering the economic struggle of the Jewish workers, since, when the latter went on strike the Russians took their places. Their decision on this question displayed the wisdom of Solomon: a few Russian workers must be induced to agitate among their own comrades.

At that time there was not a single labour union in Vilna or in any other town of Western Russia which accepted all workers in a particular trade, irrespective of nationality. This of course handicapped the workers in their struggle against their employers. Almost all the political centres—the Lithuanian Social-Democrats, the Polish Social-Democrats and the Polish Socialist Party—had their own unions. Even the May Day demonstrations were organised by different organisations and held on different days. This was largely the fault of the *Bund*. At the time of its first appearance it had been quite easy to arrange for simultaneous action among all the workers of the western region. In Berlin in 1903 I met the leader of one of the Vilna circles which I had attended as a student. I asked him why the *Bund* kept aloof from the workers of other nationalities; the Jewish workers themselves were not in favour of such a policy. To this he replied: "*Iskra* does not ask what the workers want; it lays down a line of policy which it considers correct and necessary for the workers. The *Bund* does the same."

The P.P.S. came out with its programme of political struggle against Russia, for the separation of Poland from Russia, etc. Some of us were very much impressed by these demands, but we had already received international training in our circles, so that the P.P.S. could no longer attract us. About that time a mechanic named Faivchik came to Vilna (his surname, as well as the surnames of other comrades, was not known to us and remained unknown). He came from Paris, where he was a member of the Emancipation of Labour Group. I became an ardent follower of that group after Comrade Faivchik had explained its programme to me. At the end of 1900 or at the beginning of 1901 Faivchik introduced me to Martov's brother, Sergei Zederbaum (Yezhov). The latter was a representative of the *Iskra* group with which the Emancipation of Labour Group merged. I now became a member of the *Iskra* group.

While continuing to work at my trade I made use of my connections with the circles to which I had belonged and of those which I had with members of the *Bund*. I first helped *Iskra* to establish a means of transporting literature from abroad

to Russia and sending people abroad (the transport of literature and the maintenance of connections with Russia were vital problems in those days for *Iskra*, which was then published abroad).

Later, when Yezhov received information from abroad as to where the literature was being sent, and where one had to go for it, he began sending me to the frontier to fetch it. This used to take me away from my work in the shop for a considerable length of time, and as these absences from work almost always occurred in the busy season I was dismissed. This reduced me to poverty and starvation.

After my arrival from Kovno I made an agreement with an employer for a whole year; my wages were to be five roubles a week. Just before Christmas our employer dismissed a worker. So, at the height of the season, we all went on strike. We won the strike; but when the slack season began he was only too eager to seize the first opportunity to square accounts with me as the "leader" of the strike. During the summer (in 1899 or 1900) I was constantly being sent to Kovno for literature together with comrades who had been liberated from police stations. My employer took advantage of my absence from work and I was dismissed at a time when it was impossible to find employment anywhere. I remained unemployed for a long time and had to deny myself food and shelter (or rather I was refused food and shelter). My position was not to be envied. In the union, however, I had more than enough work (as its secretary I had to read and explain the rules of the union to the new members; to struggle against the worsening of working conditions in the shops; and to do various other jobs).

But then something happened which made my position still worse. The members of the *Bund* decided to celebrate Gutenberg's birthday, or possibly it was the anniversary of the invention of his printing press (they often resorted to such methods of work, which produced good results, for these celebrations tended to unite those attending). The representatives of several unions, I among them, went to a summer resort (on the Lebau-Romensk line), which was near the place where the celebrations were to be held. We remained overnight with the intention of being in the woods early in the morning in order to get everything ready for the celebrations. We had one woman with us. We gave her the only room in the place; the rest of us undressed in the corridor and went to sleep on the porch. We all woke up very early, but—alas!—we could not

move from the spot; thieves had played us a fine trick; they had taken all our clothes, from our shoes to our hats. We were in a bad fix. We could not go to the neighbouring cottages for help, and as though to spite us, no one came to our cottage; for everybody was busy with the celebrations. We remained in this state until midday, when at last a working woman whom we knew looked in, and, on learning our predicament, went round to neighbouring cottages to collect clothing for us. I got a suit in which it would have been impossible to appear in the streets in daytime. The coat was still presentable, but the trousers were those of a house-painter. One of the shoes was a man's, the other was a woman's. The outfits of the others were not much better. Besides my clothes, they had also relieved me of my passport and of the fifty kopeks which I had borrowed with such great difficulty.

We could not report the loss because we nearly all had leaflets, illegal books and other prohibited matter in our possession. This misfortune was a heavy blow to me, and I found myself in even worse circumstances than before. I ran into debt, from which I was only able to free myself at the end of the winter. But such trials and tribulations could not make me give up revolutionary party work. In the autumn I began to earn money again. In March the representative of the *Iskra* sent me abroad to accompany Comrade Kopp, I think, and at the same time to make arrangements for getting *Iskra* literature across. When I reached Vilkovishky (near the frontier) some comrades, members of the *Bund* whom I knew personally, asked me to assist them in transporting a large package of literature to Vilna or to Dvinsk. I agreed; there was no sense, of course, in returning empty-handed. But this consignment was greatly delayed somewhere and a few of us were forced to wait about two or three weeks in the small town of Mariaupol. At last everything was ready and we proceeded to Vilna by railway. The literature was to have been brought to the train at Pilvishky. When we arrived there we saw the suit-cases and the comrade who was to have handed them over to us on the platform, but the train went off and the suit-cases remained behind. Later we learned that there had been a hitch in the arrangements and that the gendarmes were only waiting for somebody to pick up the suit-cases.

On my return to Vilna I again lost my job, and again my hardships began.

Besides taking the comrades across the frontier I also succeeded in getting from abroad two consignments of *Iskra* litera-

ture, one weighing about three poods and the other about ten poods.*

It will not be amiss to mention the difficulties with which we used to get literature in those days. In the autumn of 1901 I received the first consignment of literature, weighing about three poods, in the little town of Kibarta, just by the German frontier. There I had comrades from the Bristle Workers' Union who brought the literature from Germany. I could not transport the literature from Kibarta by train, for everything was closely examined at the frontier stations. I therefore had to hire one of the cabs running between Kibarta, Mariaupol and Kovno. The driver, smelling "contraband," stopped every few versts to raise the price of the journey. Finally we reached Kovno. Customs officials were stationed on the bridge just outside Kovno. There were two of us, and we had agreed that, in case of a mishap, I would say that the literature was mine and my companion was to act as if he did not know me at all. We were stopped on the bridge. The cab drove on, together with my comrade, and I was left alone.

When the boxes were opened they discovered the bundles of *Iskra* (up to the seventh number) and various pamphlets, including *The Class Struggle in France*, by Karl Marx. The official did not understand what sort of "contraband" this was, since his experience had been limited to dry goods, tea, etc. Consequently he did not know what to do with these "goods," yet he did not let me go. He tried to read the names and headlines of the books and papers by the light of a match (it was night), but the wind which blew from the River Niemen blew the matches out and made it impossible for him to read. At last, tired of all this business, I gave him the last money I had (a five-rouble gold piece) and demanded my immediate release, or else he would be responsible for any loss I incurred, as the papers had to be in Kovno early the next morning for sale on the news-stands. The official saw these papers for the first time and wanted to detain me until the morning, when it would be possible for him to read them. But when I asked him to hurry over to the box and give me a hand in getting it on my back, he complied, although he demanded a copy of the paper and the pamphlet. I gave him the pamphlet, but refused to give him a copy of the paper, because the last thing we wanted to become known was that the *Iskra* was being smuggled in in this way.

The load was heavy, there was no cab in sight; indeed, I did

*A pood is equal to thirty-six pounds.—ED.

not have any money, for I had given all I had to the cabman and the customs official. I almost broke down with exhaustion. Shifting the box from one shoulder to another, I finally reached the other side, where for fifteen kopecks (I accidently found the money, my entire capital, in one of my pockets)—I hired a cab and thus reached my room. At the door of the house I met the comrade from whom I had parted on the bridge. We were both so excited by what had happened that we could not fall asleep. Suddenly we heard a knock at the door. Our hearts sank. Had I been shadowed? But that could not be, since I had not gone directly to my room; I had first gone to a small hotel, but was unable to wake anybody up, and only after I was convinced that there was no one around had I ventured to go to the house agreed upon. During the few moments that the knocking continued I suffered the tortures of hell, because, if they had shadowed me, not only would my comrade and I be arrested, but the owners of the apartment would be arrested as well, and they had not the slightest inkling that I had brought any literature with me; we stopped at their house merely because they were good friends of my relatives. Fortunately for all of us it was the charwoman who had come to clean the house before the holidays.

However, I dared not remain in the town, for fear that the customs official would show the "goods"—Karl Marx's *Class War in France*, for instance—to his superiors. But I did not have a kopeck to get me from Kovno to Vilkomir. I was extricated from this predicament by the keen commercial rivalry between the coach owners who carried passengers between the two towns. I demanded a deposit from them to make sure that they would reserve us good places. With this deposit we could buy a few things. Thus we safely reached Vilkomir and then Vilna, from where the literature was sent out all over Russia. This was in August or September 1901.

Upon my return to Vilna I obtained work again. Yezhov introduced me to many intellectuals who had rallied round the representative of *Iskra*. Among these was A. A. Soltz, whom I visited several times at his house.

However, I did not remain working in the shop very long; I had to go with Yezhov to Kovno, where we were to prepare a place to receive a large consignment of literature. Yezhov took up his residence in Kovno. Some peasants soon appeared and informed us that they had literature for us. I went with the peasants to get it. This was in December 1901.

We ran into a heavy blizzard and had to stop overnight at

the peasants' hut. Then we travelled a few days, but where I did not know, as the place was unfamiliar to me and the peasants said nothing. Only when I found myself near the frontier did I realise that I was somewhere near Yurburg, on the Russo-German frontier. We arrived at night, stayed in a large dirty hut with benches standing against the walls. The cattle were in the house as well and the human beings slept on the stove. I was too terrified to sleep, but lay listening intently to everything that was going on around me.

Towards morning we started on our return journey with our literature. Without any untoward incidents—except the stops at every tavern where the drivers had a good time drinking (at my expense) we reached Kovno.

The literature was delivered safely at the place prepared for it (this was Friday morning). I had to settle with the peasants, but as I had no money with me I ran over to the hotel, where Yezhov was supposed to be waiting for me (at that time he was called Stupin). I saw the agreed signal in the window of his room, and I boldly entered the hotel—a wretched little hovel. I was stopped by a servant in the hotel, who on seeing me exclaimed: "What made you come here? Get out of here immediately, or they'll get you." Yezhov, I found, had been arrested. The police had evidently set a trap in his room. I left the hotel unobserved, but without money and without connections.

The literature was to be called for by the "military"* from Vilna. This worried me very much, for I feared that they would fall into the trap set at the hotel. At the same time I had no means of warning them. I borrowed some money and settled with the peasants. I did not know to what extent our organisation had ceased to function, therefore I took two compatriots, Solomon Rogut, a foundry worker, and Saul Katzenellenbogen, a bristle worker, whom I had met frequently during the holidays on the "labour exchange" or in the tea-room of the Temperance Society in Kovno and in Vilkomir, and that very day sent these two with the literature to the village of Yanovo to be sent on from there to the house of my relatives in Vilkomir. I myself had to stay in order to re-establish the connections lost through Yezhov's arrest. My comrades got safely as far as Yanovo, but when they arrived at Vilkomir on Sunday morning the chief of police and all the

*At that time there was an Iskra Military Organisation in Vilna headed by Comrade Gusarov, an army doctor. Comrades of this organisation used to deliver literature all over Russia.

local gentry were just coming out of church. A bell was attached to the horse which was drawing my comrades' cab, and its jingling attracted the attention of the chief of police. He had the driver put under arrest, for, according to an order issued by this official, only fire engines and the chief of police himself could drive with bells.

One of the comrades in the cab, Katzenellenbogen, took one bundle and walked off, while Solomon Rogut went with the driver to the police station. There the bundles were opened and the literature was discovered. The entire police force was mobilised to look for the other comrade who had got away. They beat Solomon Rogut until he lost consciousness, and dragged him naked from the police station to the police headquarters, demanding the name of his comrades and where he got the literature. After that they sent him to Kovno. I felt depressed when I learned about this incident. I considered myself responsible for the arrest of this comrade, who was not a member of the *Iskra* organisation. My conscience told me to go to the police and report that I had sent him on this errand. I communicated this desire to some members of the Polish Socialist Party. (I do not remember their names; I can only remember the first name of one woman worker—Bluma.) They agreed with me that that was the right thing to do, but I was convinced that if I took the blame they would arrest me without releasing Rogut. I therefore decided to find some members of the *Iskra* and meanwhile to continue with my work.*

The cab driver was sent to St. Petersburg,† where Yezhov and, I think, Comrade Soltz were already imprisoned. But Solomon Rogut was sent to the Kovno prison. A month later we learned that he had hanged himself (it was never established whether he really committed suicide or was beaten to death). In 1908 I was in the same prison, and the warden showed me his cell. The warden told me that after the examinations in the gendarme's office they usually brought him out in such a condition that he quite probably hanged himself in order to escape the tortures to which they subjected him. The death of this comrade, for which I considered myself responsible,

*For this purpose I went to Vilna, where I got into touch with those *Iskra* members who were left after the last raid on the organisations.

†As I discovered later, he was kept nearly a year there. The gendarmes tried to find out from him which route was taken by the persons carrying the *Iskra*, and what their names were; but even if he had wanted to he would have been unable to satisfy their curiosity, because he really did not have anything to do with the matter.

made a terrible impression on me. I firmly resolved that from now on my life belonged to the revolution.

Such a reaction to the loss of a single comrade may seem strange at the present time, when the gigantic struggle of the working class against capitalism has caused the loss of so many proletarians, but at that time it left an indelible impression on me: I had caused the death of a comrade.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST ARREST, IMPRISONMENT IN KIEV, AND ESCAPE (1902)

WHEN I learned about the death of Comrade Rogut in prison I left the establishment where I was working after my return from Kovno (after the unsuccessful attempt to smuggle in literature), and went to Vilkomir for the remaining literature and to learn the circumstances of the arrest. There, with the help of the local *Bund* organisation, we distributed a manifesto on the arrest and murder of our comrade, since various false rumours were circulating about the cause of the arrest. In spite of the fact that there were many workers and intellectuals under surveillance in Vilkomir, the first political arrest of Comrade Solomon Rogut, the savagery and cruelty of the gendarmes and police (he had been dragged about the streets naked in mid-winter), made a tremendous impression on the inhabitants.

The reasons for his arrest could only be explained in a leaflet, but although a *Bund* organisation existed in Vilkomir, no leaflet on the arrest had been issued before my arrival. But even I had the greatest difficulty in getting out these leaflets. In Vilkomir it was impossible to obtain either the necessary chemicals for a hectograph or the ink. We had to ask a comrade (the Polish Socialist, Bluma) from Kovno to come with all the necessary appliances for printing the leaflets. The wording of the leaflet was drawn up collectively by several comrades, with very satisfactory results. The leaflet explained the nature of absolutism, the bondage of the people, the poverty of the peasants, and the miserable lot of the working-class. The causes of Comrade Rogut's arrest were described in detail, as well as the brutality of the police, etc. The leaflets were distributed in the houses and pasted up outside all the synagogues on Friday night. It was interesting to see how the various synagogue officials dispersed the crowds who were reading the leaflets, and how they tried to tear the leaflets down. The leaflet caused a great sensation. For several days it was the talk of the town.

In a few days I learned that the police and the local gendarmes were inquiring whether I was in town and if so where I was staying. I therefore was obliged to leave the town and return to Vilna. There I soon noticed that I was being shadowed. This fact forced me to demand of the comrades to whom Yezhov had introduced me before his arrest that they should immediately send a substitute, so that I could change the scene of my activities. Early in March 1902 they at last sent a substitute, whose Party name was "Marx"—V. P. Artsybushev (I learned his surname only after the 1917 Revolution).

In the beginning of March 1902 Marx and I went to the railway station to go to Kovno, whence we were to go to the frontier in order to acquaint Marx personally with all the connections I had at the time. We sat in the same carriage, but on different seats. Just before the train left a spy, whom I had noticed following me for a long time, entered our carriage, followed by a gendarme. (A few hours before the train was due to depart I had met the spy in the town, but I managed to get separated from him. Whether he knew that I was going that day or whether his presence at the station, where he saw me, was simply a matter of chance, I never discovered.) The gendarme came straight over to me and asked for my passport and ticket. I gave him both. Then he asked: "Where is your baggage?" I replied that I had none, whereupon he told me to follow him. We left and the train went off. I was highly pleased that they had not noticed my companion, Comrade Marx. I was brought before the chief of the gendarmes and the questioning began.

"Your name?"

I replied: "Khigrin" (I had a new false passport under this name; as the police were looking for me, I had discarded my real passport).

The official corrected me: "Your name is so and so" (mentioning my real name).

The questioning continued in the same strain. He told me all about myself, including the name of the town where my relatives lived. But I stuck to my false passport, inventing the names of my relatives. There was another official in the room where I was being questioned. He suggested that I should be sent to some local police inspector, who would certainly make me talk more freely by using his club (at that time prisoners used to be beaten terribly in the Vilna prisons), to which the official examining me replied:

"You are mistaken, he (pointing at me) will not say a thing there either; he belongs to the *Iskra* organisation." This statement revealed to me the connection between my arrest and that of Martov's brother—Sergei Zederbaum—who was then incarcerated in the fortress of Peter and Paul. I expected to be sent there too, but I was mistaken. I was taken from the station to the provincial gendarme headquarters. As it was utterly useless to stick to my false passport, especially since they knew my real name, I admitted that Khigrin was not my name. They did not keep me there very long. Soon after they sent me to the Vilna fortress (this fortress was for some reason called "No. 14"), where I spent about a week. After that they sent me somewhere else, but the two gendarmes who accompanied me refused to tell me where they were taking me.

This was my first experience in prison. The regime in the fortress was strict at that time. The wardens were either soldiers or gendarmes, who visited my room several times a day by twos and even threes. As soon as I was locked in my cell I heard tapping on the walls from all sides, but I could not answer, as I did not know the prison code. As I did not answer, someone began to throw pieces of bread through my window. I was just thinking how I could raise myself to look through the window (the window was very high, just under the ceiling), when I noticed inscriptions on the walls in many languages describing how the window could be reached. I took a chair, put it on the table and there I was right at the window. No sooner had I got into touch with my neighbours than the commandant of the fortress sneaked into my cell so quickly and noiselessly that I did not even have time to jump off the table. I escaped solitary confinement only because I was sent elsewhere a few days later.

Finally, when I arrived at my destination I realised that I was in Kiev. I wondered why I had been taken to Kiev, because I had never been in that city before. I was soon to learn the reason, however; but of that later. The gendarmes who accompanied me handed me over to the Kiev gendarme headquarters, and after spending over a week in a gloomy, ill-smelling basement, I was sent on to the Lukyanovskaya prison. When I entered the prison office I heard loud shouting and singing of revolutionary songs, while clods of earth were flying through the window. I had never dreamt that such things could take place in a prison; for in the Vilna fortress and even in the dingy basement in the Kiev police station, where the gendarme headquarters were situated and where I

was confined until I came to the office of this prison, everything was so quiet that one might think that there were no inmates at all. The thought even flashed through my mind—perhaps it was a demonstration to free me. But I dismissed this thought immediately, for the prison authorities were quite calm and pursued their daily work without a ruffle. The riddle was soon solved. After the necessary formalities had been gone through they handed me over to the keeper of the political prisoners, Saiganov, who took me over to the prison buildings. We had hardly entered the prison gates when a crowd of students got hold of me and began questioning me—who I was, where from, where I was arrested, for what reason and other questions in a similar strain. I was amazed at the fact that the crowd consisted almost entirely of students. It was they, it appeared, who made all the noise; the students were strolling from one end of the yard to the other with banners, shouting all the time.

In 1902 there was considerable unrest among the students in Russia. On March 2nd and 3rd of that year mass demonstrations of students and workers were held in Kiev. The students were arrested *en masse*, and during the course of demonstrations some of them were summarily sentenced by the governor to three months' imprisonment, while others were still awaiting their fate. These student demonstrations in the prison were continued during nearly the whole of the time of their exercise.

The students occupied the third floor of the criminal wing. In the evening the doors of the corridor were locked, but the cells were kept open after inspection up to midnight. The privileges given to the students and political prisoners affected the prison regime of the criminals: it was relaxed to some extent. The new prison warden, who was appointed in April 1902, did not approve of such loose discipline in his realm. He started a crusade against the liberties of the criminals. Raids were made and the prisoners began to feel his heavy hand. The students and the political prisoners on the third floor understood that if the warden succeeded in breaking the resistance of the ordinary prisoners he would immediately take the students in hand. Therefore we who were confined in the same wing with the criminals joined in the obstructionist tactics, which lasted several days. We created such an uproar that crowds were attracted to the prison gates, despite the fact that the prison was situated at a good distance from the city. During the raids on the prisoners who lived on the upper

floors, the latter dropped all "prohibited" articles down to us on ropes. The soldiers who were stationed in the yard noticed this. As a consequence of this raids then began in our corridor. This roused such a protest (the soldiers were simply jostled out of the cells, and they never succeeded in searching us) from the prisoners and their relatives outside that the governor (Trepov his name was, I think) called off the raids and the prison warden had to give in.

From all this the reader will understand why there was so much freedom at Lukyanovskaya Prison. This facilitated the carrying out of a grand plot to escape, of which I shall speak later. Our relations with the criminals, as can be seen from above, were good, but this did not deter them from practising their art on the political prisoners, most likely in order to "keep their hand in." For instance, the criminals in the weaving shop, which was situated in the basement in the yard where the students took their exercise, called Comrade Silvin over (I believe it was he, if my memory serves me right), and started asking him to give them explanations about something or other. When he got back he found that he had lost his watch. (The ringleaders of the criminals—"Ivans" they were called—found the watch later, but it had been taken to pieces and was useless.)

I was placed in the criminal wing with the students, in the fifth cell, where those accidentally arrested were lodged. Since I had no luggage at all when I was arrested and very little money, I was in great straits. But no one paid any attention to me.

A few days after my arrival at the prison Knizhnik, a student, delivered a lecture to the few workers on the Russian monarchy. In the course of his lecture he referred to my case to illustrate his arguments against the autocracy. Pointing to me, he exclaimed passionately: "Look at this boy. He was looking for work. They dragged him out of the train, dragged him all over Russia, and finally brought him to Kiev, almost at the end of the world, where he had never been before and where he has no one." As I sat there I laughed inwardly at the simplicity of this student. Of course, his description of autocracy was accurate enough, but I was a rather bad illustration of his argument, as he soon learned, much to his surprise.

Once, after the roll call, the students felt bored. They began to knock at the doors and asked for the prosecuting attorney. They were still knocking when the assistant district attorney of the Kiev Court, Korsakov, arrived. Every one went to his

cell, and Korsakov visited each one in turn. The prisoners asked him how matters stood with them. (I was impressed with Korsakov's colossal memory. He only asked the name, after which, without any notes or looking at any paper, he told every one what was in store for him.) My turn came, and Korsakov came in, followed by all the prisoners of the corridor. All my cell-mates asked him about their fate, but I held my tongue. Then Knizhnik, with the air of a prosecutor, asked sternly: "Why do you keep this boy here?" Korsakov asked: "What is his name?" Knizhnik told him. Then Korsakov turned to Knizhnik and said: "This boy will get a longer sentence than you will; he is accused of belonging to an organisation calling itself *Iskra*. He is further accused of organising the conveyance of people and literature for the *Iskra* organisation; of organising a printing shop and things like that," etc. They were all dumbfounded. Knizhnik did not conceal his surprise. After Korsakov left he asked me whether what the assistant district attorney had said was true. Naturally, I assured Knizhnik that there must be some misunderstanding, and that they were evidently taking me for someone else. But I did not feel very happy that evening, for Korsakov usually told the truth, and I was wondering how they knew all that and why they had sent me to Kiev and not to St. Petersburg.

After the evening just described my position improved considerably. I was transferred to another cell; I received a pillow, underwear, a bath, etc., for all of which it was high time. But I did not remain long with these students—future revolutionaries, bourgeois democrats and just plain bourgeois (there were also some *Iskra* people among them, as I found out later).

One evening they brought in a new comrade. According to custom, he was plied with questions. From his answers we learned that he was arrested on the frontier, where they had discovered bundles of *Iskra* in his suit-case, which had a double bottom. I scrutinised him carefully, and then decided to ask him where he got these newspapers, whether he was an *Iskra* member, which of the *Iskra* comrades abroad he knew, etc. After this, he in his turn began to question me; where I came from, whom I knew in those districts where I had worked and suddenly mentioned my Party name. It turned out that he knew about me, for it was his business to convey literature from abroad into Russia. I also knew his Party name. In this way I came into touch with *Iskra* people in prison. The new prisoner was Joseph Solomonovich Blumenfeld, who knew

Iskra members in Russia. As there were quite a number of us in the Lukyanovskaya prison it was not difficult for him to establish connections with the political wing, where many prominent *Iskra* members were confined. I was immediately transferred there. Life in the political wing was entirely different.

In Kiev there was a general of gendarmes named Novitsky. He succeeded in tracking down the All-Russian *Iskra* Conference. At that time Novitsky considered Krokhmal, who lived in Kiev and who very likely summoned the conference in Kiev, to be the principal leader of the *Iskra* group. But he was not the only one shadowed. The gendarme office had intercepted some Russian and foreign correspondence. This correspondence was deciphered and the letters were then sent on to the addressees, who forwarded them to Krokhmal. Consequently, General Novitsky was fully conversant with all our affairs (as I learned from the documents published by the police department after 1905, my address was also found at Krokhmal's house). As far as I remember, the conference of the *Iskra* group broke up or, to be more exact, the delegates fled before the conference opened.

As a matter of fact they could have safely and conveniently conducted their conferences at the Lukyanovka Prison, which very likely they did. Delegates from all parts of Russia had come to attend the conference. The delegates, realising that they were being shadowed, began to leave the city, but they were all arrested on the way out, and brought back to Kiev (some of them were arrested in Kiev). Nikolai Bauman was already in the train, but on the way to Zadonsk (Voronezh district) he noticed that he was being followed. He then jumped off the train and began to make his way to the village of Khlebnoye, not far from Zadonsk. As the district was not known to him he ventured to ask the local doctor for shelter. The doctor took him in, but immediately notified the police, and thus Comrade Bauman found himself at the Lukyanovka.

General Novitsky became famous. He was entrusted with the important case of the *Iskra* group. That was the reason why all the *Iskra* prisoners from every corner of Russia were concentrated in Kiev. Even comrades arrested at the frontier were brought there. The secret police were not satisfied with holding the active leaders of the *Iskra* group in their toils. They also brought to Novitsky persons who merely assisted the *Iskra* members by allowing them the use of their apartments for the purpose of receiving letters and holding

meetings. That was the reason why I, too, had been brought to Kiev.

The political and women's wings of the prison were packed with people arrested in the *Iskra* case.

In the small wing for the political prisoners *Iskra-ists* and Socialist Revolutionaries, mostly Ukrainians, were huddled together. The other parties were meagrely represented. Despite the fact that all the cells were open from morning till night and the doors leading from the wing into the yard were also wide open, the inmates worked earnestly and very hard, entirely oblivious of their surroundings and the various games in the yard. Papers were read on various subjects, group readings were held on the latest illegal literature, the *Iskra*, the *Revolyutsionaya Rossiya*, etc., and then followed debates on what was read.

I found myself in the same cell as Halperin (his Party name was Konyagin). I was immediately taken in training. My teacher was Joseph Blumenfeld. He taught me the principles of Marxism. Under his guidance I began to read serious books. The reader may remember that up to the time of my imprisonment at Kiev I was working in a shop more than twelve hours a day. After work I was kept busy doing practical work in the trade union and attending to the varied business of the groups and organisations which then existed in the Western region. Later on I spent much time for the *Iskra* organisation. I therefore read very little and without any system. The prison thus became my university. I began to read systematically under the guidance of an educated Marxist who knew revolutionary and Marxist literature very well. Up to the time of his arrest Comrade Blumenfeld was a compositor for the Emancipation of Labour Group. Besides his theoretical knowledge he was also well acquainted with the Western labour movement and had had wide experience in practical work. He was then probably thirty or thirty-five years of age. Although I was only about half his age, we became very good friends. Even now, though we soon found ourselves in different camps of the Russian Labour movement, I am sincerely grateful to him for his warm attitude towards me; particularly for the correct understanding of Marxism which he gave me.

For me time flew by imperceptibly; but for the active workers of the *Iskra* organisation the confinement was unbearable. This was the period when workers' strikes, student demonstrations and peasant revolts (in the Kharkov, Poltava, and other regions) were daily occurrences; and the organisers of the *Iskra*

in Russia, deprived of the possibility of taking an active part in this struggle, were condemned to inactivity in prison.

In the middle of the summer of 1902 the assistant district attorney, Korsakov, again appeared in the prison and announced to us, then a group of about ten to fifteen people in the political prisoners' wing, that we might as well make ourselves more comfortable for the winter, because our trial would not come off before that time. At that moment many comrades conceived the idea of escaping. A list was drawn up of those *Iskra* comrades who ought to escape. I was included in the list. Eleven of those on the list agreed to take a chance. They held a conference and discussed the plan of escape. To each one was assigned his part. The escape was to be effected over the wall of one of the courtyards where we took our exercises. For that purpose it was necessary to inspect the field in front of the prison, find addresses in Kiev, organise the escape from Kiev, get passports, sleeping powders, wine, a grapple, ropes for a ladder and money—all this from outside. Within the prison it would be necessary to drag out walking exercises until late at night and to stow away all the necessary implements after they had been delivered inside the prison. Above all it was necessary to keep the whole thing secret, which was very difficult, for a great number of people, inside the prison and outside, knew about it.

We were quite free to move about in the prison, as I have already pointed out, since there were many more people than the place could well hold, and in addition there were many students among us who for various reasons were handled with kid gloves. Thanks to this freedom the prisoners had their own overseer (in the person of an old-timer, Comrade Gursky); I do not know whether he was appointed by the prison administration or elected by the prisoners, because I found all these regulations when I arrived at the prison. Dinner was prepared separately for all the political prisoners, and all the packages that they received were first sent to the storeroom and were then distributed at supper time. There they also received food bought for them outside. Comrade Litvinov (also an old-timer of the prison) was in charge of the storeroom. All these circumstances greatly facilitated our escape. Comrade Gursky could roam all over the prison almost without restraint, and also had connections with the outside world.

Until we received all the various items enumerated above we practised building human pyramids during our daily exercises, of the same height as the outside wall; Gursky was

the leader. We sang in chorus, beating on a tin can in lieu of a drum, to mark time. Here the leader was Bauman. This was necessary in order that the guard stationed in the yard where the criminals paraded should become used to this metallic sound, which he was likely to hear when we would be crawling over the top of the wall which was covered with tin. We also practised tying up an imaginary guard, and gagging him without choking him (Comrade Silvin was in charge of this detail).

The preparations took much time, and we feared that it would get too cold to exercise late in the yard, and that the comrades would cease their late exercises altogether. In that case the prison administration would begin locking us up before the sentry who was stationed by the wall in the meadow through which we were to escape was relieved at the evening change of guards. At last we received the sleeping powder which had to be used with wine. The powder was tested on one of the comrades, Comrade Maltzman, who was a member of our conspiracy. The effect was striking. He slept much longer than was really necessary, and we were worried lest someone should notice that Maltzman slept too long. Besides, he might be called for cross-examination, and suspicions would then be raised. But everything ended successfully. In order to accustom the guards to drink with the prisoners we began celebrating birthdays, etc., very often. In this, too, we were successful. We received twelve to fifteen passports from Vilna (I supplied the connections), which were filled in with the necessary data. We had plenty of money, and finally we succeeded in inspecting the field around the prison and in establishing a system of signals between this field and one of the windows of the upper floor of the prison. From this window we were to inform those in the field that we were ready to escape on such-and-such a day, and they were to let us know whether we should be able to get through the field.

Housing quarters were found in the city; the route to be taken by the fugitives when they left Kiev that same evening was worked out; and it was arranged to whose house and with whom each one was to go. Only one thing remained to be done: to get a grapple and make the ladder. This, too, was soon done. Comrade Gursky usually had personal visits at the office, and he was hardly ever searched. On one of these visits he was given an enormous bouquet of flowers, in which a small grapple was hidden. The ladder was made from coarse linen which they gave us for bed sheets. I think Comrade

Litvinov twisted strips of this linen into ropes. The two ends of the rope were fastened to the anchor, and the rungs of the ladder were made of short strong pieces of wood. The ladder ended in a rope, which was also fastened to the anchor at the top. It had knots so that it would be easier to descend on the other side of the wall.

When everything was ready we had a rehearsal. Everybody came to the yard with the equipment assigned to him (I arrived with a pillow which contained the ladder), and at the first signal we all took our places. The guards of the political prisoners' wing were all favourably disposed towards us, thanks to the wine with which we had treated them and the small sums of money we had given them for delivering our newspapers and letters. Now and then one of them succumbed to our propaganda. There was only one exception—a former gendarme—an old man, Izmailov, of whom we stood in great fear. At first it was decided not to attempt the escape when he was on duty; but as it was already the middle of August, and the cold and rainy days had set in, we were determined to make the attempt even with him on duty. Nevertheless, we had to find something to divert his attention and make him stay in his corridor in the building. Measures in that direction were taken, but an unexpected obstacle arose: the guard on duty who was stationed with a gun near the inner wall over which the escape was to be made arrived dead drunk. Much as we tried to hide him from Izmailov, the latter nevertheless noticed him, took his place at the wall and notified the office, which sent another guard.

The excitement of the prisoners that evening did not escape the sharp eye of the old gendarme. We later learned that he actually reported his misgivings to the office. Be that as it may, we had met with a reverse and had to hide everything in case of a raid. But where? There were no hiding places. Each one of us had a passport and a hundred roubles. In my cell was the ladder which I used instead of a pillow, and they would certainly find it without much trouble. Our nerves were taut. In case of a raid it was decided to resist until everyone had succeeded in destroying his passport, so that the names of those who intended to escape could not be found out. The others then thought it would be better to take the ladder away from me; for if it was found in my possession the whole responsibility would fall on me, and the gendarmes might resort to torture to find out who my accomplices were. It was nevertheless decided to leave it with me, since they concluded no one

would ever think of suspecting me—a shy youngster—with so many of the leaders of the *Iskra* to choose from. At dawn on one of those anxious days of which I have just spoken we suddenly heard the creak of a door opening—in the lower corridor. Immediately cries of "A raid, comrades," were heard. Fortunately it soon turned out that it was not a raid, but that they had brought in a new prisoner. None of us had had the time to destroy anything.

The newly arrived Comrade Banin had been captured at the frontier and instructions had been given to isolate him from the other prisoners. He was therefore placed in a cell which was locked the whole time, while we walked about all day and our cells were locked only for the night. We decided, however, not to protest against the treatment of the new comrade, for we were afraid that they would deprive us of our late exercise. The superintendent of the political prisoners' wing, Sulima, recently appointed assistant to the warden, had for some reason become attached to the new prisoner. He visited him often in his cell, played chess with him, and frequently came in just for a chat. Once, during one of these chats, the assistant told Banin that on the previous night he had walked around the prison all night long because he had heard rumours that the political prisoners were planning an escape that night. The problem of our projected flight now became acute: either we should have to do the thing immediately, or else we should have to give up the thought of escape altogether. We decided to escape at all costs, but to avoid bloodshed; if, however, after the signal was given, someone from the office should enter the political prisoners' yard, we were not to stand on ceremony with him. For that purpose several men were equipped with wide cloaks which would be thrown over the heads of such unwelcome intruders.

The day of escape was decided upon, but again an obstacle arose. We could not get along without the assistance of some of the comrades remaining in prison. Some of them knew about the planned escape. We invited representatives of other parties who were facing long trials and sentences to join in our flight. All refused. But on the last day the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries, whose assistance was very important, demanded that we should take one of the S.R.'s, Plesky, with us. We, of course, would not have minded taking the whole prison with us, but Plesky needed a passport, money, a place to stay, etc., all of which could not possibly be procured in one day. However, even this was arranged. Each one of us gave him ten

roubles, a passport was hurriedly filled in, he was given an address, and everything was in order. Instead of eleven *Iskra* members, twelve men were ready to attempt the escape.

On the evening of August 18, just before the signal was given to make our dash for liberty, the assistant warden Sulima appeared. He went to the prisoner whom I have mentioned already and started a game of chess with him. In spite of that inauspicious incident, the signal was given and the concert began, Bauman beating his drum. At the same time we constructed a human pyramid and Comrade Gursky climbed up to the top of it. Simultaneously others tied up and gagged the guard: the keepers were already sleeping the sleep of the just. I handed Gursky the ladder, quickly slipped off my prison garb and scrambled up the ladder, the anchor of which Comrade Gursky had fastened to the cornice on the other side of the wall. When I let myself down the rope (which, by the way, tore the skin off both hands so that I could hardly bear the pain), it was held by Comrade Gursky to keep the anchor from unfastening. He handed me the end of the ladder and disappeared somewhere (it was already quite dark). Basovsky got down after me. He had an injured leg (he had broken it in prison). This fact delayed us a good deal, for we did not want to leave him behind in prison. I did not hand him the rope, but waited for the arrival of the fourth comrade.

All went well. I passed the rope on to the latter, and began to run at top speed, only to fall head over heels into a very deep ditch, which we had not known about. Down below I found Comrade Basovsky. He was looking for his hat, which he had lost while he was falling down into the ditch. The same thing had happened to me; but it was useless to look for a hat in such darkness. I took Basovsky's arm and we crawled out into the field. We crossed it quickly and reached the street. We soon realised that it would be awkward to appear hatless in the streets of Kiev. Moreover, no cabman wanted to drive us; they all believed that we had spent all our money on drinks and would be unable to pay our fare. Finally we paid one cabman in advance and asked him to drive us in the direction of the apartment to which Basovsky and I had been assigned. We discharged the driver and directed our steps towards Observatory Road. We looked for No. 10, but could not find it, because the last house in the street was No. 8. After some hesitation we decided to enter that house. We rang the bell and asked for the persons we had agreed upon, but the people who opened the door looked askance at our appearance and

stated that there were no such people there. A nice fix to be in! Not far from this house there was a lawn. We went there. Comrade Basovsky moaned with pain, saying in a subdued tone, "If I had known that those outside could not even find a room for us I would not have escaped." I had my own troubles; I was very thirsty and my hands hurt terribly.

Suddenly we noticed that someone had quickly approached house No. 8 and had just as abruptly withdrawn. We immediately recognised Comrade Gursky. He, too, had met with disappointment; the people of the house to which he was sent had either left or died; I do not remember which. He knew the address where we were supposed to have gone to report and decided to join us. The three of us now put our heads together to decide what we were to do. When he noticed that we were without hats he went off somewhere (he knew Kiev very well) and in a short time returned with a top hat, which Basovsky put on. Comrade Gursky suggested that we should go to one of his relatives living in the suburb of Mokraya Slobodka, to which we gladly consented. Gursky went alone, and I went together with Basovsky. The latter looked rather prosperous in his top hat; but it was not at all suitable in that neighbourhood. Fortunately it was dark, and pouring rain, so no one noticed his top hat. We arrived at the house of a very hospitable Pole, who immediately produced vodka and a bite and invited us to take a rest; but he advised us to leave before it got light, because his neighbour was a gendarme and he might notice the presence of strangers. We accepted, as there was nothing else we could do. I got a straw hat from our host, and Basovsky and I went to visit some friends of his, but we did not find them at home. They were spending the night in the country. We had no alternative but to ride about from one end of the town to the other. It was a good thing that Basovsky at least knew the names of the streets and parts of the town; I alone could never have driven about in cabs like that. We spent the night in that manner, and in the morning took different directions to avoid being taken together.

Three possibilities were open to me; either I could stop some friendly student and ask his assistance; or I could go to the railway station or to the wharf; or finally, I could search for a certain shoemaker with whom I had shared a cell in the Lukyanovskaya Prison. I chose the last course, although I knew only his surname, the occupation of his father and the name of the street, but not the number of the house he lived in. I drove to the Andreyevsky Hill and to my great joy noticed

a shoemaker's sign with the name I was looking for. I drove past the house, dismissed the driver, and went back to my comrade's house. He was at home and gave me a very welcome reception.

Later on it turned out that house No. 10 was in a continuation of Observatory Road, that we were expected there, and that everything was ready for us. Apparently everything had been muddled for the other comrades as well. Horses were supposed to have been prepared for Halperin and Maltzman to take them some way out of Kiev, but no horses were to be found. They were both forced to go on foot by night, and to hide in haystacks during the day. Once they were discovered and taken to a police station, but for three roubles the official in charge let them go. Blumenfeld and one other comrade were to go by boat, but there were no boats to be found. I do not remember whether the rest of the comrades found their allotted quarters.

I told the comrade to whose house I had come that I had been discharged from prison, but that I had given a written promise that I would leave Kiev immediately; that therefore I was in a hurry to see someone from the committee of the R.S.-D.L.P. (*Iskra-ists*). He took me to his room, and went out to find a member of the committee. He soon returned with news by which he was much agitated. Rumours were circulating in Party circles as well as among the general population that all the prisoners had escaped and that the whole city was in a turmoil. I could not learn from him exactly how many and who had escaped. He very sensibly observed that as there were sure to be raids it was best for me not to remain with him, but to move over to other quarters which he had found for me. He suggested that I should wait there until he got me in touch with the committee. As soon as it grew dark he took me to a bakery, where I spent the night and the whole of the next day. On the following day he took me to a meeting place, where I found a student who had been imprisoned together with me in the students' wing of the prison. This student was the representative of the committee. As he knew that I was one of the fugitives I did not have to do much explaining; he told me of a room where I was to go with another comrade who had also been with us in prison. From this committee representative I learned that eleven had made good their escape, including the S.R. It appeared, therefore, that one of the *Iskra* group was left behind, but who it was he did not know.

Later I learned that everything had gone according to

schedule; but Comrade Silvin (the "Tramp," I believe he was called), who was kept busy with the guard, heard a noise which he mistook for an alarm. He made a dash for his cell, tore up his passport, hid the money and returned to the yard. No alarm had been raised yet, but when he realised his mistake it was already too late—he had neither documents nor money. So he returned to his cell together with the other prisoners. Soon the assistant warden, who had finished his game of chess, began to knock loudly for someone to open the door (he was locked up in that comrade's cell), but there was no one to open the door, as all the guards were asleep. He sounded the alarm (I believe even fired some shots), after which the flight was discovered. The preliminary investigation, by the way, "established" the curious fact that the escape was effected through the gate, that the caretaker had let us all through, and that the ladder, the sleeping guards, and the gagged sentry were all intended to divert attention.

I went to the address given to me by the representative of the committee, and found that it was on the other side of Dnieper Bridge, that is, in a different province, Chernigov. There I settled down, to outward appearances a student, cramming day and night before the exams, and therefore staying at home all the time. A week later word reached me to go to Zhitomir by stage coach, but on the way to stop at a little town where there was a Jewish rabbi. In the synagogue of that town I was to meet Basovsky.

When I arrived there I made inquiries at a Jewish house and learned that there were not one, but two rabbis and two synagogues in that town, and that neither of the rabbis was in town. I visited one of the synagogues in the evening, but did not find Basovsky there. Instead I aroused the suspicion of my hosts. I overheard a conversation between them: "Perhaps he is a runaway, for people who visit a rabbi usually know when he is in town and when he is away." I spent a rather unpleasant day there and left for Zhitomir. In the morning, when Zhitomir was already in sight, I thought I saw assistant district attorney Korsakov in the same coach. This frightened me considerably, but there was no escape, so I decided to finish the journey. In Zhitomir which I reached without further mishap, I presented myself to the local organisation of the *Bund*; for at that time our organisation did not yet have a branch there. I fell in with an outstanding *Bund* leader, "Urchik," whom I knew very well. As the *Bund* was short of available quarters I had to live for some time in the secret

meeting room where they kept their stock of literature and printing outfit.

I had to wait a long while before they could get connections for me across the frontier to enable me to join the *Iskra* group abroad (I was still on a wild goose chase after Basovsky, who had all the necessary documents). Meanwhile I found employment at my own trade and shared the room of a fellow-worker in the same shop. Once we went to the market together to buy a suit of clothes, when quite unexpectedly we ran into Voitov, the guard who had charge of my wing in prison and whom we put to sleep on the day of our flight. I naturally took to my heels, to the immense astonishment of my landlord. I promptly took definite steps to leave the town as soon as possible. At the same time Blinov, a student who was in prison with us, discovered me and told me that Halperin was in Zhitomir and that he wanted to see me. A meeting was arranged in the woods. I received the necessary documents from Halperin, and very soon, accompanied by a *Bund* woman comrade, I left for Kamenetz-Podolsk, and from there for some frontier village.

We left the village at night, and, accompanied by a peasant, we crossed the frontier. We had to wade across several small rivers, after which, having safely eluded the Austrian gendarmes, we were at last on Austrian soil. On the way to Berlin we were detained on the Austro-German border, but they let us go the same day, and we arrived safely in Berlin. There I learned that the other nine *Iskra* men were already abroad and that I was the last to arrive. The eleventh one, Plesky, the S.-R. from Kiev, went to Kremenchug, where he was arrested quite accidentally. The name of the town clerk was written in pencil on his passport. He should have gone over it in ink, but this he had forgotten to do. When he registered at an hotel this oversight was noticed and he was taken to the police station. There, to the astonishment of the sergeant, he announced that he was Plesky, one of the fugitives from Kiev. This was what I was told in Berlin about his arrest.

Our daring and successful escape aroused much comment in revolutionary Russia as well as in "society."

CHAPTER III

MY ACTIVITY ABROAD

(1902-1905)

UPON my arrival in Berlin I learned that the editorial board of the *Iskra* had given me and Halperin the work of organising the conveyance of literature and people to Russia. I had hardly had time to look around me before I had to go to the German-Russian frontier to renew old connections and at the same time to take Comrade Babushkin with me and send him across to Russia. The trip was successful, and I soon returned.

Berlin, this giant city with its trams, its municipal railways, its enormous shops, and dazzling lights, this city the like of which I had never seen before, left me utterly bewildered. I was no less impressed by the Berlin People's House, which comprised the House of Trade Unions, the printing plant, the book store, and the editorial office of the *Vorwärts*. But my greatest surprise was the German workers. When I complacently dropped in at one of their meetings for the first time and saw these well-dressed gentlemen sitting around small tables drinking their beer I thought it was a bourgeois gathering, for I had never seen such workers in Russia. It proved to be a Party meeting. Not knowing the language, I naturally could not understand what the speaker was saying.

At that time Comrade Halperin and I had to suffer a great deal of privation, because of our lack of living quarters and documents. They put us in a damp basement, where Halperin became very ill, probably from exhaustion caused by the long journey from Kiev to Berlin. I had my hands full, what with nursing Halperin and working for both of us, with the additional handicap of not knowing the language (Halperin knew German). Later on, when I felt more at home in Berlin and became acquainted with some German comrades, I procured rooms for twenty to thirty comrades at a time. But when we arrived Comrade M. G. Vecheslov, the *Iskra* representative, could not find rooms even for two.

Besides Vecheslov we had another active comrade in Berlin at that time, E. G. Smidovich, who was working very hard in a workshop on an experiment to transfer an impression from set-up type to a polished zinc plate by using some sort of special ink. If successful he expected to have the *Iskra* printed in Russia directly from these plates without having to set type or to use stereotype. But the experiments were not successful. I was often present in the workshop where Comrade Smidovich was making his experiments.

The Berlin *Iskra*-ists were members of the Berlin Group for Assisting Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy. There were a good many of them, and they often met at the house of M. P. and N. N. Bach (mother and daughter). Non-Party Berlin students, as well as visitors from other continental towns and from Russia, used to frequent this house as well. I, too, frequented the house when I first arrived in Berlin; for I was acquainted neither with the town nor with the language, and they (the Bachs) took me under their wing; they showed me the town and took me to German workers' meetings. To mislead the visitors at the Bachs' house, the Bachs rechristened me Mikhail Davidovich Freitag (Friday), Comrade Smidovich translated "Freitag" into Russian (Pyatnitsa), and thus I was dubbed Pyatnitsa, a pseudonym which stuck to me for the rest of my life.

At the end of February 1903 V. A. Noskov, whose Party names were Boris Nikolayevich and Glebov, came to Berlin. Later, at the Second Congress of the Party, he was the only one of all those present elected to the Central Committee of the Party. I went to London with him, on the passport of P. G. Smidovich (whose Party name was Matrena). There we met the founders of the newspaper *Iskra*, which even at that time was the centre of gravitation for all the heterogeneous revolutionary elements of the Russian working class. There I found Blumenfeld, the compositor for the *Iskra*, and also Martov, Zasulich, and Deutsch. They all lived in the same apartment. Later I became acquainted with Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya, who lived apart from the group. I spent most of my time with Blumenfeld, Martov, and Zasulich, and I became very much attached to them. Comrades Lenin and Krupskaya I saw more rarely. Sometimes Martov, Zasulich, Noskov, Lenin, Krupskaya and I had dinner together.

The main discussion between the editorial board of the *Iskra* and Noskov was on the condition of the organisation

known as the Severny Soyuz.* (I may be mistaken, but to the best of my recollection it was the Severny Soyuz; I think Noskov represented that group.) They also discussed the summoning of the Second Party Congress. I was to increase the number of connections on the frontier and in Russia, so that the *Iskra*, the magazine *Zarya* (Dawn), and our various leaflets, could be taken into Russia, received and distributed there more regularly and in larger quantities. Crossing points had to be established at the frontiers for our people to come from and go to Russia.

Much of my time was spent in the printing shop where the *Iskra* was set up. The shop belonged to the British Social-Democratic Federation. At that time I was amazed that the British Social-Democratic Federation should possess such a small printing shop and that it was publishing only a small weekly paper, the circulation of which was no greater than that of the *Iskra*. The illegal Russian Social-Democrats, in a strange country, far away from their native land, published a paper which was no worse than that of the British Party. This was incomprehensible to me at the time; the more so when I remembered the printing establishments, newspaper circulations, book stores, etc., which I had seen in Germany belonging to the German Social-Democratic Party.

A few days after our arrival the Russians held a meeting. A manuscript by Deutsch on his various escapes was read. I met many comrades whom I had known in Kovno, Vilna, and in Kiev, in prison and out of prison. I knew them in Russia as members of the *Bund* or as Social-Democrats, and some of them even as adherents to the *Iskra* organisation. They all went to London as fugitives, or to escape arrest. I was astonished to hear nearly all of them declare that they had become anarchist-individualists in London. The reason for this, as far as I was able to make out at the time, was that when the exiles first arrived in London they felt as though they were adrift on a turbulent sea; without friends, without assistance, without money, without knowledge of the language, and without work. The political organisation of the working-class was weak; the trade unions, though they accepted everybody, gave assistance only after nine or ten weeks' membership in the union. At the same time, former friends and acquaintances barely managed to eke out an existence, and were quite

*Severny Soyuz (Northern Union)—an early group of class-conscious workers' circles, organised 1879 in St. Petersburg to attain the political emancipation of the working class.—ED.

unable to give help to others. We spent several evenings arguing about anarchism, Social-Democracy and parliamentarism. Oh, what a strong adherent of parliamentarism I was at that time! The German Social-Democrats, the forerunners of Scheidemann, were then preparing for elections to the German Reichstag, and I, by the nature of my work, was intimately associated with them.

The city of London itself had a depressing effect on me; the houses were sombre and begrimed with smoke, the weather murky. During my entire stay there there was a drizzling rain and never-ending fogs. Still, I probably did not see the real London. But what I did see I decidedly disliked.

After about ten days we returned to Berlin. I had to go to the frontier again to enlarge our network of contacts, as a large consignment of literature was to be sent to Russia, and the arrival of many comrades from Russia was expected for the Second Party Congress. Noskov and "Povar," also called Dyadya (F. I. Shchekoldin) accompanied me. I sent "Povar" on ahead from Schirwind, or Neustadt, on the Prusso-Russian frontier. From the room where we stopped we could see "Povar" walking in the direction of the cemetery, which was on the Russian side. We were convinced that he would get across safely, as the frontier guards had been bribed. So much the greater was our perplexity when we heard a shot just as "Povar" reached the cemetery.

We found out later that "Povar" had the misfortune to be arrested because an officer of the frontier guard took it into his head to stroll about in the cemetery. When the soldier noticed the officer there was nothing left for him to do but to raise the alarm. In a couple of days "Povar" received all the documents relating to his arrest, and when the next batch of prisoners, in which he was to have been included, started for the county capital he quietly entered a droshky and drove to the nearest railway station, which was at some distance from the frontier, and thence continued his journey to Vilna. There he was to wait for Noskov. We succeeded in getting him off for fifteen roubles.

While we were waiting for "Povar's" departure from the Russian frontier town "Kostya," Rosalie S. Halberstadt, arrived in Russia in the middle of March 1903. She was an adherent of the *Iskra* and a member of the organisational committee of the Second Party Congress. After the split she became a Menshevik, joining the liquidators after 1907. She spoke to Noskov, and then went to the editorial office of the

Iskra, while Noskov safely crossed the frontier and reached Vilna. Thus the frontier crossing points which I organised after my arrival in Berlin at the end of 1902 were tested both ways—into Russia and out of Russia.

There remained the problem of finding good crossing points for transporting literature. With this in view I went to Tilsit and its environs, and from there I returned to Berlin.

The work was carried on at an increased speed. But here an unusual thing happened. Before I departed for London I had rented a room and registered under an American passport, which I had to return at once to its owner, as he was leaving for America.

Upon my return from the frontier I made straight for my room. The landlady told me that a police officer had inquired about me several times. He told her that they wanted to know how it was that two people of the same name and similar in description could be registered at the same time. It was fortunate that I was abroad at the time, else I would have had a taste of Moabit, the prison in Berlin; for the American, the owner of that passport, had returned during my absence and had calmly registered under the same name. I had to leave my room and again live unregistered until a friend of my childhood sent me his Russian passport from America. With this in my possession I could now live in Germany like any Russian having a Russian passport.

At that time Social-Democratic organisations were springing up in every town in Russia, and ideological disputes arose between the *Iskra* group and the Russian Social-Democratic League. In many of the larger towns there existed two S.D. committees which fought furiously to gain influence over the proletariat. The most important literature of the two above-named currents within the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was published abroad (for the *Iskra* group, the newspaper *Iskra*, the periodical *Zarya* and various pamphlets; for the Russian Social-Democratic League, the *Rabochoye Dyelo*.) The demand for *Iskra* literature was so great in Russia that it was quite impossible to satisfy it from abroad. Therefore the *Iskra* group bent all its efforts to smuggling its literature into Russia by every possible means. Even the Russian organisations of the Russian Social-Democratic League had to carry the Iskra literature in order to retain their hold on the workers. Their own representatives, including those of their St. Petersburg branch, came abroad for it. The influence of the various Social-Democratic circles, groups and committees in the indus-

trial regions and towns had grown considerably during 1902. The Social-Democratic organisations called mass economic strikes and mass political open-air demonstrations (the strike of the Rostov and Tikhoretok railwaymen; the tremendous street meetings of railwaymen and other industrial workers in Rostov-on-the-Don; the demonstrations in Saratov and Nizhni-Novgorod, and other towns in 1902; and the open-air demonstrations at which 20,000 workers were present in Rostov in the beginning of 1903); they were the leaders of these strikes and demonstrations, and they strengthened the bonds between the Social-Democratic organisations and the working class. In order to establish these bonds firmly and to get the best people into the party it was necessary to have, not only agitational literature, but propaganda literature as well; the latter could only be supplied from abroad at that time, and chiefly from the *Iskra* organisation. Consequently pressure was brought to bear on us "transporters" from all sides.

On my second or third visit to Tilsit I chanced upon a large organisation of Lithuanians who were smuggling religious books printed in Lithuanian* across the frontier.

We got into touch with this organisation and through them we smuggled hundreds of poods of *Iskras*, *Zaryas* and various pamphlets across. Many prominent workers were assigned by Comrade Noskov to this work of receiving and distributing literature in Russia: "Povar," Sanin (whose Party name I forget), Gusarov (the army doctor who worked in the Vilna army organisation), and others. In Tilsit, on Haase's recommendation, the shoemaker Martens, a Social-Democrat, helped us a great deal.

These wholesale consignments of literature had their good points (the delivery of a large supply at once) as well as their bad points (it took several months to transport such loads from Berlin to Riga, Vilna, and St. Petersburg; for the religious literature of the Lithuanians this did not matter very much, but for the *Iskra* the delay was terrible). Halperin and I, who had charge of the operations, were harassed from both sides: Russia and the editorial office of the *Iskra*. They insisted on our reducing the time necessary for the delivery of literature from Berlin to Russia. Halperin went to Tilsit to see what could be done. I remained in Berlin. This was in the summer of 1903, when the editorial board of the *Iskra* had already moved to

*Under Tsarism in Russia even religious books in the Lithuanian language were prohibited. Large printing plants in the Tilsit district were then kept busy printing this "prohibited" literature.

Geneva. From Geneva we received literature at the office of the *Vorwärts*, the German Social-Democratic newspaper. Our literature was stored in the basement of that building. In this storage room I spent much time every day unpacking and repacking the incoming and outgoing literature. The packing was far from easy: all the packages were supposed to contain the same literature; in case one or several packages fell into the hands of the police, it was essential that the same serial numbers of the newspapers and the same books should be found in other packages. Moreover, five or six small packets were tucked away inside the large packages, each one identical in contents, so that as soon as the large packages arrived in Russia they could be unpacked without delay and the small packets inside distributed without having to be sorted or repacked. Again, the dimensions, weight and packing had to be the same as that of the Lithuanian religious books, and only waterproof packing could be used.

To expedite the conveyance of literature into Russia in smaller quantities we used suit-cases with double bottoms. Even before my arrival in Berlin a small factory manufactured such suit-cases for us in large quantities. But the customs officials on the frontier soon smelled a rat, and several expeditions ended in failure. Apparently they recognised the suit-cases, which were all of the same style. Then we ourselves began to put double bottoms of strong cardboard into ordinary suit-cases, in which we could pack away 100 to 150 new numbers of the *Iskra*. These false bottoms were pasted over so skilfully that no one could tell that the suit-case contained any literature. Nor did the suit-case weigh much heavier as a result. We performed this operation on all the suit-cases of outgoing men and women students who were sympathetic to the *Iskra* group; and also on the suit-cases of all comrades who went to Russia, legally or illegally. But even that did not suffice. The demand for new literature was tremendous. We now invented "breast plates": for the men we manufactured a kind of waistcoat into which we could stuff two or three hundred copies of the *Iskra* and thin pamphlets; for women we constructed special bodices and sewed literature into their skirts. With our equipment women could carry about three or four hundred copies of the *Iskra*.

This was called "express transport" in our parlance. Everybody we could lay hands on had to don these "breast-plates"—responsible comrades and ordinary mortals alike. Some comrades violently remonstrated: Philip Goloshchekin swore like a

trooper because he had to don a "breast-plate"; Lev Vladimirov and Baturin were no better. It was really torture to wear these things for five summer days, but what joy when the literature was finally delivered to the proper organisations! But not all of them swore at me. Some even regretted parting with these coats; the women got used to them—they made them look impressive, dignified, with good round figures. When I succeeded in sending the entire load of new literature of the *Iskra* by this "express service" it was a red calendar day for me. In order not to return to this subject again I shall add that, in spite of all our efforts, and though all the literature published abroad reached Russia, this did not satisfy the Russian organisations. Large illegal printing offices were organised in Russia—in Baku, Odessa and Moscow—which reprinted the *Iskra* from matrices sent from abroad. Later the *Iskra* was set up in Russia from new numbers sent from abroad.

At that time my work in Berlin was not confined to smuggling literature into Russia. All the comrades who came abroad on *Iskra* business as well as all those who travelled to Russia from abroad came to me. These arrivals and departures took up much of my time and energy, for these comrades usually arrived tired, in rags, and without knowledge of the language.

Up to the Second Party Congress there were several of us in Berlin; but I was the only one who devoted all his time to the work described above. After the Second Party Congress I was left alone to perform all the necessary functions in Berlin. Comparing the work to be done then and now, I come to the conclusion that now it would require a manager, an assistant manager, a cipher department, clerks, typists, secretaries, etc. At that time no one would have thought of engaging permanent help for all this work. And the work was done, I am sure, no worse than at the present time with all the staff enumerated above. I must add that in Berlin, as well as in other cities in Germany, France and Switzerland, there existed special groups to aid *Iskra*. I was a member of one. The following were members of the Berlin group until the Party split: P. G. Smidovich, Vecheslov, Nikitin (under Kerensky he was Mayor of Moscow, and later Minister of Posts and Telegraphs), Sanin, Okulova, Rubinstein, Shergov, Konyagin (Halperin), Lyadov, Lyadova, N. Bach, Zhitomirsky (who proved to be a provocateur), and others. The Berlin group organised theatricals, lectures, public debates, etc., in order to raise money.

In spite of the fact that I was occupied with Russian affairs I was gradually drawn into the Berlin Labour movement; I for

came into contact with many active members of the Party, trade-union and co-operative movements. By imperceptible degrees I began to read German Party and trade-union newspapers without the assistance of a German teacher. Thus half the summer passed, and in July 1903 delegates to the Second Party Congress began to arrive in Berlin. They stayed there for a few days and then proceeded further. I can remember Comrade Kartashev (who died recently), of the Severny Soyuz, and Kostrov (*i.e.* Jordania, the Georgian Menshevik, who is now hanging around the ante-rooms of Cabinet Ministers, to plead with them to make war on the proletarian Soviet Union), whom I did not know before. I have no recollection whatever of any preparatory work that was being done in Berlin for summoning the Congress. I cannot remember either whether any meetings were held in Berlin for the purpose of discussing the agenda of the Congress. For some time we had no information at all about the Congress. All news of the Congress was eagerly awaited and we seized on every rumour about its sessions. We were convinced that the line of the *Iskra* would triumph; but whether all these diverse groups and organisations would unite and form one party was difficult to foresee, although the urgent necessity of such a union was recognised by everybody. Finally, word reached us of differences of opinion within the *Iskra* group itself.

I could hardly believe those rumours. We had expected to hear of important differences with the *Rabochoye Dyelo-ists** and their supporters; but I personally had not expected any disunion within the *Iskra* group, which I was accustomed to consider as a homogeneous body. The agony of uncertainty lasted for many days. At last the delegates returned from the Congress to Berlin. We heard the reports on the Congress from both sides, and immediately each side began agitating for its own line. I was torn between the two. On the one hand I was very sorry that they had offended Zasulich, Potresov (whom I had met in Berlin) and Axelrod, by expelling them from the editorial board of the *Iskra*. The *Iskra* was to all appearances excellently edited, though I did not know which editors wrote and which did not write. Nor was I aware of the fact that there were disagreements on the editorial board and that the main editorials made the rounds of all the members of the editorial board, who lived in different countries, before they could be published in the *Iskra*. Moreover, comrades with

**Rabochoye Dyelo-ists*: adherents of the newspaper *Rabochoye Dyelo*, organ of the opportunist League of Russian Social-Democrats.—ED.

whom I had been especially close (Blumenfeld and others) were in the Menshevik camp, whereas I fully endorsed the organisational structure of the Party advocated by Comrade Lenin. Logically I was with the majority, but my personal sympathies, if I may so express myself, were with the minority. Even then I was astounded at Kostrov's conduct at the Congress. He followed the majority (Lenin and Plekhanov) all along, but when the Congress decided to close all local press organs and leave only the *Iskra* as the central organ of the Party he was offended because they closed the Georgian organ, of which he was the editor, and switched over to the minority of the Congress. I could not understand how a Congress delegate could change his point of view because a decision of the Congress hit the newspaper of his organisation. Jordania later became an impassioned opponent of the majority, in spite of the fact that he was with the Bolsheviks at the Second Congress.

I had to get the Congress delegates back to Russia; with some of them I went as far as the frontier. I accompanied Zemlyachka to a small village in Prussia, on the very border of Russia, in the Ortelsburg region (near Ostrolenka, then on the Russian side). That was my first acquaintance with Zemlyachka. We had to stay in the village the whole day until a non-commissioned officer of the Russian frontier guard came and took her across through the woods. The same day I learned that she had crossed the frontier safely and had gone to the railway station. After that I went to other frontier lines where various delegates were waiting for me.

On my return to Berlin I already found a split in the ranks of the Berlin *Iskra* group; Vecheslov became a follower of the Mensheviks, P. Smidovich hesitated, Halperin became a Bolshevik.* Yesterday's friends and partisans had become the enemies of to-day. They ceased to understand each other. It was difficult for me to see my way clearly. I could not understand why seemingly petty disagreements should interfere with our working together, especially since new fields of action had opened up after the Congress.

In October 1903 we, the members of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats Abroad were called to Geneva. Halperin, I, and, I think, Vecheslov, went. Abroad *Iskra* Aid Groups existed (formerly they were in all proba-

*The terms "Bolshevik" and "Menshevik" originated after this Congress from the words: "bolshinstvo," which means "majority" and "menshinstvo," which means "minority."—Ed.

bility called Emancipation of Labour Aid Groups), to which emigré Party members and students, men and women, belonged. The old members of the Party, exiles, or those who were abroad temporarily, and who belonged to the aid groups, formed the League of Russian Revolutionary Social Democrats Abroad. When the *Iskra*-ists who had taken part in the escape from Kiev gaol arrived they automatically became members of the League (when I arrived I found I had been made a member in my absence). The League did not distinguish itself in any way prior to the second Congress of the Party, although all the members of the editorial board of the *Iskra* were members of the League. The editorial board of the *Iskra* laid down and carried out, abroad as well as in Russia, the organisational and political line to be followed. If I am not mistaken, the League published several pamphlets and this is about all they did. When Martov, Zasulich, Potresov, and Axelrod found themselves in the minority at the Second Party Congress they refused to accept the situation and decided to summon a congress of the League of Russizn Revolutionary Social-Democrats Abroad, which presumably was to counteract the Party Congress.

We were called upon to attend this Congress. I have alluded to my irresoluteness—I worked with the majority, but did not break my personal ties with the minority; for there were many among them with whom I had been imprisoned in Kiev and who had escaped with me. Upon my arrival in Geneva I went to my friend Blumenfeld. There I found Martov, Dan, and many others whom I already knew. Blumenfeld immediately began to take me in hand. Nikolai Bauman lived in Geneva at that time. Before the opening of the League Congress I frequently visited him and met Comrade Orlovsky (Vorovsky) there. Once they showed me a signed protest addressed to the Bureau of the Presidium of the League, bearing the signatures of Bauman, Halperin and others, and complaining that the followers of the majority were intentionally not called to the League Congress, while those who were known to be adherents of the minority were all called, even from England. This reason for protesting clung to my memory. The manifesto demanded that all the members of the League should be called, without exception. I also signed the protest. Why not? One did not have to be a Bolshevik to sign such a protest, for both sides were interested in ascertaining the opinions of the League members regarding the decisions of the Second Party Congress. Any attempt to create a majority mechanically was therefore

uncalled for. This was my underlying thought when I signed the protest, but Blumenfeld, Dan, and Martov were of a different opinion. When I saw them Dan flew at me with the reproach: How was it that I had taken a stand so quickly and gone over to the Bolsheviks? To this I replied that the organisational methods of the majority of the Congress appeared to me to be more correct than those of the minority and that I had not yet joined either side definitely. Furthermore, I retorted by inquiring why he, who had arrived from Russia after the Party Congress, had already made up his mind as to which side was right. (When Dan had arrived in Berlin I had had a long talk with him, and had informed him all about the Congress and the conflicts that had arisen shortly before the League Congress.) His reply was that he was pursuing a definite plan for building the Party in Russia, and all he had wanted to know was who was carrying out his plan at the Second Party Congress—Lenin or Martov. Since it appeared that Martov was carrying out this plan he had joined the minority. Blumenfeld began to assure me that I did not understand what I had signed, that I had been misled, and he demanded point-blank that I should repudiate my signature. I naturally refused to do so.

Even after many members of the League had arrived in Geneva the Congress failed to open. I did not know the reason for this delay, but soon found out. One evening Blumenfeld took me out for a walk. How well do I remember that evening and that walk! We strolled along the shore of Lake Geneva. The evening was calm and clear, but my heart was heavy and troubled. Comrade Blumenfeld, much my senior, who had helped me become a class-conscious Marxist, that evening wanted to destroy the child of his own creation. I learned that half the delegates to the Congress were adherents of the majority and half adherents of the minority, so that mine would be the casting vote (at the last moment another comrade and his wife, also a member of the League, arrived from London, and the Mensheviks became the majority). Therefore Blumenfeld demanded that I should stay away from the Congress, if I did not mean to support them. He based his demand on the assertion that I did not understand what was going on. In his opinion the tactics of the majority would ruin the Party; therefore it was necessary to give the minority an opportunity to publish literature which would warn the Party of the dangerous Bolshevik deviations. If, he proceeded, there were a majority of Bolsheviks at the League Congress, the former

members of the editorial board, Martov, Potresov, Zasulich, and Axelrod, would not be able to publish anything at all, and that would mean their political death. (I can vouch that I am conveying the drift of Blumenfeld's ideas absolutely correctly.) As I did not agree with his argument and refused to abstain from participating in the League Congress he then announced that I was committing a crime, and suggested that I should go to America for a few years to give me time to understand these differences of opinion. I definitely refused to accept this suggestion.

This ended our conversation. The Congress opened. The Mensheviks sat on one side, the Bolsheviks on the other. I was wondering where to sit. I was the only one who had not yet definitely joined one side or the other. I took my seat with the Bolsheviks and voted with them. The Bolsheviks were led by Plekhanov. On the very same day, I think, the Bolsheviks, with Plekhanov at their head, left the Congress. I, however, remained there. It was clear to me that the departure of the Bolsheviks, the majority, from the Central Organisation and the Party Council would force the minority either to bow to the decisions of the Second Congress or to break with it. But what could I do? Nothing. Both sides could boast of great leaders, responsible Party members who certainly ought to know what they were doing. While attending the sessions of the League Congress, after the departure of the Bolsheviks, I finally decided to adhere to the side of the latter, and also left the Congress. Knowing that the Bolsheviks were meeting somewhere, I immediately went to the Café Landholdt. Sure enough, those who had left the Congress were meeting there. Plekhanov was expounding his plan of war to the death with the Mensheviks. After animated debates most of his suggestions were adopted and the meeting was closed. But a few days later I learned that Plekhanov had gone over to the Mensheviks, and later on he co-opted all the former editors of the *Iskra.* On November 7th 1903 Plekhanov issued the fifty-seventh number of the *Iskra*, which contained his article, "What is Not to be Done," in which he heaped abuse on the Bolsheviks, calling them splitters, etc. How, I reflected, could the founder of Russian Social-Democracy first induce the majority at the Party Congress to sponsor a definite organisational plan for building up the Party, then direct every move of the Bolsheviks at the League Congress, submit resolutions, etc., against the Mensheviks, and then go over to the Mensheviks?

The conduct of Plekhanov, Kostrov, Blumenfeld and the

others was a puzzle to me. I thought a good deal in those days in my cheerless room in Geneva about the actions of these comrades, until I went back to Berlin, where again I had to do the work of two, as Comrade Halperin had returned to Russia (he had been co-opted to the Central Committee). At that time I was compelled to work very energetically in the Berlin assistance group, since some of its members had gone over to the Mensheviks and had organised an assistance group for them. The situation (or the proportional strength) in the central and local Party organisations after the League Congress (at the beginning of 1904) was as follows: The Russian Central Committee—Noskov, Kurts (Lengnik), and Kler (Krzhizhanovsky), who were elected to the Central Committee at the Second Party Congress, and other comrades co-opted by them—was to carry out the Congress line, which it did at the beginning. The editorial board of the Central Party Organ, after Plekhanov had joined the Mensheviks and after he had co-opted the old editors of the *Iskra* who were not re-elected by the Congress, and after Comrade Lenin had left the editorial board, remained in the hands of the Mensheviks. The Party Council, which consisted of two members from the Russian Central Committee, two from the *Iskra* editorial board, and a fifth elected by the Congress, *i.e.* Plekhanov, also became Menshevik.

After the Second Party Congress all Social-Democratic groups and committees united in one organisation in the various towns of Central Russia. The decisions of the Second Congress were not accepted by all the organisations. In Central Russia nearly all were on the side of the Bolsheviks. In the south of Russia and in the Caucasus the organisations approved the position of the minority at the Congress.

The Berlin transport office of the Party remained as before, the only difference being that it was no longer subordinated to the editorial board of the *Iskra*, but directly to the Russian Central Committee. I remained at the head of the Berlin (I may even say the German) transport stations.

In general, the work followed the same routine as I have already described; except that the *Iskra* which I had to send over to Russia was no longer the old *Iskra*, but one entirely different in contents. It no longer sounded the tocsin for all the revolutionary elements to gather under the banner of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, but was an ordinary newspaper, differing little in content from the illegal publications which existed before the first *Iskra*.

Little by little the position of the Russian Central Committee became plain. After the arrests among the members of the Central Committee and the co-option by those remaining at liberty of new members—Comrade Krassin (Nikitich), Lyubimov (Mark), Zemlyachka, Rosenberg (Zver), Konyagin (Halperin), Karpov and others—the latter assumed a more conciliatory attitude towards the Mensheviks, and were hostile towards the Bolsheviks, *i.e.* to the organisations in Russia and abroad who supported the decisions of the Second Party Congress. Such is the fate of all conciliators who wish to please both sides. The Russian Central Committee wanted to reconcile the Bolsheviks with the Mensheviks, but in fact it went over to the Mensheviks. I must mention the fact that several members of the Central Committee dropped out, disagreeing with its position (Comrade Zemlyachka and others). The Central Committee sent Noskov as its representative abroad. His departure left Comrade "Surtuk" (Kopp) in his place. They attempted to act as censors of the articles and pamphlets written by the adherents of the Bolsheviks. Comrade Noskov had saddled me with an assistant in my German transport office, thinking that this assistant would eventually be able to replace me, a "hard-boiled" Bolshevik, but he was mistaken: the "assistant" was soon convinced that he had no chance of getting hold of our transport connections, and he left his job.

The conciliatory tactics of the Central Committee, while finding no response in Russia, met with the full support of the students' assistance groups of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party abroad. Before the Central Committee had virtually gone over to the Mensheviks groups had existed abroad in almost every city, including Berlin, aiding either the minority or the majority. In July and August, 1904, the Berlin assistance group of the majority of the R.S.-D.L.P. had arranged with the Menshevik group to unite both groups. This happened while the student members of the group were on vacation. Comrade Gorin and I were absent from the meeting at which this question of unity was decided, he because of illness, and I because I was very busy elsewhere. When Gorin and I learned about the decision to unite with the Mensheviks we demanded that another meeting be called to consider the question. Instead of complying with this demand they invited us to a joint meeting of both groups. We went there, but we demanded that the Mensheviks be asked to leave the meeting, which was done. Though we conclusively proved to the majority of the group that most of the Party

committees in Russia were opposed to the editorial board of the *Iskra* and the conciliatory Central Committee, it was decided by three to two to unite with the Mensheviks. We separated; but we did not succeed then in organising another assistance group for the Party majority, for I was left alone (Gorin had a nervous breakdown). We required at least three members to be able to take the place of the majority group which had united with the Mensheviks; but these three men were not forthcoming. Somehow I learned that two Bolshevik student comrades were studying in Berlin—Abramov, a Bulgarian, and Comrade Shaumyan. I found them and with much difficulty persuaded them to join the group. Thus we were four, although they could be of no assistance to me in my work. In the autumn the students who were formerly members of our group (or who sympathised with it) returned. The group became large and active and did a great deal for the Bolsheviks after January 9th 1905. The provocateur Zhitomirsky was also a member of the Berlin group of the Party majority prior to the union of both groups. When he returned to Berlin after his vacation he hesitated long before deciding which group he should join—ours or the Mensheviks'. Evidently he was waiting for instructions from the secret police.

Finally he joined us. It seems that the secret police even at that time realised that the Bolsheviks were and would be more dangerous to the monarchy than the Mensheviks. Therefore they planted their spies among the Bolsheviks.

After our new group had gained strength we learned that the united group had published a statement to the students and to Russian "society" in Berlin concerning that important event—the union of the two groups in Berlin. On the very same day we published a reply in which we denied this union, with an explanation of what was going on in the Party, as far as this could be told to students. (This leaflet was written, or perhaps only edited, by Comrade Gusev, who happened to be in Berlin for a few days before his departure to Russia.) The leaflet was distributed on the same day that the united group distributed theirs, and at the same lecture that had been organised in the Russian colony. This created a great sensation, and raised our prestige among the non-Party members of the Russian colony. Altogether the struggle between the Berlin assistance groups of both currents in the R.S.-D.L.P. was very sharp, but our group, being better organised and more energetic, came out victorious in this struggle.

The Bolshevik group, after several of its members had gone

over to the Mensheviks during the conciliation period of 1904, consisted of the following members: Gorin, Shaumyan, Abramov, Lyadov, Lyadova, Pozner, Anna Nezhentsova, Kvyatkovsky, Zhitomirsky, Tarasov, Levinson, Galina, Lemberk and myself.

In addition we organised a sub-group consisting mainly of students as follows: S. Itin, Nikolsky, Kataurov, Anna Milman, Lydia Feidberg, Marshak, Brichkina, Neusykhin and others who were in touch with the wide masses of Russians residing in Berlin.

In the middle of the summer of 1904 our transport system was held up for a while. We had sent some packages with literature in boxes from Berlin to Martens, the shoemaker in Tilsit. They were sent as shoemaker's supplies or some such merchandise. On one occasion the Prussian police opened one of the boxes and discovered this literature in place of the merchandise invoiced. Martens' place was searched, after which he and a few others were prosecuted. The bourgeois newspapers began to incite the populace against the Russians, the *Vorwärts*, and the German Social-Democrats, accusing them of supporting the Russian anarchists, etc. One fine day the administration of the *Vorwärts* requested me to clear out, together with my stock of literature, which was kept in their basement. In reply to my question: "What shall I do with the literature?" they informed me that that was my business, and that the administration could not offer me any assistance, as they were afraid of a raid. I asked the Comrade Paul Singer for help, but he, too, announced that until the court's attitude to the whole business was known they could not help us. Then I appealed to Karl Liebknecht for help. He gave me a letter to a Social-Democrat who owned a house where I was able to rent a small room and convert it into a store-room. I succeeded in getting addresses where I could receive literature from Geneva, and then I went to Tilsit. Here, with the assistance of Comrade Martens, I quickly found a responsible assistant working at a large printing shop to whom we could send our literature from Berlin—now openly, as literature. I must mention the fact that Martens, who was put on trial, acted splendidly in comparison with the *Vorwärts* administration. And even after he was sentenced to several months' imprisonment he did not stop working with us!*)

*The case was tried in Königsberg in July 1904. The Prussian Government hoped to make of it an important trial, but it turned out to be a trial against the Government. The accused were defended by Liebknecht and, I believe, Kurt

Thus the temporary interruption soon came to an end, and our apparatus no longer depended on the grace of the *Vorwärts* bosses. In the autumn N.K. Krupskaya summoned me to Geneva. The comrades who adhered to the point of view of the majority of the Second Party Congress now began to talk of creating a new Party organ abroad, as it was becoming quite clear that the Central Committee was not carrying out the decisions of the Congress, that it was not backed by the majority of party committees in Russia, and that finally the new *Iskra* disagreed with the Bolsheviks not only on questions of organisation, but also on questions of tactics. It was obvious to all that under such circumstances it was impossible to permit the *Iskra* to exert its influence on the local committees unchallenged. Several days after my arrival in Geneva a meeting of the Bolsheviks was called, at which Comrade Lenin made a report on the condition of affairs within the Party and in the country. He arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary to publish a Bolshevik newspaper. Those present were in a depressed but resolute mood. It was clear to everybody that the publication of a factional newspaper might mean a split in the Party, but there was no other way out. There were no lengthy debates or objections; the only one to object was Comrade Kogan, who had just arrived from Russia. The motion to publish a newspaper was passed, and soon our Bolshevik paper *Vperyod* (Forward) appeared, which continued to come out until the Third Party Congress.

I put every ounce of energy into getting this new publication into Russia, and, since the comrades engaged in distributing literature were adherents of the Bolsheviks, the newspaper really did circulate all over Russia.

Even before the appearance of the Bolshevik *Vperyod* (the first number appeared on December 22nd, 1904) the Bolsheviks issued several pamphlets on their differences with the Mensheviks: N. Lenin: *One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward*; Shakhova (Malinin): *The Struggle for the Congress*; Orlovsky (Vorovsky): *The Council against the Party*; Galerka (Olminsky): *Down with Bonapartism*; and others. All these pamphlets I sent to Russia in large quantities, together with the general consignments of the new *Iskra* and pamphlets on questions of programme, tactics, the international Labour movement, works of

Rosenfeld. At the trial they were able to prove that the prosecutors had made use of forged statements, and that as a consequence they had greatly compromised themselves in the eyes of the working class and of "society." This, of course, did not prevent the Prussian judges from condemning the accused, but the sentence was very light, not at all Prussian, in fact.

Marx, Engels, Kautsky (translated into Russian), as well as pamphlets on the Russian Labour movement.

After the publication of our organ, *Vperyod*, and the creation of a Bureau of Committees of the Majority for calling a Third Congress I stopped sending the new *Iskra* to Russia, as by that time I had documentary proof, coming from the Russian Central Committee, that the majority of the Russian Party Committees were against the Central Committee, the Central Organ and the Party Council, and for calling a Third Party Congress. I had received a letter written in code, addressed to Glebov-Noskov, in which the above information was communicated. I sent a copy of this letter to Noskov and the original to Lenin. This letter was included in the *Statement and Documents on the Rupture between the Central Bodies and the Party*, published by Lenin, December 23rd, 1904.

As the transport apparatus in Russia was in the hands of the adherents of the Party majority—in the Riga region, "Papasha" (Litvinov) looked after this work—and as the German transport stations at that time were supported exclusively by the Berlin assistance group of the Bolsheviks, my discontinuing the conveyance of the new *Iskra* was quite legitimate from the point of view of the Party, and the revolutionary Labour movement lost nothing because of it. The work went on more energetically and more rapidly than before. We were now sending our own organ into Russia which gave clear and definite answers to all questions of the moment. Life was seething with burning questions. This was the period of the strike wave before January 9th. As soon as we got a new number of *Vperyod* we used to send it by letter-post to every nook and corner of Russia. We cut off the margins to reduce the weight, compressed the papers so that the bundles would be thinner and more compact—they were printed on very thin paper. We stuffed them into the frames of pictures, into book covers, dressed all comrades going to Russia in "breast plates," and, finally, sent them by goods trains.

The literature was received by the Party committees, and they sent it on to the workers in the shops and factories. Thus the work continued until January 10th, 1905.

On that day, early in the morning, as I was travelling in a train I read in the German newspapers about the massacre of the Russian workers on January 9th* I was overcome with

*Bloody Sunday. When the workers of St. Petersburg, led by the priest Gapon, marched to the Winter Palace to petition the Tsar and were shot down by the troops.—ED.

rage and hatred for the Tsarist regime. Nearly all the Russians living in the Berlin educational institution assembled in mass meetings. Thunder and lightning was hurled at the Tsarist executioners. Resolutions were passed pledging all present at these meetings to go to Russia to fight the autocracy.

Our Bolshevik group met the same day, January 10th. The question at issue was: How should it react to the events of January 9th? It was decided to issue a leaflet to the Russians residing in Berlin explaining the significance of the January massacre, to send all the members of the group and sympathisers to the cafés which the Russians mostly frequented to collect money for the Russian Revolution, to arrange meetings of Russians, charging for admission, and collect funds there as well for the revolution.

It was surprising to note that not one of the Russians was in a depressed mood, as was the case after the Kishinoev pogrom.* On the contrary, even the politically indifferent Russians were in high spirits. Beyond a doubt January 9th would serve as the signal for a victorious struggle. The meetings were always animated, and many Germans attended.

In a few days our group collected large funds, which came in from everywhere, even from the Germans. Comrades told me that when they collected money for the Russian Revolution in the cafés, not only Russians responded, but Germans, Englishmen, Scandinavians and Americans as well.

The collection was very opportune, for involuntary Russian emigrants from Geneva and other cities abroad began to pour back into Russia. There they were put to work under the direction of the Bolshevik centre. In about a month sixty or seventy passed through my hands. Each one had to be supplied with money for the journey, more or less decent clothing, and had to be put in touch with Russian organisations.

Needless to say, each one of these comrades carried literature in a "breast plate" and in double-bottomed suit-cases.

New life was infused into our Party organisations. They began to demand literature more often and with greater persistence. In spite of the fact that work increased very rapidly we worked light-heartedly. During the January spurt of activity in the Russian colony in Berlin Karl Kautsky called together the representatives of the Social-Democratic groups

*An attack on the Jewish quarter in the town of Kishinev in 1903, instigated by the Tsarist police and carried out by the notorious Black Hundreds, in which a large number of Jewish men, women and children were brutally torn to death and mutilated—Ed.

of Berlin: the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks, the Bund, the Social-Democrats of Poland and Lithuania, and the Lettish group at his house. Abramov and I were sent by our group; the Mensheviks sent "Syurtuk" (Kopp). I do not remember who represented the other groups.

Before opening the conference Karl Kautsky called me into his private room and told me that the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party (Parteivorstand) had suggested to the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks that they should submit their differences and misunderstandings to arbitration. The chief arbitrator, according to this suggestion, was to be appointed by the German Central Committee (the latter appointed August Bebel, the then Chairman of the German Social-Democratic Party). Kautsky complained that Comrade Lenin had refused to accept arbitration; therefore all attempts at union, now so urgent, had remained unsuccessful. He was furious with Lenin for his refusal to join with the Mensheviks in having the question decided by arbitration. I then told Kautsky that this question concerned not only Comrade Lenin, but the entire Party, and that even if Lenin had accepted arbitration he would have found himself alone; for the vast majority of the local Party organisations in Russia were against the Mensheviks, the Central Organ, the Party Council, and even against the conciliatory Central Committee. I pointed out to him that now it was not only a matter of differences relating to organisational questions, but that differences existed also in regard to tactical questions as well, and that, finally the majority of the Russian committees was in favour of convening a Third Party Congress, which alone could decide the question on which the members of our Party were divided.

Kautsky told me at the end of the conversation that the Bolsheviks had lost a great deal by their refusal to accept the mediation of the German Central Committee, and that it was Lenin's fault, since, if it were not for his stubbornness the Russian Social-Democratic Party would now be united. In the middle of the summer, after the Third Party Congress, I was in Königsberg on business and saw Haase, the lawyer and a prominent member of the German Social-Democratic Party (after the death of Bebel Haase was elected as one of the two chairmen of the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party). He told me that the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party, on making its offer to mediate, had directed Bebel to accept the point of view of the Bolsheviks as correct, only on the grounds that the Bolsheviks

were in the majority at the Second Party Congress. Only after what Haase told me did I grasp what Kautsky meant when he said that the Bolsheviks had lost a great deal in refusing his arbitration scheme.

After this conversation with me Kautsky opened the conference which he had summoned. He informed the assembly that steps had been taken to establish unity among the Russian Social-Democrats, but that to his regret the attempt had failed. He proposed that all the Social-Democratic groups in Berlin unite. I do not remember whether a single one of the five groups was agreeable to this suggestion. As far as I was concerned, I told him that we were against unification in Berlin without a decision to that effect by the proper Party centre. We also could not consent to present a permanent united front to the Russian colony, since we differed so widely from the Mensheviks and the Bund adherents. Still, I was not averse to discussing the question of establishing such a united front when any action was contemplated. The conference, naturally, accomplished nothing. At its close Kautsky told us that the Parteivorstand had decided to divide and give us, the authorised delegates of our respective organisations, pro rata, the funds which had been collected by the Social-Democratic Press for the Russian Revolution as well as the funds which the Social-Democratic Party itself had contributed to the same cause. I do not remember the amount given to us, nor how it was divided among the five parts into which the Social-Democratic movement in Russia was then divided (the Bund, Social-Democrats of Poland and Lithuania, the Lettish Social-Democrats, the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks), but I do remember that we received part of these funds.

In March or April 1905 two representatives of the organisational committee for the Third Party Congress came to Berlin. This committee consisted of representatives of the Bureau of the Majority Committees and the Central Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P., "Bur" (A.M. Essen) and Insarova "Mouse" (Praskovya Lalayants). They were instructed to make the preparations for the Third Party Congress abroad. I had long ago prepared rendezvous on the frontier for the delegates to the Congress. Addresses for letters and money from Russia were supplied by the organisational committee. All I had to do now was to find housing quarters in Berlin for the Congress delegates and to decide in what country and town the Congress was to be held. When the delegates to the Third Party Congress began to arrive, my own house began to be watched

closely, although my address was known only to very few people. Every morning before going to the rendezvous where the delegates were to arrive, I had to resort to a number of tricks to get the spies off my trail. In this I easily succeeded, for I knew Berlin well, and the spies were obvious blockheads. It was not difficult to detect them because of their slouching gait and their restless eyes. Soon some shady individuals came to question my landlady about me. The Prussian police also got busy. I was often requested to report to the police station, where they asked me what I was doing in Berlin and how I earned my living. In order to satisfy the curiosity of the police on this score, I obtained a statement from a dentist, a Social-Democrat, certifying that I was studying to be a dental mechanic.

One morning I received an express letter from Litvinov, a member of the organisational committee, making an appointment with me in a restaurant for two o'clock the same day. In order to shake off the spies promptly, I called on a comrade and together we went to the National Picture Gallery. On leaving the gallery I noticed a tall man who was hiding behind a tree, anxiously on the lookout for someone. He arrested my attention immediately. My comrade and I went along Unter den Linden (Berlin's most fashionable street). The tall individual followed. We walked over to the Tiergarten and jumped on the first tram that came along. He caught the same tram which was already moving, and remained on the front platform. I watched for an opportune moment. While he was paying his fare, I jumped off the tram, which was going at full speed, and then hastened through less populated side-streets. I was sure that I had got rid of this lanky sleuth; but I was mistaken. He jumped off right after me, and his legs proved no less nimble than my own. He soon caught up with me. He was very much taller than I, but there he was, walking alongside of me as if he were my best friend. He kept looking at my face and laughing. I increased my speed, but he followed. Then I decided to enter a restaurant. He followed me there too. Finally, I I decided to walk to my dentist, although it was very far. The spy walked by my side the whole distance and I nearly choked with inward vexation. He accompanied me right to the dentist's door. When I finally arrived at the dentist's, I told him about the impudent spy and asked him to help me to leave his house unnoticed, as I had a great deal to do that day. After searching a long while, the dentist finally found an exit to the next courtyard from where I could get

out safely. I was late for the appointment with Litvinov, for the spy had been following me until five o'clock. I had to give up my room.

I met Litvinov late that evening. I was informed that a large sum of money was sent from St. Petersburg to one of my addresses for the organisation of the Congress, and that it could not be withdrawn without me. Everything for the return of the Congress delegates to Russia had to be arranged, and as I was so closely watched that it was almost impossible to make the necessary arrangements without risking discovery, it was decided that I should go to Geneva for a while and then return either to Berlin or to some other suitable town in Germany. I might mention that I have been followed by many spies in my day, but I cannot recall without trepidation that tall sleuth who stuck to me through all the streets of Berlin. I can still see his yellow face with its impudent grin.

Representatives of almost all local Russian organisations came to the Third Party Congress, several committees of which, those mainly from the south, and the Menshevik group which existed alongside of ours in Moscow, had been on the side of the minority at the Second Party Congress. They now met separately, apart from the Third Party Congress, and thus officially sanctioned the split in the R.S.-D.L.P. It is sufficient to examine the decisions of the Third Party Congress and the decisions of the Menshevik Conference which were adopted at the same time on the same questions, to realise that between the Bolsheviks, that is, the great majority of the Party, and the Mensheviks, already an insignificant minority, tremendous fundamental differences existed on such questions as the rôle of the proletariat, of the liberal bourgeoisie and of the peasantry in a democratic revolution, the provisional revolutionary government, armed uprising, etc. The decisions of the Third Party Congress and of the Menshevik Conference of 1905 are discussed by Lenin in his pamphlet: *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution.*

Before the end of the Third Congress, I left Geneva for Leipzig, whence I sent the Congress delegates back to Russia. I then returned to Berlin.

After the Party Congress, the Bolshevik adherents of the reconciliation policy in the Party who were in the Menshevik assistance groups returned to the Bolsheviks. In general our Bolshevik R.S.-D.L.P. assistance groups abroad were very active at that time, and many members left to work in Russia. I also prepared to return to work in Russia.

While I was still in Leipzig, Comrade Krassin stopped there on his way to Berlin. The Central Committee had entrusted him with all the technical matters of the Party in Russia. Several Bolshevik conciliators, with "Syurtuk" at their head, came to him with offers to transport our literature to Russia as an autonomous group on certain conditions. Before the Congress, Krassin was on the conciliatory Central Committee—consequently he had no idea in what condition our foreign technical apparatus was. One of the things they insisted upon was that we must put this autonomous group into touch with all our connections. The agreement was already signed when I returned to Berlin and Comrade Krassin was no longer abroad. This agreement roused my indignation to the utmost. I protested to the Central Committee and they annulled it. I began to transfer my business affairs in Berlin to Zhitomirsky and to Comrade Getsov (then a student, now he is the Director of the Moscow coalfield). I taught them how to pack the literature and to make "breast plates." While thus engaged I noticed that I was again being persistently shadowed.

Once I suddenly pulled up the window blind of my room and to my horror I noticed the same detective who had previously caused me to leave Berlin. I therefore decided not to leave the house until I had completed my business. At that time I was puzzled to know how this spy had found out where I lived; only Zhitomirsky knew my address, and both the Party organisations abroad and myself trusted him. On the day before my departure for Russia, Zhitomirsky brought Comrade M. N. Lyadov to me, in spite of the fact that I was being shadowed and that Comrade Lyadov lived in Russia illegally. Comrade Lyadov escaped safely after staying the night with me. I left my house, Berlin, and Germany unmolested and crossed the frontier at Ostrolenka, at which point I had sent many comrades across. The middle of July found me in Odessa, whither I was sent by the Central Committee which had been elected at the Third Party Congress.

CHAPTER IV

PARTY WORK IN ODESSA, ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT (1905-1906)

I ARRIVED in Odessa after the Potemkin days. All Party organisations, ours included, had suffered a great deal and had been weakened as a result of the arrests made, and of the fact that many Party workers had to leave Odessa.

I went directly from the house to which I had been sent to a meeting of the Odessa Party Committee. It appeared that the Central Committee had let the Odessa Committee know about my arrival, and that I had been co-opted into their midst in my absence, and had been appointed organiser of the city district.

The following comrades were present at the Committee meeting: Gusev, Kirill-Pravdin, Daniel Shotman and Shapovalov. The last left Odessa a few days after my arrival. The work of the committee was divided among its members as follows: Gusev was secretary (he was also connected with the student Bolshevik organisation and the technical apparatus of the organisational committee); Kirill was the organiser of the Peresypsky District; Daniel, of the Dalnitsky District; and I of the city district. Thus the Odessa Bolshevik organisation had three districts before the October days of 1905. The Dalnitsky district had two sub-districts, Fontansky and Vokzalny. The organiser of the latter was Comrade Misha Vokzalny—M. Zemblukhter. As far as I remember there were no sub-districts in the other two districts. A few days after my arrival in Odessa Anatole (Gotlober), who had also been co-opted on to the committee, arrived. He was entrusted with the agitation and propaganda work of the committee. The membership of the committee remained unchanged until October 17th. Among the comrades who stood close to the committee during that period I can name L. M. Knipovich (Dyadenka), Natasha (Samoilov—an active Party worker who has recently died), A. A. Samoilov, A. E. Axelrod and Comrade Victor (whose surname I did not know, and whom I never saw again). The organisation of that time, in Odessa as well as in the rest of Russia, was

built from top to bottom on the principle of co-optation; in the plants and factories and in the workshops, the Bolsheviks who worked there invited (co-opted) workers whom they considered to be class-conscious and who were devoted to the cause. The regional committees of the large towns had divided among its members the work of uniting all the Party cells of a given district (or sub-district), and of organising new cells where there were none. The organisers of the sub-districts invited the best elements of the cells to the sub-district committees. When a member of the sub-district committee dropped out (if he had been arrested or had gone away), the remaining members co-opted another with the consent of the district committee. The district committees in turn were composed of the best elements of the sub-district committees. The city committees were formed by the union of the various groups and cells of a given city and were subject to the approval of the Central Committee. City committees had the right to co-opt new members. When a city committee was arrested as a body, the Central Committee of the Party designated one or more members to form a new committee and those appointed co-opted suitable comrades from the workers of that region to complete the new committee.

I find it necessary to dwell on the details of the structure of the Party organisations of that time, because a large percentage of our Party members did not participate in those organisations and I think it is useful for them to know this. Besides, our brother parties abroad are in great straits because they cannot find a suitable guise in which to clothe their local organisations under illegal conditions; for before and during the war, before the formation of Communist Parties, they did not have to work underground.

How was the Odessa Committee organised, and what form did its activity take before the October days of 1905?

The committee maintained meeting places (for the C.C. and the central organ of the R.S.-D.L.P. and for the neighbouring Party committees, those of Nilolayevsk, Kherson, etc.).

Comrades arriving used to report to the secretary of the Odessa Committee, Comrade Gusev. He himself, except on days when the committee itself met, had a different meeting place every day where we, the members of the committee, could find him. These meeting places were in cafés, restaurants, private dwellings, etc. Committee meetings were very frequent, at least once a week. They took place at the private houses of sympathising intellectuals. At these meetings the instructions

of the Central Committee, the political situation, and the progress of political campaigns, were discussed. Often we took up questions of propaganda and of our attitude toward other parties in Odessa with which the committee of our Party came in contact. Decisions passed by the committee were communicated to the district committee meetings by the district organisers. There they discussed these decisions as well as the methods of carrying them out.

The committee published leaflets on all political events, for which purpose we had a large illegal printing plant in Odessa, where we printed our leaflets; distributed the literature received from the Central Committee and from abroad; sent speakers to factories and meetings; and chose leaders for advanced circles in the districts, etc. I do not remember what questions were being discussed at the committee meeting on the day of my arrival in Odessa. After the meeting I was put into touch with comrades of the city district, and set to work.

I found the district committee functioning well. It consisted of Sapozhnik (Volodya Movshovich); Anna (Strizhenaya), a seamstress, whom I have lost sight of; a builder named Alexander Katsap (Polyakov, who during the February Revolution of 1917 was unmasked as having been an agent of the secret police since 1911); Yakov Ekstern (I. V. Shtulbaum); Peter, a Bulgarian, whose surname I do not remember; a worker at the Popov tobacco factory; a printer and a few other comrades whose real names and Party names have escaped me. Each member of the District Committee was connected with the groups and cells of the trade in which he worked at the time; and through the groups and cells he got into touch with the workers of that same trade. Thus there was direct contact between the Odessa Committee and the workers of the plants, factories and workshops at Odessa; the district organiser connected the city committee with the district committee, the members of the district committee in their turn were connected with the groups and cells, the members of which carried out the instructions of the Odessa committee and the district committee among the workers; they in their turn informed the Odessa committee and the district committee of the mood of the Odessa workers. I cannot say definitely whether the other two Odessa districts functioned in the same manner, since I did not work with them; but I think that their organisation did not greatly differ in form from the organisation of the city district. In the city district the enterprises were mainly small: shoemaking and tailoring shops, printing offices, builders'

yards, several tobacco factories (the largest of them was the Popov factory) and the Visotsky tea firm.

The district committee met at least once a week; often more frequently. The members of the district committee were sufficiently well qualified. All questions were discussed fully and in detail. As the organiser of the district I often attended district groups and cells (as the city district organiser I had an assistant, S. B. Brichkina); but I paid most attention to agitation among the tobacco workers. In addition to the meetings held by the tobacco workers who were Party members, we often drew other workers, men and women, of various tobacco factories into our meetings, raising the attendance to fifty or sixty people, whom I addressed on various subjects.

Our work continued and increased in this manner until the middle of September. Every day we got into touch with various industries with which previously we had had no connection.

The liberals in Odessa also bestirred themselves: they arranged public meetings of the city Duma, where they delivered violent oppositionist speeches: they organised banquets where they talked a lot of nonsense. We breathed more freely. I do not remember that any arrests were made after the middle of September. Meetings were beginning to be held in educational institutions here and there.

In midsummer 1905, besides the Bolshevik committees, there existed in Odessa committees of the Mensheviks, the Bund, the S.-R.s and the Dashnaks* At the end of August, or the beginning of September, the question was raised of arranging a joint meeting of the representatives of the three committees: the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks and the Bund. I cannot quite remember which of the three committees raised the question first. I suppose the initiators were the Bund group; for between us and the Mensheviks relations were very strained, so we could not have made this suggestion to them nor they to us. I think it was the Bund, for the further reason that organisationally they stood closer to the Mensheviks, but in many

*Dashnak—an Armenian petty-bourgeois national revolutionary party. It was organised in the beginning of the twentieth century and had as its aim the winning of national independence for Armenia from Russia and Turkey. Like the P.P.S. (Polish Socialist Party), in order to attract the masses, the Dashnaks, used quasi-socialist propaganda. They later joined the Second International. During the tsarist monarchy the Dashnaks were the allies of the Socialist-Revolutionaries; after the October Revolution, the Dashnaks were in power in Armenia from 1918 to 1920. They waged war against the Turks and Georgians. After the Soviet Government was established in Armenia the Dashnaks lost all political significance.—Ed.

tactical questions of the period the Odessa Bund sided with us. I remember that the question of this joint meeting was discussed by our committee, which agreed to participate; and Comrade Gusev and myself were elected as representatives on the joint committee. Gusev had prepared a list of questions to bring up at the meeting (the land campaign, elections to the Bulygin Duma, etc.).

As far as I can recall there was only one meeting of the representatives of the three committees. This meeting was a failure. The representatives of the Bund demanded that for practical purposes all three committees should come to some agreement in carrying out certain campaigns which were approved by all three, leaving controversial questions aside. As we and the Mensheviks had serious differences on almost all questions of tactics, and as we were fighting them wherever we came across them, we could not agree to such a mechanically engineered union on one question without stressing our differences of opinion on other questions. Nevertheless this attempt to come to an understanding was not made entirely in vain. But about that later.

At the end of September and the beginning of October a number of meetings were held at the university, at first only for students, but gradually they turned into a succession of mass meetings. These meetings to all appearances were called by the students, but as a matter of fact all the revolutionary and socialist parties sent their speakers to them. Besides the representatives of the Party, any one who wanted could appear at these meetings. Therefore they were quite chaotic. I remember this curious fact: the Bund group demanded that they should be allowed to speak in their own language, for, according to them, workers were present at the meetings who did not understand any other but their own Jewish language. The chairman of the meeting asked who of those present understood Russian and a great majority thereupon raised their hands. The Bund felt outraged by the result of the vote; they claimed that they were not given equal rights. After some pressure from all the Socialist parties present the meeting consented to hear one speaker in Jewish. He began his speech, but over 60 per cent. of the words he used were Russian. This caused such an outburst of laughter that the discomfited orator had to leave the platform.

I want to say in passing that the Bund group formed organisations in Kiev, Odessa, Yekaterinoslav, and other Russian towns, parallel to the existing R.S.-D.L.P. organisations,

although they considered themselves part of the R.S.-D.L.P. One of their motives in justification of this procedure was the consideration that in the above-named towns there were many workers who did not know the Russian language. What a strange reason! As though the local committees of the R.S.-D.L.P. could not work among these workers in their own language!

The situation in Russia became daily more revolutionary: in St. Petersburg and in many other Russian towns, including Odessa, spontaneous political and economic strikes were constantly breaking out in various branches of industry. Information was received by the committee from all districts on the resolute state of mind of the workers. The meetings at the university became more and more stormy, and it was obvious that the masses were seeking for more revolutionary methods of struggle than meetings.

About October 12th the Odessa Bolshevik Committee began to discuss the question of more active methods of struggle. The committee unanimously decided to call out the Odessa proletariat on a political strike with the slogan: "Down with autocracy!" and with the demand for a Constituent Assembly. On the first Sunday of the strike they were to organise a street demonstration. The committee invited all the revolutionary organisations to issue a joint call for the strike and to organise a joint demonstration. The Bund group and the Mensheviks consented, but they could not agree with us on the time. We suggested that the strike should begin on Friday. The Bund argued that the Jewish workers among whom they were active received their pay on Friday, and that therefore they would not respond to the call. In fact, they added, the strike in any case should not be called for that day, because the Jewish workers would have nothing to live on if they did not get their pay on Friday. The Mensheviks, agreeing with the arguments of the Bund group, added that it would also be a mistake to call the strike for Saturday, because the Russian workers get paid on that day. I do not remember whether finally the Socialist-Revolutionaries agreed to call the strike on Friday or whether the above-named organisations agreed to organise the demonstration. The Bolshevik Committee decided to call the strike for Friday and the demonstration for Sunday. We issued a leaflet on the strike and had the demonstration announced at factory and workshop meetings when they were called out on strike. Leaving the strike and demonstration for the moment, I would now like to say a few words on how the lower units

reacted to the decisions of the committee on the strike and demonstration.

Immediately after the committee meeting I summoned a meeting of the city district. Both decisions of the committee —on the strike and the demonstration—were approved, but the question of how to carry them out was made the subject of endless discussions, which lasted for over six hours. Even then the discussions would not have ended if the members of the committee had not noticed through the window facing the yard of the police station (we held our meetings in Shargorodsky's apartment on Pochtovaya Street, in the room of a district committee member, Yakov) that the Cossacks were being held in readiness, which meant that the town was becoming restive. It appeared that while the members of the district committee were giving instructions to the various groups and cells the workers had stopped work in many factories and shops as soon as the rumour of a possible strike had reached them, without waiting for the official call. Unfortunately, I cannot say how the preparations for the strike went on in the other districts. I remember how surprised I was when, as I was rushing to the district committee after the meeting of our committee, I met the organisers of the other two districts, Comrades Kirill and Daniel, and in answer to my question: "Where are you going?" they answered that they were going to a meeting of the town Duma. I do not think that they had such a well-functioning apparatus in their districts that the instructions of the committee could be carried out without them. Apparently the connections between them and their districts were negligible. The committee decided to call out the workers in every branch of industry except the water supply, bakeries and hospitals.

How far the instructions of the committee were followed, and how well the strike was carried out, is difficult to say now, but there was no doubt that the strike made itself felt to a considerable extent, although the supply of electricity was not cut off. On the other hand, many factories with which our Party had not been in touch left their work even without instructions from the committee. The railway shops in Odessa had already gone on strike by order of the All-Russian Railway Congress, which was meeting at that time in St. Petersburg, and all the railways were at a standstill.

The demonstration was arranged, as I have said, for Sunday (this was the last Sunday before the issue of the manifesto of October 17th, I do not remember the exact date). The rally-

ing point was at the corner of Deribasovskaya and Preobrazhenskaya Streets, opposite a small garden. This place was chosen because the participants of the meetings which were to take place in all the lecture rooms in the university on Sunday were to move directly from these meetings, via Khersonskaya Street, to the meeting place of the demonstration (the university is situated at the corner of Khersonskaya Street, which is a continuation of Preobrazhenskaya Street).

I was appointed organiser of the demonstration by the committee. At all the meetings comrades designated for that purpose were to propose immediately after the opening of each meeting that the assembly should join the demonstration. We managed things well, and the demonstration was quite impressive (for that time of course). The demonstration had marched up and down the street several times shouting revolutionary slogans (I do not quite remember whether they had red flags or whether they sang revolutionary songs), when the Cossacks fell on them with their whips and began slashing right and left, driving the demonstrators from the main road into the side streets.

The demonstrators were not armed: the question of arms in connection with the demonstration had not even been raised by the committee. Therefore, to protect themselves from the Cossacks they overturned empty tramcars and tore up stones from the road, which they threw at the Cossacks. In some places they broke iron fences for the same purpose.

The demonstrators were scattered in small groups all over the centre of the town, calling everybody out from the houses into the street, and holding up the traffic. This continued for several hours. As far as I can remember there was no shooting during the demonstration and none of the demonstrators were seriously injured by the Cossacks' whips, although in some places after the demonstration was broken up barricades were made of the overturned cars, and these were promptly stormed by the Cossacks.

All the district organisers arrived at the appointed meeting place, where Gusev was waiting for us, and each reported on what he had seen. We all thought then that the demonstration had been a success. After that I went to the city district headquarters. As they were situated at the other end of the town, near the Moldavanka, I had to go through the centre of the town. The streets were still quite astir, although it was already four or five o'clock in the afternoon and the demonstration had ended at about one o'clock. Notwithstanding this animation,

not a policeman nor a Cossack was in sight. But when I got very near the meeting-place a detachment of mounted police armed with revolvers suddenly appeared from around the corner. The detachment came to a sudden stop, and without any provocation or warning began shooting point blank at the groups of peaceful citizens on both sides of the street, after which they rode off as abruptly.

On the evening of the same day, when our committee met once again, I learned that shooting similar to that which I had witnessed had taken place in every working-class and poor district of the town. We were all indignant at these police attacks and murders. Only Comrade Gusev did not say a word. He was writing down something all the time. When everyone had finished making his report Comrade Gusev read us a short manifesto he had written on the events of the day, in which the necessity of continuing the strike was stressed, and in which the workers were called upon to arm themselves with anything available, for the struggle was becoming an armed fight. The manifesto was approved unanimously. It was then decided to arrange a public funeral for the victims of the day. Comrade Gusev and I were appointed to discuss this question with all the revolutionary organisations of Odessa. The dead and wounded were taken to the Jewish hospital on the Moldavenka. To prevent the police from stealing the dead a permanent armed vigil consisting of representatives of all the revolutionary organisations was organised. A federative committee of the latter was also created to draw up plans for the funeral. Every day until October 17th thousands of workers went to the Jewish hospital, where the dead and wounded lay, while the meetings at the university continued.

On the morning of October 18 I was returning to the centre of the town from the Jewish hospital. I was feeling very much depressed. Suddenly, from nowhere, it seemed, crowds of people appeared. There were workers and students, schoolboys, women, petty-bourgeois intellectuals, and small boys—in fact, everybody was there. They all looked happy and were rejoicing. The manifesto of October 17th* was being read aloud and distributed. Here and there one could hear the sporadic singing of revolutionary songs. The petty-bourgeois were congratulating each other on their newborn freedom.

Finally, red flags appeared and the demonstrators began

*The manifesto proclaimed by Tsar Nicholas II in 1905 granting restricted constitutional liberties, which, however, were very short lived.—Ed.

arguing whether to go to the prison or the City Duma. I must admit that I was for the Duma; it flashed through my mind that in Paris the insurgents had first of all taken possession of the town hall. But even at the very moment that I was advising the crowd in the street to go to the Duma I did not trust the manifesto. I felt that it was only a trap laid to ensnare all the revolutionary elements in Russia. The crowd divided; one part, with banners, went to the prison, the other, which I joined (somehow I discovered myself clutching a banner), marched through the main streets to the Duma. The demonstrators forced the soldiers to take off their hats before the red banners. When the demonstration passed through Deribasovskaya Street, where the high society of Odessa lived, red carpets and shawls appeared on the balconies and in some places the Marseillaise was played. The next day Tsarist flags and portraits were hanging on the very same balconies and they were now playing "God Save the Tsar."

The red flag was hoisted over the Duma, and near the Duma a meeting was held. A great many people were present. Many speeches were delivered on every conceivable topic, but when a small detachment of Cossacks approached, the participants of the meeting immediately dispersed and I was left almost alone with the chairman's bell in my hand. After the Cossacks had passed by the crowd ventured forth again and the meeting was renewed, continuing until evening. I entered the Duma. Here and there Tsarist portraits had been taken off and torn. Crowds were aimlessly ambling about everywhere. I went to the room where some of the members of the town council were in session. They were discussing the question of establishing a city militia; for the police had disappeared entirely from the streets. They were arguing about appropriate badges for the militiamen, when I interrupted to ask whom they were planning to take into the militia and whether the Duma possessed any arms. I received the very definite reply that they would invite householders, through their landlords, to appoint unarmed militiamen from their midst; these could be distinguished from other citizens by a badge which the Duma sages were just discussing.

I proposed that the workers should be armed through the revolutionary organisations. I was supported by a few people who had apparently been delegated as I had been by some revolutionary organisation and also by Comrade Gusev, who had just arrived. The Duma members announced that they had neither arms, nor money to buy them, and added that

now that the manifesto had been published it would hardly be necessary to arm the proletariat.

At dusk we heard rumours that a pogrom against the Jews had started on the Moldavanka. Meanwhile a few more members of the committee had come to the Duma. We decided then and there to call a general meeting of the Party members the same evening. I was sent to find out what was happening on the Moldavanka.

This is what I saw: a group of young men, about twenty-five or thirty of them, some of whom were disguised policemen and detectives, were catching hold of every man, woman and child, who looked like a Jew, undressing them naked and flogging them. They did not confine their activities to Jews. When students, schoolboys, or merely persons with intellectual faces, fell into their clutches, they dealt with them in the same way. All this was taking place in Trèugolnaya Street; not far away many people were standing and watching these scenes. We now got together a group armed with revolvers (after the demonstration the committee had come into possession of several small revolvers, of which I received one). I came up close to the hooligans and shot at them point blank. They dispersed; but suddenly a solid line of armed soldiers appeared between us and them. We retreated. The soldiers then went off and reappeared. This was repeated several times. Obviously the perpetrators of the pogrom were acting in concert with the military authorities.

I went to the meeting of the Odessa Party organisation, which was already in progress. It made a dismal impression on me. The university lecture-room where the meeting took place was badly lit. All the comrades present were in a depressed mood. I was surprised at the composition of the meeting; there were many people present, but there was a preponderance of women among them. And almost no Russian workers (I was then inclined to attribute the last circumstance to the fact that there had not been sufficient time to let the members of the Party know about the meeting, for it had been called at a very short notice). But at succeeding meetings, as well as at those of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the percentage of Russian workers present was comparatively small, although the influence of all the Odessa revolutionary organisations on the Russian factory workers was very great, as was confirmed by the October and November strikes.

The meeting heard a report on the manifesto and its significance and was informed of the pogrom. It was decided to

organise armed resistance in conjunction with the other revolutionary organisations against the perpetrators of the pogrom and to summon the population to self-defence. A federative committee consisting of representatives of all the revolutionary organisations was set up. Besides us, the Mensheviks, the Bund group and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, representatives of the Dashnaks, the Poale-Zionists,* and the "Serpovists,"† attended the meetings of the committee. The newly-created revolutionary body held all its meetings at the university. During the night of October 19th and on the morning of the next day there was great confusion at the university; crowds of people were coming and going. Some brought arms of all kinds, others brought money and various valuables for the purpose of buying arms. On the same morning armed detachments were formed and sent against the pogrom ruffians.

For two days and three nights a great many of these armed detachments were sent out, but they could not do very much, for wherever the pogrom gangs were carrying on their operations they were defended by the police, Cossacks, cavalry, and occasionally even artillery. For instance, on October 19th the railway workers in the Dalnitsky district organised a strong detachment which routed the ruffians, but had to retreat with great losses before the soldiers, who used their arms against the revolutionary detachments.

Here and there, where there were no soldiers, the self-defence organisations and the armed detachments were successful against the enemy. They often broke into shops which sold arms and brought arms to the federative committee. There were many victims among these self-defence detachments, not counting those of the Jewish population. I must mention here the heroism of a detachment of naval cadets. Many of them fell as victims in the struggle with these pogrom ruffians.

On the night of the second day of the pogrom it became clear that the armed struggle carried on by the federative committee was so unsuccessful that it was not worth the sacrifices it entailed. The struggle was therefore brought to an end. No further detachments were sent out, although here and there a detachment which had not yet returned to the university

*Poale-Zion—a group of Jewish petty-bourgeois Zionists organised in 1905, which endeavoured to combine the incombinable—Marxism and Zionism. After the October Revolution there was a split in that organisation and part of it joined the C.P.S.U.

†Serpovists—the name of the Jewish Socialist Labour Party derived from the initials of that party. It was organised in 1905, as a petty-bourgeois Socialist-Revolutionary group. Dr. Zhitlovsky was the leader of the group. After the October Revolution they joined the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries.

and the self-defence bodies of the population continued their operations. The initiative to terminate the struggle came from Comrade Gusev, who told me that the struggle was useless, since the forces were of unequal strength, while we had to preserve the lives of our comrades, for we had a long and hard struggle against the autocracy before us. The other members of the federative committee were of the same opinion.

The pogrom began and ended in an organised manner; as soon as the time allowed by the Tsaristsatraps for the pogrom —three days—had expired, it ceased immediately. The administration of the university received an ultimatum from the authorities to clear the university of revolutionary organisations by a certain date (which coincided with the end of the pogrom). If this was not done, they were told, the army would take possession of the university.

It was decided to disarm and remove everybody from the university. (The arms did not fall into the hands of the authorities.) The university was quickly cleared, and no one leaving the university was detained. There were no soldiers or policemen near the university at all; apparently they were afraid of bombs. But all the streets of Odessa were occupied by military patrols under the direction of the police. Ostensibly looking for arms, the drunken soldiers robbed passers-by of their purses, watches, rings, etc. The following episode in an illustration of the kind of law and order which existed in Odessa a few days after the pogrom. I went to my friends, the Itins, to find out if they had survived the pogrom; for I had not seen them a whole week. They lived in the centre of the town, at the corner of Yekaterinskaya and Uspenskaya Streets. We were sitting and talking about the recent events, when suddenly we heard shots, and bullets began to fly through the ceiling near the wall facing the windows (the windows fronted on the street and the apartments were on the second floor).

We ran to the windows and saw a patrol standing near the house opposite our window. Policemen were also bustling about there. Our house was surrounded and no one was permitted to go out. They began to concentrate all sorts of arms in front of the house, including light artillery. We sat in the room, awaiting further developments. At last a horde of policemen and army officers broke into the house. The corridor and the whole staircase were filled with soldiers. The first thing they did was to burst into our room with the cry: "Who of you were shooting at the patrol?" Fortunately for us, the inner window-frames

were already puttied,* so that even if we had shot out of the ventilators at the top of the windows, our bullets would have struck the windows of the houses opposite; they could not possibly have struck the patrol, which was standing in the middle of the street. All this was explained to them. Nevertheless, they made us all go into one room, which they had previously turned upside down, and then they called out each one separately, in accordance with the names on the house register, for cross-examination.

All were searched as well as cross-examined. They were questioned in great detail and exception was taken to every word. I was wondering all the time what I should do; I did not live in that house, so they would not call my name, but the soldier who was stationed by the door of the room where we all were had seen me. As I was not registered anywhere, the authorities, should they notice me, would take me to the police station for identification, and that would be the end of me, for in those days they actually killed people at the police stations. I decided to hide behind the door. I had to remain there a long time, for the proceedings were very protracted. But I was lucky, I escaped unnoticed. But when the whole troop had gone I was seized with dismay. I recalled that there was a box factory in this very house on the ground floor, the door and windows of which opened on to the street.

In the workshop an illegal printing-press of the Central Committee was kept, and here the Odessa Party Committee had also printed its leaflets. I thought that the whole house, including the ground floor, would be searched (for if somebody had really been shooting at the patrol from our house it could have been done only from the ground floor or second floor. It would have been easy to have shot down from there, though, except for the volley into our own windows, we had heard no shot of any kind). If they found the printing-press they would finish us all on the spot. All night I was terribly worried about the fate of our comrades of the printing-press. I did not dare to go there to find out because of my false position in this house. At the same time I could not send one of the Itins to find out what was going on below, because then I should have to tell him that the printing-press was kept there, which they did not know, in spite of the fact that we used their apartments for the printing-press and that the Itins themselves, husband and wife, worked in the Odessa organisation. . . . I sat up all night

*In Russia the crevices of the windows are closed up with putty in winter time.—Ed.

listening intently to every noise in the house. At dawn I rushed out into the street to find out what was going on in the box factory. It was open as usual. It appeared that the raid had taken place only on the first and second floors. What the people of the printing-press went through during the raid can easily be imagined.

Immediately after the pogrom the Odessa Party Committee increased its membership. Ivan Avdeyev, a turner in the railway shop, Stavsky, Zeka (who later proved to be a provocateur), and a few other comrades whose civil names and Party names have escaped me, were co-opted.

The first enlarged committee meeting took place in Comrade Shklovsky's rooms. Organisational questions of Party structure were discussed. It was necessary to start building up the Odessa organisation on a democratic basis, although it was decided not to legalise the Party organisation officially. I gave an account of the structure of the local organisations of the German Social-Democratic Party, after which there was a lively exchange of opinion on the proper method of reorganising the Odessa organisation. About this time the Bolshevik Leva (Vladimirov),* an agent of the Central Committee, came from St. Petersburg with the proposal of uniting with the Mensheviks at all costs, without waiting for the union of the two centres above. He was supported by the Bolshevik Baron (Edward Essen), who had arrived at Odessa before the pogrom. Their proposal met with a warm response from among the Party members, the Mensheviks as well as the Bolsheviks. That was easy to understand: that our few available forces were weak and scattered had become apparent to every Party member during the pogrom. At the general meeting of the members of the Odessa organisation, where Comrade Gusev read a report on the form our organisation should take after the Manifesto of October 17th, Comrades Leva and Baron spoke for immediate union with the Mensheviks. The committee did not object to union, but was definitely against the method of union from below. The Odessa Committee was part of the Bolshevik Party, at the head of which stood the Central Committee and the Central Organ elected at the Third Party Congress. How, in that case, could Odessa unite with the Mensheviks without the knowledge and consent of the Central Committee of our Party? Baron and Leva, on the other hand, stood for union without the consent of the Central Committee, in order to bring pressure to bear from below. It

*Recently deceased.—ED.

was obvious to the committee that the proposal of union would be passed by a great majority at the Party meetings of both the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, for wherever the advocates of immediate unity spoke they were supported almost unanimously. Therefore the Bolshevik committee was forced to work out the terms of the union which they themselves were against. It was important to do that, for otherwise the union would have occurred without any conditions at all. The conditions worked out were as follows:

(1) A parity committee of ten members was to be elected: five were to be elected at a general meeting of members of the Bolshevik Party and five at a general meeting of members of the Menshevik Party. This committee was to effect the union of the whole organisation, after which a general meeting of members of both organisations would elect a permanent committee.

(2) The Odessa parity committee would maintain contact with the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks and the Organisation Committee of the Mensheviks.

(3) The united organisation of the Social-Democrats of Odessa would send representatives of both tendencies to the congresses and conferences of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks before their union.

These were the three main points of the proposal on the basis of which the union in Odessa took place.

The position of the old Bolsheviks in the committee was rather ticklish. We were against union, and at the same time we were carrying on negotiations for it. Furthermore, some of the old Bolsheviks were forced to stand as candidates for the parity committee, so that the committee should include staunch Bolsheviks. At that time I could not understand the actions of Comrades Baron and Leva. I had known them previously as active Bolsheviks. How was it that they were now carrying through this union so chaotically, without waiting for union at the general Party Congress? However, Comrade Leva proved to be a "permanent uniter" during the period 1909-1916.

The following Bolsheviks were elected to the Parity Committee: Gusev, Leva, Katsap (the latter was elected solely because during the pogroms in some places he went among the rioters appealing to them to stop their outrages; for that they beat him, or were going to beat him. In the city district, where he and I worked together, he distinguished himself only by long and incredibly muddled speeches at committee meet-

ings). Then there was Robert (a young fellow, a bombastic orator, and a violent supporter of the union—I had never seen him before); I do not remember who the fifth one was—it might have been Baron or Kirill. The following Mensheviks were elected: Stolpner, Shavdiya, Stepan Ivanovich, Friedrich, and P. Yushkevich. The pogrom with all its horrors; the fact that the backward Russian workers and peasants, who came to town from the neighbouring villages especially for that purpose, took a hand in the looting that went on, the impotence of the revolutionary organisations, and the weakness of the Social-Democrats of all shades—all left me quite disheartened. Moreover, I was in doubt as to who would ultimately profit from the tremendous struggle of the past week—the bourgeoisie, the proletariat or the tsarist bureaucracy? I felt heavy at heart.

I find it necessary to say a few additional words about the Odessa Soviet of Workers' Deputies. The Soviet was organised almost without my being aware of it, so that I don't remember the date. I think this took place after the union of the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks; for the Bolshevik committee never discussed questions connected with a Soviet.

As the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies had tremendous authority with the workers all over Russia, the workers of the Odessa workshops and factories elected their representatives into the Soviet at the first call of the United Social-Democratic Committee. The elections amongst the workers of the tobacco factories, with whom I still worked, took place almost unnoticed.

The Soviet met either in the dining-room of the dock-workers or some other factory dining-room near the wharf. All factories, mills, and workshops were represented in the Soviet. The session of the Soviet which I attended was very dull. It was obvious that the members of the Soviet did not yet understand the nature of the body to which they had been elected. Even the Presidium conducted the meeting with diffidence. Shavdiya, a Menshevik student and member of the United Social-Democratic Committee, was elected chairman of the Soviet. He was known to a great many working-men and women, for he often presided at meetings in the university. I do not remember where the Executive Committee and the Presidium of the Soviet met. Its meeting-places were tea rooms or restaurants run by the Bund and other such organisations. These places were crowded all day long by active workers. At any rate, the Executive Committee and the Pre-

sidium did not meet openly. The Executive Committee published a daily, the *Izvestia* (News) of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, which, however, did not appear regularly. This organ was published illegally and surreptitiously at various printing offices and then taken to private homes. From there it was distributed throughout Odessa and also sent to Nikolayev and Kherson. The influence of every other organisation, except the Social-Democratic organisations, on the Soviet was negligible. I must mention here that the December strike which was carried out in Odessa by the revolutionary organisations and the Soviet was the first strike in Odessa to be a really general one, and it lasted for several days.

The strike might have been converted into an armed revolt, had the Soviet and the revolutionary organisations called for it.

It seemed that all life had stopped. There was no business going on, the electric power had been shut off, even the chemists' shops went on strike; all this in spite of the fact that immediately after the strike was called the military authorities established martial law, which threatened dire punishment for participation in the strike. I remember that on the day the strike was begun the comrades who were leading the strike were in my rooms. From all sides came clamorous calls for the representatives of the Soviet to explain the reasons for the strike and authorise people to go on strike. I was sent to a large meeting of pharmaceutical chemists, where military chemists were present as well. The strike was discussed at the meeting. Some opposed the strike, but after we had spoken the vast majority joined it. The strike was carried out remarkably well. It was called off only after the defeat of the Moscow revolt.

I should like to point out in passing the difference in the attitude of the bourgeoisie toward the October and the December strikes. For the October strike days the workers were paid in full without any struggle on this point. But in December the owners flatly refused to pay in spite of the pressure put on them by the Soviet. Thus, for instance, the workers of the Popov tobacco factory demanded pay for the strike days. Since Popov refused, the workers downed tools, and the active comrades, led by Peter, a Bulgarian, came to me for advice. No matter how much I urged them immediately to return to work without the pay for the strike days, they would not consent. Neither did a meeting of the active men and women workers. The results were lamentable in the extreme. Popov not only

did not pay, but he dismissed all the leaders as well. Workers of other factories met with the same fate. The Soviet was unable to do anything. In fact, the rôle the Soviet played in this struggle was negligible, and it finally disappeared. Neither the Soviet nor even the Executive Committee was arrested. Immediately after the December (1905) strike an economic crisis set in in Odessa and caused great unemployment.

The Mensheviks were in the majority in the united organisation. They also obtained a majority in two of the three former districts. Still another district was added, the Portovoy, in which there were no Bolsheviks at all. From Odessa the Mensheviks elected Stolpner, I think, to the All-Russian Menshevik Conference, and the Bolsheviks elected Alexander Katsap, the least staunch of all. The committee published a small daily paper, *Kommercheskaya Rossiya* (Commercial Russia), which ceased to exist after the December strike. Comrade Gusev was the secretary of the editorial board, but the Mensheviks were in the majority. Some of the Bolsheviks who previously had been for immediate union now began to have their doubts about the wisdom of this union with the Mensheviks without having waited for a general union on an All-Russian scale. I continued to work among the tobacco workers, but was already thinking of moving to the capital.

On January 2nd 1906 I was arrested at an evening session of the City District Committee. Ten members of the District Committee were present, of whom four were Bolsheviks: Volodya Movshovich, from the shoemakers' cell, one comrade from the tailors, Peter Lebit from the pressers, and I from the tobacco workers. The rest were Mensheviks. Besides the ten members of the District Committee, the organiser of the City District, a Menshevik whose name I have forgotten, was taken as well as two committee members (Mensheviks, Comrades Shavdiya and one other). There had been differences of opinion in the committee on a certain question, so that representatives of both views were present at the meeting, but we did not get a chance to hear them.

We were arrested with great pomp and circumstance. (Apparently Shavdiya as the chairman of the Soviet had been shadowed.) The whole street was teeming with soldiers. Gendarmes, army officers, spies, soldiers, policemen and similar limbs of the law broke into the room where we were holding our meeting (in Hospitalnaya Street, in the Moldavanka). They were certain that the Soviet was meeting in the other rooms, and that the Executive Committee of the Soviet was

meeting in the room where they found us. They therefore placed soldiers in our room and themselves went searching all over the house. During their absence we tore up everything we could find in our pockets. The gendarmes returned just as we finished this piece of work. They fell on the soldiers for allowing us to destroy the documents, but the soldiers replied that they had received no orders on that subject. In answer to the questions of the gendarmes as to who had destroyed documents, the soldiers replied—everybody.

A good number of documents were destroyed—the whole floor was strewn with small bits of paper. The gendarmes collected all these, but their efforts were in vain: they did not succeed in putting together even one document. At dawn all of us, including the sick owner of the apartments, a presser and his wife, were taken to prison.

After the usual search and formalities at the office and in the prison corridor they thrust me into a dark, cold, damp, ill-smelling solitary cell in the basement. It was almost morning, and I was not in the best of moods. We were soon taken out for exercise. In the prison yard I saw many familiar faces. The comrades who had been imprisoned here before me acquainted me with the prison regulations and enumerated all the comrades who were taking a rest in this wonderful Tsarist sanatorium called the Odessa prison. In the daytime I was transferred to the first floor, and on the following day I took my exercise with the occupants of the ground floor. In a few days I was acquainted with all the political inmates of the prison. Who was not here! There were Mensheviks, Bolsheviks, supporters of the peasants' and railwaymen's unions, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Bundists, Anarchists, gangsters belonging to the "Black Raven" gang, and some who belonged to none of these organisations and categories, simply workers and peasants. These latter had been brought to Odessa from the villages near by. Their ages also greatly varied: there were grey-haired old men and mere boys. There were even cripples among them who could scarcely move about. The women's wing also had its quota, it, too, was occupied by a no less heterogeneous population. The gendarmes had snatched right and left—at the innocent as well as the guilty. Apparently they wanted to pay themselves back with interest for the forced liberation of prisoners after the amnesty of the October days.

But now they began to call us out singly for cross-examination. I was questioned by a detective in uniform, while outside the room many spies in mufti were lurking.

When I was arrested I had given my name as it was registered with the police, and had given my correct address, in spite of the fact that many bundles of the *Izvestia* lay in my room (for comrades had left these newspapers, which they intended sending to Nikolayev; either they had lost their connections with Nikolayev or the comrades were reluctant to go there; at any rate the packages remained in my room). I guessed that the friends with whom I lived in the same flat (in different rooms of course) would see that I had not returned after one o'clock at night and would clear up my room. But as a matter of fact Comrade Gusev was in Hospitalnaya Street on the evening of my arrest. When he saw that the street looked like a military camp he guessed that a meeting had been discovered. He soon found out that the City District Committee had been arrested. Then he had the rooms of the arrested comrades "cleaned." He himself visited my room.

I had an "iron"* passport, and knew all the particulars it contained: mother's name, father's patronymic, etc. According to this passport I was a shoemaker or a tailor—I forget which—and the owner of the document had never been involved in political affairs. Therefore I was quite at ease when I went to be cross-examined; I was somewhat worried about a photograph that was being exhibited at a photographer's: it was a picture of the demonstration and meeting which took place outside the City Duma after the promulgation of the Manifesto of October 17th, and my face was clearly distinguishable. After all the formalities had been gone through I was told that our meeting was a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Odessa Soviet of Workers' Deputies, and that we were to be court-martialled. I stated that, as there were so many unemployed in Odessa, and no one was giving them any assistance, we had met to discuss a means of organising aid for the unemployed. I added that I had not been able to discover who was present or what organisations were represented—since the police had arrived before the meeting was opened. (We had agreed beforehand on what to say at the cross-examination.) The detective told me that he had authentic papers to prove that we were members of the Executive Committee. Of all the fifteen comrades arrested they had evidence only against Shavdiya, who came out openly as the chairman of the Soviet,

*Party members who lived in illegality used either specially prepared false passports in which all data were fictitious and the seal forged, or copies of genuine passports issued to really existing persons, or genuine passports of other persons. The last named were considered the most reliable and were sometimes called "Iron passports" or simply "Iron."

and against Comrade Movshovich (at whose house they found a great deal of Social-Democratic literature, although there was only one copy of each publication, and a subscription book of the Odessa committee for a collecting fund for arms).

After this examination we were no longer bothered by the gendarmes for fully five months.

The prison regime was tolerable. We had long exercise periods, during which the prisoners played ball, ran races, and played other games. They allowed us to receive visitors in the presence of a gendarme, but we were given only six minutes a week for this. We could visit comrades in other cells on the same corridor. We were generally two in a cell. We received newspapers daily, in spite of the prohibition of the governor. Every day, after the roll call, we read the papers near the windows; occasionally we even read them aloud. In this dreary, monotonous fashion the days, weeks, and months passed by. Day after day the papers called for a general amnesty on the day of the opening of the First State Duma. There was discussion about the amnesty without end, and at the same time the courts-martial in Odessa dealt out the severest sentences on the least provocation. Any political recidivist falling into the clutches of the court-martial was sure to get from four to eight years' hard labour.

In 1905 many Marxist books were published and I devoured them eagerly. When I was at liberty I had hardly any time to read, for I was always engulfed in practical work.

At that time the Party began its preparations for the Stockholm Unity Congress. The theses and articles of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were smuggled into the prison. We naturally had lengthy discussions on the question of boycotting the first State Duma, etc. In the meantime the entire Odessa Party Committee (Lyeva, Katsap and Mark Lyubimov, and others) as well as everyone present at the pre-election meeting for the Party Unity Congress was arrested.

Then two events broke in upon the dead routine of our prison life which turned the whole prison upside down. I shall pause to describe these briefly. After the December days gangs of burglars appeared in Odessa under various designations, such as "Black Ravens" and the like. There was nothing idealistic about them. Very often criminal elements dressed their nefarious activities in revolutionary garb to make it easier for them to pillage and rob. The "Black Ravens" made their attacks in broad daylight and literally terrorised the Odessa bourgeoisie with their daring exploits. To these must be

added the Anarchists, who made expropriations and threw bombs into cafés where the bourgeoisie was wont to revel. Many criminal elements joined these idealistic Anarchists, who sincerely and naïvely thought that by throwing bombs into cafés they were carrying on a real fight against the bourgeoisie, improving the conditions of the proletariat and sparing them the vexations of a struggle. The bourgeoisie was so terrorised by these attacks that it set the entire police and military apparatus in motion to combat them. The courts-martial worked like fiends. They dealt out atrocious sentences to anyone who was brought before them. Thus the first prisoner to be condemned to death appeared in our prison. The prison quietened down. For some time we lived solely for the condemned prisoner. We were interested in everything, how he felt, whether he exercised or not, whether he had everything he wanted, whether he slept well, etc.

Before the inmates had become accustomed to the presence of this living corpse a ghastly tragedy was enacted within the prison walls. The Odessa prison was under martial law and the place where the political prisoners exercised was patrolled by soldiers. One day, after the dinner and exercise periods were over, a detachment of soldiers commanded by Captain Tarasov passed by our windows. This was the first time I had seen an officer within the prison. Usually the patrol was changed by the senior non-commissioned officer. Some one on the ground floor shouted "Down with autocracy!" The officer called a halt and menacingly demanded: "Who shouted 'Down with autocracy'?" All prisoners jumped on to the window-sills and stared at this eccentric officer who was blustering down below. Someone on the ground floor replied: "Suppose I did, what about it?" The officer drew up his men opposite the window where this comrade was standing and said: "Whether you're an Anarchist, a Social-Democrat or simply an honest man, stay where you are and don't move." The prisoners, who were observing all this through the windows were puzzled: some laughed at this swashbuckler, others exclaimed: "But we are all in prison for being against autocracy." I was in the next cell with Comrade Levit and Movshovich. We, too, were watching this terrible drama. Someone shouted that even when a prison is under martial law the governor of the prison remains the highest in authority and not the commander of the guard. Tarasov meanwhile had lined up his soldiers and ordered them to hold their arms in readiness. When all these preparations were concluded he told the

cell-mate of the prisoner who had started this fatal altercation with Tarasov to get off the window-sill. As he refused to comply, the officer commanded: "Fire!" and we heard a volley. Immediately all the prisoners rushed to the doors and a terrific banging began all over the prison. And now the other convicts came to our "assistance";* they opened the doors for all the other political prisoners with a master key.

We dashed out to the courtyard. Two comrades were seriously wounded. In a few days one, possibly both of them, died—I do not remember exactly. The public prosecutor, the mayor, and other authorities promptly arrived at the prison. The political prisoners demanded Tarasov's arrest and the removal of the soldiers from the prison. The town soon heard about the shooting in the prison, and the whole neighbourhood was crowded with people, who demanded an explanation of what had happened. As the crowd did not believe the authorities, they agreed to bring out a political prisoner who related what had happened and who had suffered as a result of the affair.

Tarasov was arrested and the soldiers were withdrawn from the prison yard. (Later we learned that Tarasov was rewarded and promoted for bravery.) After these tragic events the prisoners' nerves became even more strained. Confined in this surcharged prison atmosphere, the thirteen of us under arrest since January 2nd agreed to start an energetic fight for a speedy trial. During the five months that we had been in prison we had been questioned only once. Furthermore, we knew that no progress was being made in our case, for there were comrades among us who had forged passports, and as soon as the gendarmes became aware of this they would promptly be astir themselves, for they would realise immediately that there must be "illegal" and therefore "important

*I put the word "assistance" in inverted commas for the following reason: During the revolution of 1905, when meetings, demonstrations, etc., were in progress, the workers naturally took a very active part in them. While the workers were away, thieves would clean out their homes. This so enraged the workers of Odessa and other towns that they used to settle their own accounts with the thieves without the help of the police or "justice." The criminal convicts recognised one worker who had thus settled accounts with them during the October days and were on the point of dispatching him there and then, but were prevented from doing so by the political prisoners. For this reason relations were rather strained between the political prisoners and the criminal convicts. The criminals, knowing that the political prisoners would not complain to the prison authorities, used to steal everything of value from us while we were out on exercise. During the Tarasov affair, when the political prisoners rushed downstairs, the criminals robbed not only the political prisoners, but everybody who had anything to be taken.

offenders" in our midst. Since this had not taken place, we assumed that our case was at a standstill. Summer had arrived. The commotion occasioned by the First Duma continued. The uncertainty of the outcome of the Stockholm Party Congress also made us nervous; which side would come out the victor, the Bolsheviks or the Mensheviks? It was a hard strain, this idling away of time in jail, and we longed to get out of prison. We understood that the authorities would never stand up to either obstructionist tactics or a hunger strike, while everyone's nerves were on edge. We therefore decided to bring pressure to bear on the authorities by declaring a hunger strike. Each one of us separately wrote to the public prosecutor complaining that no progress had been made on our case, although five months had already passed, and demanding either a copy of our indictment and a speedy trial or discharge from prison. If this were not granted a hunger strike would be declared.

We made serious preparations for this hunger strike. On the eve of the appointed day we removed everything edible from the cells. Our visitors brought us flowers instead of food. After the roll-call, when it was already getting dark, they called us singly to the office and told us that the public prosecutor had issued instructions to release us, under observation pending trial.

And so thirteen of the fifteen (Shavdiya and Movshovich remained), including those with illegal and forged passports, were set at liberty.

No one who has not gone through the experience himself can imagine the emotion of the man who considers himself "guilty," an enemy of autocracy and the bourgeoisie, during those moments when he is expecting to be set at liberty. Each one of us kept pacing up and down his cell, waiting. Will they call me out too, or have the gendarmes discovered me? We did not even believe that we were to be set free. When they led us out of the prison we thought we were being transferred to a provincial prison, since a hunger strike of a number of people in the Odessa prison might easily turn into a prison riot. But suddenly we found ourselves at liberty.

Incidently I might add that after we were released the gendarmes got busy, and in the course of a month they completed their investigations and handed the case over to the military prosecutor who gave it over to the court-martial. Apparently the gendarmes had not finished with the affair of the "Black Ravens," and could not take up the case against the Social-Democrats.

I rejoiced in my freedom. The prison had become so irksome. Though it was near the town, in reality it was so terribly far removed from city life. In spite of the fact that my suit and shoes were far from suitable for town wear (my clothes had become shabby in prison), I ran about the town like a madman, without any definite purpose, the first day of my release. I felt as though I were seeing Odessa for the first time. Even the sea impressed me; although I had lived in the town a whole year I had never had the time, or, for that matter, felt a desire to look at the sea or tour the city. On that day it seemed to me that I was the happiest mai in the world, and I would have wanted this condition to last for ever. But on the very next day my leisure so bored me that I rushed off to get into touch with the Odessa Bolsheviks.

The condition of the Odessa organisation after all the arrests was not an enviable one; the Bolsheviks were scattered, and the committee was dominated by such inveterate Mensheviks as Friedrich (otherwise Yerema or A.A. Schneyerson) and L. N. Radchenko.

I again got into touch with the tobacco workers and began searching for some trace of the Bolsheviks in Odessa. I discovered that a good many active workers had remained in town, but that there was no union between them. Comrade K.O. Levitsky, whose Party name was Ossip Ivanovitch, an old Odessa-ite who had returned from exile, and whom I frequently visited, obtained a room where the active Odessa Bolsheviks could meet. We decided who should be invited and agreed on a day. The meeting took place, and many comrades, some unknown to me, were present. Several of those present were in military uniform. They startled me considerably; they came in a body, and as they entered the meeting-room they shouted: "What kind of meeting is this? You are all under arrest." After two or three days of freedom I was not at all anxious to get back to jail. I heaved a sigh of relief when our host reassuringly offered them seats.

The meeting, after hearing a report on the situation within the organisation, passed a resolution authorising certain comrades to call such meetings periodically. These meetings were to become the Bolshevik fraction of the Odessa organisation.

I decided not to appear at the trial and to leave Odessa, as it had become quite clear now (the First State Duma had already been dissolved) that the fiercest reaction was threatening the entire country. I wrote to N.K. Krupskaya in St. Petersburg, asking her advice where to go. She was the secretary of the

Bolshevik centre which existed concurrently with the "united" Social-Democratic Party after the Stockholm Congress.

Soon after sending my letter to St. Petersburg I received a letter from Comrade Gusev, asking me, at the request of the Moscow Committee, to come to Moscow.

I decided to go to Moscow.

I had to leave Odessa promptly, because I and my fellow accused were summoned before the court-martial for some reason or other. But I had as yet received no address to which to go to in Moscow, and at the same time I had no suitable clothes for Moscow. I decided to visit my relatives in my native town.

The repressive measures which were sweeping over all the larger workers' centres had not yet been extended to this town. Mass meetings were still taking place in the park in the centre of the town. Besides the Bund organisation for the adults and an organisation for the youngsters, called the "Small Bund," there was a fairly large R.S.-D.L.P.* organisation with which I immediately got in touch. Russian, Polish, Lithuanian and Jewish workers belonged to this organisation. There were also some intellectuals. The leader of this organisation was Comrade "Osipov," a non-commissioned officer, recently returned from the army. (His real name I do not remember; I met him again in St. Petersburg in 1907.)

The organisation was in close touch with the labourers of the adjacent estates and with the workers and peasants of the neighbouring towns and villages. I was very active in the organisation and spoke at the general meetings of its members and at mass meetings.

As soon as I received the necessary Moscow address and my fare I left for Moscow.

*Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.—ED.

CHAPTER V

PARTY WORK IN MOSCOW*
1906-1908

I ARRIVED in Moscow at the beginning of September 1906. There I found that the address given to me by Gusev was now valueless, and that Gusev himself was no longer in Moscow (he had been arrested). I nevertheless soon succeeded in getting into touch with the committee. I accidentally met Bur and Nina Zver (M. M. Rosenberg-Essen) in the street. From them I learned that I was to do the secretarial work of the Moscow Committee, as Comrade Victor (Taratuta) was taking on some other work. They told me where the Moscow Committee met, and there I found Victor. He informed me of the decision of the Moscow Committee to entrust me with the whole secret technical apparatus of the Moscow organisation.

I did not care what work I was doing as long as it was useful and necessary to the Party.

I took up my new work, and there was plenty of it in Moscow; there were not enough workers to cope with it.

The leaders of the Moscow organisation with whom I came in daily contact were in a cheerful, even a fighting, mood. There was not a trace of the despondency and dejection with which the Odessa comrades were possessed before my departure.

The Moscow organisation was divided into districts: the Central (city) district, the Zamoskvoretsky, Rogozhsky, Lefortovsky, Sokolnichesky, Butyrsky, Presnensko-Khamovnichesky and the Zheleznodorozhny.

Some of the districts were divided into sub-districts. The districts and sub-districts were connected with the factory meetings (now cells) and with the factory committees and commissions (now cell bureaux). The representatives of the district factory committees heard the reports of the district and

*This chapter appeared in a collection of articles published in 1923 under the title of "The Bolshevik Secret Printing Works in Moscow and the Moscow Province." The article appears here in an enlarged and revised form.

Moscow Committees, elected a district committee and sent representatives to the city conferences at which the Moscow Committee was elected from 1906 to nearly the end of 1907.

District and city conferences were summoned at stated intervals. The Moscow Committee and the district committees stressed the necessity for keeping in touch with the factory workers. They really did keep in very close touch with them; for the district committees and sub-committees were intimately connected with the workers of works and factories, printing establishments, and other industrial establishments of their districts and sub-districts, who were members of the Party.

I often had to ask the Party members who worked in various industries for implements for the printing-press or for some other technical equipment. I would no sooner apply to one of the Moscow district organisations than I was immediately put in touch with the Party members of any factory I wanted. Attached to the Moscow Committee was a military organisation which had its own paper: *Soldatskaya Zhizn* (Soldiers' Life). The military organisation was in close contact with the soldiers of nearly every unit, in many of which Party members and sympathisers were organised in groups. The military organisation was quite separate from the general city organisation; but the leadership of the military organisations was closely connected with the Moscow Committee, and in special cases with some one from the district committees. The Moscow Committee carried on systematic work as well in the few Moscow trade unions that existed at that time: those of the textile workers, tramwaymen, etc. Through the efforts of the Moscow Committee the Moscow Central Trade Union Bureau was created. This bureau of the Bolsheviks was strong in many of the unions and in the central bureaux as well.

A military technical bureau was attached to the Moscow Committee; this bureau was responsible for the invention, testing and production in great quantities, whenever necessary, of simple arms, including bombs; and with this the bureau was occupied all the time. The military technical bureau was completely isolated from the Moscow organisation, and was connected with the Moscow Committee only through the secretary of the committee.

The Central Social-Democratic Students' Organisation was also attached to the Moscow Committee, and was connected with all the higher and many of the secondary educational institutions of Moscow.

Finally, there was a lecturing and literary board, a finance commission, and a central technical organisation for printing, for distribution of literature, and for manufacturing passports for the active workers of the Moscow organisation. I was to be in charge of the central technical organisation.

The Moscow Committee worked exclusively in that city. The Moscow-regional committee, which also sat in Moscow, worked in the Moscow province. The Provincial bureau of the Central Industrial region, which united a large number of provincial organisations (of Yaroslav, Kostroma, Nizhni-Novgorod, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Tambov, Voronezh and others), besides the Moscow and Moscow-regional organisations, was also in Moscow. In spite of the fact that the Provincial bureau and the Regional committee worked quite independently, the activities of these three organisations frequently overlapped.*

Unfortunately I cannot remember the real names and Party names of all the comrades who worked in Moscow during my stay there from 1906 to 1908. Nevertheless, I shall try to enumerate those whom I do remember. The following were secretaries of the Moscow Committee at different times: Victor (Taratuta) approximately up to October 1906. (Later he was the organiser of the Zheleznodorozhny [Railway] region.) He was followed by L. Y. Karpov, who remained secretary until his arrest in 1907. Mark (Lyubimov) was secretary until January or February 1908 (both are dead now). After Mark came Comrade Andrei Kulish, who had just arrived from St. Petersburg. The latter was soon arrested and sent into exile; there he was killed one way or another.

The committee consisted of Comrade "Innokenty" (Dubrovinsky), who also died in exile; Makar (Nogin), who worked mainly in the trade unions and in the legal and semi-legal labour movement in Moscow. He took an active part in the work of the committee; Comrade Nogin died in 1924; "Vlas" (Likhachov), organiser of either the Sokolnichesky or the Butyrsky district, who died in 1924; "Timofey" (V. M. Savkov), organiser of the Zamoskvoretsky district; soon after his arrest he deserted his post. Mikhail Mironovich" (N. N. Mandelstam), organiser of the Lefortovsky district; "Poltora-Yegorov" (Radus Zenkovich), organiser of the Rogozhsky district. Others working in this same region were "Yegor Pavlovich" (Kanat-

*After the February Revolution, or perhaps shortly before it, the three above-named organisations, organised in the same manner, began to function. It was not until 1919-1920 that the provincial organisation was dissolved, while the original organisation merged with the Moscow Committee.

chikov); L. Belsky (organiser of the Central district) and E. Yaroslavsky (organiser of the military organisation). "Leonid" (Sokolnikov) did responsible propaganda work in Sokolniki. Comrade Vedernikov worked in the military technical bureau. Comrades A. A. Kvyatkovsky and "Stepan" (Pozern) worked in the Regional bureau; and "Nikodim" (Shestakov) and "Olga" (Zelikson-Bobrovskaya) worked in the Regional committee. Other active workers in Moscow were P. G. Smidovich (I used to meet him in the tramwaymen's union) and "Odyssei" (Mandelstam). I do not remember whether they were members of the committee at the time.

As I became acquainted with the life of the Moscow organisation I began to notice the close connection between the latter and the village peasantry, in spite of the fact that the Moscow Committee worked exclusively in Moscow. During the short period—eight months—of the existence of its large printing works the Moscow Committee published four leaflets, with a total of 140,000 copies, specially written for the peasants, and 20,000 copies of the agrarian programme of the R.S.-D.L.P. Besides these leaflets enormous quantities, according to the standards of that day, of all kinds of literature on current questions were sent to the village. This literature was distributed by the Moscow working men and women, thousands of whom went to the villages on all important holidays (before such holidays the Moscow Committee had leaflets specially published; while the technical organisation selected literature suitable for distribution to the peasants). As far as I can recall, the question of getting in touch with the peasantry of the Odessa province was not raised during my entire sojourn in Odessa.

In 1906 and the first half of 1907 the entire work of the Moscow organisation was carried on with the approaching mass proletarian and peasant movement which would culminate in an armed struggle with Tsarism. The proclamations and resolutions of the Moscow Committee, Regional committee, and the Provincial bureau were imbued with a fighting spirit. The campaigns of 1906 and 1907, i.e. the elections to the Second State Duma, and the anti-recruiting campaign, in both of which I began to participate immediately after my arrival, were carried on in the same spirit. The anti-recruiting campaign pursued the following line: the Moscow Committe worked out an approximate plan of resistance to be carried out by the village assemblies when the recruiting officers came round. They were to say that the Tsarist government was

recruiting men in order to use them against their own brothers, that it had ruined Russia, and had denied the people land, freedom, etc., and that therefore the assembly refused to provide the Tsarist government with recruits. If the recruits, however, should be taken by force, the assembly was to instruct them not to shoot their own brothers, the workers and peasants, but to join them, arms in hand. Should the recruits disobey and shoot the people, they would be exiled from their villages on their return. The Moscow Committee considered this campaign to be of great importance. How far this plan was accepted in the villages, and altogether what the results of this campaign were, I do not remember, but very energetic work was carried on by the district and sub-district committees of the Moscow organisation, among the recruits in the workshops and factories of Moscow who were to be enlisted in 1906. We organised circles of these recruits and taught them the meaning of Tsarism and the part they were to play as soldiers, if they should not be able collectively to refuse to serve. The recruiting campaign among the workers of the city was undoubtedly of wide practical significance. Now I shall describe the work which I had to do during my stay in Moscow.

First of all, I had to get acquainted with the work of the printing office of the Moscow Committee. Comrade Elena, whose surname I don't remember, was connected with the printing office. She introduced me to the "owner" of the printing office, Comrade Arshak (Yakubov). (In 1919 I passed through Cheliabinsk as the representative of certain institutions of the R.S.F.S.R.; there again I met Comrade Arshak, who, under the name of Yakubov, was working as the representative of the People's Food Commissariat.)

Comrade Arshak, after carefully considering whether I was capable of taking charge of the entire conspirative technical apparatus of the Moscow organisation, introduced me to Sandro (Yashvily) and Sturua, who were the very soul of the printing office and who virtually worked there as compositors and printers. We promptly got together and established a comradely business relationship. Before starting work I paid a visit to the printing office to find out whether it was well equipped for conspirative work.

I inspected the site of the printing office, and was not quite satisfied. It was situated in a shop in Yurasov's house (the third from the corner), in Rozhdestvensky Boulevard, to the right of the Sretenka, and facing that busy thoroughfare. Across the street, however, was a house through whose windows any-

one interested might see everything that was going on in the shop. Diagonally across was the boulevard, from where the shop could be observed unnoticed. In addition to that a policeman was stationed just opposite the shop.

After inspecting the exterior I entered the fruit shop as a customer. (The sign dangling outside, which said: "The Caucasian Fruit Shop," and wholesale at that, if I remember rightly—was rather more pretentious than the contents of the shop warranted.) In the shop I found Comrade Arshak acting as bookkeeper, and a weaver, K. A. Vulpe, as salesman. Having bought some fruits, I went behind the shop and descended into the basement. As far as I can remember, the basement was even smaller than the shop. There I found Comrades Sandro (Yashvily) and Sturua. The basement was filled with boxes; some apparently contained printing supplies which were not yet unpacked and others were bulging with paper for printing. The bench and the type were ready for use (possibly they were already in use.)*

There was artificial light in the basement—either electricity or kerosene, I forget which. After I had examined the basement I returned to the shop. The thud of the American printing-press could be heard below. As soon as someone entered the shop the owner or salesman informed those below that there was a customer in the shop. We decided to fix a bell which would give the signal whether to stop or continue with the work. One comrade, and sometimes two, often worked in the printing shop all night when there was any urgent work to be done. After I had made myself thoroughly acquainted with every detail of the organisation of the printing office I learnt that the shop was rented under a false passport (in the name of Lasulidze). As no one of that name lived there, i.e. the document was not registered at the police station, it was impossible to establish the fact that it was false. But although the document was not registered, all the licences were obtained, taxes were paid, etc., in the name of Lasulidze. Comrade Arshak was registered under a different passport.

In the shop behind the partition lived the "salesman" Comrade Vulpe, who was registered under a false passport under the name of P. V. Lapyshev. As it was possible for the

*From an article in *The Proletarian Revolution* (1923), by Comrade Sokolov, entitled, "The Caucasian Shop," I learnt that the printing office which I am describing in this chapter was used before the Revolution of 1905 as the printing shop of the Central Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P. In 1906 the Central Committee gave it over to the Moscow Committee.

Comrade Sokolov's whole article is confused and inaccurate.

police to prove the spuriousness of his passport, I suggested that no more comrades should give the shop as their place of residence, and began to look for a suitable comrade to take Vulpe's place.

I was in touch with the technical department exclusively through the "owner" of the shop, Comrade Arshak. In special cases, if I could not wait till the evening when I would find Arshak at home I used to go to the shop in the daytime, taking great precautions. I would go in as a customer and come out with a bag of Caucasian fruits or nuts. Before I knew the city well I had to search for a place where I could buy paper of a suitable size in large quantities. This was none too easy; for after getting the paper I had to take it away, using every precaution to avoid arousing any suspicions as to the use to which it was to be put or where it was going.

I do not remember from which of our comrades I received a letter of introduction to the manager of a paper manufacturing office (situated in the Red Square), with the request to grant me credit. This manager and I came to an agreement, and he obtained paper for me suitable both in size and in quality. The paper was sent to a bookbinder in Pimenovsky Alley; also at the suggestion of one of the comrades. At the bookbinder's the paper was cut into the right size and taken by the clerk of the printing office to our depository (No. 1 Pokrovsky Passage). From there the paper was delivered to the shop as merchandise—Caucasian fruit—whenever needed.

Later on we used to receive orders on some warehouse; the orders were forwarded to the order department and the clerk of the latter sent the paper direct to the store-room of the printing office. We bought all our paper in this office as long as our printing shop continued to exist.

During the elections to the Second State Duma the following incident occurred. I bought a large consignment of red paper for the purpose of printing small leaflets, calling upon the masses to vote for the candidates of the Moscow Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P. When a week or so later I returned for more paper the manager handed me one of these red leaflets, saying: "You certainly work quickly and accurately; this leaflet was left at my house." I replied that the same paper was evidently manufactured by other factories; for I had nothing to do with such things. I could not make out whether he really wanted to please me by praising our work or whether he resented the fact that his merchandise was put to such use. I now had to decide whether we could safely continue to buy paper there. We

redoubled our vigilance and had the paper sent to an intermediary house instead of straight to our depository. We kept a close watch on this house and on the carter, but as nothing suspicious was noticed we again began taking paper without all these great precautions.

The printing office worked at high pressure all the time, two or three leaflets were always on the waiting list. On the average 35,000 copies of each leaflet were printed: some reached 40,000 to 50,000 copies. The small manifestos printed during the elections to the Duma and during the First of May campaign exceeded 100,000 copies.

The most difficult part about an illegal printing office is not the actual printing, but getting the paper and sending out the printed matter. Therefore I should like to tell the reader how we organised the latter, as well as the distribution of manifestos, etc.

The printed matter was taken out of the shop in wicker baskets (such as were used by real fruit shops for delivering fruit) by our salesman and delivered to one of the Filipov bakeries (of which there were several in Moscow). In the Filipov family the two younger sons, Alexander and Vasily, and a daughter, Yevdokiya, sympathised with our work and gave us their active support. They offered us their bakeries as convenient places for the delivery of the literature, but they did not know where it came from. Of the bakeries which were used by us I remember those in the Trubnaya Square, the Rozhdestvenka and the Bolshaya Zlatoustinskaya. As soon as the literature was delivered to one of these bakeries the comrade entrusted with its distribution (at one time this was V. Filipov) sent it to a house where the distribution couriers for all the Moscow districts were waiting for it. Thus within fifteen minutes the leaflets were out of the house and sent to the various districts, which in turn distributed them in the factories and workshops of Moscow.

During the elections to the Second Duma our Moscow organisation united with the S.R.s, the Socialist Populists, the Peasants' Union and other revolutionary organisations of that time. We drew up joint lists of voters for some of the Moscow districts. We had to print, not only what the Moscow organisation published, but everything issued by the above mentioned organisations jointly with the Moscow Committee. Our printing office could not cope with all this work. Consequently I had to hunt all over town for a printing office which would undertake to print our election literature. My search

was successful. I came across a small legal printing office in the First Brestskaya Street which printed some of the bigger things for us. But as their charges were terribly expensive and the Moscow Committee possessed very little money we had to look elsewhere. I discovered several compositors in some of the larger printing establishments who were members of the Party; in Yakovlev's, in Saltykovskaya Street, in Sitin's and Kushnarev's, on the Pimenovskaya. In these printing establishments I organised the work in the following manner. In one of them the leaflet was set up and stereotyped, and later it was printed in our illegal printing office; or the leaflet was set up in one printing establishment and printed in another. Thus the Moscow Committee emerged from this difficult situation with flying colours.

Our work during the elections to the Third State Duma was carried on on a less pretentious scale. The organisation itself had become much smaller, and we therefore had to print less; besides, our chances were not very great. All our strength was concentrated on the working-class districts, where we were certain of victory and where we were indeed victorious.

Besides the literature which we ourselves printed in Moscow before the elections to the Second State Duma we received a great deal of election and other literature from the Bolshevik centre in St. Petersburg.

The Central Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P. at that time consisted mainly of Mensheviks. They were for coalescing with the Liberals (the Cadets)* for the elections to the Second State Duma. At the First All-Russian Conference of the R.S.-D.L.P., November 1906, the Mensheviks and the Bundists, by eighteen votes against the combined fourteen votes of the Bolsheviks, the S.D.P. of Poland and Lithuania and the Lettish S.-D., won the battle for the Central Committee on this question. The Bolsheviks and the Polish and Lettish Social-Democrats insisted on a free hand in the election campaign of our Party, but in special cases they consented to an agreement with those Parties and organisations only which stood for an armed struggle against Tsarism; i.e., with the S.R.s, the Peasants' Union, etc. As the Bolsheviks, who were in the minority at the Stockholm Unity Conference, still differed from the Mensheviks on many important matters, such as the significance of the State Duma, of an armed revolt, of relations with bourgeois parties, etc., the leaders of the Bolshevik current in the R.S.-

*Constitutional-Democrats, who believed in establishing a constitutional monarchy along "liberal" lines, with England as a prototype.—ED.

D.L.P., with Lenin at their head, created the Bolshevik centre. It published a great deal of election literature explaining the Bolshevik view of the State Duma and came out with its own election programme, which was carried out by those local Party organisations supporting the Bolshevik point of view. The St. Petersburg and the Moscow Committees had rejected the plan of coalition with the Liberals for the elections to the Second State Duma, and the Moscow Committee drew up joint lists for several districts together with the Social-Democrats, the Peasants' Union and the Socialist Populists.

At first the literature coming from St. Petersburg was brought over by comrades. But the secret police were always after them, and several members of the organisation in charge of the distribution of this literature had been arrested. (R. Sholomovich brought literature when she was already under suspicion, thus giving away the meeting-place and V. Filipov.) We asked, therefore, the St. Petersburg comrades to pack the literature in boxes and send it as merchandise, and to send us only the receipts. As soon as we received these receipts we picked out two comrades to get the boxes. One of them would hire a carter, to whom he gave the receipts for getting the merchandise out of the station. The carter was given a fictitious address to which he was to deliver the boxes. Another comrade would keep an eye on the driver, following him about wherever he went with the receipts. If everything looked safe, the second comrade would inform the first comrade of this, and then the latter would meet the carter on the road and direct him to the right address. If we suspected that the comrades were being watched, three comrades were selected: one hired the carter; the second followed him all the way to the station, in the station itself, and on the way back; the third acted as a courier for the second comrade. He informed the first comrade whether it was safe for him to meet the carter. The following precautions were also taken: even if the two comrades discovered nothing suspicious at the station, they nevertheless changed the address given at first for another fictitious address. (In such cases we used to give the address of some acquaintance; we often made use of a corner house in the 1st Meshchanskaya. The driver was dismissed, and later, if there was no hitch, the literature was sent to the depository and from there to the various districts.)

It sometimes happened that the carter would be called to the gendarme office at the station after he had produced the luggage receipt. In such cases the comrade who was watching him warned the other comrade not to meet the carter on the road;

and he himself stayed to find out what would happen. Occasionally the gendarmes let the driver pass with the merchandise but sent a detachment of spies and gendarmes at his heels. However, in view of the fictitious address given to the carter, their labours were in vain. Several consignments of literature fell into the hands of the authorities, but nobody was ever arrested.

I have dwelt at what may at first sight seem unnecessary length on the organisation of our illegal printing office in its relation to the "outside world," and on the various methods of receiving and distributing literature. But I have done so advisedly because many Communist Parties abroad which for the first time are forced to work underground may learn much that is useful from our experiences during the Tsarist regime.

As I was occupied entirely with conspirative work I did not participate in the day-to-day work of the cells and districts of the leaders of the Moscow organisation and the secretary of the Moscow Committee. However, I decided to participate in the Moscow Party Conference which took place in the autumn of 1906, in the technical high school (near what is now Baumann Street), where Comrade Miron (Khinchuk) reported for the Central Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P., whose majority was then Menshevik. The conference consisted mainly of Bolsheviks. Only the Presnya district sent Mensheviks to the conference. The debates were very heated, but unnecessary, because there was really no opposition present. The conference was almost unanimous against the Menshevik Central Committee.

I met the secretary of the Moscow Committee, Karpov, and later Mark Lyubimov, daily at their meeting-places. If for any reason I could not appear at the Moscow Committee meeting-place the secretary, if necessary, could find me at my own meeting-place, to which I came daily. Very often the Moscow Committee only had to decide what leaflets and manifestos were to be issued. I had to attend not only to the printing, but had to see to the making up of the text as well. Thus I made the acquaintance of M. N. Pokrovsky (who at that time lived in Dolgorukovskaya Street, and in whose apartments I first met L. B. Kamenev), Doctor Kanel, and also renewed my acquaintance with Silvin (Brodyaga), whom I had not seen since my escape from the Kiev prison. These and a few other comrades (Luntz, I. I. Stepanov, and others) were members of the literary and lecture groups of the Moscow Committee, and many leaflets which then appeared came from their pens.

As the Moscow Committee had no legal press, leaflets on all important questions of politics and economics were printed by the illegal press.

Early in 1907, in agreement with, or at the request of, the Moscow Committee, Comrade Shklovsky, with the assistance of Comrade Pokrovsky and other members of the literary and lecture groups, began to publish a weekly, *Istina* (Verity), which was suppressed after the fourth issue.

The weekly which appeared after the suppression of the *Istina*, under a different name, was also immediately suppressed, and its editor exiled. As far as I remember, no other efforts to publish a legal paper were made at that time.

There was a great deal of work to be done, and I was not living under favourable conditions. I had come to Moscow without papers, and for more than seven months I could not get any to suit my purpose. My friends moved almost monthly so that I might stay with them unregistered, but this was soon discovered, in spite of the fact that we always rented rooms in large buildings or in buildings that had no porter. Within a short time we moved four times. Consequently three or four times a week I had to make use of any chance lodgings I could find where I could get a night's rest. Much time and effort was spent merely to find a night's lodging. Occasionally it was necessary to go to these places at eight or nine o'clock in the evening and remain there until the next morning. Of course, it was not convenient to take any documents or books with me, and therefore much time was wasted.

I organised a small corps of men and women students from the university, the Institute of Railway Engineering and the technical high school. They worked without pay, of course, and gave me the use of their apartments as meeting places, as depots for the receipt and distribution of literature, and occasionally as sleeping quarters. One could go through fire and water with them. Some of their names I can remember: Kichin, Shershakov and Shestakov, who were students of the Institute of Railway Engineering; V. Filipov (arrested, but not for long), Puryshev (arrested and sentenced to two years' imprisonment), Liesytsyn, Malyev, P. Filipov and Korolyev (arrested after the discovery of the printing office and tried with those arrested at that time in connection with this case).

In addition to the printing office and the organisation for receiving and distributing literature described above the passport bureau was also under my care, its manager being A. Karneyev. This bureau functioned quite smoothly. It was in

touch with St. Petersburg and Rostov-on-the-Don and exchanged copies of documents with the organisations in these towns. Although the bureau worked well on the whole, I had great difficulty in obtaining a suitable passport for myself. The reason was that my personal appearance called for an Armenian or a Georgian paper which was impossible to secure in Moscow. It was impossible to live under a false passport, for the secret police examined the passport of every new arrival in Moscow.

About the middle of November 1906 it happened that Comrade Sandro (or perhaps it was Comrade Sturua) could no longer work in the technical branch of the printing press, because of illness or for some other reason.

I began to look for someone to fill the vacancy, but could not find a suitable worker in Moscow. At the suggestion of the Moscow Committee I went to St. Petersburg to find a good typesetter. There I went to the meeting-place of either the St. Petersburg Committee or the Bolshevik centre (in the apartment of the dentist, Dora Dvoyres). From there I was sent to the dining-room of the Technological Institute (in the Zagorodny Prospect). There I met N. K. Krupskaya and many other Party comrades. I was introduced to the comrade who was in charge of the whole technical section of the Bolshevik centre (or perhaps of the St. Petersburg Committee). His name has unfortunately slipped my memory. He told me that he knew a devoted comrade, a good, experienced compositor, but they needed him very badly themselves, as they wanted to organise a reserve printing-press.

With great difficulty I succeeded in persuading them to let me have this compositor. As I was afraid that the St. Petersburg Committee, or some other Party organisation, might decide to take him back, I sent him off the very next day, as soon as he had assured me that he was really a specialist in his line. (It was necessary to set type very fast to keep pace with our American machine.) I sent him to my friends in Moscow. I was afraid to send him to any of my own meeting-places or to that of the Moscow Committee, lest he be accidentally compromised. I myself remained another day in St. Petersburg.

When I returned to Moscow I learned that the new typesetter had at once begun demanding to be taken to my room, claiming that we had arranged to meet him there. As I had no permanent apartments he was directed to a room where I very often spent the night. I naturally did not like this, but I restrained myself, because he had been recommended by a very responsible comrade as a devoted person. When I brought

him to the printing office it turned out that he was the worst compositor alive. As soon as he began working he made such extravagant wage demands that the Moscow Committee could not possibly meet them for lack of funds. Finally, eluding the "owner" of the printing office, he began to visit my friends in order to get hold of me.

It became obvious that our St. Petersburg comrades had rid themselves of something they themselves did not want. But nothing could be done about it: once he had entered the technical department, it was impossible to remove him. I have related this St. Petersburg fiasco in such great detail because at the very moment that our printing office was raided (the press was not working just then) this comrade disappeared, and we never heard from him, either from prison or outside prison, and the official documents dealing with the case made no mention of his ever having been arrested. Before Comrade Sandro left, at the end of 1906, the "salesman" Volpe also left. His place was taken by an active business-like comrade from the Moscow organisation. I think it was Comrade Novikov who was arrested in the printing office raid. Once, in the middle of April 1907, Comrade Arshak came to me with another Georgian comrade (now I know his name, it was Comrade Gabelov) and suggested that we should appoint the latter in his place. After making careful investigations the secretary of the Moscow Committee, Mark and I, agreed to let Arshak go, particularly as it was not difficult to "sell" the shop to a new "owner."

January and February passed in preparation for the London Party Congress. In all the districts and nuclei the questions which were on the agenda of the Congress were being discussed. In accordance with the decisions of either the Central Committee or the Moscow Committee, representatives of both the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks were to speak at every meeting, and were to comment on the main resolutions of the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. I, too, after taking adequate precautions, organised a meeting of the technical staff of the Moscow Committee. The meeting took place in the Myasnitskaya, in Shershakov's apartments, in the same building as the Myasnitskaya druggist. Yegorov-Lyssy, whom I knew in 1903 and 1904 as a red-hot Bolshevik, came to this meeting as a speaker for the Mensheviks. At that time I was most astonished. All these Party meetings elected representatives to the general city Congress, which in turn elected delegates from Moscow to the Congress. If I am not mistaken, Comrades

Pokrovsky, Kamenev, Victor Taratuta, Innokenty, and Nogin, all Bolsheviks, were elected.

In April 1907 the Moscow Committee and the whole Moscow organisation began to make preparations for the First of May. The Moscow Committee issued the slogan of a general strike on the First of May. Leaflets explaining the significance of the First of May and small red posters calling on the workers to down tools on the First of May were printed in large quantities. Owing to some holiday or other the posters and leaflets were distributed twice, the day before the holiday and the day after it, which was the day the printing office was raided.

At the end of March I finally obtained an Armenian passport from some student at St. Petersburg University. Therefore my friends, V. P. Volgin, Brichkina, Halperin and others (who lived legally in the Third Tverskaya-Yamskaya), moved so that I could join their commune. They moved to the huge Kalinkin house in Vladimirov-Dolgorukovskaya Street, and I rented a room from them, as if I had just arrived from St. Petersburg. Thus I lived like a human being for nearly a whole month. I had a room I could call my own and was relieved of the necessity of constantly looking for a night's lodging.

On April 27th 1907 I was at my rendezvous in the evening as usual. Everything was in order, except that our literature agent, Comrade Korolyev, was later for some reason. I waited, but still he did not come. I sent some one to 'phone his relatives and find out whether he was there. He was not there. I felt ill at ease. Something must have happened, but what? We knew very well that before the First of May the gendarmes arrested people right and left, but it seemed as yet early—it was only the 27th. I went straight home, convinced that all was not well with Korolyev. I never kept anything compromising in my room; nevertheless before I went to bed I warned my neighbours that they should not open the door at night before awakening me. At midnight we heard a loud knock at the back door. I got up, destroyed the address code and went to the door. I asked "Who is it?" and somebody answered that it was the postman with an express telegram. I guessed at once that unwelcome visitors had arrived. No sooner had I opened the door than a police inspector, spies, police officers, policemen and porters burst into the room. The house was full of them. First they asked where Volgin and Tselikova were living. I told them what rooms they occupied and returned to bed, wondering what would happen next. At last there was a knock at the door, and the whole crowd broke into my room.

I suddenly noticed that a book—the minutes of the R.S.-D.L.P. military organisations was lying on my table. I was nonplussed. I knew, of course, that the book was not mine. Where could it have come from?

One of the detectives said to a police-officer: "Take this book," but the latter, having looked at the book, replied "But you can see that it is sold in all the shops, and that it has the address of the printer." They then left the room, and I took the book and put it among my other books. A few minutes later, however, they again came into my room, and again the detective picked up the book, intending, apparently, to show it to the inspector; but the officer stopped him short, and grumblingly said that he, the detective, was ready to take everything, even that which nobody wanted. As the detective, however, remained unsatisfied, they went to the inspector together, and the latter decided in favour of the police-officer. Towards morning I was called before this inspector, who asked my name, surname, what I did, and how long I had been living in Moscow. Apparently he was satisfied with my replies, because he apologised for the trouble he had occasioned and I went back to my room, awaiting the end of the affair. At last the search ended and the raiders left. I went out to see whom they had taken and whom they had left. It appeared that they had arrested two legal residents and left undisturbed three illegally resident comrades. We burst into loud laughter when we learnt the results of the raid. Why did they arrest two comrades who were really not working in the Party at all? Volgin was a Social-Democrat, but at that time he was not working in the organisation; Tselikova was not even a member of the Party. This arrest was a puzzle to us at the time.

In the morning Comrade Arshak came to see me. Though he knew where I lived he had never visited me before. I was naturally surprised at his visit, especially after the raid. He informed me that the printing office had been raided by the police. We arranged to meet later in the day, and I went to find out who had been arrested. I learned that immediately after the May Day leaflets were brought from the printing office for distribution in the districts the police swooped down on the rendezvous. Only a few districts managed to take away their literature before the raiders arrived. The representatives of the other districts who were there at the time of the raid had the lists of addresses which were found on them taken from them, as were those which were found in their homes. Many arrests were made, but the main organisations—the

cells, the district committees and the Moscow Committee—were not touched. The printing office had been watched for some time. When the "salesman," Comrade Novikov, left the shop with a basket of what were supposed to be Caucasian fruits, but were really May Day leaflets, a pack of spies and policemen was immediately at his heels; they followed his every step and searched every house he entered. While the "salesman" was out with the leaflets the new "owner," Gabelov, remained in the shop. But when Novikov returned Gabelov went out of the shop into the street, where he was immediately arrested. Then the police burst into the shop. On the morning of April 28th, on the day after the printing-office had been raided by the police, the former "owner" of the shop, Comrade Arshak, went to the shop (he was transferring the business to the new manager at that time). He was surprised to find the door locked. He looked through the window and saw that the police were there. First of all he rushed to warn the comrades who were employed in the printing office. (I remember very well that no one was working that day in the basement where the printing-press was kept, for the May Day leaflets were all out, and the comrades had worked very hard at them; therefore they were free until May 2nd.) Arshak was in luck: first he came to the shop where he was known to the porter, the neighbours and the police, and yet got away unnoticed; then he came to me just in time to escape an ambush prepared for him. Only the "salesman" was arrested in the printing shop (obviously they had been watching the printing office for some time); the "owner" was taken as he was leaving, after the return of the "salesman."

I was eager to find out how the printing office came to be raided; so many precautionary measures had been taken that only the work of an agent-provocateur could have enabled the secret police to find it. There also seemed something strange about the results of the raid on my room. We found out later that the raiding party had come to the Third Tverskaya-Yamskaya, where we had lived before moving to the Kalinkin house. Incidentally the St. Petersburg typesetter had visited these apartments. The police learned Volgin's address from the porter (the apartments had been taken in Volgin's name); therefore when the police came to our house they first of all demanded the numbers of the rooms where Volgin and Tselikova lived. They were the only ones registered as having moved from the Yamskaya. Halperin had taken a room for himself, but he did not register, as he had left to get a legal

status. Two other comrades and I had changed our passports. From all this we concluded that the police did not know exactly whom they wanted, but they did know that these apartments were in some way connected with the printing office. I was certain that the St. Petersburg compositor had betrayed us. We wrote to St. Petersburg about it, but we did not succeed in proving it conclusively. But even now, when I have had the opportunity of looking over some of the police records concerning this raid, I cannot ascertain how the printing office came to be discovered. In one place it says that "the printing office was taken through the joint efforts of the agency —the secret police—and outside surveillance." I must add that in November 1906 Halperin brought over Zhitomirsky (the provocateur), who of course knew all of us. But I think that if Zhitomirsky had given us away he would have followed the course he adopted later (I shall return to this) of giving a detailed description of each one of us, so that the police would have been guided in their search, not by our names, but by personal descriptions. Besides, we should have been arrested long before; we should have been watched; as it was, they appeared at our old house on the day the printing office was raided.

The printing office had existed from September 1906 to April 1907—eight months. It had issued forty-five publications. From 5,000 to 40,000 copies of each leaflet were printed. Before the elections to the Second State Duma and before the First of May 1907 hundreds of thousands of posters were printed. There were two omissions in the list of leaflets (43) which figures at the trial: the small May Day poster printed on red paper already referred to, of which more than 350,000 copies were printed (we had intended printing 500,000 copies, but either the printing office did not have enough time, or else we ran short of paper), and the pamphlet: *Who is the Real Defender of the Working Masses?* We kept account in the printing office of all the titles and the quantity of leaflets and periodicals printed, but apparently there had not been time to enter the titles of the May Day poster and the pamphlet in our books, owing to the arrests. Not counting these two, the forty-three titles may be classified as follows: seven leaflets totalling 174,000 copies on political and economic questions were issued for the workers; twenty-one different leaflets, totalling 705,500 copies, were issued to the general public, dealing mainly with the political demands of the Party and the attitude of the R.S.-D.L.P. towards various topics of the day; for the peasants there were

four leaflets, totalling 140,000 copies, and 20,000 copies of the agrarian programme of our Party were printed; two manifestos (10,000 copies) were addressed to the soldiers; one leaflet (10,000 copies) to the railwaymen; two issues of the journal, *The Voice of the Railwaymen*; one leaflet for the Railwaymen's Union (15,000 copies); 6,000 copies of a leaflet addressed to the general public, asking for aid for the political prisoners; and finally, four leaflets on the activities of the Moscow Committee in November and December; the resolutions for the Fifth Party Congress; and an address to the Duma fraction, totalling 14,000 copies. All in all, during the period of its existence a million and a half copies of various leaflets were printed.

After the pre-May Day arrests the police began to catch the members of the committee singly. Comrade Karpov, secretary of the Moscow Committee, was arrested early in May. The police made frequent calls at the hostel of the Technical High School, the meeting-place of the Moscow Committee. Thanks, however, to the fact that many Party members, including Filippovich, Bogdanov and others, lived there, there were no arrests of any consequence in the hostel, for we were always warned before the arrival of the police, and those present at the meetings were able to scatter to different rooms. The police, by the way, were afraid to raid the hostel or to waylay our comrades there. In the latter case the students would have given the warning just the same; in the first case the police were afraid of bombs. The secret police apparently had information that bombs were being manufactured in the school workshop. Though no arrests were made in the hostel, we nevertheless had to leave it, because spies were always hanging round the gates of the school and the doors of the hostel.

But the Moscow Committee could not possibly get along without a printing office. Reaction was growing stronger and stronger. No legal printing shop was willing to print anything for us for any amount of money (of which, as a matter of fact, the Moscow Committee did not possess a great deal). I began to make preparations to start a new printing office. Naturally we could not afford the luxury of an American machine. Comrade Kichin, who worked with me, suggested constructing a new frame on which the spindle would work as on tracks, without making any noise. The frame was ordered according to designs, from Zotov's machine shop on Karetno-Sadovaya Street. For the summer of 1907 we rented a bungalow in Sokolniki. There were many such bungalows beyond Verkhne-

Krasnoselskaya Street, inhabited mainly by workers. Several people who were actually working in the tram depot (but lived quite separate from the house where the printing press was kept) went to live in Sokolniki, as well as two comrades, Victor and an excellent typesetter named Raikin (who later escaped from exile to America, where he is at the present time). He and his wife, B. A. Faiger,* had always worked in illegal printing shops, and it was quite by chance that they had arrived in Moscow from Tula shortly after the raid on our printing office. We rented apartments near the printing works where Faiger took up her abode. These apartments were made an intermediate point of distribution, where the paper from the town and printed leaflets were brought. The workmen, as they went to work, brought the paper to the printing-press, and when they were returning from work they took the printed leaflets with them. The press began to function in a way, although we had to get in touch with almost every Party member who worked in a printing office, as we needed type in large quantities as well as other printing accessories. In other respects the printing office was organised as I have already described.

Immediately after the raid on April 28 1907 we left our apartments. (We sent a relative of Volgin's to the office to say that she was giving up the apartments and was taking away the furniture.) Three of us established ourselves in a "country house" in Losino-Ostrovskoye, on the Northern Railway. The house was rented in a hurry. That year May turned out to be a very cold month and we froze worse in our summer residence than in the winter. Nevertheless we managed to live through the summer. In the autumn I got hold of a good copy of a passport issued in the name of Pimen Mikhailovitch Sanadiradze. With this passport I, together with my friends, moved into a private flat on Kozikhinskaya Street. (This document served me until June 1914, when I was imprisoned for a long time. But of this later.) I told absolutely no one of my whereabouts. Yet my position was becoming rather precarious. When Halperin returned to Moscow, he was immediately arrested in spite of the fact that he was legally registered. He was identified by the porter of the Urasov house, where the large printing office of the Moscow Committee had been raided.

*In 1926 she was a club worker in Moscow and a member of the C.P.S.U. In 1928 a letter of 1917 was found in which she offered her services as agent-provocateur to the Siberian gendarmes. The February Revolution prevented her becoming one. She has been expelled from the Party, and is kept in a concentration camp.

At the hearing he was told that I had been, and still was, in charge of all the technical matters of the Moscow Committee, the printing office included. He wrote from prison that I should leave immediately. Once as I was walking along Dolgorukovskaya Street I noticed that I was being followed. I began to walk faster and succeeded in boarding a horse-tram which was going to the Sukhareva (in 1907 horse-trams were still running from Smolensky Boulevard to the Sukhareva). The detective jumped on after me. The conductor wanted to give him a ticket, but he did not take it. Instead he suddenly pulled a photograph out of his pocket. It was a full-length photograph of Halperin; apparently they did not have my photograph. I jumped off the car and ran along Likhova Street; and he ran after me. I knew Moscow much better than he; besides which I was the better runner; and therefore I eluded him. In the autumn of 1907 Faiger was arrested. They found paper for the printing shop in her possession—but nothing else. Yet it was risky to let the printing works remain in the same place. We decided to move it to the Zamoskvorechye district. We rented a flat on the top floor of a large house which had not yet been completed. Two comrades with legal passports, Lopatin and Lydia Eisman,* and the compositor (who had no papers), established themselves there. Comrade Eisman was in touch with me and the outside world, while the other two worked in the printing office. Leaflets were printed at less frequent intervals and in smaller quantities, but, on the other hand, we were publishing the organ of the military organisation of the Moscow Committee regularly, and, I think, the organ of the regional bureau of the R.S.-D.L.P.

At the end of 1907 I met a member of the Moscow Committee, Leonid Belsky, at the rendezvous of the secretary of the committee; Mark Leonid had just been released from prison. He told me that the secret police knew all my Party names as well as my real name, and that he was certain that I would be arrested in the street any day. Leonid himself called me by my real name and my Party names. I was astounded. Only two or three comrades in Moscow knew my real name. I had almost forgotten it myself, for nobody had called me by it since 1902.†

The arrests continued and increased in number. The active

*Eisman was exiled as a result of the raid on the printing office, but escaped to Paris. When Lafargue and his wife committed suicide, she also took her life.

†Leonid was later suspected of maintaining contacts with the secret police. In 1920 he came to the Second Congress of the Comintern as a delegate from an American group of Communists. He was called to account by the Central Control

workers were arrested in groups, and the Moscow organisation was becoming hard-hit by all this. The spying on our distribution apparatus became intolerable. Very often I had to give up a rendezvous because spies would be noticed hanging around the house. The police were constantly arresting men working in my departments. Once as I was leaving a rendezvous situated on one of the streets just off the Sretenka I was suddenly surrounded by several detectives. A tram was going along the Sretenka at full speed. I jumped on and left the detectives running after. I got off at the next stop, as though nothing had happened, without having been followed. Early in January 1908 the Secretary of the Moscow Committee, Mark, was arrested. All this forced me to lose much time taking all kinds of precautions before I could see anyone on Party business. The comrades from the printing shop I met only in the street, and then only at night. I became so painfully nervous that I saw a spy in every person. I never entered my house if I saw anyone in the street standing or walking behind me. I became so apprehensive that once at night, hearing a noise and many voices on the stairs, I got up hastily, destroyed a number of notes and then sat waiting for the search party to arrive. I had a long wait. I became impatient, opened the door and went out on the staircase. There I found a drunken crowd waiting for the porter to open the door.

Comrade Andrei (Kulisha), who had arrived recently from St. Petersburg, was appointed secretary of the Moscow Committee. I raised the question of my leaving Moscow, for I might certainly be arrested any day now. He did not agree with me. I had to work on doggedly. Once, in February, I was at a rendezvous in a house on the Bozhedomka. The house was obviously being watched. I went in and sent everybody away. Comrade Zefir (Moiseyev) was waiting for me. He had come to me from the Central Committee of the Party. I quickly gave him another address where we could meet on the same evening, and did not stop to talk to him. When we left there was a detective following each one of us. I was troubled with them until late at night. I was even forced to take cabs, which I had never done before, because I considered them unreliable in such cases. Because of these spies I never met Zefir that night.

Commission of the Russian Communist Party. There he admitted that he had had connections with the secret police, but that he never betrayed anybody, but had, on the contrary, endeavoured to get as much information out of them as he could, and had always given warning to his comrades. Though the C.C.C. had no proof that he ever had betrayed anybody, he was deported from Russia.

Later Comrade Andrei informed me that Comrade Zefir in the name of the Central Committee proposed that I should go abroad immediately to work under the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee. At the London Congress the Bolsheviks, together with the S.D.P. of Poland and Lithuania, and a section of the Lettish S.D.P., had been victorious. The majority of the Central Committee were Bolsheviks and their revolutionary allies the Social Democrats of Poland, Lithuania and Latvia. The Moscow Committee did not detain me any longer. I handed over my affairs in the middle of March 1908, left Moscow, and went to Penza in order to shake off the spies, rid myself of my spy-complex and get a good rest. I remained in Penza for three weeks. I was being watched, in spite of the fact that I did not meet anyone from our organisation. From there I went to Rostov-on-the-Don. At first I settled down comfortably and succeeded in getting some rest, then I got into touch with the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee and with local comrades. Before the First of May I noticed that the house where I lived was being watched. I moved to another house, but they began watching that one too. Then I stopped registering with the police and again began knocking about from one house to another in search of a night's lodging. My departure abroad was delayed, because I was not in touch with anyone at the frontier who could enable me to cross it illegally, and I had no passport for legal travel. I decided to make use of some of my old connections. But first I wrote to my relatives, who suggested that I should come to see them and promised to get me a passport to go abroad legally. I took every precaution in leaving Rostov-on-the-Don; nevertheless I only just missed being arrested in Taganrog. I was lucky; I escaped.

CHAPTER VI

A STUPID ARREST
1908

THE end of May 1908 found me back again in my home town. Dark reaction had laid its hand on everything vital in the revolutionary Labour movement of the big towns, and now my native town was completely under its sway. The whole place was infested with mounted policemen, who were winding up their punitive expeditions to the Lithuanian villages. Not a day passed without their bringing whole batches of peasants from the entire Vilkomir region into the town. In the town itself everything had been crushed. There was not even the Bund organisation, which somehow had existed during the worst days before 1905. Comrades who not so long ago had been members of the same organisation now avoided each other. As soon as I arrived I saw that I had made a mistake in coming to this hole, where, since 1906, I was known to a great many petty bourgeois inhabitants. I was now sorry that I had trusted my relatives who had promised to get me a passport immediately, but had forgotten to inform me of the change that had taken place as regards the police. But it was too late to correct this mistake, and I tried not to appear on the streets in the daytime. My relatives ransacked the town in search of the papers necessary for my departure abroad.

About ten days after my arrival we heard towards the morning a loud knock at the door. To my question: "Who is there?" an unfamiliar voice answered that it was an express telegram for my brother-in-law, the owner of the apartments where I was staying. When I suggested that he should bring the telegram in the morning, without more ado he began breaking down the door of the room where I slept (the door went on to the street). I understood immediately what sort of "express telegram" this was. I opened the door and into the room burst the only two gendarmes in the town, policemen, inspectors, and witnesses. They immediately fell on me with the question "Are you so-and-so?" (They called me by my real name.) I told them that my name was Pokemunsky, the name on the

passport under which I had been registered and had been imprisoned in Odessa. Before seeing the police regime in the town I had been wondering what to call myself in case of arrest. To call myself by my real name I considered impossible, for the secret police in Moscow knew it as well as all the details of my work, which meant that my case would be tried in Moscow, where I was sure to be sentenced to exile or even to hard labour. I therefore decided to give the name under which I was arrested in Odessa, assuming, quite correctly, that the Odessa gendarme department had not made inquiries about me in 1906 in the town which had issued a passport to me in 1905 for 100 roubles. (This passport, by the way, had done me yeoman service in Odessa on previous occasions.) The gendarmes demanded my passport, but of course I didn't have one. At home everybody knew what I was going to call myself except my mother. During the search, which lasted for an incredibly long time, my mother walked in. I was paralysed with terror. I felt certain that she would call me by my name. But the expected did not happen. She stood by quietly and looked on while the search was going on and while I was being taken away.

The real trouble started the following morning. I was cross-examined by an inspector, then taken to the district police officer, and next morning the gendarme officer, Svyachkin, arrived from Kovno, bringing with him my photograph taken in 1902 in the Kiev prison. They led me triumphantly into the office of the district chief of police, where he, an officer of the gendarmes and another dignitary, were assembled. Svyachkin announced that they knew all about me, that they had been on the look-out for me a long time already and that now they would not let me slip through their fingers. For greater effect he showed me my photograph. I looked at the photograph and immediately my spirits rose. I asked them whether they couldn't see that that was not my photograph. Did they think that a man's head grows smaller with years? (In 1908 I wore a large beard which made me look older than my years, while on the Kiev photograph I was a mere boy with an enormous head). The chief's henchmen were confused.

On the same day the two gendarmes took me to Kovno and the questioning started all over again. The officer of the gendarmes summoned my relatives and a large number of citizens to a cross-examination. One gendarme even went several hundred versts specially to show my sister the Kiev photograph. However, the gendarmes did not succeed in getting

anybody to confirm their accusations. The Kovno gendarme stopped at a hotel, where he carried on his cross-examinations. The hotel staff were on the alert: they listened to the conversations of the gendarmes and therefore knew who were going to be cross-examined, and where the gendarmes were planning to go. They informed my relatives of all they had heard and the latter saw to it that those called would not prejudice my case. My relatives also sent a warning to my sister not to acknowledge the photograph as mine. Moreover, the hotel staff found out by whom and under what circumstances I had been betrayed. The agent-provocateur, it appeared, was a bristle worker named Berel Gruntwagen, a former active member of the Bund. In the evening of the day of my arrest I had met him in the street. All this I learned later.

The prisoners in the common cell of the Kovno prison to which I was taken accorded me a hostile reception. When I asked them why they received me so, they answered me very roughly that I had come to provoke them. When the more sober-minded prisoners in the cell saw that I was sincerely perplexed by their irritability and rudeness, they pointed to the provisions I had brought with me and explained that they had declared a hunger strike against the strict regime in the prison and that the prison administration, by putting me in their midst, meant to demoralise them.

That the regime in the prison was strict I had noticed as soon as they began to search me; I was stripped naked and the guards looked everywhere where there was a possibility of hiding anything. As soon as I learned the reasons for this "cordial" reception I threw out my provisions and joined the hunger strike. It was joined by our entire corridor, and later by all the political prisoners. They deprived us of our beds, mattresses, and all other belongings. We had thus to lie on the floor, not only at night, but also during the daytime, for many of us, including myself, were already exhausted on the third day. The hunger strike was lost and the Kurlov* regime was introduced; for at that time there were many other prisoners in the prison besides the political prisoners, including a number of peasants fresh from the villages who were not used to voluntary starvation. In the prison of the present-day capital of the Lithuanian National Democratic Republic there were imprisoned at that time many nationalistically-inclined intellectuals and peasants for agrarian revolts

*Kurlov was a city governor of Moscow, notorious for the high-handedness and rigour of his administration.

against the Polish landlords. The prisoners included the "Unofficial President" of the "Lithuanian Republic" and his son. The entire Kovno province was flooded with police, and all the police officers and sergeants had become political bloodhounds. Their methods of investigation were all the same and extraordinarily simple: they took one or more peasants of a village and began to beat and torture them until they confirmed everything that the police wanted. As soon as the arrested peasants had "voluntarily" betrayed their accomplices the latter were immediately arrested and imposing trials were staged. All the district and provincial prisons, all the police cells were crammed with peasants who had come there by this means. In short, maintenance of a tremendous army of police was quite worth while; they had plenty to do. Besides large numbers of peasants there were many Lithuanian, Polish, Jewish and Russian workers in prison. The presence of most of them was simply due to chance; they had been informed against by personal enemies. There were, however, some important Lithuanian comrades in prison who had been betrayed by provocateurs in their organisations. Unfortunately I cannot remember their names. I never came across any of them again after I was released from Kovno prison.

Soon after my arrival in prison I was summoned to a cross-examination. There were gendarmes present who stated that they definitely recognised me. They had often, they said, made raids at my brother's in Kovno and had seen me there! The absurdity and falsity of their statements were obvious, for I had not been at my brother's since 1899. The same Svyachkin who came with my photograph after I had been arrested threatened me with the penal brigade as a vagrant, with personal confrontation with my brother, etc. To tell the truth, I was not in a very happy frame of mind about it, for I did not know how my brother would act when we met. The examination ended without any result, but I still continued to await the confrontation with my brother, which, however, did not take place, as the gendarmes had apparently lost all hope of proving that I was he whom they wanted. I was not troubled again for two months, and all that time I was kept in the dark. I was not worried about myself; it was all the same to me whether I was exiled under my real name or first sent to a penal brigade as a vagrant and exiled later. I was tormented by another thought: If it were proved who I was, all my relatives, who had insisted that I was Pokemunsky, would be arrested and sent to Siberia for nothing.

At last they sent for me again for another cross-examination. As soon as I saw the solemn surroundings in which the cross-examination was to take place I understood that the gendarmes had something new against me, and I pricked up my ears. Witnesses were hidden behind the door through which I had passed. After some preliminary questioning, Svyachkin asked me in what towns of Russia I had been. As I did not answer this question he began naming some towns himself. Finally he mentioned Kherson. I promptly replied that I had never been there. The gendarme jumped for joy. It appeared that in the Vilkomir recruiting office he had dug up an old photograph of Pokemunsky's. Unhesitatingly I stated that, as the only son of my parents, I was not subject to military service and therefore had never been in the recruiting office. The photograph was obviously not mine, because papers stating that I was exempt from military service were not accepted without a photograph and since I was not in Vilkomir at that time it must be some one else's. The gendarme announced that he would give me three days to disclose my real name, after which, if I failed to do so, I would be tried for vagrancy. In a week's time, without telling me my destination, I was taken away. It appeared that I was being sent back to Vilkomir. From Yanov I went on foot, and met some townsmen, who acquainted my relatives with the fact that I was being taken as a convict. Outside the town I was met by friends. As soon as I arrived at the guardroom of the police department my brother-in-law came to me with a large number of letters from Moscow, Rostov, and from abroad. These police blockheads searched high and low to prove that I was not Pokemunsky, but they had quite forgotten to look through the correspondence which arrived for me in my brother-in-law's name. There were enough letters in code there to start a new case against me. My brother-in-law told me that the search of the gendarmes had proved fruitless and that as soon as he found out why I was brought there he would let me know. (My brother-in-law had been allowed this interview by paying a rouble.) I felt more tranquil now. In the evening I received a note informing me that I should be taken to the place where Pokemunsky was born, but that all arrangements would be made to have inhabitants recognise me as Pokemunsky.

Next morning I and another man, an artisan, were marched through the whole town in the direction of Dvinsk. On the way I saw with my own eyes some of the torture rooms where they made the peasants and prisoners "confess" that they had

rebelled, that they belonged to forbidden societies, that they had stolen, etc., when they were quite innocent of all these accusations. Once we made a halt in one of these places, and there some of those who had just gone through the tortures of these "examinations" told us about the methods employed. For a moment I thought that I, too, had been brought here to confess who I was. But after a visit from the police sergeant and his assistant we were made to continue our journey, of which, of course, I was extremely glad. Neither I nor my companion knew that we were to have an interview with the district police officer, who was the terror of the neighbourhood.

We were three days and two nights on the way. On the evening of the third day, which was Saturday, we reached the dirty little town of Utsyan, through which ran the narrow Ponevezh Sventsyany railway. The police inspector had his office in the yard of his own house. A little farther off there was a little house which was apparently an old bath-house turned into a prison. It was empty.

We were taken into the bath-house and put into a small dark cell with one little window. On Sundays there were drinking parties in the police inspector's house. The noise of drunken voices, dancing and singing reached us in the cell. On that day the warder who brought our food told us about the "art" that his superior, the police inspector, and his assistant, practised. Flogging and torturing of prisoners took place in the first room, the room through which the prisoners were conducted to the cell where we had been put. The warder pointed out the dried-up blood on the bench, the result of flogging, and added that complaints had been made against the inspector and someone had come to make investigations, but as nothing had been done the tortures continued.

On Sunday night we became very apprehensive. It was dark in our cell; we heard drunken voices coming closer and closer to our house. All night long we awaited an attack, but for some reason we were not touched. On Monday, at twilight, my companion was called. Even before they closed the door of our cell I heard his unearthly heartrending shrieks. The poor fellow was made to suffer because the administration of the Kovno prison had given him an incorrect itinerary; instead of sending him by railway through Vilna to Dvinsk, he had been sent to Dvinsk via Vilkomir, Onikshty and Utsyany. The wise officer immediately decided that my companion had himself chosen this route in order that he might run away, and therefore he was beaten until he lost consciousness. On his

return I was called. I decided to resist. I turned up my collar and clenched my teeth. I looked around in the darkness to find out where the attack might come from. But nothing happened, and I was led into a lighted room. The inspector was sitting in the room, and opposite him, by the wall, stood five old men, some of whom were Lithuanians. The police officer ordered me to keep silent, and began interrogating the old men. They stated that I really was the son of Pokemunsky, who had emigrated to America, while I remained in Russia, that they knew me very well, and that I looked very much like my father. I had never seen these people before, even in my dreams, and I had been so certain that I was being taken to torture that while I stood before the inspector I could not grasp what was happening. In the morning the inspector told me that it was my luck that I had been recognised; for otherwise I would not have escaped his clutches so easily. On my way back to the cell a stranger approached me and gave me five roubles. Then I understood that my friends must have arranged the recognition.

After I had been recognised as Pokemunsky the gendarmes let me go, but now the district chief of police was after me. He accused me of having sent someone to serve in the army instead of me, which was punishable under the Tsarist law (I was accused because the real Pokemunsky had reported for military service and not I!) I was dragged to the military recruiting office and the latter decided to send me for trial. I was released on bail of 100 roubles, and at last I got out of this stupid charge. This last arrest was the shortest in my revolutionary career, but it was the most expensive as regards nervous wear and tear and finances. I was a physical wreck. When I obtained my release I went to Kovno and there I obtained a temporary passport to go to Odessa to see Comrade Orlovsky (V. V. Vorovsky), for whom I had a message from the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee. I made arrangements with him for the receiving and the distribution of literature, for which purpose I introduced him to Comrade Lebit, who had been tried with me.

In November 1908 I left Odessa for Lvov (via Kamenets-Podolsk), where I had been sent by the Bureau of the Central Committee.

CHAPTER VII

I GO ABROAD AGAIN
(1908-1912)

I HAD been instructed to acquaint myself with the transport apparatus of the Lvov comrades, who had undertaken to supply the south of Russia with revolutionary Social-Democratic literature (which was again being published abroad). I found the Lvov comrades with great difficulty, because the address sent to me by N. K. Krupskaya while I was in Kovno prison had been incorrectly deciphered. When I became thoroughly acquainted with their methods of transport I found that the conveyance of literature would cost us too much and that far too unwieldy and complicated an apparatus would be required in Russia. Besides, there was no guarantee that the literature would be delivered promptly. When I let the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee in Geneva know my opinion on this matter I was asked to go there. On my way I stopped in Cracow and saw some Polish comrades. If my memory serves me correctly, I met Comrade Ganetsky there, and delivered certain messages to him for the Polish comrades. There I met Comrade Gursky also, whom I had not seen since our escape from the Kiev prison. I arrived in Vienna early in the morning and the train for Switzerland left in the afternoon. I went to see Leva (Vladimirov) who had settled in Vienna. From him I learned which of our mutual friends were abroad and what was going on in our Party circles there. I found out that there were differences of opinion among the Bolsheviks on the question of the participation of the Social Democrats in the Third Duma. The Bolsheviks were not united on this question during the elections to the Third Duma.

I remember that in 1907, before the Second All-Russian Party Conference, a collection of articles for and against participation of the Social-Democrats in elections was published. Comrade Lenin was for participation, Bogdanov against. But after the decision of the Party all the Bolsheviks participated in the elections. At the time I could not understand why this question was raised again, since we had had a fraction in the Third Duma for a long time already.

On my way from Vienna to Geneva I passed through the Tyrol. In the years that followed I passed several times through the beautiful and peaceful mountainous region, and I was always moved by the majestic beauty and indolent serenity of the Tyrolese mountains. But in the autumn of 1908, when I was on my way to Geneva after my exhausting and enervating work in Moscow and particularly after that last arrest, the Tyrol evoked in me a feeling of submissiveness. I asked myself whether human beings could indeed get along without exploiting one another, without wars, without class struggles. However, this mood did not last long. As soon as I arrived in Geneva I forgot the existence of the Tyrolese mountains and began to acquaint myself with the Party events of the last six months.

In Geneva I found Lenin, N. K. Krupskaya, Maria Oulianova, Zinoviev (whom I now met for the first time), Innokenty, Victor Taratuta, who was then secretary of the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee, and Otsov-Zhitomirsky. The latter lived in Paris, and had been summoned specially to transfer the management of the transport system to me. I was very friendly with Zhitomirsky. When, during the preparation for the Third Party Congress, I had had to leave my room in Berlin because of spies, I had moved to his house. He assisted me in my transport work; I dictated German business letters to him and even Russian business letters sometimes, because my handwriting was very bad. Before my departure for Russia in 1905 I transferred all my transport connections to him and Getsov.

When the publication of the Party organs was again transferred abroad, Zhitomirsky was entrusted with the task of re-establishing the old transport connections. He did not succeed in this because he had no personal acquaintances. After an interval of two years he had to renew the old connections, and for this he had to see both the Germans and the peasants personally. He went to the frontier, but nobody trusted him. Even his assertions that he had always worked with me were in vain. Zhitomirsky met me very cordially in Geneva, helped me to find lodgings, and at the same time informed me of all that he had done to organise the transport system again. When I asked why he did not live in Berlin, which was closer to the frontier and would have been a more convenient place for him to carry on his work, he told me of all that had happened in Berlin while I was in Russia. According to him, the Berlin police authorities had arrested the

members of a Russian Social-Democratic meeting. One of those arrested had dropped the address of the storage room where our literature was kept, a package containing revolvers, and the address of the hotel where Comrade Kamo* lived. There they discovered a suitcase with a double bottom, in which dynamite was found.†

According to Zhitomirsky they also found his (Zhitomirsky's) visiting card at Kamo's, and it was for this reason that he had to leave Berlin. Zhitomirsky advised me not to settle in Berlin either, because they were very strict there now—they had arrested Papasha (Litvinov) in one of the hotels there and had deported him, and were looking for me too. Now there is not the slightest doubt that all the arrests which were made amongst the Bolsheviks abroad were organised by Zhitomirsky; but at that time he was not yet suspected.

A few days after my arrival I went to a lecture by Alexinsky. I do not remember the subject, but he spoke a good deal about the Third State Duma and the activities of the Social-Democratic fraction in the Duma. According to him this fraction did not carry out a proletarian Party line and the members of the fraction only discredited the Party by their speeches in the Duma. He came to the conclusion that an ultimatum should be delivered to the fraction, demanding that they carry out the Party line. If they did not fulfil this demand they must be recalled from the Duma. After the lecture there were lively debates in which the Mensheviks also participated. Comrade Innokenty opposed Alexinsky with great warmth. This was, I believe, the first occasion on which the Central Committee, or Bolshevik centre, publicly opposed a section of the Bolsheviks (Alexinsky, Lunacharsky, Bogdanov, Lyadov, and others, who organised themselves into a separate group with their press organ, *Vperyod* (Forward), after the Bolshevik centre had repu-

*Kamo was his Party name. His real name was Simeon Ter-Petrosyan. See the pamphlet by Medvedeva, *Ter-Petrosyan, A Hero of the Revolution* ("Comrade Kamo"). Party History, C.C. R.C.P. Historical Research on the October Revolution and the R.C.P. State Publishing House, 1925.—ED.

†In Note 1 to Axelrod's letter to Martov of 12/7/1907, No. 62, and in Note 2 to Martov's letter to Axelrod of 5/1/1908, No. 65, the editors of the Axelrod and Martov correspondence write that the dynamite was prepared for an attack on the banking firm of Mendelsohn (see Vol. I, *Materials on the History of the Revolutionary Movement, Letters of P. B. Axelrod and L. Martov*, Russian Revolutionary Archive, Berlin.) This statement is incorrect. The dynamite was prepared, as I learned later, for the Caucasus. Comrade Kamo was held in a Prussian prison for a long time. In order to avoid deportation to Russia, he very cleverly simulated insanity. All the German specialists found him to be abnormal. Nevertheless he was given up to the Russian Government, which placed him in a psychiatric hospital, from which he escaped. He participated in the civil war, but recently met with a tragic end in the Caucasus.

diated them and denounced their "Recallism-Ultimatism,"* their "Machism"† and God-building;‡ but this was already towards the middle of 1909). Comrade Innokenty in his attack recognised the feebleness of the Duma fraction activities and criticised its desire to be autonomous and independent of the Central Committee of the Party; but he believed that the activities of the fraction must be changed, not by means of an ultimatum or its recall, but by the correction of its Party line by the Central Committee, and open criticism of its conduct. Refusal to participate in the State Duma would harm the interests of the Russian working class; for it was of importance to the Party to make use even of the Third Duma as a public platform. As we have seen, the fraction in the Third Duma corrected its original line to a certain degree, towards the end of

*A new trend favouring the boycott of the Third State Duma elections (in 1907) arose among some of the Bolsheviks. The motives for such tactics were mechanically carried over from the Bulygin and First State Duma epoch. After the Social Democrats entered the Third State Duma, two currents arose among the Bolsheviks: one wanted to have nothing further to do with the Duma and stood for recalling the Social Democratic Duma Fraction (Recallists); the other demanded that an ultimatum should be delivered to the fraction, insisting on a more revolutionary attitude in the Duma, and in case of non-compliance, that the fraction should be recalled (Ultimatists). In view of the fact that the main task of the Party, after the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, was to rally all the revolutionary forces of the proletariat and to use for that purpose all available means, including the tribune of the State Duma, the Bolsheviks, with Lenin at their head, fought these deviations energetically.

†By "Machism" is meant the philosophic trend of which Mach, a physicist, was the founder. The substance of the Machist philosophy is the identity between being and consciousness as distinguished from materialism, which teaches the unity of being and consciousness and that consciousness is conditioned by being; the Machist insists that matter and spirit are different aspects of the same fundamental phenomena—sensations. Machism found many adherents among a small group of Bolsheviks (Ryadovoy, Bogdanov, and others), who, though considering themselves Marxists and historical materialists, slipped on this ideological ground, thus perverting the substance of the point of view of the founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels. As Lenin aptly pointed out: "As a scientist, Mach, although subconsciously, is forced to accept the materialist point of view. And each time he does that he comes up against a logical contradiction of the idealistic foundation of his own philosophy," and further: "In Mach there are two spirits. . . ."

In 1908-1910, when there was decline in the labour movement, when there were various deviations from revolutionary Marxism in our Party, the Bolshevik centre definitely came out against the Machists.—Ed.

‡"God-building" had a few adherents among the Bolsheviks in 1908-1910. They were of the opinion that "there are certain other means of attracting the working masses to the banner of scientific socialism besides the economic process that proletarianises these masses and brings them over to the point of view of the proletariat." Therefore, "despite the founders of scientific socialism," they believed that "socialism may be presented in a form more acceptable to the half-proletarianised strata." The "God-creators" have accordingly shrouded the teachings of socialism in a God-fearing garb to render it more palatable to the non-proletarian workers, and have adapted it to the religious psychology of that group. The Bolshevik centre carried on a persistent struggle against this dangerous deviation (see *Proletary*, No. 42, February 12th, 1909, article by Kamenev.)—Ed.

its existence as a fraction; and some of the Bolsheviks who were members of it, Comrade Poletayev for instance, became of the greatest value to the Party (Comrade Poletayev spent much labour on the launching of the newspapers *Svezda* (Star) and *Pravda* (Truth)).

After I had become acquainted with everything relating to the transport situation (how many copies of the *Proletary* (*The Proletarian*) were published, what leaflets we were to send to Russia, how the conveyance was organised, etc.), it was decided that I should return to Germany to do transport work there and that I should settle in Leipzig. I was provided with the passport of a student named Rashkovsky; but I had to give it up immediately after my arrival in Leipzig, because Rashkovsky himself had lived in that city, and in registering with the police I should have had to give the maiden name of his mother and other details which were unknown to me. If, as soon as I arrived in Leipzig, I hadn't accidentally found out that Rashkovsky had lived in Leipzig I might have been arrested for giving the wrong information to the police.

At the end of December 1908, on my way to the Prussian border, I stopped in Leipzig. As I had German friends there, I found no difficulty in finding a room and an address for my letters, which I immediately sent to Geneva. On my arrival in Königsberg, I stayed with the secretary of the Social-Democratic organisation, Comrade Linde. From him and from Comrade Haase I learned of the changes which had taken place in the Social-Democratic organisations on the frontier. I took letters of recommendation from them to those Social-Democrats who did not know me, and I left for all the former frontier towns. I encountered no difficulty in getting in touch once more with the people who had previously aided me in conveying literature into Russia, and getting comrades across the frontier from and into Russia.

On my return to Leipzig I first of all began organising the foreign part of the work on a firm basis. I was given an attic in the building of the Leipzig Social-Democratic *Volkszeitung* (People's Gazette), where I arranged for the storing and packing of our literature. All the necessary packing supplies I received from the above paper. The managers of the technical department of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, Max Siefert and Leman, permitted me to receive all our literature from Geneva and later from Paris, as well as remittances and letters from abroad, in their name. I was given the address of many active members of the Leipzig Social-Democratic organisation for

receiving letters from abroad. The majority of these comrades worked on the newspaper. The letters from Russia were given to Max Siefert; either I called for them myself, or my landlord, an active member of the Social-Democratic Party, who saw Siefert several times a day on business, delivered them to me. It was now only necessary to find meeting places for comrades coming from abroad and from Russia and to find rooms for them. I promptly settled this question—I appointed the People's House as a meeting-place for our comrades coming from abroad. This house also served as a kind of hotel for comrades who came for a couple of days only. It was a very good hotel, but for those who stayed long it was too expensive; therefore I had in reserve a number of rooms in private apartments where I paid only for the time they were actually occupied. The meeting-places for those coming from Russia were located in private apartments. I always kept in touch with these apartments through my landlord's telephone. During 1909-1912 many comrades came to Leipzig to see me, a great number of whom are now active workers in our Party and in the Soviet Union. It must be borne in mind that the conveyance of our literature was considered illegal, and nine-tenths of the comrades who visited me were looked upon as criminals by the police of Saxony. They lived without registering with the police; in fact I, too, had to live a long time without registration, until I obtained somebody's passport under which I could register.

I kept away from the Leipzig Russian colony, which was fairly large and consisted mainly of students from the national minorities of Tsarist Russia. Max Savelyev and his wife, who at that time were studying in Leipzig, were the only members of the colony whom I met frequently. The transport system in Russia was badly organised: to receive literature not far from the Russo-German frontier, send it on to some large Russian town, and forward it from there in one way or other to our local organisations, was by no means an easy task in 1909. Through the Central Committee I got in touch with a group of comrades in Vilna—"Sasha," (Alexander Strumin), who was recently arrested on the accusation that until 1917 he was a member of the Vilna secret police, and Sonya Krengel, who were entrusted with the above task. I connected them in turn with the persons in Russia from whom they were to get the literature, which I began sending before the transport system in Russia was organised. For various reasons the Vilna comrades did not succeed in carrying out their task, and once again

I had to begin sending literature to Russia in small quantities by means of "breast plates" and double-bottomed suit-cases. By this latter method I sent no mean quantity of literature with comrades going to Russia during that period. They took the literature to St. Petersburg, Moscow, or other towns to which they were going. But often we sent the literature to the Vilna comrades, who distributed it throughout Russia.

Finally, I insisted that a more responsible comrade should be appointed to attend to the transport work in Russia, a comrade with initiative who would not wait for fair weather, but would himself go down to the Russian frontiers and see the smugglers with whom we dealt. Ilya Zefir (Sergei Moiseyev) was appointed, and he came to Leipzig to see me. We drew up a plan of work, and then he returned to Russia to arrange for the reception of our literature. In June of the same year Comrade Zefir again came to Leipzig, and we went together to Tilsit, where the persons who had undertaken to deliver our literature to Russia were awaiting us. Zefir took the addresses of the smugglers so that he could find them in Russia, and immediately returned there. From now on our progress was very rapid. Of all the persons whom we could use as connecting links we selected only the most reliable: Osip, a Lithuanian peasant smuggler, who was fairly well off, and Nathan a Suvalk townsman. The former, through his people, picked up the literature in Tilsit, in Mauderod's printing shop, and brought it to a village near the railway stations of Shavli and Radzivilishki (on the former Libau-Romensk Railway). From there it was taken by the Russian comrades of the transport group to Russia. Osip's services were not very expensive, only eighteen to twenty roubles per pood, but he refused to take less than four and a half poods at a time (three packets each of one and a half poods, packed, as I have already described for the period before 1905—this was his minimum. In 1904 and 1905 he transported ten packets and more at a time.) But the business of getting the literature from Tilsit to the Russian villages far from the frontier took a long time. In spite of the fact that Osip worked without mishaps, this frontier service was not very valuable, for we were mainly sending the periodical *Proletary*, which, though published irregularly, lost its news value by too long a delay at the frontier.

Nathan, on the other hand, delivered literature quickly and was satisfied with a package of one and a half poods at a time. We called this the "express" service, because within a few days he was able to get our packages from Goldap, Prussia (where

we brought the packages), to Grodno (not far from the town).

For such a transport service we did not hesitate to pay even thirty-five to forty roubles per pood. Nathan, whom I saw from time to time, gave the impression of being half-idealist, half-smuggler. He worked very honestly with us and helped us tremendously. Although we had a good frontier crossing point (Shchuchin-Grayevo) for sending people to and from Russia, we preferred to send these people through Nathan, because Grodno and Avgustovo, through which towns they had to pass, were very busy places and our people could slip through unnoticed.

Both frontier points worked with a very small staff. One comrade only was sent to Grodno to carry on the "express" transport, which was mainly used at that time (K. Y. Lebit, wife of P. Lebit, with whom I had been imprisoned in Odessa; he also worked in Grodno for a few months in the transport apparatus in 1910.) This organisation, as well as the persons who acted as connecting links, remained unchanged until 1913, although the legal daily, *Pravda*, was already being published in Russia.

Party literature from abroad now began to reach Russia regularly and in great quantities. The transport organisation worked without a hitch up to the middle of 1910. Comrade Zefir had his own staff residence in Minsk (in our correspondence we called this town Morshank), but he frequently had to go to St. Petersburg and Moscow on business. It was in Moscow that he was arrested in the summer of 1910. We had to look for someone to replace Zefir; for the transport organisation remained intact and was not affected by Zefir's arrest. We received a letter from Matvei Brindinsky (who later proved to be a provocateur), in which he said that he was going to Europe at the orders of Comrade Nogin (who was then in the Russian Bureau of the C.C.). I did not like this letter. He wrote in invisible ink without a code, saying that he was leaving St. Petersburg on such and such a date, and asking to be met, and giving a full description of his personal appearance for this purpose. I informed Mark (Lyubimov), who was in Paris, about this letter. At that time he was at the head of the technical affairs of the Foreign Bureau of the C.C. It was Mark's opinion that Matvei had written such a letter because of his lack of experience. When Matvei arrived we learned that Nogin had appointed him successor to Zefir. Besides Nogin, he was recommended by M. I. Tomskaya and other comrades.

Matvei had worked as a professional revolutionary in St. Petersburg and Moscow since 1909, in which year he had escaped from exile in Tobolsk; at first he was the secretary and organiser of many districts; later he became manager of the C.C. passport bureau. After the arrest of Zefir, the Russian Bureau of the C.C. appointed him manager of the transport organisation in Russia. I put Matvei in touch with all the comrades in Russia who were already doing transport work. On his arrival in Russia he took Comrade Valerian (Zalezhsky) as his assistant. The latter did all the practical work, while Matvei conducted the correspondence with me and with the Russian Bureau of the C.C. or its representatives. Matvei lived in Dvinsk and Valerian lived in Gomel and Novozipkov. At first all went well with Matvei: literature was received and regularly distributed in Russia, but later, although we sent the literature to and across the frontier (I used to pay the smugglers after both they and Matvei had informed me that the literature had been taken from the frontier), the Russian organisations received our literature at very rare intervals or not at all. For that reason I summoned Matvei from Russia to see me in Europe several times. Together we worked out plans how to send our literature more expeditiously, and at first, on his return to Russia, matters would improve, but later on the literature would again get lost somewhere. (Later we found out that the greater part of this literature was sent by Matvei to the Moscow gendarmerie and police departments).

In 1911 I wrote to him that if the May Day leaflet, which was issued by the Central Organ, was not delivered in time to such and such organisations, we would disband the transport organisation in Russia for its inactivity. The result was astounding: the leaflets were delivered with all promptitude. Towards the end of 1911, basing myself on the facts I had accumulated against Matvei, I demanded his dismissal from all work and exclusion from the January Party Conference of 1912, into which he had wanted to penetrate, and accused him of treason to the Party, although I had no direct evidence against him. It may not be amiss to tell my readers how I arrived at the conclusion that he was an agent of the secret police. The strange letter which I received from him from St. Petersburg I have already alluded to. That letter left a bad impression on my mind. On the other hand, it was inexplicable to me how those working in the transport organisation in Russia were not arrested, that the literature was received regularly but that it always disappeared somewhere. When, however, I threatened

to disband the organisation, the May Day leaflet was quickly and correctly delivered to the various organisations. I also wondered how Matvei managed to come abroad with a regular passport, for during the violent Tsarist reaction then raging in Russia not every illegal Party worker was able to enjoy such a luxury as a legal passport.

In August 1911 Matvei visited me in Leipzig. Mark also came from Paris for a joint consultation. Before his departure Matvei handed me his account. In that statement, under the heading of expenditures, he had included an item of one hundred roubles which he charged to debts. When I remarked that this sum should have appeared in the credit column as well, he, not a bit abashed, took back the account and returned it the next day. Now the hundred roubles appeared on the credit side, but the debit column was increased by 140 roubles. I was terribly indignant with him. I did not accept his account, but demanded an account containing full explanations. To me it was so obvious that he was a dishonest person that I went to Comrade Rykov, who was in Leipzig at that time and who was to return to Russia with Matvei and I related the incident to him. I told Rykov that I was opposed to his travelling together with Matvei, and Matvei I told that Rykov would remain in Leipzig.

Comrade Rykov was arrested immediately upon his arrival in Moscow. A number of addresses in code were taken from him, which were deciphered by the secret police. Many arrests resulted. The Moscow newspapers wrote at the time that at last Rykov had been caught red-handed and would be sent for trial. Immediately after the arrest Matvei wrote that Rykov would most likely be exiled to Siberia. (After Comrade Rykov had left for Russia Comrade Zagorsky told me that Matvei had helped Rykov to put the addresses into code. I then concluded that Matvei, having betrayed Rykov, apparently feared the possible consequences of this arrest to himself, and had therefore insisted that Rykov should only be exiled to Siberia). When, finally, I learned from Comrade Gurvich, the Vilna and Dvinsk delegate to the January Party Conference of 1912, that Matvei had been arrested tn Dvinsk in October 1911 and had been immediately released, about which Matvei himself had told me nothing, I came to the definite conclusion that he was an agent-provocateur, and I wired to Krupskaya that he must not be admitted to the Conference. I accidentally learned that he had gone straight to Paris, so that he might slip into the Conference, for he felt that

I suspected him. The letter which followed my telegram to Paris giving all the facts was apparently convincing, for he was not admitted to the Conference. He protested against my accusations, and the matter was placed before Burtsev, who established the soundness of my accusations. In 1913, before my departure for Russia, Zefir and I were questioned by Burtsev on Matvei's case. Zefir shared my conviction that he was an agent-provocateur.

Documents taken from the files of the Moscow secret police department, published by M. A. Tsiavlovsky in 1917 under the title of *Bolsheviki*, definitely established the fact that Matvei had been an active and malicious agent-provocateur since 1909. He had not been satisfied with handing over innumerable consignments of our literature to the secret police, with the consequent arrest of many members of the Central Committee of the Party and other Russian organisations, but he wrote lengthy reports on Bolshevism as well. I think, however, that the latter may not have been composed by him, but by gendarmes who used the material supplied by Matvei; for in my opinion he was politically too ignorant to have done this.

The one spy Matvei had wasted a large amount of funds, rendered null the work and efforts of numerous Party members, and deprived many workers of the means of reading their revolutionary literature!

After the expulsion of Matvei in December 1911 I got in touch with Comrade Valeryan. We changed our rendezvous, shifted some of the comrades about, and once more the transport organisation began to function well. From 1912 on, with the revival of the Labour movement in Russia, and the daily publication of *Pravda*, the transport of literature from abroad lost much of its significance and declined considerably.

While I am on the subject of my work in Leipzig during the years 1909-1912 it would not be amiss to dwell briefly on organisation and the activities of the Leipzig auxiliary group of the R.S.-D.L.P. during that period.

I have already mentioned that upon my arrival in Leipzig I kept away from the Russian students there. There were very few emigrants, and those were mainly workers who were employed in the factories and with whom we were later in close contact, although they had their own club, library, reading-room and dining-room, where one was always sure to find a Russian crowd. The only comrades through whom I might have got into contact with the students were the Savelyevs, but soon after my arrival they left for Münich for six months. About

the middle of the summer of 1909 N. Marshak arrived in Leipzig and began frequenting the Russian student organisations. It appeared that among the students there were adherents of the majority and minority of the R.S.-D.L.P. members of the Polish and Lithuanian S.D.P. and the Bund.

On N. Marshak's initiative a group was organised which comprised the Savelyevs, Marshak, and myself; the students Brakhman and Brodsky; and two Menshevik Party members, London and Ryazansky. The Bund and the S.D.P. of Poland and Lithuania had already organised auxiliary groups. The Bund group consisted of "Spectator" (Nakhimson), the Baksts (husband and wife), Rabinovich and others. The Polish group included Radek, Bronsky, Mukha and others. After the organisation of our group, the Mensheviks also organised their own group, which consisted of Peter Ramishvily, Kaplun, Babayev and others. After the 1910 Plenum of the Central Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P. which took place abroad, where an agreement was reached by all sections in the Party (about this later) all the members of the Menshevik group except Ramishvily joined our group.

After they had entered the group we agreed to send all the funds collected by our group straight to Russia, and not to the foreign centre. Thus three Social-Democratic organisations existed in Leipzig at that time. As not one of these groups had a following of more than half of the students, it became necessary, if we were to acquire influence in all the student elective organs and get Social-Democratic candidates elected there, to form a united front of all the Social-Democrats with a single list of candidates. This impelled us to create a permanent organisation consisting of representatives of all three groups to co-ordinate the activities in the colony; for the assistance groups could not exist without the student organisations. Entertainments, lectures, etc., were legally possible only under the banner of the Russian Students' Union. There was a strong group amongst the students which insisted on the independence of the student organisations of the Socialist groups. When the Bolshevik assistance group was organised I took an active part in it, although I seldom visited the students' institutions and never spoke at meetings there.

What did this auxiliary group do for the Party? It took a close interest in Party life, discussed Party questions, organised discussion meetings on Party questions for all Social-Democrats. I remember a lecture in 1911 by Comrade Rykov on liquidationist tactics in the R.S.-D.L.P., and one in 1912 by

Comrade Lunacharsky on internal Party affairs. In February 1912 in Leipzig Lenin delivered a lecture on Tolstoy, and in the same month Comrade Lunacharsky delivered one on a literary topic. It also arranged meetings of all Social-Democrats for the First of May, the Ninth of January, etc., and sold Party literature published abroad among the students and, through the German Social-Democrats, in bookshops pamphlets and the newspapers, the *Proletary*, and the *Social-Democrat* and the St. Petersburg *Zvyesda* (The Star). Finally it organised entertainments which always helped to swell the Party funds. Besides this, it collected money for the emigrants and political prisoners. Undoubtedly all three Social-Democratic groups in Leipzig had a great ideological influence on the Russian students there.

I must add that through these students, members of the group as well as sympathisers, I sent much literature into Russia tucked away in "breast plates" (as soon as the leaflet announcing the January conference of 1912 was out, I despatched it with a member of the group, Comrade B. London), and borrowed the students' passports for the purpose of sending active Bolsheviks into Russia. Comrades Zagorsky, Pilatskaya and Lazar Zelikson joined the Leipzig auxiliary group immediately after their arrival in Leipzig. This group always had a majority of old Bolsheviks, and was in close touch with the Bolshevik Centre and other foreign assistance groups of the Bolsheviks.

CHAPTER VIII

Ideological and Organisational Confusion in the Ranks of the R.S.-D.L.P. (1908-1911)

There were profound differences of opinion between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks on every important question of tactics before the 1905 Revolution. Some of these differences were decided by the October events themselves, the revolutionary onslaught of 1905—for instance, on the question whether the Social-Democrats should participate in the elections to the Bulygin Duma or whether the elections should be boycotted, as the Bolsheviks had proposed. The Bulygin Deliberative Duma was swept out of existence and a new law appeared convoking the State Duma. But the main points of dissension between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks remained, and were not removed either by the Fourth (Unity) Party Congress in Stockholm or the Fifth Party Congress in London. Those were the differences concerning the character of the Russian Revolution and the rôle of the proletariat in it; and on the question deriving from this—that of the attitude of the Social-Democrats, the vanguard of the proletariat, towards the liberal bourgeoisie. I have already mentioned that during the elections to the Second State Duma two different lines of tactics were put forward; the Mensheviks admitted of "local agreements with revolutionary and oppositionist-democratic (Cadets, *O.P.*) parties," "if, during the election campaign, they saw that there was danger of the parties of the Right getting in" (Article 4 of the resolution of the First All-Russian Conference of the R.S.-D.L.P. November 1906). But as a matter of fact, in many places the Mensheviks and Plekhanov simply called upon the electors to vote for the Cadets. The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, said that "in the first stage of the electoral campaign, *i.e.* before the masses, they must, as a general rule, come forward as an independent party, and present Party candidates only for election." Exceptions were allowed "in urgent cases, and then only with parties which wholly subscribed to the principal slogans of our immediate political struggle, *i.e.* which recognised the necessity of an armed insurrection, and fought

for a democratic republic. In addition, such coalitions may be formed only with regard to the drawing-up of a common list of candidates, and can in no way interfere with the independence of the political agitation of the Social-Democrats" (from the opinion expressed by the Bolsheviks at the same Conference, where they remained in the minority).

After the dissolution of the Second Duma, when the Stolypin regime was firmly established, the dissensions began to increase. They now concerned the very existence of our Party. Plekhanov loudly proclaimed that it was a mistake to have taken up arms, referring to the Moscow armed revolt of December 1905 and those in other towns of Tsarist Russia. The Mensheviks began accusing the Bolsheviks in the Press of having frightened away the Cadets by making social demands, such as the eight-hour working day, etc. It appeared, therefore as if the Bolsheviks were responsible for the failure of the 1905 Revolution. The weight of the Menshevik accusations against the Bolsheviks was further increased by the fact that, according to them, there were no hopes or signs of a new revolutionary wave, for the Stolypin regime was firmly established with every expectation of a long life. Consequently the Mensheviks proposed that we should adjust ourselves to the Stolypin Tsarist regime, which means that the R.S.-D.L.P. was to work above ground within the limits of the Tsarist law. For that puprose the Party would have to discard its Party programme and tactics; in other words, the Party as a revolutionary Social-Democratic Party would be dissolved. The Bolsheviks were of a different opinion. They stated that the fundamental problems which had caused the Revolution of 1905 had not yet been solved. The working-class was not satisfied; it had obtained neither the right to organise nor the right to strike, nor freedom of speech or assembly; the working day remained the same as before the revolution; there was no social insurance and wages were even lower than before. Nor had the peasants gained anything. The land remained with the land-owners; taxes had not decreased; the peasant had still as few rights as he had had before the revolution. Hence the revolution was not lost—the contradictions had not been removed. The 1905 revolution, said the Bolsheviks, had suffered a temporary setback, but would flare forth with renewed vigour. Proceeding from this revolutionary point of view, the Bolsheviks categorically insisted on keeping the illegal Social-Democratic organisations in Russia intact and retaining the Social-Democratic revolutionary programme and tactics.

To-day every worker in Russia knows that the Bolsheviks were right, and that their painstaking labour, in both the ideological and the practical field, was not wasted. But ten years of colossal efforts and sacrifices were necessary to save the Party from its sham friends on the Right (the Liquidators) and on the Left (the Recallists).*

When I went abroad in the autumn of 1908 the two main trends—the Menshevik-Liquidators and the Bolsheviks—had taken shape and had their separate Press organs. The Mensheviks had the *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* (Voice of the Social-Democrat), the Bolsheviks, the *Proletary*. Both currents were connected with Russian organisations. In addition, a neutral popular workers' paper, the *Pravda*, was published in Vienna. Those comrades, both abroad and in Russia, who did not wish to join either the Bolsheviks or the Mensheviks, grouped themselves round this paper, but in reality this group stood nearer to the Liquidators than to the Bolsheviks; for after the Prague All-Russian Party Conference called by the Bolsheviks in January 1912 the group joined the "August Bloc," which was virtually directed against the Bolsheviks (besides the Vienna *Pravda* group, it included the Liquidators, the *Vperyod* group, the Caucasian district committee, the Latvians and the Bund). The following were members of the Vienna *Pravda* "Club": Trotsky and Comrades Uritsky, Semkovsky, Joffe and others. At the head of the Vienna *Pravda* "Club," and of the paper itself, stood Trotsky, who waged open irreconcilable war against Lenin and the Bolsheviks before, during and after the 1905 revolution. When Trotsky began publishing the "neutral" Vienna *Pravda* he carried on the struggle against the Bolsheviks surreptitiously, so that the workers in Russia should not be able to see the "neutral" paper in its true colours. But when it became known that the Mensheviks had not complied with the decisions of the 1910 Plenum of the Central Committee with regard to the struggle against liquidation tactics, the cessation of their factionist paper, etc., Trotsky once again began an open campaign against the Bolsheviks. And after the Prague Party Conference this campaign took the form of systematic persecution of the Bolsheviks. The inspirer of the "August Bloc" of liquidators, and of the conference called by them in the summer of 1912, was this same "neutral" Trotsky. The *Vperyod* group was just being formed. It was composed after the enlarged session of the

*See Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya, No. 1 (38), article by Ostroukhova, "The *Vperyod* Group 1909-1917."—ED.

editorial board of the *Proletary* (in 1909) of various comrades; some were against the participation of the Social-Democrats in the Duma, and others were dissatisfied with the expulsion of the Recallists (as those who stood for recalling the Social-Democrat deputies from the Third Duma were called) from the Bolshevik ranks.

The adherents of Mach's idealist philosophy (Bogdanov, Ryadovoy and others), a philosophy incompatible with the teachings of Marx and Engels, also belonged to the *Vperyod* group, as did the God-builders* (Lunacharsky and others), whom the Bolsheviks expelled from their midst. The *Vperyod* group had its own factional organ, which appeared at irregular intervals. This group had no influence over the working masses in Russia. It made use mainly of old Bolshevik connections, but as soon as the Party members realised that the *Vperyod* group and the Bolsheviks were not one and the same they immediately went over to the Bolsheviks. The *Vperyod* group established a Party school in the Island of Capri, to which they invited Party members of the working class from Russia. After finishing at this school, almost all these students joined the Bolsheviks. The *Vperyod* group included Alexinsky, Bogdanov, Comrade Liadov, Lunacharsky, and others. Although this group considered itself more Left than the Bolsheviks, they joined the Liquidators and participated with them in the "August Bloc" and in the August conference called by the "Bloc."

The next few years (1910-1914, right up to the beginning of the war) witnessed the birth of two more groups abroad in the Russian section of the R.S.-D.L.P.—the Menshevik "Partymen" or Plekhanovists, with Plekhanov at their head, and the Bolshevik "Partymen" conciliators. Plekhanov and his followers, while remaining Mensheviks, were against the dissolution of the illegal Party and the adjustment to the Stolypin regime, and stood for the union of all Party elements against these liquidation tactics. The Bolshevik conciliators, on the other hand, stated that they remained Bolsheviks, but they did not agree with and could not accept the "splitting"

*A small number of Bolsheviks adhered to the "God-building" current in 1908-1910. Lenin, for instance, described them thus

"There is as much difference between God-seeking, God-building, God-creating and God-begetting, etc., as there is between a yellow devil and a blue devil. To speak of God-seeking, not in order to oppose *all* devils and gods, all ideological corpse-worshipping (every little god, even the purest, most ideal, not sought for, but conceived little god, is corpse-worshipping)—but simply to choose between a blue devil and a yellow one—that is a hundred times worse than not speaking about it at all." (From a letter to Gorky, Lenin on Religion, p. 50.)

tactics and "irreconcilable" attitude of Lenin and his followers.*

But as a matter of fact the Bolshevik conciliators ("Partymen" as they called themselves) interfered with and hindered the struggle against the Liquidators by every means in their power. They seized upon the decisions of the 1910 Plenum of the Central Committee, though none of the participants of the Plenum except the Bolsheviks carried out these decisions, in order to hinder the publication and distribution of the Central Organ of the Party, the creation of an organisational committee for the purpose of calling a Party Conference, and so on. This group consisted of Comrades Lyeva, Mark Lyubimov, Lozovsky, and others. The Bolshevik conciliators had no influence on the organisations then existing in Russia. During 1912-1914 (right up to the war) both groups united and jointly issued two organs *Za Partiyu* (For the Party) which was published abroad, and *Yedinstvo*,† which was published in Russia.

No less confusion reigned among the "nationals" who formally entered the R.S.-D.L.P. after the Stockholm Congress. Two main currents contended among the Letts—the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. Now one, now the other, got the upper hand. A Menshevik Liquidator current ruled the Bund, but there an insignificant minority was dissatisfied with the policy of its central committee. As regards the Social-Democrats of Poland and Lithuania, although they adhered to the policy and tactics of the Bolsheviks, in all fundamental questions at the Congresses, conferences, and meetings of the C.C. of the R.S.-D.L.P., they wavered when it came to certain questions of organisation, and even hindered the carrying out of firm measures to create an organisational committee for the purpose of calling a Party conference. And that is not all: they not only refused to participate in the Prague All-Russian

*The Bolshevik *conciliators* ("Partymen") accused Lenin and the Bolshevik centre of sectarianism and of intolerance towards their ideological opponents, because the Bolsheviks kept aloof from the Recallists, Ultimatists, Machists and God-builders, exposed the conciliators (who wanted to reconcile the irreconcilable and when they failed virtually left the Bolsheviks), carried on a struggle against the Liquidators and expelled them from the Party at the Party Conference of 1912. It should now be obvious to every worker in Soviet Russia that our Party was victorious in October, 1917, and was able to consolidate this victory, only thanks to the persistent struggle that the Bolsheviks carried on for so many years within the R.S.-D.L.P. against all the perversions of revolutionary communism.

†After the declaration of war, these two groups collapsed. Comrade Lyeva became a determined opponent of the war, but Mark unfortunately followed Plekhanov and got lost in the bog of patriotism. I cannot recall Mark Lyubimov without regret. He had been an honest, splendid comrade and an active Party worker.

Party Conference, but even opposed it, and thus strengthened the anti-Bolshevik front and hindered the fight against the Liquidators. They also had an opposition, the "Rozlamovists," with Comrades Radek, Ganetsky, Unschlicht, and others at its head.*

I have set down all these details that it may be clear what was then going on in the ranks of the R.S.-D.L.P. It took ten years to prove and hammer in that which is now so obvious to the Party. For ten years the Bolsheviks, with Lenin at their head, defended and fought for the purity of the revolutionary Marxist watchwords, created and defended illegal Party organisations with a strict discipline and a select membership of stalwart adherents.

In the middle of 1909 I was summoned to Paris by Comrade Mark. Davydov-Golubkov, secretary of the Russian board of the C.C., Meshkovsky-Goldenburg, member of the C.C., Tomsky, Donate Shulyatikov (from Moscow), and other comrades were already in Paris by the time I arrived. Comrades Lenin, Krupskaya, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Mark and Innokenty were also in Paris. The day after my arrival an unofficial session of the enlarged editorial staff of the *Proletary* consisting of the above comrades was held in Lenin's rooms. But it was in fact a session of the Bolshevik centre with representatives from St. Petersburg and Moscow, and a few specially invited comrades, including myself. These unofficial sessions lasted two days, I believe. Questions connected with further work in Russia and with our attitude towards the Recallists-Ultimatists and the

*The opposition in the S.D. of Poland and Lithuania under the name of "Rozlamovists" appeared in 1911 as a result of the excessive centralisation of the chief directorate (Central Committee) of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania with regard to the local organisations. It expressed itself in a large number of organisational measures, and in the fact that the Central Committee did not inform the local organisations of the S.D. Party of Poland and Lithuania of its attitude towards the dissension and the internal situation in the R.S.-D.L.P. The Central Committee took an equivocal attitude, beginning with the second half of 1911, towards the question of the reconstruction of the central organ of the R.S.-D.L.P. Although it did not join the anti-Bolshevik ("August") bloc, its attitude was nevertheless inimical to the Bolshevik Conference of January 1912, and to the Central organs elected at this conference.

At the head of the opposition stood the Warsaw organisation, which was opposed to the organisational methods of the C.C. of the C.D. of Poland and Lithuania at its general conference in Warsaw in 1911. A section of the Chenstokhor, and the whole Lodz organisation, adhered to the Warsaw organisation. The differences between the C.C. and the Warsaw organisation became so great that the C.C. organised parallel organisations in Warsaw and in Lodz.

The opposition had its own illegal newspaper, *The Gazeta Rabotnica* (Workers' Gazette), and its own C.C. The Rozlamovists supported the Bolsheviks on the question of reconstructing the central organ of the R.S.-D.L.P. They united with the S.D. of Poland and Lithuania in 1917.

"God-builders" in our ranks were discussed. The session by a unanimous vote dissociated itself from every deviation from Marxism and Bolshevism. [For the decisions of this conference see the book *Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik): Its Resolutions and Conferences from 1898 to 1921*, pages 103-111.] After a preliminary discussion on all the resolutions had taken place and the latter had been carried the official session opened. In addition to the comrades already mentioned, Bogdanov, Marat (Shantser) and others whose names I cannot remember were present. (I was not present at the official session of the enlarged editorial board of the *Proletary*.)

The decisions of the enlarged editorial board of the *Proletary* clearly and definitely established the line to be followed by the Bolsheviks with regard to questions of R.S.-D.L.P. tactics and organisation. This line was carried out right up to the 1912 Conference, at which many of these decisions were confirmed by resolutions passed at that conference. In many of the large towns of Russia at that time there still existed Party organisations and a Russian C.C. bureau functioned off and on, consisting entirely of Bolsheviks; for the Mensheviks took absolutely no part in their work. The struggle with the Liquidators became more and more acute in the Party Press abroad. In January and February 1910 a Plenum of the C.C. was called in Paris. Which Bolsheviks from Russia took part in this Plenum I cannot remember, as I did not participate in it, but received my information from Nogin, who was on the Plenum of the C.C. Among the Bolshevik members of the C.C. there were differences of opinion on the question of uniting all the different currents in the Party. Comrades Nogin and Innokenty, who had the majority of the C.C. Bolsheviks behind them, carried out (in words only) the union of all the trends in the R.S.-D.L.P., establishing a single C.C. and central organ consisting of representatives of the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, and "Nationals."

In accordance with the decisions of the C.C. Plenum, the Menshevik-Liquidators were to discontinue their newspaper *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*, send three of their representatives to the Russian C.C., and help to rebuild the illegal Party organisations; on the other hand, the Bolsheviks were to discontinue their factionist newspaper, the *Proletary*, handing over their printing works, the transport organisation and all finances to the C.C. The latter created the Foreign Bureau of the C.C., consisting of one representative each from the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, S.-D. of Poland and Lithuania, the Bund, and the

S.-D. of Latvia. As the Bolsheviks were in the majority in the Central Committee of the Latvian Social-Democrats, the Foreign Bureau of the C. C. was in point of fact Bolshevik at that time. The C.C. Plenum appointed an editorial board for the central organ—the *Sotsial-Demokrat*, consisting of five persons, two Bolsheviks (Lenin and Zinoviev), two Mensheviks (Martov and Dan), and one member of the S.-D. of Poland and Lithuania (Warski). The same Plenum resolved to give financial aid to the Vienna *Pravda*, which they considered to be a popular workers' newspaper, and sent its representative, Kamenev, to its editorial board. While Nogin was telling me about the decisions of the Plenum he was almost speechless with joy at the fact that at last it had been possible to unite the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks for practical work in Russia (the Plenum had vigorously denounced the Liquidators and Recallism-Ultimatism) and that henceforth the "Nationals" were to participate in the work. Only one thing worried him: Comrade Lenin firmly opposed all the resolutions of the Plenum which made concessions to the Mensheviks and those decisions which hampered the work of the Bolsheviks by making them dependent on chance representatives of the "Nationals," although he submitted to the majority of the Bolshevik C.C. membership. Nogin told me with bitterness that Lenin did not understand the vital importance of Party unity for work in Russia.

The Bolsheviks carried out the decisions of the Plenum. They discontinued their newspaper, handed over a large sum of money, in accordance with the decision of the Plenum of the C.C. (to Kautsky, Mehring, and Zetkin), and also handed over the entire technical apparatus of the Foreign Bureau of the C.C. But the Mensheviks did not discontinue their newspaper, and none of them worked in the Russian Bureau of the C.C. They even fought against the re-establishment of the Central Committee. Moreover, the adherents of the *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* in Russia came out openly against the illegal Party, the C.C. and its organs. Indeed, the *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* did not lag behind its adherents in Russia. After the C.C. Plenum the Liquidators, both in Russia and abroad, started a crusade against the illegal Party, particularly against the Bolsheviks. They began attacking the adherents of the illegal Party in Russia in all the legal workers' organisations which had a Menshevik-Liquidator leadership. And, owing to the conciliatory tactics of some of the Bolshevik C.C. members, the struggle against the Liquidators was beset with difficulties.

Thus, thanks to the Bolshevik conciliators in the C.C., the Bolsheviks now had to depend on the representative of the S.-D. of Poland and Lithuania, who was the fifth member on the editorial staff of the Party organ, to carry out their policy in the *Sotsial-Demokrat*, and financially and technically they were dependent upon the Foreign Bureau of the C.C. (the stakeholders retained part of the money which had been handed over to them, and which would have been more than useful to the Bolsheviks at that period). I did not see Comrade Nogin again until 1917, and consequently I never found out what impression the final outcome of the decisions of the C.C. Plenum of 1910 made on him, but the Bolshevik conciliators were not in the least abashed by the consequences of the Plenum decisions.

The end of December 1910 found me in Paris again. Mikhail Mironovich (N. N. Mandelstam) and A. I. Rykov had already arrived in Paris from Russia. For some purpose which I cannot now remember Mark, Lyeva, Rykov, Mikhail Mironovich, Lozovsky and I met at a Russian or French café. At this meeting I raised the question of the need of sending leaflets, either ready-printed or in manuscript, to those few Party organisations which were working in Russia in time for the First of May, the Ninth of January and other appropriate occasions. If these leaflets were sent in manuscript form, the larger organisations would find a means of having them manifolded. I undertook to deliver the leaflets regularly and punctually to the Russian organisations.

My proposal was accepted and our Paris comrades drew up a list of writers to carry out this decision. Mark, Lyeva and Lozovsky included in this list writers of all shades, including Martov, but neither Lenin nor Zinoviev was included. This is what always happens with conciliators; they begin to reconcile the irreconcilable and after a while they go over to the enemy. So it was with the conciliatory C.C. of 1904, and so it was again with the Bolshevik conciliators of the period I am now describing. I was full of indignation at the omission of these Bolshevik writers from the list, and told Lenin and Krupskaya about it. Nothing, of course, came of my proposal. After Nogin's return to Russia many attempts were made to create a Russian C.C. Bureau, but all efforts until the end of 1911 ended in arrests.

The Bolshevik Foreign Centre had taken every measure to create a C.C. Bureau in Russia. Once I sent a comrade to the Polish member of the Russian C.C. Bureau in Cracow, Ganet-

sky. This comrade was to accompany Ganetsky to Moscow and put him in touch with the members of the Russian C.C. Bureau, but when they arrived in Moscow they found the members of the Russian C.C. Bureau whom they were to see already under arrest. The Bolsheviks made every possible effort and sacrifice in order, on the one hand, to defend and rebuild the local Party organisations and C.C. in Russia, broken by repeated arrests, and, on the other hand, to carry on an ideological struggle in the Press and at the few Party meetings against the Liquidators, who were disintegrating the Party. The efforts of the Bolsheviks were finally crowned with success.

Before my return to Leipzig I visited Lenin. During our conversation on Party matters in Russia and abroad we discussed the fact that there was no authoritative Party organ in Russia which would be able to unite all existing organisations and around which the Bolsheviks abroad would rally.

I proposed that the Bolshevik members of the C.C. editorial board should undertake the organisation of such a centre. Lenin smiled and said to Krupskaya, who came into the room during our conversation: "Pyatnitsa proposes that a centre should be organised to rebuild the central organs of the Party." It appeared that Lenin and the other comrades who worked with him at that time had already worked on a plan to call a Party conference, as I learned later.

During my sojourn abroad, while I was engaged in transport work and acting as go-between for Russia and Europe, I was often summoned from Berlin to Geneva and from Leipzig to Paris when disputes in the Party grew sharp. On my arrival there I always visited Lenin. I would ask him: "Why was I called here?" To which I received the invariable reply: "Stay here a few days, see the comrades, and then we'll talk things over." And when I came to see him a second time, before my departure, he asked: "Well, do you understand the situation now?" Only after I had told him what I thought about it did he express his opinions and offer his own suggestions. Before the war I carried on an intensive business correspondence with Lenin and Krupskaya, but to my regret I have not preserved it. Before my departure for Russia during the summer of 1905 I left my archives, including the letters from Lenin and Krupskaya, with Comrade Lyadov in Geneva, where they, as well as Lyadov's archives, were lost. And in 1913 I destroyed all my correspondence before leaving for Russia.

CHAPTER IX

THE ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS
(End of 1911 and Beginning of 1912).

On June 5th 1911 a meeting of those C.C. members permanently or temporarily abroad who were anti-Liquidators (Bolsheviks and the S.-D. of Poland and Lithuania) was called. This meeting pointed out the impossibility of re-establishing the Central Party organs which were elected at the London Congress, since all the members of the Russia C.C. bureau were under arrest, and in the Foreign bureau of the C.C. the Mensheviks and Liquidators were in the majority (at that time the C.C. of the S.-D.P. of Latvia supported the Liquidators). This meeting also decided to create an Organisational Commission which was to prepare and summon a Party conference and set up a Foreign Technical Commission to carry on technical business. This commission was to consist of three comrades: one Bolshevik (Comrade Kamsky, if I am not mistaken), the Bolshevik conciliator Lyeva, and a representative of the S.-D.P. of Poland and Lithuania, Comrade Leder. In June or July, S. Schwartz and Zakhar (Breslav) came to see me in Leipzig. They told me that they were on their way to Russia in connection with the preparations for the Party conference. I made connections for them with a transport group in Russia so that the delegates to the conference might be got across the frontier, and I sent these two across the frontier at points where I already had connections.

Former students of the Party school who had completed their studies about that time and had returned to Russia were also called upon to assist in organising the conference. Comrade Sergo Orjonikidze also went. An Organisational Commission charged with summoning the conference was created in Russia. This commission met with a warm response. All the existing organisations of Russia and the Caucasus immediately rallied round this centre. While the Organisational Commission was meeting with great success in Russia in its work of organising the Party Conference abroad the anti-Liquidators of the S.-D. of Poland and Lithuania and the Bolshevik Conciliators were

beginning to obstruct this work. Discord was arising between the majority of the Foreign Technical Commission and the representatives of the Russia Organisational Commission.

The representative of the S.-D. P. of Poland and Lithuania left the editorial board of the Central Organ (after a meeting of the anti-Liquidator C.C. members on June 18 (5), 1911, the Liquidators Martov and Dan were expelled from the editorial board of the Central Organ), and when the *Sotsial Democrat* was published without the participation of the S.-D.P. of Poland and Lithuania representative, Comrade Lyeva, a member of the Technical Commission, demanded that I should stop sending the *Sotsial Democrat* to Russia, but instead should send the *Information Bulletin*, which was published by the Foreign Technical Commission (of which only two issues appeared.) I refused, of course, to comply with this request and wrote a letter on this subject to the editorial board of the *Sotsial Democrat*, which was published in that paper. In the autumn of 1911 Lyeva visited me in Leipzig on his way from Berlin to Paris, where he apparently had had a consultation with the trustees concerning the withdrawal of funds for printing the *Sotsial Democrat* and conducting the transport work. After he was convinced that I would not stop sending the *Sotsial Democrat* to Russia he announced that the Technical Commission would cease granting funds for transport.

Early in November I received a special delivery letter from Lenin in which he proposed that I should leave for Prague immediately and prepare everything there for the conference. In the same letter there was a note to Nemets, a Czech Social-Democrat, from Lenin. I left for Prague immediately. Nemets introduced me to two Czech Social-Democrats, the manager of the People's House and his assistants, and together we drew up a plan of practical measures in preparation for the conference. I also arranged with them to have places to which comrades arriving from Paris and Leipzig could go, and also for telephone communication with Leipzig. When everything was ready I returned to Leipzig and from there informed Lenin of all that we had done. In the meantime I began to make preparations in Leipzig for the reception of the Russian delegates.

By that time delegates had already been elected in many towns, and we expected them any day. In the middle of December I received a letter from Nathan from the Suval border, saying that four persons giving our password had come to the meeting-place which he had prepared and that he had

sent them abroad to me. I waited one day, two days, but the comrades did not arrive. I went several times a day to the rendezvous where they were to come.* At last this delay made me very anxious. I found out at what time trains from Berlin arrived and decided to meet these trains at the station, in the hope that these lost comrades would arrive. Early next morning I went to the Bavarian station to meet the first train. When I arrived I noticed four people coming out of the station. I immediately recognised them as Russians. They kept together, wore high boots, which no one else wore in Central Germany, and even, I believe, goloshes. They wore shabby winter coats and warm Russian hats, which Germans do not wear either. Three of the four men were small, but the fourth was tall and fairly stout (this was Comrade Zalutsky).

I decided that these must be the very comrades whom I had come to meet, but before approaching them I looked them over from head to foot. The arrivals also looked me over. Finally I came up to them and asked them what street they were looking for. They replied that it was none of my business. Then I asked them whether they were looking for Zeitzerstrasse (where the meeting place at which they were supposed to report was situated). One of them answered in the negative. I decided to follow them. They began an argument about me. One of them said I was a spy; the others were of the opinion that I had come to meet them. Finally Dogadov came up to me and started a conversation with me.

We quickly discovered that we were looking for each other, so I accompanied them to Comrade Zagorsky's, where a room and all necessaries were prepared for them, so that they should not have to go about the town during the day. These four comrades were delegates to the conference. Stepan Onufriev (a worker employed in the Obukhov works) and Zalutsky were from St. Petersburg, P. Dogadov was from Kazan, and Serebryakov from Nikolayev. I immediately, of course, notified Lenin of their arrival. In reply I received a letter from Lenin,

*At that time agents of German steamship companies were combing Germany at the Russian frontiers; with the help of German gendarmes they would compel Russian emigrants to buy steamship tickets from them. They used to catch Russian emigrants and put them in quarantine (the emigrants called this quarantine the "bath-house"), where they would keep them for six or eight days. Those who were really going to England or America were sent in batches to a German port to await further transportation; those who had no passports and were going neither to London nor across the ocean were despatched by the Prussian gendarmes to Russia. This is how Comrade Noskov was arrested in 1903, as were many others in the years that followed. I was afraid that they had landed in the "bath-house," although our comrades were given itineraries through frontier towns that were free of gendarmes and steamship agents.

in which he expressed the opinion that the Moscow delegate must have been arrested and that it would not be advisable to open the conference without a delegate from Moscow. He therefore asked me to send someone to Moscow to arrange for the election of a new delegate. When I received this letter I immediately decided to send Lazar Zeligson to Moscow; he was then in Leipzig, where he worked as a wood polisher. He agreed to go, and set out for Moscow on January 1, 1912 (new style). A few days later I was notified by Nathan that two persons who had arrived at our rendezvous had crossed the frontier and were proceeding direct to Paris. (Nathan kept me informed on all these crossings, because he received his pay from me and not from the comrades who crossed; I did this to preclude robbery of our comrades by the smugglers.) In the same letter Nathan informed me that a gendarme whom he had bribed had said that he, the gendarme, had been told to watch certain furnished rooms where persons who were looking for an opportunity to cross the frontier were wont to stay. These rooms were our rendezvous. Nathan gave me a new address and a new password, and added that even if someone should come to the old meeting-place nothing would happen, as the gendarme would not arrest anybody there. And, indeed, no arrests were made. The two persons who went to Paris were the lost Moscow delegate, Philip Goloshchokin, and the provocateur Matvei. It was the latter apparently who had informed the secret police of the meeting-place at the frontier. A letter from Krupskaya informed me that the lost Moscow delegate, Philip, was being shadowed, and that he had had great difficulty in reaching Dvinsk, where his sister lived. There he met Matvei, who was also getting ready to go to the conference; for he had received permission to go there from S. Schwartz, who was then already in prison, evidently betrayed by this same Matvei. Nathan's information about the discovery of our meeting-place, together with the fact that Matvei had crossed the frontier to go to the conference, hastened my decision to send off the telegram of which I have already spoken, to exclude Matvei from the conference.

Comrade Lazar informed me that he had succeeded in collecting the comrades working in the legal workers' organisations of Moscow, and that they had elected a delegate to the conference. He had not, however, succeeded in finding the illegal organisation, because of the arrests that had been made of late. He gave the delegate all the addresses, told him where the rendezvous were, gave him the passwords; after which

Lazar himself was arrested; probably not without the assistance of the delegate himself, who was none other than the provocateur, Malinovsky.

Malinovsky sent a wire from Germany informing us of his arrival abroad, at the rendezvous where he was due to arrive. In this telegram he asked us not to open the conference before his arrival.

After the arrival of the first four delegates M. I. Gurvich (his Party name was also Matvei) arrived in Leipzig as a delegate from the Vilna and Dvinsk Party organisations. Finally, just at the beginning of the conference, when I was already in Prague, I was informed from Leipzig that another delegate had arrived from the illegal organisations of Tula, Alya (George Romanov), who also turned out to be a provocateur. No meeting-place had been arranged for Romanov, and he therefore went to Comrade Bukharin, who was then in Germany (in Hanover). Bukharin probably wrote to Paris, whence he learned about the meeting-place in Leipzig. The Organisational Commission for summoning the conference decided to admit Romanov to the conference. Besides Philip, the following delegates came direct to Paris: from Saratov, Comrade Valentin (Voronsky); from Yekaterinoslov, Savva (Zevin), a follower of Plekhanov; from the Kiev Menshevik organisation, Victor Schwartzman; from Tiflis, Sergo Orjonikidze; and from Baku, Suren Spandaryam (Timofey). The last two were members of the Organisational Commission for summoning the conference. When I came to Prague the conference had already opened and debates on the report of the Organisational Commission were in progress. The latter proposed that the delegates should constitute themselves an All-Russian Party Conference with the right of electing central Party bodies; for the Organisational Commission had taken every possible measure to ensure that all Party trends and organisations should be represented at this conference (Plekhanov, Gorky, the Vperyod group, the S.-D.P. of Poland and Lithuania and other anti-Liquidator currents had been invited). The Yekaterinoslav delegate, Savva, violently opposed this proposal. Malinovsky also announced that he would vote against it, since he had corresponding imperative instructions from his Moscow constituents (this did not prevent him from voting the next day for the proposal to declare the conference an All-Russian Conference). Savva, as far as I can remember, abstained from voting.

Besides the comrades whose names I have enumerated the

conference was attended by Lenin and Zinoviev in their capacity as editors of the Central Organ (Comrade Zinoviev still held a mandate from the Moscow organisation), N. K. Krupskaya, Kamenev, who arrived after the opening of the conference, and Comrade Alexandrov (Semashko), from the committee of the Bolshevik Assistance Groups abroad.

The conference sat in the Czech Social-Democratic People's House (after the Party split in 1920 the Czech Social-Democrats forcibly obtained possession of this People's House with the aid of the police, despite the fact that the huge majority of the Social-Democratic Party joined the Communist International). The delegates ate in a restaurant in the same building and lived with Czech workers, members of the Social-Democratic Party. The conference was a very long one—it lasted about two weeks. I do not remember the conference agenda exactly. The conference discussed the question of Liquidators, whom they expelled from the Party, current events, and the elections to the Fourth Duma, the Duma Social-Democratic fraction (the conference noted an improvement in its work), the organisational question, and the insurance campaign (the insurance laws passed by the Third State Duma, providing for a hospital fund, etc., were examined in detail in a resolution passed at the conference, and the demands to be made for workers' insurance were set forth in detail in that resolution. These demands have been carried out by the Soviet government). Other subjects discussed were the illegal Social-Democratic Press, the form which the auxiliary groups abroad were to take, famine, the policy of Tsarism in Persia and China, the Central Organ and the elections for the Central Party departments. The conference paid close attention to the reports of local organisations, and came to the conclusion that the drive to create illegal cells must be strengthened, and that they must be linked to the revolutionary Social-Democrats in all legal Labour organisations by grouping them together in groups according to trades.

A clear picture of the strenuous efforts made by the few local Bolshevik organisations to preserve their connections with the workers in the various local workshops and factories was given in the reports of the local delegates and of the representative of the Russian Organisational Commission. The secret police made every effort to plant agent-provocateurs, who pretended to be ardent Bolsheviks, among the factory workers. These provocateurs betrayed the best comrades in the organisation as soon as it began to work well and to get in touch with

the workers of the factories and workshops. The comrades who remained at liberty had to begin all over again.

Bolsheviks from Lenin's old guard, professional revolutionaries who had escaped from prison or exile, came to their rescue. But no sooner did the work begin to run smoothly than arrests began again. This was repeated again and again in many towns. Yet the secret police did not succeed in entirely destroying the local Bolshevik organisations, which the local workers regarded with great confidence, as the years 1913-1914 showed.

The workers did not join, and seldom supported, the Menshevik-Liquidators, although the police rarely persecuted them.

The report of the Russian Organisational Commission informed the conference that many local organisations (in the Urals, Siberia, and others) had elected delegates, but these, as well as the organisations which had elected them, had been arrested.

Several commissions elected by the conference worked during the entire conference.

The conference met at a time when the signs pointing to a new wave in the Labour movement were becoming more and more evident. I remember the warm reception accorded the German Press reports in Prague which described the fights between workers and police in Riga. The newspapers related that a factory where women only were employed went on strike, but the factory administration refused to open the gates of the factory, and forced the strikers to remain inside. When the workers of the neighbouring factories heard this they smashed in the gates and freed the women workers. A skirmish with the police followed. Next morning, before the opening of the conference, I showed the newspaper to Lenin. Immediately after the opening of the session he translated the despatch into Russian and added that all indications showed that the period of black reaction was over.

I should now like to mention two rather inconsiderable facts which have clung to my memory. When the question about the Central Organ was raised I attacked the editorial board violently because it sometimes forgot that the Central Organ—the *Sotsial Democrat*—existed not only for the comrades abroad who were familiar with all the Party quarrels, but mainly for the comrades in Russia. To prove my point I quoted several passages from the Central Organ in which there were violent personal attacks on the representative of the S.-D.P. of Poland and Lithuania, and on the editorial board of

the Central Organ. I wanted to know who had introduced such tactics into the Central Organ (the article was not signed.) Philip was in the chair that day. When I had finished quoting the Central Organ the chairman called me to order for such an uncomradely attack. (He had not noticed that they were not my own words, and that I had been quoting from the Central Organ.) Lenin then announced that it was he who had written the article. The chairman was confused, and everyone burst out laughing.

I suggested that the Central Organ should be changed to a monthly scientific journal like the *Neue Zeit*, the scientific organ of the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party, since the general reader still had the popular *Workers' Paper* abroad, and the *Zvyesda* in Russia. Although my proposal was not accepted, the conference expressed its desire to see more articles of a propagandist nature published in the Central Organ.

The elections to the Central Committee were secret, but every participant in the conference knew what candidates were put up. When I discovered Malinovsky's name on the list of candidates I began to carry on an agitation against him. (I believe I had already spoken against him at the conference.) Lenin supported him. During the recess, just before the votes were collected, Lenin asked me why I had agitated against Malinovsky. I told him then that Malinovsky was kept remote from Party work, that he had not been elected by the illegal Moscow organisation, that he had come to the conference accidentally, and, finally, that we knew very little about him. Then I reminded Lenin that he had made a mistake once before when he had recommended Konyagin to the C.C. in 1903 as a staunch Bolshevik, whereas later, in 1904, after having been co-opted, he had become a zealous conciliator. Lenin did not agree with me and insisted that Malinovsky was a very capable and clever worker. At that time no one, of course, thought that he would turn out a provocateur. Malinovsky was really a good hard worker.

After the conference Lenin, Sergo, Timofey, Philip, Victor and Malinovsky, who, with Zinoviev, were elected to the C.C., went to Leipzig. I also returned there after I had sent everybody off from Prague. Upon my return to Leipzig I learned that Comrades Poletayev and Shurkanov, members of the Third State Duma, had gone to Berlin. The Duma Social-Democratic fraction had been invited to the conference, but they had arrived too late. They did not give anybody their

address, but they could be written to poste restante. When Lenin heard of their arrival he asked that they should be summoned to Leipzig. As I did not consider it advisable to give the Leipzig address in a letter addressed poste restante, I sent Comrade Zagorsky to Berlin, where he found the deputies, and on the evening of the second day he was back with them in Leipzig. Their arrival caused a flurry in our midst. Lenin did not want Shurkanov, who was then a Menshevik-Party-man, to know that Malinovsky was on the C.C., and therefore it was necessary to hold meetings of the Central Committee with Poletayev, but without Shurkanov, or with Poletayev and Shurkanov, but without Malinovsky. Shurkanov, of course, was not to know that the meetings were taking place without him. The meetings were held in the printing offices of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, in the office of the manager, Comrade Zeifert.

On the very first evening, when I met Poletayev and Shurkanov in a café, I noticed that we were being shadowed. This caused me great anxiety, for at that time the entire Russian Central Committee and most of the conference delegates who were waiting to be sent off to Russia were in Leipzig. Until my return from Prague I was not followed, therefore the conference must have been the cause. But besides me and those present at the conference only three other comrades, who had helped me in one way or another, knew about this conference. The next day I went to see Malinovsky and Timofey, who lived on the outskirts of Leipzig in a small hotel owned by a Social-Democrat. As soon as I alighted from the tram I noticed that the hotel was being watched, and when the three of us went out of the hotel (we were on our way to a C.C. meeting with the Duma deputies), the spy followed us. We had to make a good many turns before we got rid of him. All the way Malinovsky repeatedly expressed his satisfaction that Leipzig was so much like Russia, as he had to dodge spies here as well as there. In spite of the fact that we were being spied upon, I was convinced that the secret police did not know where the conference was taking place or who was participating in it. No one dreamed that two agent-provocateurs were participating.

The sessions of the C.C. representatives with the Duma deputies ended satisfactorily. The deputies, Timofey and I, at the instance of the C.C. went to Berlin to see Kautsky, who was still custodian of the Bolshevik funds. The delegation was empowered to inform Kautsky that an All-Russian Party Con-

ference had taken place, which had elected a Central Committee, into the hands of which all Party property, including the funds given to the trustees by the Bolsheviks for safekeeping, according to the decision of the C.C. Plenum of 1910, was to be returned. Lenin also went to Berlin to see the results of these negotiations with Kautsky. On the evening of the same day the delegation went to see Kautsky. We talked with him for a long time, but without success, since he first wanted to know the attitude of all S.R.-D.L.P. groups on the January conference before he would consider the C.C. demands. In the evening we met Lenin in a restaurant and informed him of our conversation with Kautsky. Lenin then left for Paris. The Duma deputies remained in Berlin, and Timofey and I returned to Leipzig. All the delegates to the conference arrived safely in Russia very soon after that, of which they all informed me. (The provocateur Alya Romanov was the most prompt; for as soon as he reached the other side of the frontier he sent me a card telling me of his safe arrival.)

The January Party Conference was of great importance. It reorganised the central Party organisations, which remained in existence until the Party Conference of April 1917. The C.C. and the editorial board of the C.O. elected at the January conference were in touch with all the organisations in Russia, established a daily newspaper in Petrograd, the *Pravda*, and directed and led the activities of the six deputies to the Fourth Duma elected by the working class. The C.C. and the editorial board of the C.O. elected at the January conference of 1912 virtually comprised the organisational and ideological leadership of the Labour movement of Russia from 1912 to 1914.

During the summer of 1912 Lenin and the editorial board of the Central Organ moved from Paris to Cracow in order to be in closer touch with events in Russia and to be able to direct the Russian Labour movement with greater facility and speed. On their way there Lenin and Krupskaya, accompanied by her mother, stopped for a few days in Leipzig, and we had many discussions on German Social-Democracy. I defended it whole heartedly, but Lenin even then regarded it with great scepticism. After 1917 Lenin often used to tease me about the actions of "my friends" the German Social-Democrats.

CHAPTER X

MY ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE GERMAN LABOUR MOVEMENT 1903-1912

My first acquaintance with the German workers in 1902 gave me the impression that they lived very well indeed—in "Abraham's bosom," so to speak. The workers whom I met at meetings were very well dressed (in comparison, of course, with our Russian workers); they drank beer freely at their meetings and ate sandwiches which they had brought with them. The apartments of the active S.-D. members I had occasion to visit were not at all bad either. Add to this the freedom which they enjoyed then and you will get the "ideal" that I dreamt of in those days for the Russian proletariat. However, soon enough nothing was left of this "ideal."

I had occasion to frequent the Berlin working-class districts and the houses tenanted by workers. Their apartments were quite unlike those I had seen before; they consisted of a front passage which served as a kitchen and one small room in which a family of four or five persons lived. And these apartments were furnished far from comfortably.

In spite of the flourishing state of industry, the People's House, where all the Berlin trade unions were located, was always crowded with unemployed—both of Berlin and from the provinces. Lodging houses were always full of people in need of shelter. Things were no better in free Prussia. Policemen used to sit on the platform at mass meetings called by the S.-D.P. Frequently they closed meetings on the slightest provocation, as, for instance, if a chairman refused to exclude women and children, who were prohibited by law from attending open political mass meetings. I used to marvel at the efficiency and speed with which the policemen entered an assembly hall and ejected the workers when a meeting was declared closed by the police. Yet, although my naïve "ideal" was shattered, as I became better acquainted with the German Labour movement it nevertheless seemed to me to be a tremendous movement—even gigantic.

The S.-D. Party was the only political party of the German

proletariat up to the war of 1914. Its branches were not confined to industrial centres. I had occasion to cover the entire Prusso-Russian frontier district populated by peasants, and in each village I found small Party organisations to which I turned for assistance in my work.

The German S.-D. Party, even in 1903, counted about a hundred thousand members and several million subscribers to its daily Party Press; for every industrial town in Germany, even the smallest, had its own daily paper. The Party possessed its own large printing plants and publishing houses, which distributed their literature through a network of bookstores covering all Germany. German Social-Democracy wielded a tremendous influence on the working class and the poor of the towns; in 1903 it polled over three million votes at the Reichstag elections, despite the fact that women and soldiers were not enfranchised, and that the election laws contained numerous disqualification clauses, which chiefly concerned the workers. All the meetings called by the S.-D.P. were filled to overflowing, even though sometimes as many as one hundred meetings were held simultaneously in the city of Berlin alone. The Social-Democrats always had their own representatives in all German elective bodies, beginning with the imperial parliament and ending with the local Landtag (state legislatures) and municipal and village councils.

The Social-Democrats stood at the head of and virtually controlled a trade union movement counting three million members, and not only in the centre, but even locally, in the factories and workshops as well. (The trade unions assigned delegates to the latter, one to a specified number of union workers. These delegates, who were appointed from amongst the most active members of the S.-D.P., collected the dues.) The Social-Democrats were also in control of the consumers' and industrial workers' co-operatives, which had branches in every town in Germany, and, by selling better products for mass consumption, competed successfully with private firms. The German Social-Democrats were in close touch with the workers in the workshops and factories through the trade union representatives. Besides the daily Party Press, the S.-D. Peoples' Houses with their cafés and restaurants and innumerable small saloons, whose owners were active Party members, all stood the Social-Democrats in good stead in their efforts to get into touch with the working-class masses.

We must bear in mind that all Germans, including the workers, used to spend, and still do so, most of their leisure

time in cafés and restaurants. There they have their trade union, co-operative, Party, and other meetings; there they can converse upon, argue about, and discuss everything under the sun, and there they read their newspapers, etc.

In those days the bourgeoisie fought the S.-D.P. by refusing to rent halls to them for their Party or mass meetings, while open-air meetings were prohibited. The S.-D. Party therefore found it necessary to build its own People's Houses out of the funds of the workers. They were built by the Party, trade union or co-operative organisations. The Party also encouraged members to open their own beer-saloons. The owners of such saloons and restaurants were generally Party members who were black-listed by the manufacturers. To this day these saloon-keepers constitute one of the main supports of German Social-Democracy, which is now busily kowtowing to the bourgeoisie.

If we bear in mind that no other country in the world—least of all Russia—possessed such a powerful Labour movement from every point of view as Germany, it will not be difficult to understand why I was such a faithful admirer of German pre-war Social-Democracy. I was always cherishing the hope that some day I might witness a similarly strong Labour movement in Russia.

I saw, of course, the shortcomings of the German Labour movement as well. The trade unions made long-term agreements with the employers on hours, wages and conditions of work, thereby tying the workers hand and foot. Moreover, the All-German Trade Union Congress, which had a S.-D. majority, decided against the general strike as a means of political struggle. (This question was brought to the fore in Germany by the great Russian strikes of 1905.)

Some time later the Congress of the German S.-D. declared itself in favour of the general strike by an overwhelming majority. A big split arose in the relations between the Social-Democratic Party as a whole and those S.D.'s active in the trade union movement. This was the first victory of the German opportunists who were in control of the trade unions, but I was certain that the S.-D.P. was strong enough and its influence on the working-masses great enough to overcome opportunism in its ranks and to lead the workers to victory. It could, of course, have done this if it had really wanted to do so. But it did not want to do it. The Party was in every respect legal and felt so much at home in this atmosphere of legality that it organized no demonstrations without the permission of the

police, and meekly submitted to the arrogance of the police when they closed its meetings in Prussia on the slightest pretext.

It was painful to see the Berlin S.-D.'s call off the demonstration at the Friedrichshafn cemetery (where the victims of the 1848 Revolution lie buried), which was to be held on the anniversary of their burial, merely because the police had prohibited the demonstration. On that anniversary those who most devotedly visited the cemetery were the Russian S.-D.'s residing in Berlin.

Its respect for law and order led the German S.-D.P. to inculcate excessive respect for legality in the working-class. There were very few Party members who remembered the anti-Socialist law of 1878.* Those who remembered this law and had lived under it posed almost as martyrs, because either a raid had been made in the attics of the houses where they lived, or on Christmas Eve they had been exiled by the Prussian police authorities to Saxony, about four hours' journey from Berlin. (These two facts impressed themselves on my memory after a conversation on the subject with two comrades, active members of the Berlin organisation of the S.-D.P.—Silber, who

*The law against the German Socialists was passed by the Reichstag on October 19, 1878, on the instigation of Bismarck, then imperial chancellor.

The direct cause of the introduction of this law into the Reichstag was two attempts made on the life of Emperor Wilhelm, one by Gedel, a tinsmith, on March 8th, 1878, and the second by Dr. Nobling on June 18th, 1878. The second attempt resulted in serious injuries to the emperor. It was obvious, however, that Bismarck availed himself of these attempts as pretexts to paralyse the growing influence of the German Social-Democrats on the working class.

The anti-Socialist law drove the German Social-Democratic Party underground. The publication of the Party press was prohibited; it became illegal to call Party or mass meetings, to distribute Social-Democratic literature, to collect funds for the Party, and even to belong to the Party or to any of its organisations.

The German S.-D.P. published its central organ abroad, where it also held its congresses. Despite these persecutions, its work was quite successful, as the elections to the Reichstag during the period of the existence of the anti-Socialist law demonstrated.

The following table shows the number of seats obtained and votes cast for the Social-Democrats during that period:

	No. of Seats	No. of Votes	Percentage of Total Votes Cast
Before the passing of the law ..	12	493,447	6%
July 1878, immediately after attempt on emperor's life ..	9	437,158	8%
1881 while the law was in force ..	12	311,961	6.1%
1884..	24	599,990	9.7%
1890	35	1,427,248	20%

On January 25th, 1890, the anti-Socialist Law was repealed by the Reichstag by a vote of 169 against 98. The Social-Democrats had become tremendously active among the working-class, despite the fact that they were driven underground. This activity compelled the bourgeoisie to repeal the law against the Socialists.

was president of the Bookbinders' Union, and Peterson, an engraver.)

The spirit of legalism, thus encouraged by the Social-Democratic Party, had a great influence on the members of the German Communist Party, who had come over from the S.-D.P. Even now many members of the German Communist Party find it difficult to adjust themselves to an illegal existence of the Party. Many of them harm the Party because they are not used to doing secret conspiratory work. And when they are imprisoned they consider it their duty as law-abiding citizens of the German Republic to make a clean breast of everything during their trial. I noticed other grave errors in the tactics of the German Social-Democrats.

Before the war (and, of course, during the war), in order to comply with the law the Social-Democrats did not work among the soldiers of the German Empire, on the pretext that the Social-Democrats could work among the youth before they entered the barracks and later, when they left military service. In addition, we Russians were always incensed by the attitude of active Party members and workers when recruited for military service in the imperial army. They considered the time spent in the army the happiest time of their lives, and were always talking about it with pride, as though it were not an imperial army, but their own Red Army which had conquered all power for the German proletariat.

Yet, in spite of all the shortcomings which I observed in the leadership of the German Labour movement, I was convinced that the class struggle which was continually going on in Germany would rectify the tactics of the German Social-Democrats; for I considered the active workers and the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party sincere followers of revolutionary Marxism, devoted heart and soul to the Labour movement.

I did not become acquainted with the inner workings of the local Party organisation until 1909-12, when I was in Leipzig. The Committee was elected at a general meeting of the election district. The only full-time worker was the secretary. He had his apparatus for collecting membership dues: treasurers who would call on the Party members for that purpose and receive the money. Literature was distributed in the homes of the workers. Groups of Party members were assigned the task of distributing leaflets in specified streets. The 1911 Reichstag election campaign was organized in a very interesting way.

In order to carry the campaign to as many streets as possible,

each group, headed by a representative of the Leipzig Party Committee, obtained a list of voters in the specified streets, together with their addresses and occupations. The workers, artisans and petty employees on this list were picked out, and a complete set of election leaflets prepared for them in envelopes. These envelopes were either sent by post or left personally at the homes of the addressees. A few days later the members of the corresponding groups would visit these voters with the aim of carrying on personal propaganda and explain the printed election matter. I myself participated in this election campaign. Many Communist Parties of Western Europe might profitably employ this method of doing agitational work, even where factory and workshop cells are in existence, whenever any campaign is in progress.

The Leipzig Social-Democratic organisation had already gained complete control of every form of Labour movement, both in Leipzig itself and in the suburbs.

The committee called secret meetings of the active workers. These meetings were kept secret, not only from the police, but also from the general Party membership. There reports were submitted by trade union leaders, co-operative leaders, representatives elected by the workers to sick-benefit associations, and representatives of the Party Committee. These meetings also nominated candidates for all the above organizations and passed resolutions on every question. They further determined which members were to speak at meetings, and which were to present the list of candidates to the presidium of the meeting, appoint candidates to the Party Committee, and to read the resolutions at official meetings and conferences. These secret meetings were called "camorras" in Leipzig. Many Russian comrades who passed through Leipzig denounced the German Social-Democrats on every occasion, but I thought at the time that they did so only because they had never seen the German S.-D.'s at work.

In the summer of 1912 Lenin, who was then in Leipzig, condemned the S.-D.P. in a conversation with me for its passivity, for confining itself to a battle of words in its struggle against the opportunists, a battle which in any case was conducted only on the eve of some congress, while the resolutions which were passed at the congress remained mere scraps of paper. Lenin even then realised that the German S.-D.P. was permeated with opportunism and was merging with bourgeois Germany. I disagreed with him then. Subsequent events showed that the German S.-D. had become so intertwined with imperial

bourgeois Germany that it clung to it even in November 1918, when the revolutionary proletariat placed it at the head of the revolution.

If it had been left to the Social-Democrats, and not the German working-class, Germany would have been an imperial monarchy to this day. When, in August 1914, I learned from a gendarme in the Samara prison that Plekhanov supported the war and that the Social-Democratic fraction in the Reichstag had voted unanimously for war credits I felt as if someone had stabbed me to the heart. The position of Plekhanov was less unexpected than that of the German Social-Democratic Party.

The C.C. of the German Social-Democratic Party and all the Party congresses had always condemned the Social-Democratic fractions of the Baden and Hessen Landtag for wanting to vote for the provincial budgets,* and now the entire Reichstag fraction was voting for the war credits, *i.e.*, supporting war, when the "defence" of the Fatherland did not even depend on the vote of the Social-Democrats, for the bourgeois parties commanded seventy-five per cent. of the votes in the Reichstag. Then at last it dawned on me that German Social-Democracy was neither internationalist nor revolutionary. As I think of it now it seems to me that, even if there had been no war, the German Social-Democrats would have collaborated with the bourgeois parties all the same, just as it is doing now.

A gigantic and powerful Party, as the German S.-D.P. was before the war, it was confronted with two alternatives: it had either to commence the struggle even then for proletarian power, or to compromise with the bourgeoisie. It spurned the former course, even when power fell into its hands in 1918.

*Appropriating funds for military purposes.—Ed.

CHAPTER XI

PARIS
(1912-1913)

IN THE summer of 1912 the question of my return to Russia arose, for, with the transference of the Party centre to Austria (Cracow then belonged to the Austrian Empire), Germany (Leipzig) lost its importance. But I wanted to go to Russia in a way that would get me immediately into the midst of the workers in the factories. My own trade, which I had almost forgotten by 1912, was of no help, for most of the tailoring shops in Russia were small. I wanted to learn some trade or occupation quickly, so that I should be able both to earn a living and to enter a factory.

At one time I was thinking of making use of my knowledge of stereotyping, which I had learned in the Leipzig *Volkszeitung* (People's Gazette), the organ of the Leipzig Social-Democratic organisation, thinking that we would set up large printing offices in Russia, as we had done in 1903-1906, when we were printing the old *Iskra* and the *Vperyod* from stereotypes of matrices sent to Russia from abroad. But I did not know whether the same matrices, machines and boilers for casting the stereotype were used in Russia as in Germany. It was impossible to learn anything suitable in Germany quickly. So I applied to a school for electricians which had been established in Paris by some Russian millionaire for emigrés stranded in France without a trade, and who, by the way, had a very bad time of it there. I was accepted after some difficulty, because my application disclosed my trade, which was a very well paid one in Paris.

The school was called "Rachel," after the millionaire's deceased daughter. It was poorly-equipped with machinery for study, but the practical side was taught well. Emigrants directed the work; Mikhailov, the chief mechanic, was a very good worker who knew his trade thoroughly and lectured us in mechanics. Then there was Rudzinsky, an electric fitter who was fairly well-grounded in the theory of electro-technics. Practical work at the bench and lessons in electric lighting

alternated with lectures given by Russian engineers who had worked in Paris factories.

The adult students were mostly intellectuals. They strained every fibre to grasp the problems presented, but not all of them succeeded. I devoted myself assiduously to my studies, and within eight months, from November 1912 to July 1913, I succeeded in learning something of practical value. In order to get practical experience a number of students, including myself, were sent to do an electrical job in some institution just before finishing. After we had finished school, Zefir, Kottov and I wired Zhitomirsky's apartments without anyone's assistance.

During my eight months' sojourn in Paris I naturally took an active part in the work of the Bolshevik group. (I was a member of the Bureau of that group.)

With the removal of the Bolshevik centre, with Lenin at its head, from Geneva to Paris, in 1909, the Paris auxiliary group began to play an important role in the life of the Party organisations abroad, and even in the Russian S.-D. movement as a whole. It was natural that the most active elements in the Russian Social-Democratic movement, who were seeking refuge from exile, prison and persecution, should be attracted to the town where the central Party organs had been established. Some were delegated by Party organisations, and although these usually stayed for a short time only they always invigorated our Party groups in Paris by informing them of what was going on in Russia, both at the Centre and in the local districts. The steady stream of new comrades flowing from every corner of the vast Russian Empire infused new life into the ranks of the Parisian Bolshevik Assistance Groups, and this fact distinguished it from the whole mass of groups.

Naturally, all the members of the Bolshevik centre who were living in Paris were also members of the Paris group, which enhanced its prestige and authority. We must bear in mind that from 1909-1912 Paris was the home of the Menshevik foreign centre, the *Vperyod* group, the S.-R.'s, and other organisations, and consequently the ideological battle then in progress between the Social-Democrats and the Socialist-Revolutionaries on the one hand, and that within the ranks of the Social-Democratic Party itself, on the other, was bound to be reflected in the life and the activities of the Paris Bolshevik auxiliary group. This group as a whole, and its most active members individually, took an energetic part in this ideological struggle. The group often heard reports by members of the Bolshevik centre (the Bolshevik members of the

editorial board of the Central Organ, of the Central Committee, and of the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee) on questions which were either to be discussed by the appropriate Party organs or merely to be published. Reports on meetings of the plenums of the Central Committee, on the enlarged editorial board of the *Proletary*, on Party conferences, etc., were made even before the decisions had been made public.

The Paris group organised public lectures on various subjects. Leaders of all shades of opinion in the Social-Democratic Party and in other organisations very often participated in the ensuing discussions. Members of the Paris Bolshevik assistance groups in turn actively participated in the debates following on the lectures organised by other Social-Democratic groups and other parties. When I was a member of the group, *i.e.*, at the end of 1912 and the first half of 1913, it no longer enjoyed its former reputation because the Central Organ of the Party moved to Cracow after the All-Russian Conference in Paris. Only Kamenev remained in Paris.

The group at that time consisted of Vladimirsky (Kamsky), Miron Chernomazov (after the February Revolution he was unmasked as a provocateur), the Billenky brothers (Abraham and Grisha), Zefir, Konstantinovich, Kottov, Mantsev, Lyudmila Stal, Antonov Britman, Sviyagin, N. Kuznetsov (Sapozhkov), Natasha Gopner, N. M. Semashko, Mikhail Davydov, Abram Skovno, Golub, Isaac Raskin, the Morosovs, Shapolovs, Kamenev, Degot, Ilyin, Zhitomirsky, and a few other comrades whose names I do not remember.

The Paris auxiliary group of 1912-1913 differed from kindred groups abroad in its composition and activities. The groups in Germany, Belgium, and even Switzerland, at that time consisted mainly of students with an occasional old Party member who had escaped from prison, exile or persecution. Their activities were largely confined to the Russian students. The Paris Bolshevik group, on the other hand, consisted almost exclusively of old revolutionaries who had been forced to leave Russia but could be sent back at any time by the Party. And even the contingent of new members consisted almost wholly of comrades who had escaped from the Russian prisons or exile. The Paris group was not in contact then with the Russian students in Paris and did not work among them. It worked among the numerous Russian workers and political emigrants in Paris.

Besides selling Party literature, arranging lectures, collecting funds for the Party, and discussing Party problems, the Paris

group, through its representatives, participated in the emigrés' fund, which assisted very needy emigrants, in a library and reading-room, in the Imprisoned and Exiled Russians Aid Society, and in other Russian organisations, in common with all the Russian revolutionary organisations abroad.

The Paris Bolshevik group, and probably the other Russian and Polish Social-Democratic groups, did not join the French Socialist Party as a section of the Paris Branch. Some members of the Paris group joined the Party individually. I joined the German section of the Paris branch of the Socialist Party of France and remained a member until my return to Russia. But neither the French nor the Russian Party had any rule requiring Russian Social-Democrats to join the French Social-Democratic Party. It is only now that the regulations of the Communist International require that Party members moving to a different country must join the Party in that country.

On the First of May 1913 a grand international May Day celebration and meeting was held on the initiative of the Bolshevik group: Russian, Italian, German and French workers and S.-D.'s of other countries obeyed the call. The meeting was full of enthusiasm. If my memory serves me right, of the orators, Kamenev represented our group. We had also met on New Year 1913 very enthusiastically and joyously. Everyone felt that the coming year would see the rise of a new revolutionary wave, and that the correctness of the Bolshevik tactics was becoming evident. When I was in Paris in 1911 I had also celebrated the New Year with the Bolsheviks. Despite the fact that the Bolshevik centre and Lenin participated in the celebration, it was a dull and boring affair. The 1913 celebration was altogether different. Comrade Tsiperovich, who kept apart from the Paris group, met the New Year together with us, as well as Steklov and Shlyapnikov (the last-named I saw for the first time; comrades told me that he was a syndicalist). Their participation in the Bolshevik celebration of the New Year was an indication, we considered, of the victory of Bolshevism in the Labour movement in Russia.

Immediately after my arrival in Paris I was co-opted into the committee of the Bolshevik auxiliary organisations abroad, on which were also Comrades Vladimirsky (Kamsky), N. Kuznetsov (Sapozhnikov), Semashko (he was away), and Miron Chernomazov.* I cannot recall any of the activities of that committee, though I participated in all its meetings.

*I think he turned provocateur after his return to Russia, where he was sent to work on the *Pravda* in the beginning of 1913; for before his departure he came

When I came to Paris several members were receiving the St. Petersburg *Pravda*. Several times I raised the question of the mass distribution of the *Pravda* among the Russians in Paris and many decisions were made, but they brought no results. Then I took the question in hand myself, although I knew nobody in Paris. I learned that there was an office in Paris which subscribed to Russian newspapers and distributed them to the newspaper kiosks in the city. I went to that office and arranged that they should subscribe to and distribute the *Pravda*. I wrote to the *Pravda* office, asking them to send the news agency as many copies of the *Pravda* every day as they requested. The *Pravda* came regularly, but the agency did not reimburse the *Pravda* office for papers sold. I therefore had to do without the services of the agency and see what I could do myself. I ordered the *Pravda* (100 copies daily at first), and had them sent to my school address. Many copies were quickly disposed of there, and the rest were sold by Comrade Zefir and other students in the Russian restaurant on the Rue de la Glacière, where the students and many other Russians had their meals. Later these sales went so well that *Pravda* readers in the most remote corners of Paris were constantly asking me to send the *Pravda* to them by post, and my rooms became a veritable circulation department of the *Pravda*, after work on the days when the *Pravda* arrived. (The confiscation of *Pravda* in St. Petersburg somehow had little effect on its circulation abroad.) I wrapped the papers up and sent them off by post. I corresponded with *Pravda*, and as I sent them the money for the papers sold they sent me as many copies of the paper as I requested with equal punctuality.

As I have already mentioned, there was an enormous number of political emigrés in Paris. Besides those connected directly with revolutionary parties there was also a large number of emigrés who had been imprisoned or exiled by accident. Poverty was widespread among them and it was impossible to find work for all of them because they had no trade (workers always found employment). In addition, the Russian emigrés had a very difficult time when they did not know the language, and it was difficult to learn it because there were very many Russian institutions in Paris where only Russian was spoken, and they had no occasion to associate with the French, from

to me several times for advice on how to go, what to take with him, and what to leave in Paris. He asked me to look over all his correspondence, destroy his personal letters, keeping out the business letters. This correspondence included letters from Lenin and Krupskaya.

whom they might have learnt the language. (When I was in Paris a trade union centre for Russian workers was already in existence. This centre was connected with the French trade union movement, and there, if I am not mistaken, they had French lessons for the workers.)

Many responsible Party workers were obliged to deliver milk, wash shop windows, and shift furniture on wheelbarrows for Russians changing their apartments, and thus earn their living. But not all of them wanted to do such work. Some of them sank so low that they refused to look for work altogether. They considered it far better to live at someone else's expense; by one subterfuge or another they got francs ("shooting" it used to be called) out of those who worked, and often cheated both the Russians and the French (apparently for that they did not need any special knowledge of the language). Things went so far that not a single evening arranged by the Russian colony in aid of the emigrés fund passed off without scandals or brawls started by these hooligans who had become "casual" emgrés.

In spite of the degeneration of a section of the emigrés, the majority of our political emigrés bravely endured the hardships of emigrant life, and later, upon their return to Russia, occupied positions in the Party. Everything notwithstanding, the revolutionary creative work of the Russian involuntary emigrés, who either stood at the head of our Party or were closely connected with it, went on. This section of the political emigrés got in touch with the Socialist Labour movement of Europe and America, absorbing its best features and discarding that which was useless and harmful in it.

Possibly this is partly the reason why the Bolsheviks were able to apply revolutionary Marxism in such a way as to create a strong, stalwart and active Party, which united under its leadership all forms of the Labour movement and avoided those mistakes committed by the Social-Democratic Parties in other countries.

After finishing at the school of electricity I prepared to go to Russia. Beside the Foreign Bureau of the C.C. no one knew about my intended return to Russia except Comrades Kottov and Zefir. I told Zhitomirsky, whom I saw daily, that I was going to Germany to enter the firm of Siemens and Schückert. Zhitomirsky did not have my full confidence after I learned that a Party investigation, unknown to Zhitomirsky, was being conducted by three members of the Central Committee—a Bolshevik, a Menshevik and a Bundist—to examine

the material concerning Zhitomirsky submitted by Burtsev.* The latter told the C.C. of our Party (in 1910 or 1911) that he had information from an authentic source that when Zhitomirsky went from Germany to Russia in 1904 the Russian secret police abroad informed the police department in Russia of that fact by telegram, using the routine formula to notify the transference of a police agent. The investigation commission, having considered Burtsev's information, decided that it was not sufficient to prove that Zhitomirsky was an agent-provocateur, and so he remained in the Party. Yet he was never again given responsible work, and almost dropped out of the Party, though he was considered a member of the Paris group. After this we raised the question of how he managed to live so well in Paris, occupying, as he did, a splendid flat without even practising his own profession as a doctor. (Lenin and I discussed this point in January 1911, for Lenin knew that Zhitomirsky was an old acquaintance of mine.)

In order to acquaint myself more intimately with Zhitomirsky's life I accepted his invitation to visit him, given to me through Abraham Skovno almost on the first day of my arrival in Paris. He was very glad to see me and suggested that I should move to his flat, etc. I did not fall in with this suggestion, but I visited him almost daily.

After my arrival in Paris Zhitomirsky again began to interest himself in the affairs of the group and became more active in it. Besides myself, Zefir, Kamenev, and others were frequent visitors at Zhitomirsky's flat. I do not know whether he questioned the other comrades about their work or the work of other comrades. At any rate, he never asked me any such questions, except on one occasion. That was in January 1911, when Zhitomirsky induced me to go with him to Versailles, about half an hour's ride from Paris. As we were passing through some village Zhitomirsky told me that Comrade Leiteisen (Lindov) lived there, and asked me if I knew where he was at the moment. This question seemed strange to me, and I told him that I did not know. (As a matter of fact, I really did not know, but even if I had known I would not have told him, for I was astonished at the question.)

*Burtsev succeeded in unmasking the provocateur Azef and others. He had acquaintances among the agents-provocateurs of the Tsarist secret police, who supplied him with material on the provocateurs in the Russian revolutionary movement. Burtsev also had connections in the police departments. At that time he was still a revolutionary and was of great assistance to all revolutionary parties in exposing provocateurs within the ranks. He worked in co-operation with all the revolutionary parties.

I chose July 14th, the day of the storming of the Bastille by the French revolutionaries in 1789 (the Bastille served the same purpose as the Peter-Paul fortress under Tsarism), when nearly all France comes to Paris, as the day of my departure. (The Parisian petty bourgeoisie celebrates the fall of the Bastille with dances in the streets of Paris outside the cafés and restaurants.) I felt certain that no sleuth would detect me on such a day. Comrades Zefir and Kottov came to the station to see me off. Just before the train left Zhitomirsky appeared. We parted very cordially; he even kissed me and insisted that on my next trip to Paris I should stay with him. I was actually moved by his solicitude for me.

On the way I stopped at Baden-Baden and Leipzig. I saw no spies on the way. In Baden it did seem to me that I was being watched, but I decided that these must be local spies, and in Leipzig I noticed nothing. On the day I was to leave for Russia with somebody's legal passport in my possession the comrade with whom I had stayed in Baden-Baden and with whom I was now travelling to Russia received a letter from his landlady (a German), informing him that a detective had called on her and had questioned her about me. The detective frightened her by telling her that I had absconded with some funds from a bank in Paris, and that he was following me. The woman described the appearance of the detective and begged me to explain the misunderstanding to the detective. She was certain that he was following the wrong person.

When I left my room my eye fell upon an individual sitting on the window-sill of an inn just by the house where I lived. He fitted the description given by the Baden-Baden landlady in the letter. I went to Comrade Zagorsky's, where a telegram from Lenin awaited me, suggesting that I should go to Poronin. I decided to do so. Zagorsky and I invented the following plan: We sent a porter for my comrade's luggage (he was quite "legal"), which he was to take to the Eulenburg station, where trains left for Russia, via Kalisch. Comrade Pilatskaya was to watch the porter. The spy went after the luggage. Meanwhile Zagorsky went for my luggage and took it to the New Leipzig station. In the evening he went to see our comrade off. As I learned later, the spy left also and went with him as far as the frontier, where his luggage was carefully searched. The gendarmes questioned him about me.

To take every precaution, Comrade Pilatskaya took my luggage from Leipzig on, and I boarded the train at the next station. There Pilatskaya handed me over my luggage and

ticket and left the train to join Zagorsky, who was waiting for her. Thus I arrived safely at Lenin's house. When I told them about the detective and my belief that Zhitomirsky had had a hand in it all Comrade Kamenev, who was present, was of the opinion that it might all have been a mere figment of my imagination. On the day after my arrival in Poronin I received a letter from Zagorsky, in which he wrote that the night I left Leipzig my room there was raided. My room was raided again, by the way, when the Grand Duke Nicholas attended the dedication of a Russian church in Leipzig. But this was long after my departure from that town.

We decided to inform Zhitomirsky that I had been summoned to Cracow by the Foreign Bureau of the C.C., and that I would remain to work there. On the day I left for Russia I wrote to him, giving him a Cracow address, and the Polish comrades in Cracow were to be on the look-out to see whether the police were watching that address, as such spying could be possible only at Zhitomirsky's instigation, and his connection with the secret police would thus be definitely established. Our calculations were correct. In 1915, while in exile, I wrote to Kamenev, who was in the same district, that during my arrest in Samara I had definitely established the fact that Zhitomirsky was a spy. Kamenev replied that he had known that a long time.

Thus we unmasked an agent-provocateur spy who had caused the Bolsheviks a great deal of harm.

CHAPTER XII

WITH LENIN AT PORONINO
(End of July 1913)

I REMAINED in Poronino with Lenin and Krupskaya for about seven days. They lived in a two-story peasant house. Lenin and Krupskaya and her mother lived on the lower floor, and on the upper floor were one or two rooms which were apparently reserved for visitors, for when I arrived Kamenev was already there and I was also put there. Comrades Zinoviev and Lilina lived at the other end of Poronino. Lenin worked and took his walks in Poronino according to a fixed schedule, as he had done in London, Paris and Geneva, where I had met him. Although it rained nearly all the time I stayed in Poronino, Lenin took long walks or rode his bicycle everyday in the outskirts of Poronino, which was surrounded by very beautiful country scenery. The Zakopan mountains were clearly visible from Poronino. I often joined Lenin in his walks. Once we went to Zakopan, a town not far from Poronino, and from there climbed the mountains to see, I believe, the so-called "Eye of the Sea." There was a third comrade with us; I do not remember whether it was Ganetsky, who lived in Poronino at the time, or Kamenev. I only remember that he did not finish the excursion with us. There were about twenty showers that day, with sunshine in between each shower.

We were, however, drenched quite through. Sometimes during the rain we took shelter in huts resembling Siberian halting stations for exiles, but specially built to accommodate tourists seeking shelter from the rain. Our climb was a very long one: we had to make our way over stones and clutch at iron hooks made fast in the rocks. The greater part of the way led along a terrific precipice. The beauty of the place was extraordinary. But when we finally reached the "Eye of the Sea" we found that everything was hidden by the clouds and we could not see a thing. Three times we began the descent, but hastened back the moment the sun broke through the clouds, until we finally discovered a huge hollow with snow in a high mountainside. We returned to Poronino late that

night, drenched and frozen. I shall always remember that walk, and Lenin never forgot it. In 1918-19, when friction developed between the People's Commissariat of Communications, the Moscow District Committee of the Railwaymen and the C.C. of the Railroad Workers' Union, where I worked at the time, Lenin jokingly remarked several times that he wished he had thrown me over the precipice on that Zakopan excursion.

During one of these walks Lenin unfolded before me his plans for the preparation of the Party Congress. This question was to come up for discussion at the conference in the autumn of 1913, and I was to invite the Social-Democrats of Latvia to the Party Congress as well as the opposition in the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania (Rozlamovists.) He was selecting comrades who could be sent to the Letts. I did not object to the invitation of the Polish opposition, but I categorically insisted that the Central Committee of the S.-D.'s of Poland and Lithuania should be invited as well. I also suggested that the local branches of the S.-D. of Poland and Lithuania should be informed of this invitation, so that they should know that it was not the fault of the Bolsheviks if their Central Committee did not participate in a congress called by the Bolsheviks, and thus automatically put itself outside the ranks of the R.S.-D.L.P. (There were dissensions between the Bolsheviks and the Central Committee of the S.-D. of Poland and Lithuania on the question of the reorganisation of the R.S.-D.L.P.) But Lenin argued that this was not the time for practising diplomacy, but for creating a militant Party. And even if the C.C. of the S.D.P. of Poland and Lithuania did come to the congress it would be only for the purpose of hindering its proceedings.* As I thought that if local representatives from Poland came to our congress it would be possible through them to influence the C.C. of the S.-D.'s of Poland and Lithuania to take an active part in the work of the central bodies of the R.S.-D.L.P., I did not agree with Lenin. Lenin then said that in that case I could not continue working in the centre. As

*Although the C.C. of the S.-D. of Poland and Lithuania was invited to the Prague General Party Conference of January 1912, it declined the invitation. It suggested that the Conference should appoint several comrades for the purpose of discussing the question of calling a real General Party Conference in which al currents in the S.-D.P. of Poland and Lithunia, including the "Nationals" would participate. Through Rosa Luxemburg, the C.C. of the S.-D.P. of Poland and Lithuania put pressure upon the German "trustees," to induce them to witnnold the Bolshevik funds which were so necessary for the expansion of the work of the Bolsheviks during 1912-1913.

At the same time the C.C. of the S.-D. of Poland and Lithuania refused to participate in the Organisational Committee of the August Bloc and in the conference called by it in Vienna in August 1912.

that coincided with my desire to work in a factory, it was decided that I should take on local work in St. Petersburg or in Moscow. I was given an address in St. Petersburg where I would see Comrade Avel Enukidze (in Moscow I had my own connections), and in the meantime went to the south of Russia to carry out the instructions of the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee.

CHAPTER XIII

VOLSK
(1913-1914)

I CROSSED the Russian frontier on the passport of a student named B. London, and in Warsaw I received a passport from Comrade Zagorsky, on which I had registered in Moscow in 1907, that of Pimen M. Sanadiradze, a nobleman from Kutais. This document was not very satisfactory, but I had no other at the time. I do not remember whether I had any messages for the Warsaw organisation of the S.D.'s of Poland and Lithuania (it supported the Rozlamovists), but I saw several comrades there (Knamsky and others). From Warsaw I went to Kiev, where I was to see Comrades Petrovsky and Rozmirovich. While I was waiting for the musical instrument shop to open where the salesman was to tell me how I was to get in touch with Rozmirovich I suddenly saw Olga Davidovna Kameneva. She told me that the salesman was under arrest and then told me how I could find those I was seeking. I met Rozmirovich during the day and sent word by her that Petrovsky was to go to Poronin, where a joint meeting of the Central Committee, the Duma "Six" (the six Bolshevik members of the Duma), and a number of responsible workers from the districts was to take place at the end of September 1913. I also told her that Petrovsky was to choose a certain number of comrades from Kiev and the adjoining towns to go with him to the conference, and that a number of comrades from certain towns were to be selected for the Party school which was going to be opened in Galicia, near Poronin. (Petrovsky himself was not in Kiev at the time.) In the evening of the same day I left for Poltava to see Comrade Lyubich (Sammer) who was working in the Zemstvo (district council). He was not in town, having left for Kharkov. From Poltava I went to Kharkov, where I wanted to see Comrade Muranov, who represented the Kharkov province in the Fourth Duma. I had to stay more than a week in Kharkov before a secret meeting could be arranged between us, for Muranov was being very closely watched by the police. I had to spend the night on a mountain near the railway.

Comrade Muranov arrived at night: he had made the journey from town on a locomotive engine, I believe. (Comrade Muranov, himself a railwayman, was in close touch with the railwaymen.) I gave Muranov the instructions I had for him, analogous to those I had had for Petrovsky. Next morning I left for Moscow via Penza, where I intended staying a day or two with my friends the Itins. On the way I fell seriously ill with dysentery, and could hardly drag myself to their house. This sickness, which nearly spelled my doom, confined me to bed for over a month and a half.

When I arrived in Moscow I entered the firm of Siemens-Schückert as an electrician through the help of Comrade Krassin, who was the technical director of that firm. I was given the job of electrifying the Asserin cement factory which was then being built, and was situated about five miles from Volsk. I felt a bit nervous on my way to the factory: I was not at all sure whether I was equal to setting up an electric light equipment in a factory. I had had some experience in putting in the electric light in houses, but that is not the same thing as doing it in a factory. But since I meant to learn this work at all costs, I decided to try the job. When I went to see Comrade Krassin about work, he asked me whether I wanted merely to earn money or to learn the trade. He explained that if I only wanted the former, I could remain in Moscow, but if I wanted the latter then I must go and work in a quiet place where nothing would distract me from my work. Much as I wanted to remain in Moscow, I nevertheless decided to go away to learn this work.

Comrade Krassin was right. The factory to which I was sent was being equipped according to the last word in European technique and work was in full swing. There were many electricians there, Russians and Germans. For every branch of this complex electro-technical work there were special workmen under the supervision of a more experienced electrician, who placed additional workmen where they were needed, gave out the materials, and told the workmen what had to be done. The whole of the work at the Siemens-Schückert factory was superintended by a German technician named Hasser. The engineers lived in Volsk and visited the factory very rarely. It had never occurred to me that the manufacture of cement called for machines of such complicated construction and mechanisation of production. The entire complicated manufacturing process, from beginning to end, with the exception of feeding the chalk to the wet mill, setting up the empty barrels

and nailing down the lids when they are filled with cement, is done by machinery.

I went through the entire factory and its annexes, for I installed electric light in nearly the whole of it. I worked day and night and, unlike the other electricians, I did not merely give orders, but worked myself, crawling into the most dangerous holes and doing the most difficult jobs myself. About fifty unskilled workers and mechanics worked under me. They made the braces, brackets, etc. I had to use materials which I had never seen before. But I worked very conscientiously. Hasser, having noticed that I watched other kinds of work in my leisure time, began to give me jobs such as installing small motors and dynamos, switch boards and the like, under his direction. I made great progress in this field. N. N. Mandelstam, who worked in the same factory as a first electrician, and I were the last to leave the factory. I worked in that factory from October, 1913, to the beginning of April, 1914. I was paid quite well: eighteen kopecks an hour with time and a half for holidays and overtime. We also got one and a half roubles for daily maintenance. I profited a great deal from my stay at the factory. I learnt a trade, I saw how Russian workers and peasants, from whom I had been cut off during my long stay abroad, lived, worked and spent their leisure time. And the Asserin factory workers lived in very wretched conditions, as, indeed, did those of the Zeiffert and Glukhoozersky cement works. There were both temporary and permanent workers at the factory, the former were hired for the construction of the factory; the latter for production in the factory. When I arrived, the factory was already in operation, although not working to full capacity. The temporary men worked under electricians belonging to various firms, but they were hired and paid by the Asserin administration and not by the firms who were equipping the works.

The workmen were recruited primarily from the local young workers and peasants of the Penza province. The latter were very numerous. For their ten hours a day they received fifty kopecks. Very often Mandelstam and I allowed the temporary workers at their own request to do night work—knowing full well that they did not work at night—so that they could thereby increase their earnings. For night work they were paid double. These temporary workers lived in the most terrible insanitary conditions. The stench near their shacks was unbearable. Wooden barracks were built for the electricians and some of the skilled workers. There were no clubs or cultural institu-

tions in the factory or even in Volsk, unless the cinema of that time can be considered a cultural institution. There were three or four cinemas in Volsk. Drunken songs and foul swearing filled the air on Sundays and holidays. The local youth and some of the workers not only spent all their earnings on drink but lost their boots and coats as well. After that, they had to work several months before they could equip themselves again. Once the factory administration decided to lower wages by ten kopecks a day and to limit the amount of overtime to be done by the assistants. Under the leadership of the workers who worked under electricians who were Party members (there were four of us: three Bolsheviks—N. N. Mandelstam, Petrov and myself, and one Menshevik, Ryabikov), the temporary workers went on strike. When strike-breakers were brought in, we refused to work with them, telling our masters that we could not work with the new workers since those on strike knew the work already, while the blacklegs would have to be taught all over again. The police were brought in, of course, but the workers won their strike.

While I was in Volsk I got in touch with the Russian and Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee. I carried on a regular correspondence with Krupskaya through Penza. I was getting the *Pravda*, our magazine *Prosveshcheniye* (*Education*) and all the Bolshevik literature on social insurance from St. Petersburg at the address of the newspaper *Volskaya Zhizn*, about which I shall speak later. At that time an intense campaign for social insurance was being carried on in Russia. (The Third State Duma had passed compensation laws covering illness, accidents, etc. There were great differences of opinion on this question between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. Both parties carried on an extensive campaign in the daily press, published many pamphlets, and even periodicals, on the insurance question.) The three Bolsheviks at our factory decided to call a meeting of the skilled workers of the Asserin to discuss the question of insurance. The meeting took place in my room. I began supplying the more class-conscious workers present with literature on insurance and also gave them the *Pravda*. These workers often came to me and to Mandelstam for enlightenment on various subjects. We established regular contact with them, although unfortunately, we did not succeed in forming a Party organisation, because as soon as the lighting was completely installed we had to leave Volsk. As far as I remember, we did turn over a few of our contacts to Comrade Vardin, who,

together with Comrade Antoshkin, lived in Volsk under police surveillance.

About twenty electricians from the Moscow firm of Siemens and Schückert worked in the three factories in Volsk. Besides the four Party members, there were two sympathisers: on holidays the six of us would meet in the house of one of the electricians living in Volsk. The other electricians were petty-bourgeois. They spent their leisure time mainly in restaurants in a dull, boring and vulgar fashion. They were paid well and they had no way of spending their money except in restaurants. Occasionally all the electricians would meet, but they did not take well to conversations on political subjects, although the labour movement in Russia was daily growing in strength. The electricians talked to each other about events in the factories and about friction with the factory administrations. The Moscow electricians began to write short notes to the small Volsk daily, the *Volskaya Zhizn*, on this subject and on the lack of safety devices in the cement factories. Several fatalities had occurred owing to the absence of hoods on machines which worked day and night. Thus we Party members became acquainted with the editorial staff of the newspaper, which was quite radical for such an out-of-the-way place.

Once I opened a copy of *Volskaya Zhizn* (which the editorial office had begun sending me on its own initiative), and found a huge article full of praise for the Asserin factory. Side by side with a correct description of the newest machines, were a number of obviously false statements, such as that there was no dust in the factory, that there was a school, hospital and bath-house, that they had built wonderful houses for the workers, etc. We electricians immediately realised that the article was written by the factory directors, because no honest newspaper correspondent could ever have written that there was no dust in the factory. A man had only to pass by the wet mill and he would be sprayed with a grey liquid from head to foot, and if he were to pass by the coal mill he would immediately turn into a chimney-sweep, and all the surroundings were covered with a thick layer of grey dust from the cement mill, though one or more pneumatic ventilators were at work all the time. Without them it would probably have been altogether impossible to breathe. The air-pump room alone was spotlessly clean, and even attractive. As for the school, hospital and bath-house—they existed on paper only, and in the meantime we had only the "wonderful" barracks.

We were indignant at this article, for the newspaper had

been very fair for those times, and we wrote a refutation. The paper, however, did not want to publish it without a preliminary discussion with us. Comrade Petrov and the Menshevik Ryabikov went there. On their return I learned that Comrades Mgeladze (Vardin) and Antoshkin were members of the editorial staff. Vardin I did not know at all, but Antoshkin I remembered in connection with Party literature of 1905-1906, although I did not know him personally either. When Comrade Vardin heard about me, he wanted to see me, but I was not in the least enthusiastic about meeting him, for I knew he was a Georgian. I feared that as soon as he began talking to me, he would realise that I was not a Georgian. I did not even suspect that he was a Party member; but even his membership in the Party would not have greatly changed the situation; for no one except Mandelstam ("Mikhail Mironovich"), whom I met in the course of my Party work in 1906-1913 and with whom I was acquainted personally, knew that Sanadiradze was not my real name. I began to visit the town less frequently in order not to encounter Vardin, but this was of no avail. Comrade Vardin appeared one day at the factory and came in to see me. He immediately began to talk Georgian to me in the presence of the other comrades. I told him that the Russian comrades did not understand Georgian, and that it would therefore be better to speak Russian. I felt very uncomfortable that evening, but on the whole things did not turn out so badly. Comrade Vardin discussed Georgian Party literature with me (Jordania has just written several articles against the Liquidators). As I felt at home in Party literature and in Party affairs generally, it was not difficult for me to carry on a conversation with him on these subjects. To make a long story short, I began to visit him, met Comrade Antoshkin and we began to visit each other, but Comrade Vardin still remained convinced that I was a native Georgian.*

After acquainting the editors of the *Volskaya Zhizn* with conditions at our factory, we proved to them that our refutation was based on actual facts.

The electric light was at last installed in the factory, and I returned to Moscow at Easter 1914. Almost on the very day of my arrival the office of Siemens and Schückert wanted to send me to a repairing and installing job in one of the

*In 1916, Comrade Vardin, while in exile, met another Georgian comrade, Dmitry Geliadze, who was a neighbour of mine in exile. He had a photograph of many political exiles, in which Comrade Vardin recognised me. Geliadze and Vardin called me by different names. They asked me who I really was, and Comrade Vardin was at last convinced that I was not a Georgian.

textile regions near Moscow (I cannot now remember where exactly). The textile mills closed for a short while before the Easter holidays. During this time they overhauled the old equipment and installed new electrical machinery. But I definitely refused to go, for I was tired of living in out-of-the-way places. I was tempted to go to St. Petersburg, where the struggle was at its height. I was about to leave everything and go there, when I felt a regret at leaving the place where I had already learned something and could learn much more. I made the following conditions: either they should give me work in a large town or I would leave them. They chose the former course: they offered to send me to Samara with Hasser, whom I have already mentioned, to construct and equip a municipal electric tramway. My work would lie in the town itself. This offer I accepted. I remained in Moscow a few days. In order to see my Moscow comrades I attended a lecture (or a concert, I forget which), arranged for the benefit of the Moscow Committee in the building of the Moscow Art Circle in the Bolshaya Dmitrovka 15/a (now the premises of the Moscow Committee of the C.P.S.U.). There I met old friends and acquaintances: A. S. Karpova, Z. I. Yashnova, Konstantinovich, whom I had known in Paris, and, of course, the agent-provocateur Romanov (Alya-George), who suddenly began asking me whether I had come to work in Moscow, etc. Comrade Gleb (Mantsev), whom I wanted to see, was not to be found. Only his wife was at the entertainment. During the few days I spent in Moscow, I managed to see several other comrades—Karpov, Bogdanov, Malzmann,* who had escaped with me from the Kiev prison, and others, but I did not succeed in making any connections with the Samara Bolshevik organisation. I had to be satisfied with a few private addresses.

Having changed my tools for those needed on my new job, I left for Samara.

*This revolutionist, if I may be permitted to call him one, laughed at me in 1918 because I continued to work in the Party. "Only fools like you would do that. Can't you see that the situation is hopeless?"

CHAPTER XIV

SAMARA
(1914)

I CAME to Samara on April 16th, and on the same day began to work in the city electric works where the machinery for the tramway was being installed. The work was very interesting but too strenuous. I had to work as machinist, driller, etc., because supplementary workers were paid by the Schückert firm and not by the municipality, and consequently an insufficient number of workmen were hired. In addition, the work itself was new to me. I had to deal with machines which commute alternating for direct current which is necessary for the tramway, with transformers, and with instruments very complicated in construction, which I had never seen before. Although I worked only ten hours a day I used to get very tired, especially since I was busy with Party work in the evening and I used to go to bed late, and get up early in the morning. For this reason I had to refuse to work overtime no matter how urgent the work was. I succeeded in getting jobs for Comrades Vavilkin* and others who had been thrown out of the Trubochny factory. My unexpected arrest made it impossible for me to finish the job, which would have aided me greatly in learning the methods used by the German electricians who had come to instal the machinery.†

I shall now describe my Party work in Samara.

As soon as I learned that I was to go to Samara, I wrote to Krupskaya asking that either Gregory (Zinoviev) or Lenin should write to the editorial office of the Samara newspaper, *Zarya Povolzhya* (*Volga Dawn*) saying that I could be trusted,

*I met Comrade Vavilkin at the railwaymen's congresses in the latter part of 1917 and early in 1918. He came as the representative of the Samara railwaymen. During the days of the Samara constituent assembly he went to the Urals and Siberia where, it is said, he fell a victim to one of Kolchak's underlings.

†I was very much attracted by electrical work, and as far as I could, I followed the literature on this subject even in exile. For the same reason, after I returned from exile to Moscow in March 1917 I went to the first meeting of the Moscow electricians in the Grain Exchange, where the question was raised whether the electricians should organise a separate trade union, or whether they should enter the metal workers' union; for I wanted to work in that line. But the Moscow Committee of the C.P.S.U. was of a different opinion and gave me work with the railwaymen. This work took up all my spare time.

and that they should connect me with the adherents of the St. Petersburg *Pravda*. (Occasionally, Zinoviev and Lenin sent articles under various pseudonyms to the weekly *Zarya Povolzhya*.)

When I arrived in Samara, I looked up the comrades whose addresses I had received in Moscow, but they could not put me in touch with the local Party organisation: some were not connected with the Party themselves, while the others were afraid because I had no credentials, and no one knew me personally. Although the premises occupied by the editorial office of the *Zarya Povolzhya* were always under observation, I went there daily, hoping that a letter about me had arrived from Poronin from Zinoviev or from Lenin. Soon the comrades at the office began to look upon me with suspicion and to question me closely; they wanted to know who I was, where I came from, for what purpose, etc. As I did not know whether the editorial office was composed of Bolsheviks or of Mensheviks, I naturally could not answer their questions satisfactorily, which aroused their hostility still more. I stopped going so frequently to the office. In order to get into touch with the Samara comrades without any further loss of time I wrote to Malinovsky at the Duma, asking him to connect me with somebody.

At last the long awaited letter from Poronin arrived. The attitude of the Bolsheviks who worked on the newspaper underwent a complete change. The secretary, Stepan (Belov), then a Bolshevik, who during the war became a patriot and a Menshevik and later identified himself with the Samara constituent assembly, put me in touch with Samara affairs. The situation was nothing to be proud of. There was no Party organisation either Bolshevik or Menshevik in Samara, although there were mixed Party groups, consisting of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, in many factories and workshops. The Mensheviks had organised a legal Society for Sane Recreation, which the Bolsheviks joined as well. This society organised lectures on general educational subjects; it had a library, etc. Here the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks had their disputes on the quiet; they held secret lectures followed by debates. The president of this society was some Samara lawyer, whose name I do not remember. Those responsible to the authorities for the political complexion of this society were careful to see that nothing prohibited took place there. Only members of the society were allowed to attend the meetings and lectures. In spite, however, of all these restrictions, the premises of the society were always thronged with workers. Our people could also be seen there,

but no secret meetings of any kind were possible, for the Samara secret police kept its eyes and ears open there.

Another centre around which the genuine revolutionary elements of the Samara working class rallied was the newspaper *Zarya Povolzhya*, but it too had no definite political aspect. There were two Mensheviks and two Bolsheviks on the newspaper, and together they appointed a fifth member of the editorial staff—the secretary. In April 1914 the secretary was Belov, a Bolshevik. Dan, Martov and Comrades Zinoviev and Lenin contributed to the paper.

In St. Petersburg the newspapers *Pravda* and *Luch* fought each other tooth and nail. In Samara, leaders of the revolutionary proletarian trend in the Russian labour movement and the leaders of the pseudo-revolutionary and servile bourgeois tendency wrote side-by-side in the same newspaper.

After I had met a few other Samara Bolsheviks I convinced them of the necessity and the possibility of creating a separate Bolshevik illegal organisation. The ground was well prepared for such an organisation. Individual Bolsheviks were linked with groups of workers in the factories through the newspaper and the Society for Sane Recreation, but they were afraid to form themselves into an organisation because agents-provocateurs would steal into it, and it would be promptly suppressed by the secret police and gendarmes. At last, one Sunday in early May, a meeting of the Bolsheviks was held in a ravine near the Trubochny factory. Bednyakov, Vavilkin and another worker, whose name I do not remember, came from the factory. Comrade Stankevich represented the Bolsheviks in the Samara workers' co-operative, and the newspaper was represented by Belov and a few other comrades whose names I have forgotten. At this constituent assembly of the Bolsheviks I made a report on the situation in the Party, and Belov or Bednyakov reported on the situation in Samara. After an exchange of opinion it was decided to organise a temporary Bolshevik Samara committee which was to prepare the ground for summoning a Samara Bolshevik conference, carry on current work meanwhile, and get in touch with the Central Committee and the Central Organ of the Party. Bednyakov, Belov, a clerk named Benjamin (I cannot remember his surname), a worker from the Trubochny factory, and I, comprised the committee. I was entrusted with the task of getting in touch with the central organs of the Party, of organising the distribution of the St. Petersburg *Pravda* and our periodical, *Prosveshcheniye*.

As Malinovsky did not reply to the letters I had sent him in April, I informed N. K. Krupskaya, representing the Foreign Bureau of the C.C., of our Samara activities. I corresponded with her regularly. I sent my letters in code to addresses abroad; I received her letters via Penza where Itin, with whom I had worked in Berlin and Odessa, forwarded them to me. He also obtained a dependable address in Penza for me in the Agricultural Bank which guaranteed against loss or opening of letters from abroad. From Penza to Samara letters travelled with less risk. After Malinovsky's flight from the Duma I lost contact with the Russian Central Committee, for I was connected with it only through him, and I could not write to other members of our Duma fraction for they did not know my Party names. I was therefore forced to write abroad even about purely Russian matters.

As regards the distribution of the *Pravda* and the *Prosvesh-cheniye*, the Samara comrades introduced me to a comrade who distributed legal workers' literature among the factory workers. I requested Miron Chernomazov of the *Pravda* and Max Savelyev of the *Prosveshcheniye* to send this comrade as much literature as he asked for and I promised to see that the money was sent out regularly. Thus our literature was spread in Samara.

The members of the temporary committee often met at the Society for Sane Recreation, or in restaurants or parks of the town. Meetings of the temporary Party Committee, which were held very often, took place in rowing boats and in gardens. The committee was getting in touch with more and more Party members in the works and factories, and through them the committee was kept informed of the state of mind of the wide masses of workers. The workers were perplexed and angered by Malinovsky's departure from the Duma on May 8th, 1914. The temporary committee, therefore, condemned Malinovsky's action and passed a strong resolution against him, which I sent to the Foreign Bureau of the C.C. for publication.

About the middle of May, the question of issuing the *Zarya Povolzhya* several times a week came up. The editorial board decided to call an enlarged meeting of the editorial board at which representatives from the various Samara factory Party groups were to be present. Neither the secretary Belov, nor the other Bolshevik members of the editorial board, raised the question of doing any preparatory work for the enlarged meeting of the editorial board at the meeting of the temporary

committee of the Samara organisation. On Saturday night, just before the meeting, I met Belov, and only then did I learn about the proposed meeting. To my question at whose initiative the meeting was called and what points were on the agenda, he replied that two Menshevik members of the editorial board had suggested calling the meeting to discuss the question of raising the circulation of the paper and publishing it more frequently. I then asked whether the Mensheviks would not attempt to re-elect the editorial staff. Belov thought that that was out of the question, and he added that I was too suspicious and that I seemed to think that I was dealing with St. Petersburg Mensheviks. This conversation took place, if I am not mistaken, in the presence of Anna Nikiforova. On Monday after work I met Belov at the place we had agreed upon, and eagerly inquired about the results of the enlarged plenum of the editorial board. Belov calmly told me that representatives of the large factories had been present, and that the Mensheviks had taken advantage of the situation to suggest that a new editorial board be elected. The proposal was accepted. The Mensheviks elected three of their members and two Bolsheviks, including himself, but he had definitely refused to become a member of the editorial board because the Mensheviks had not acted loyally.

My indignation at the inertia of the Bolshevik members of the editorial staff, who had not even brought up the question of preparing for the plenum of the editorial board at the meetings of the temporary committee, knew no bounds. But I was even more infuriated at the fact that Belov had refused to join the board and had resigned his position as secretary without consulting us; with his departure the editorial office, and consequently the paper, passed into the hands of the Mensheviks without a struggle. At the very first meeting of the temporary committee it was decided to recover possession of the paper at all costs, rejecting Belov's suggestion that we should publish our own weekly in opposition to the *Zarya Povolzhya*. We Bolsheviks now began to agitate in the factories and workshops against the Menshevik tendency of the paper and proposed that the *Zarya Povolzhya* become a Bolshevik paper. In our speeches and agitational work we called ourselves the "Pravdists" and the Mensheviks the "Luchists," but the workers understood very well that a struggle was being waged between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. Despite numerous confiscations, the *Zarya Povolzhya* had never had a deficit, for the workers always came to its support. But

when the paper was entirely taken over by the Mensheviks, when Dan, Martov and Co. filled the columns of the paper and the Bolsheviks stopped sending in their articles altogether, the workers refused to support the paper further. During the first week of the Menshevik management, contributions fell from eighty-nine roubles a week to fifteen roubles a week. (I do not vouch for the accuracy of these figures, but they have stuck in my memory, and they give a true illustration of the situation.)

When the ground had been well-prepared by our agitation, we demanded that an enlarged meeting of the editorial board be called for the purpose of deciding the policy of the paper. This was tantamount to an examination on this question of every Party member and sympathiser working at the bench. Meetings of the Party members and sympathisers were organised in the factories and workshops where both the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks expounded the tactical and organisational viewpoints of both currents in the R.S.-D.L.P. At the end of the meeting a vote was taken on how the Samara workers' paper should be conducted: on the lines of the St. Petersburg *Pravda* or that of the *Luch*; after which delegates were elected to a conference which was to make a final decision on this question. On June 8th, delegates from the Party groups in the factories and workshops met in a country house in Barbashina Polyana, but the meeting had to be dissolved because the police and detectives were approaching the meeting place. The temporary committee could not meet before the conference of the enlarged editorial board took place because all its members were participating in meetings as speakers for the Bolsheviks. Therefore we did not know exactly who had the majority. But after the above meeting was dissolved, we calculated that we had a majority of over two-thirds in our favour. The conference was appointed for the next Sunday.

Immediately after the temporary committee decided to start a campaign to gain control of the newspaper, I asked the Foreign Bureau of the C.C. whether it would be able to keep the *Zarya Povolzhya* supplied with literary contributions on general political subjects; for we had very few writers in Samara. In reply I received a letter from Lenin in which he approved our decision and promised us the assistance of the Bolshevik writers. In case of victory he asked me to send him a telegram; as soon as he received it, he said, he would send us some articles for our first number. In the letter Lenin emphasised the importance of the *Zarya Povolzhya* in the whole Volga region. Besides the above correspondence with the

Central Committee on this subject, I also interested a Samara Bolshevik, whose address I had been given in Moscow, in the work of our newspaper. He worked in the Samara Zemstvo, and was not in touch with the Party organisation (I cannot remember his name).

The second meeting, called for June 15th in the woods, could not take place, because even before the meeting opened, the singing of the sentries whom we had stationed around the meeting place gave us warning that the police were near at hand. We decided to row over to the other side of the Volga and meet there; for it was impossible to postpone the decision on this question any longer. When we got to the other side, we settled down in the woods on a hillside from whence we could see everything that was going on on the Volga. Despite the fact that the meeting took place far from the town, and that the place of meeting had been changed, nearly all the Bolshevik delegates were present. A former member of the editorial board, the Bolshevik Kukushkin, gave a report, and another report was delivered by the Menshevik editor, giving the substance of our differences of opinion on the situation in the editorial board. After the reports, a lively debate ensued and, when the vote was taken, three-quarters of those present gave their support to the Bolsheviks. It was characteristic that the representatives of the Trubochny and other large factories voted for the Bolsheviks, while the bakers and other small workshops supported the Mensheviks. The conference elected an editorial board consisting of five Bolsheviks: four editors and one candidate. The Mensheviks were entitled to appoint one editor, but they declined. The editorial staff consisted of Belov, Bednyakov, Kukushkin, a compositor, and the Bolshevik from the Zemstvo. Benjamin, of the temporary committee, was the candidate. Immediately upon my return from the conference I sent a telegram to Lenin announcing our victory. I only saw the first number of the *Zarya Povolzhya* when I was in prison, for I was arrested the very next day. The first number had a very good leading article entitled "Reform or Reforms," which stated that the paper was going to be conducted in the "Pravdist" spirit. The workers joyfully accepted the new policy of the paper, as was shown by the innumerable greetings received from workers and the increased financial contributions. During the revolutionary wave which arose just before the war, this paper, together with the St. Petersburg *Pravda*, was suppressed and many arrests were made among the Bolsheviks.

Despite its shortcomings the *Zarya Povolzhya* played an important part in the Samara labour movement of the time.

Towards the end of May or at the beginning of June, 1914, I received instructions from the Foreign Bureau of the C.C. to call a Party Conference of the Volga region and a proposal to make preparations for the elections in the same region to the International Socialist Congress at Vienna, which was to take place on August 15th, 1914, and also to our Party Congress. I was directed to send more workers who had participated in one way or another in the labour movement. As I was unable to travel over the Volga region myself (my work on the construction of the tramway at the time was very urgent), I agreed with Comrades Kukushkin and Anna Nikiforova (she worked in Syzran and came very frequently to Samara, where we often used to meet), that they should take charge of this work. They were to visit all the towns in the Volga region, find out where there was any kind of labour organisation, and get into touch with them. Then a Volga Party Conference was to be called to elect a Volga district centre and conduct the elections to the Party Congress. At the same time they were to propose that all elections to the International Vienna Congress should be held in every town. I do not know the results of their trip for I was already in prison; and the startling events at the end of July 1914 made the summoning of both the Vienna Congress and the Party Congress impossible.

CHAPTER XV

ARREST, IMPRISONMENT AND EXILE (1914-1915)

On June 16th, while passing through a small garden by the Samara Cathedral on my way back to work from dinner, I heard quick steps behind me and the words: "Mister! Wait a second!" When I turned around I saw the chief of police, panting and breathless, running after me. I naturally tried to get away from him, but when I reached the gate leading into a quiet street, my way was barred by two detectives whom I had been seeing lately among the workers laying the tram lines near my house. When the policeman came up, he asked me what my name was, to which I replied: "If you are running after me you surely ought to know my name." A cab was standing near at hand and I soon found myself in the office of the gendarmerie. I had nothing illegal with me, nor did they find anything at my house, except one number of the *Pravda* and one of the *Prosveshcheniye*. If they had arrested me in the street on Saturday instead of on Monday, they would have found a letter from Comrade Krupskaya, which had been very difficult to decipher and on which I had laboured fruitlessly for two days trying to make out the addresses indicated. I decided to take the tone of righteous indignation which might be expected on the arrest of an innocent and busy person, and at first I was quite successful. The chief of the gendarmes, Poznansky, hesitated and was on the point of discharging me for the error committed; but suddenly events took a different turn. Later he avenged himself fully for his early gullibility. When I was first brought in to Poznansky, I told him that there must be some mistake about my arrest, that apparently I was being taken for someone else, that I was working on the construction of the tramway, and that the work was very urgent and the workmen were waiting for me. It turned out that they did not know my name, but were looking for me with the aid of a photograph. The photograph resembled me very little, particularly when I was dressed as a workman. But the sight of the photograph dumbfounded me: the forehead, eyes and

nose were mine, but the hair and beard were not; I never had such a beard, nor had I ever combed my hair that way. What was more, the photograph showed me in a smoking jacket, which I had never worn in my life.

I immediately recognised Zhitomirsky's work; my pose on the photograph gave him away. Shortly before my departure from Paris Zhitomirsky had insisted that Kottov, Zefir, Andronnikov, Kamenev, I, and some others should have our photos taken in one group, because he owned a very good camera. For a long time we refused to be photographed, but one fine sunny day when we all happened to meet at his house he repeated his suggestion and we agreed. He took a picture of us all. After this he insisted that I should be photographed alone. I agreed, but demanded that he should give me the negatives to which Zhitomirsky agreed, and he really did give them to me. Poznansky showed me one of those photographs, and I recognised it by the background, in spite of the fact that Zhitomirsky had drawn me dressed up in a smoking jacket and with a different sort of beard and hair. Zhitomirsky could draw fairly well; it was not difficult for him to make these changes. But the photograph was not the only clue to Zhitomirsky's "work"; the description of my physique (he had attended me several times when I was ill) and of my usual dress also showed traces of his role as informer. But all these changes made the picture resemble me very little. This encouraged me and at the same time discouraged Poznansky. While we were examining the photograph the Buguruslan gendarme entered the room, and Poznansky handed him the photograph and asked him whether there was anyone in the room (where I was being cross-examined) resembling the picture. He replied in the negative. After that my air of assurance grew still bolder, but Poznansky asked for all of my documents and called me by my real name and not by that on the passport under which I lived. While he was reading the documents aloud I felt convinced that he was not going to let me get away from him. He said that there was no hurry; that there would always be time to let me go, in case it were proved that I was not he for whom they were looking. I was sent to prison. In a few days Poznansky came to me and produced a telegram from Kutais, saying that there really was a Sanadiradze and that he lived in Kutais. He advised me to disclose my real name, or otherwise I would regret it. I thought that perhaps the telegram was only a ruse, and therefore refused to discuss the matter further.

A few days later he came to the prison for a formal examination. He showed me extracts from the birth records sent to him from Kutais which showed that Sanadiradze had sisters and brothers, while I had stated on the day of my arrest that I had none. Nor did the father's patronymic and the mother's name and patronymic correspond with those I gave.* Realising that there was nothing else to do, I stated my real name. Then Poznansky replied that I had done a wise thing in identifying myself, for he had nothing against me and he could even set me free. To my question why he did not do so he replied that before he could do that I must go over to their side. From my prison experience I knew very well that gendarmes often proposed to political prisoners that they work for them and become traitors and agents-provocateurs, but I had never had such an offer made to me before. Even then I did not expect such an offer from Poznansky, and replied very calmly (even to this moment I cannot understand how I managed to remain so calm) that I preferred to remain neutral—neither with the gendarmes nor with the revolutionists. My answer infuriated Poznansky and he shouted that he knew I was a member of the Central Committee of the Leninist school, that I had come to summon the Volga region Party Conference, that I was called "Yerman" in Samara, that I was the leader in the fight for the *Zarya Povolzhya*, etc. He finally announced that I would be sent for trial, even though nothing had been found on me, and that if necessary they would send their informers after me.

After the cross-examination I began analysing the facts which the gendarme had blurted out. It was plain that all this was the work of an agent-provocateur. It was obvious that there were traitors in Samara as well, for I had called myself "Yerman" only twice: once at a meeting of the workers' co-operative before the elections to the enlarged meeting of the editorial board of the *Zarya Povolzhya*, where I had made a speech under that name, and the second time at the *Zarya Povolzhya* meeting itself. Only Kukushkin and A. Nikitorova knew about the Volga region conference. If either of these was an agent-provocateur, then the gendarme would also have known about the temporary Party Committee, but he

*My passport under the name of Sanadiradze was sent to me from the Caucasus. I did not know any details about his family and therefore had to make up everything. I had imagined that the gendarmes would inquire by telegraph whether Sanadiradze was really given a passport on such and such a date and under such and such a number, and that that would be the end. An affirmative reply from Kutais would probably have freed me because of Poznansky's uncertainty.

had said nothing about this. I was greatly puzzled about my membership of the C.C. The question had been raised at the January Party Conference in 1912, at which my candidature was put up for membership of the Central Committee; but as I could not depart for Russia immediately, my candidature was dropped. Since the elections to the C.C. were secret, the agent-provocateur who was present at the conference apparently did not know exactly who had been elected, and he therefore included my name. It certainly looked as though the gendarmes and the secret police knew everything about the Party Conference.* These were very painful thoughts. How horrible it is: you meet a comrade, learn to trust him and to discuss the class struggle with him, and then he turns out a Judas—a traitor to his class! The worst of it is that you then begin to see a traitor in every comrade.

Poznansky's vengeance was not long in coming. Soon after the examination I was sent to the gendarmerie office, from there to the police station, and then to a dark cellar in the detective department for "identification," although my identity was already well established by Poznansky. After many indignities I was transferred to a jail which was full of thieves, procurers, receivers of stolen goods, etc. Here I made the acquaintance of the scum of society. What an array of underworld specialists they had there—burglars, pickpockets, bank robbers, confidence men who would meet peasants on their way to town and buy real money from them for "gold," and others. The overcrowded cell and nauseating filth defied all description. I had to spend whole nights on the window-sill, hugging the grating. The policemen were rude, and foul language always filled the air. In this filthy hole there was only one political prisoner—myself. I kept at a distance from the other inmates of the police jail, who were divided into groups, according to their "specialities," and even had their own "chiefs." Some of the latter even recalled the insults which they had suffered at the hands of the "politicals" in 1905 and at other times, and for these I was now called to account, and barely escaped being punished.

While I was transferred from one place to another I was seen

*After the February Revolution I saw in the secret police documents published by M. A. Tsyavlovsky that at the session of the C.C. held abroad on November 1st, 1913, it was decided to give the Russian C.C. Bureau the right to co-opt V. N. Yakovleva and myself into the Central Committee. At the Central Committee session it was decided what work was to be given to each worker. Malinovsky participated in these sessions; therefore the police department, too, knew all about them. But this we only learned after the February Revolution.

by some of the Samara comrades. I even succeeded in exchanging a few words with them. They advised me to tell the judge, who was to try me under the charge of living under a false passport, that I should appeal against his decision. They said that in that case I should be put in the "noblemen's" jail, where one could get newspapers, receive visitors and converse through a window. They also promised to send a lawyer to the "squire" to try to get me out on bail. At last I appeared before the judge. Without asking me any questions he sentenced me to three months' imprisonment for living under someone else's passport. Political prisoners were very seldom punished for living under false passports or for using those of other persons. But even when they were held under such a charge they were not clothed in prison uniforms, but were confined with other political prisoners. Therefore in my case it must have been a case of vengeance on the part of Poznansky. He did not leave me in peace, even when I was under the jurisdiction of the prison authorities, after being sentenced to exile in Siberia.

The judge refused to let me out on bail and I was transferred to the "noblemen's" jail. Here I read the latest numbers of the *Pravda* and *Zarya Povolzhya*. Both the *Pravda* and the Samara paper now openly used revolutionary language. I learned about the Baku strike and the response it had met throughout the country. Comrades who visited me at the window told me that the temporary Samara Party Committee, of which I was a member, had now become a permanent Party Committee by the decision of a large meeting of Party workers; that they were coming in contact with an ever-increasing number of workers; that they were awaiting the arrival of Comrade Muranov; and that the conversion of the Samara paper into a Bolshevik organ met with warm response, not only in Samara, but in the entire Volga region, as was proved by the numerous congratulations, subscriptions and contributions received from every quarter.

With beating heart I began to watch the development of the St. Petersburg strikes and barricades early in July 1914. Once I noticed that when any comrade approached my window someone would hide himself behind the bushes in the little garden opposite my window; he would listen to our conversation and take notes all the time. I warned my comrades and had to prohibit active comrades from coming to see me in order to prevent their being arrested. The "squire" told my lawyer that the gendarme had a case against me, and that therefore

he could not set me free until the trial. The discipline in the "noblemen's" jail was becoming very strict, and since nothing was to be gained by appealing, I withdrew the appeal and was transferred to the prison. Here new trials and tribulations awaited me. I was separated from the political prisoners, with whom I had managed to communicate, as we were in the same corridor, despite the rigour of the watch kept. But when I was transferred to the criminal wing I lost all connection with the political prisoners. I had to take my exercise with the criminals as well. I was shaved and made to wear the prison uniform until I had served my time. The worst of it was that my bed was folded up from six a.m. until after roll call, which came very late in the evening, because the criminal prisoners worked outside the prison. The cleaning of the cell was also very tiring. The floor, the lower part of the walls, and the dishes had to be scrubbed spick and span. For the slightest negligence prisoners were put into solitary confinement. To the credit of the authorities of the huge Samara prison of that time let it be said that it was kept ideally clean, though this was attained by means of countless indignities to the prisoners.

During the two and a half months of my solitary confinement I read many scientific books and Russian and foreign classics.

I was called up for questioning several times. Once a young inexperienced gendarme came to question me. From him I learned about the war. He read me all the papers bearing on my case and the recommendation of the gendarmes to the police department to send me to Siberia for five years. I pointed out some incorrect dates in the report and proved many of the accusations against me were fictitious, thus casting suspicion on all the evidence against me. This helped considerably, and I was sentenced only to three years of exile in Siberia—to the Yenisei Province. I was transferred to the transport corridor, where I soon found other comrades awaiting exile. Because of the war no batches of exiles were being sent and I was not permitted to go at my own expense. Vast crowds were in Samara waiting to be sent to exile. During the exercises, besides many Samara comrades, I saw Comrade Kartashev, of the Northern Union, whom I had not seen since 1903.

At last group after group began to depart, but I was always left behind. Some Samara comrades who were sentenced after me were sent away with the first group, immediately after their conviction, but I still remained waiting. All my protests to

the prison authorities were in vain. Only a strong protest to the prison inspector and the public prosecutor had the desired result. I was at last sent off. Six months had passed between the pronouncement of the sentence and the arrival at my destination! The last act of vengeance on the part of the Samara prison authorities was a thorough search before handing me over to the convoy. I was completely stripped in the open, though it was bitter cold; every seam of my clothes was carefully searched for money and fine saws because I had escaped from prison twelve years ago.

I was so glad to get out of the Samara jail that the journey to Chelyabinsk in the prisoners' trains seemed like heaven to me; but I was rudely awakened by the reality of the Chelyabinsk and Krasnoyarsk prisons. In Chelyabinsk there happened to be no guard to take the prisoners to Novonikolayevsk, so we were marched from place to place all day long, until we were put into prison. After a thorough search the eighty-five of us were hustled into a room on the door of which was written: "For twenty-eight prisoners." It can hardly be imagined how closely packed we were. It was impossible to lie down, sit or even stand up. The air was so stuffy that some of the prisoners fainted. Towards morning another group of prisoners was brought into our cell, and now it became altogether impossible to breathe. The prisoners nearest the windows broke them wide open. (It was the end of November 1914.) The result was that almost all the inmates caught cold, and coughing and hoarse voices could be heard for the rest of the journey. Some even fell ill with pneumonia. This was no longer heaven, but a veritable hell.

We reached Krasnoyarsk with no further incident except that one of the convicts in our carriage was confined without the assistance of anyone with the slightest knowledge of medicine. In the Krasnoyarsk prison I had to wait until the end of January 1915 for my turn to go to Yeniseisk.

I have already mentioned that I had heard about the war from a young gendarme who was cross-examining me. During my last days in the "noblemen's" prison the newspapers had said nothing concrete about the possibility of war, and in prison I had been kept so well isolated and discipline had been so strict that I had not seen or talked to anybody. The same gendarme told me that war had broken out between Russia, France and England on one side, and Austria and Germany on the other, and that Germany had attacked Russia. The war, in his opinion, could not last over six months; for it had engaged

enormous masses of people and paralysed the entire life of the nations which were at war. Then he informed me that Plekhanov stood for the war with Germany; that all the German Social-Democrats had voted for the war credits, with the exception of Liebknecht, who had been shot* by the military authorities. As for Russia, he added that a great nationalist upheaval was taking place there. Purishkevich was kissing Jews on the streets of Odessa; there were many patriotic demonstrations, and all strikes declared before the war were called off.

That a war was on, I believed, but the rest I considered pure invention; though I had no way of verifying what he had said. For days I was in a terribly disturbed state of mind and did not know what to do with myself. What really was going on in the world? What had happened to the Vienna World Congress? What had the Socialists of the world done about opposing the war? What about the anti-war resolutions passed at the Basle Congress of the Second International? I could find no answers to all these questions. On one of those tormenting days I was taken to the bath-house which was divided into cells for solitary confinement. I called to my neighbour, who responded. He turned out to be a former prison official imprisoned for embezzlement. As he was working in the prison offices he knew what was going on outside the prison walls. He confirmed the tale of the gendarme. He told me that Liebknecht's execution was not confirmed, and that the French and German Socialists were supporting their respective governments. There were no protests against the war anywhere; at least the newspapers did not report any. When I asked what the attitude of the Russian Socialists towards the war was he could give me no satisfactory reply. (The opinion of Plekhanov, with whose role in our Party I was well acquainted, had no authority with me.) I did not have to ponder over or analyse the matter very long before I reached the conclusion that the Tsarist government would not be carrying on a war in the interests of the workers and peasants, and that the defeat of Tsarist Russia would be of far greater use to the Russian revolution than if it were victorious; a defeat would weaken Tsarism, and the struggle with it would be facilitated. The Revolution of 1905 took place after Russia's defeat in the Russo-Japanese War; the Paris Commune of 1871 was established after the defeat of Napoleon III. This was my analysis of the war question at that time.

*Obviously a deliberate exaggeration by the gendarme.—Ed.

Services were held very often in the prison church, at which they often sang "God Save The Tsar." To me this betokened a victory of Russian arms. These were terrible moments, but later I learned that the "victories" they were celebrating referred to recapture of our own towns, such as Avgustovo. Later we were kept informed on the course of the war by daily telegrams which were distributed by the Russian telegraphic agency. Naturally we did not have much faith in these telegrams. The attitude of the C.C. and the Central Organ and of Lenin towards the war came to my knowledge indirectly through the same agency. It reported that five Bolshevik members of the Duma fraction, as well as Kamenev and others, had been arrested on November 27th 1914. I came to the conclusion that if they had been arrested they must be against the war. As a matter of fact I never had had any doubts on that score. On my journey to Krasnoyarsk I met many Bundists and Lettish and Polish Social-Democrats as well as adherents of other parties. Not one of these groups had as definite an opinion about the war as the Bolsheviks, of whom I met a considerable number on the way, though the Bolsheviks came from various parts of Russia and did not know each other. At the Krasnoyarsk prison I met Comrades Buryanov from Samara, Tuntul from the Baltic region, Maslyannikov, and others. We all argued ourselves hoarse discussing the war with the "defenders of the fatherland" in the ranks of the Mensheviks, the Bund, and other opportunists of our own and other revolutionary parties.

In the Angara Valley I met many more Bolsheviks, and their attitude was the same; they were all against the war. And in the village to which I was finally taken they were all against the war, despite the fact that there were Anarchists, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Maximalists, Polish Social-Democrats, as well as Bolsheviks among them. In discussing the consequences of the war, however, different shades of opinion were expressed. By mere chance I started a correspondence with Zefir, whom I had left in Paris in 1913. He was in the French army, as were many other Russian political emigrés, including, unfortunately, many Bolsheviks. I was most surprised and grieved that Zefir, such a stalwart and devoted Bolshevik, should have joined the French army as a volunteer. Notwithstanding the fact that he wrote very long letters where a great deal of space was given to lengthy explanations of his action, I did not understand him. He was against the war, and yet was not "sorry" that he had joined the French army. However, the

knowledge he had gained as a corporal in the French army served him later when he was fighting the Whites.

Comrade Zefir came to see me in October 1917, when fighting was already going on in the streets of Moscow, in which he immediately took part. Zefir's letters from the French front kept me informed about the state of mind and the activities of our centre abroad, with which he did not lose contact.

CHAPTER XVI

THE LIFE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE VILLAGES OF THE ANGARA VALLEY (1915-1917)

On January 30th 1915 Tuntul, Badin and ten or fifteen other comrades, including myself, were sent together with ordinary criminals—German, Austrian and Turkish war "criminals"—living in Russia, and Jews from the regions near the front—some fifty or sixty people altogether—from Krasnoyarsk to Yeniseisk (about 250 miles). We went on foot. Only sick persons and weak women were allowed to ride in the wagons which were carrying our luggage. We made about ten or fifteen miles a day, depending on the distances between the villages where we spent the night.

These halting-stations were ordinary one-story peasant huts, with barred windows, very dark, cold, and indescribably dirty. They were heated only after the arrival of the prisoners. The convicts themselves were no cleaner than these huts. No washing was done in the Krasnoyarsk prison, and if the prisoners contrived to wash their underwear with the hot water that remained after "tea," the guards took it away from them; yet many had to wait months before they were sent to their place of exile. Financially we were no better off. Our commune of political prisoners lived entirely on the ten kopecks a day allowed us by the authorities. As regards clothing, the position was no better. There were biting frosts with snowstorms which made our progress on the snow-covered roads difficult. The foreign war "criminals" suffered most from the weather. One German worker named Klein, from the Obukhov or Putilov factory, fell ill with pneumonia and died before we reached a hospital. Slowly and with difficulty we trudged along to Yeniseisk. We were quartered in the gloomy prison-fortress, the thick walls of which would have made excellent roads for the troikas of the former Russian merchants on market days.

I did not envy the permanent inmates of the Yeniseisk prison. Fortunately we did not remain there very long.

Twenty-two of us were sent on, no longer under military convoy, but under police escort, to the village of Boguchani in the Angara Valley, situated about 450 miles from Yeniseisk. On our way we found only one or two old exiles in almost every village, but as we advanced further from the Yeniseisk highway we came across an ever-increasing number of political exiles, most of whom had arrived recently. When we left this highway we began to spend the nights in peasants' huts, and whenever there were political exiles within reach we political prisoners naturally went to them. On the road from Yeniseisk to Pinchug* we passed through three villages with very odd names: Po-kukui (cry cuckoo), Po-toskui (languish), Po-gorui (grieve). The villages must have been nicknamed by exiles in former times and the names had stuck to them; though one of the villages (I forget which) still bore the official name of Byk. This name, however, had not acquired current usage. The names of these villages speak for themselves; in each one of them one could languish, grieve, and the villages were small and consisted of nothing but a few miserable peasant huts. The occupations of the inhabitants were fishing and hunting. Bread was brought in from outside districts.

As it was difficult to get bread in these villages, exiles were very seldom sent through, and then only in small groups, not exceeding twenty or twenty-two persons. It was frightful to pass through one of these wretched villages, for each one thought: "Is it possible that I may be left in such a village?" (By the way, no two of us were placed in the same village, but each one was sent to a different place.) We felt somewhat easier in our minds when we approached the villages of Pinchug and Irkinyeyeva; there were many political prisoners in each of these villages, who received us very warmly. There I found Anna Nikiforova, whom I had known in Samara, Comrade Malyshev, and other Bolsheviks. In the village of Boguchani, where the police headquarters were located, before being taken to the chief of police, who was to send us to our various destinations, we were brought directly to the house for political exiles, which had been organized by the exiles themselves. We made ourselves at home there and were fed, and from there we were sent on to our villages. The journey from Krasnoyarsk to Yeniseisk and from there to Boguchani had taken over a month

*The county administration was at first situated in Pinchug, but later it was transferred to Boguchani, but even in 1915 it was called the Pinchug County. This county was probably larger than any of the "Independent Republics" of Esthonia, Lithuania or Latvia.

in the icy cold. We had arrived half starved, worn out, and covered with dirt. The reader must have experienced all this to imagine our joy when we met with such a cordial reception and such care for the well-being of the exiles. Only this circumstance, indeed, can explain the comradeship which existed among the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Anarchists, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, who, when at liberty, were always jumping at each other's throats, for ever arguing about the methods of struggle with the enemies of the working-class and the downtrodden.

In Yeniseisk I was officially informed by the police that I was to proceed to Fedino, but my departure was somewhat delayed. Fedino is the farthest village in the Chunsk region of the Yeniseisk district. I was being sent there because my documents stated that I was liable to run away. However, though on the map Fedino is indeed the last and farthest village in the Yeniseisk district, it is the nearest to a railway station; it is on the boundary line between the Yeniseisk and Kansk districts. The chief of police in Boguchani knew the geography of his region, and not by the map alone, and therefore he wanted to correct the mistake made in Yeniseisk. He proposed that I should remain in Boguchani until he should get a reply from Yeniseisk to his suggestion to send me to another place.

In Boguchani it was more lively; there were many exiles there, and new groups of exiles arrived continually. There was a post office, a hospital, and a school, and the intelligentsia of the entire county lived there. But the police were very strict; they came twice a day to call the roll, and it was forbidden to go beyond the cattle-fence (the villages in that region were surrounded by a fence to prevent the cattle from escaping into the roads). The exiles were always under the surveillance of the guards. I was sent farther on my journey by the police inspector who came to inspect his precinct. He defended his superiors against the accusation that they did not know the geography of their district, and ordered me and the local police officer to proceed to Fedino without delay. My departure was so sudden that I had to take wet underclothes with me. I had given them to be washed when the chief of police told me to settle for the time being in Boguchani. A police officer took me to the village of Karabut. In the evening I visited the political exiles, and with one of them, Comrade Zimmerman, I stayed overnight. In the morning I was left in the custody of a local peasant, whose turn it was to provide horses to take me to the next village. At night-

fall I arrived in the village of Yar, where I met Comrade Geliadze, who was the only exile there. On March 19th 1915 I passed through the village of Khaya, which resembles Po-kukui; there were no exiles there, and in the evening I arrived at my destination, Fedino.

It may not be amiss at this point to describe the mode of living of the Fedino peasantry with whom I lived for two years; for the life of the Fedino peasants may, with rare exceptions, be taken as typical of that of the peasants of the entire Angara Valley and Chunsk regions. The three Po-kukui villages were an exception, because a great many exiles lived there.

There were no more than forty households in Fedino, only three or four of which could be considered very poor. The others were fairly well off or even prosperous.

The whole village belonged to the Rukosuyev clan, except one house, which bore the name of Bryukhanov. There was plenty of land around Fedino, but it was far from the village, which in the absence of roads in summer made its cultivation difficult.*

The land was cultivated by the peasants themselves with their own hands, of which there were enough even during the war, because, for some reason, no recruits were taken from that region. In the summer, during harvest time, the entire village population, children included, went far out into the fields and returned only on holidays. Only the very old men and women remained with the babies in arms.

Each household had plenty of horses, cows, sheep, pigs and chickens. If a peasant in Russia owned so much live-stock he would have been considered a landowner. There was enough wood in the forests round the village for building, heating and rafting. In the spring, autumn, and winter the peasants went fishing or on several weeks' hunting expeditions to hunt the elk, bear, fox and squirrel; when the river opened during the first half of May many of the local inhabitants shipped their grain and low grade flour to Yeniseisk on barges. Before the war rye was sold for fourteen kopecks per pood (and it was not sold easily at that price; in 1915 many peasants still had a good

*In the summer time it was only possible to go to Boguchani, Plakhino and Pochet on horseback; to get to the fields one needed a horse and a rowing boat to cross the River Ora. The peasants made square-shaped saddles out of boards, on the top of which they tied pillows and under the saddles they put rags and other padding to protect the horses' flanks. They hollowed out the rowing boats themselves from tree trunks twenty-five or thirty feet long, and then widened them. In winter, when autumn with its poor roads was over, good sleigh roads led from the village in all directions.

supply, and in the summer of 1916 rye was selling at one rouble ten kopecks a pood in Yeniseisk). It was bought mainly by the natives of the Turukhan district. The peasants also spun their own linen and wool for home use and for the market as well; they tanned skins for summer and winter footwear and other leather goods.

On weekdays they wore clothes of their own make; but on holidays the adult male members of the family put on town-made clothes and shoes. These they bought from a Tartar trader who came once a year, in the summer, on a barge and bartered wool, linen, butter, feathers, eggs, etc., for things the peasants needed. Almost all the peasants had money hidden away. (During the war purchasers of gold coins in Siberian villages paid 1.20 to 1.50 roubles in Tsarist paper money for each gold rouble. At that time the rouble in Russia had fallen to one-third of its value.) It is interesting to note that the men and women of the same family kept separate accounts and did not assist one another. The women received the money for the wool, linen, eggs, milk, butter and other minor items, while the rest went to the men. Out of these funds the women had to dress themselves and the younger children for the holidays. The whole village, without exception, was illiterate. The boys were sent to work when they were still very young, and as for the girls, education was "no use." The school was far away—about thirty miles from Fedino, in the village of Yar. As far as I remember no Fedino children were sent there. The only literate person in the village, besides the exiles, was the guard. There was neither chapel nor church in Fedino. Twice a year a priest and his attendants would arrive in the village and perform all the burial services, christenings, etc. The priest did not leave empty-handed; he took everything offered—furs, linen, etc. The Fedino people did not know any prayers; their entire religion consisted in worshipping icons and crossing themselves before and after meals. On the surface their houses were remarkably clean. They scraped the ceilings, walls and floors, but the beds, walls and floor-boards (they slept on the floor) were infested with swarms of bugs. There were as many cockroaches. The local inhabitants slept in their clothing summer and winter, which did not add to the general cleanliness, though they washed themselves frequently in their "black" bath houses.

During my stay in the village many babies died of diarrhœa because they were given cow's milk immediately after birth. But I do not recall that any adults died during the same period.

They lived to a great age. They received medical care from a medical practitioner who visited them once a year.

On Sundays and holidays, both in autumn and in winter, everyone without exception got drunk. The peasants, their wives and children, visited each other, dragging along their spirits, which were distilled in Plakhino, where there was no constable. Young lads could be heard bellowing their drunken songs. But I must do them justice: I saw no fights either during their drinking-bouts or, indeed, at any other time during my long stay there. Occasionally they had village meetings to elect the village elder, levy taxes, and decide which households were to provide the county and the police with horses when they were required. At these meetings everybody talked and shouted at the same time and at great length, and I never could make out what the final decision was. The rich peasants and kulaks always did well for themselves by understating the number of horses and other animals in their possession, in order to pay less in taxes and provide fewer horses when called upon to do so.

The Fedino people conducted their households abominably. They had plenty of horses and cattle, but they were kept in the open all the winter and were always half-starved, despite the numerous forests all around. In the winter the peasants had hardly enough milk for their children, and therefore refused to sell us any. Nearby, in Pochet, a Polish exile, Korolchuk, had a small farm, and in winter he used to send us as much milk (it was frozen) as we wanted, and also butter and cheese. His cows were kept warm and were well fed. The peasants saw his farm, but they continued, nevertheless, to keep their cows in the open, even during terrible frosts, which sometimes reached forty-five to forty-eight degrees Réaumur (the cows were taken to the river to drink). These peasants were very conservative. No matter how well and how trustingly they treated the political exiles, admitting them and even inviting them to their houses and granting them small credits, they nevertheless considered them criminals.

On my arrival in Fedino I found two real criminals, a German war "criminal" who had worked in a powder factory near St. Petersburg, and four political exiles. One of the latter, Khaim Ber, from Odessa, an intellectual Socialist-Revolutionary, was mentally deranged. He was in a terrible condition and lived on top of an oven in a half-demolished house. Another political, Jacob Garbetz, a dyer from Poland, had been exiled after a trial of members of the Social-Democratic Party of

Poland and Lithuania. His mode of living was no different from that of the local peasantry. The third was a Lett, named Payist, from the Baltic regions. He lived all by himself, away from the other exiles. Finally, there was Ida Silberblatt, an Anarchist worker who was sent to Fedino from penal servitude shortly before my arrival. Of all the political prisoners she was the only person with any life in her. Even the German was incredibly petty-bourgeois. He had lived in Russia for twenty-five years and had not learned the language; nor did he know anything of the political life of either Russia or Germany. R. P. Blagodatsky, the guard, was the only representative of the law among the exiles. He was on an almost friendly footing with us, which he construed as the right to visit me during the first few days of my stay in Fedino at any time of the day or night, until I politely asked him to leave me alone. In general the daily life of the political exiles was not very cheerful. At the end of March, Comrade Silberblatt went to live in Boguchani, and Payist also left Fedino. There was no further change amongst the political exiles until after the bad road season in spring was over, which lasted about a month and a half—from the middle of April to the end of May. During that time, owing to the flooding of the rivers, we were entirely cut off from Boguchani.

First of all I had a small hut prepared for Khaim Ber and an old criminal settler, who was to look after it. We inherited the hut from former political exiles. I wrote to Ber's parents in Odessa, who turned out to be very well-to-do people, and asked them to send him money for necessary clothing and living expenses. I suggested that they should ask the Yeniseisk governor to place their son in a hospital, and I also told our constable to report Ber's condition to the authorities. This brought results; for when the roads became passable again he was sent to the hospital in Krasnoyarsk.

Not far from our village, in the Kanski region, bordering on Fedino, there were two other villages—Plakhino and Pochet. The former was about eight miles away and had no political exiles. The latter was about twenty-five miles from us, and three political exiles were living there: Comrade N. Gubenko, a Russian, and two Polish comrades, Foma Govorek and Peter Korolchuk. The latter, as I have already mentioned, established a household there and became a permanent settler. Through him I subscribed to newspapers and began getting letters from Russia, for we were in regular communication with Pochet. Books, newspapers and letters helped to assuage

my longing for liberty and to get me used to my new environment; for in the village there was nobody to talk to. With the improvement in the roads the situation changed considerably. During the summer of 1915 many new exiles were transported to Siberia. Comrade Petrikovsky (Petrenko), a Bolshevik student of the St. Petersburg University, was the first. Then came a Kharkov Socialist-Revolutionary, Knishevsky, an employee; after him came Comrade Sokhatsky, a member of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, and his wife, who was not an exile; later arrivals were B. Orlov and P. Kozlov, Social-Revolutionaries, and finally, Alexei Feofilaktov, a Maximalist, and his wife. (She had been exiled to Plakhino, but since there was no police officer there she came to Fedino very often.) There was also a compositor from Gomel involved in a Socialist-Revolutionary case: David Tregubov; Jacob Blatt, a soldier; Ivan Vykhvatnyuk, a Tolstoyan exiled for refusing to serve in the army; A. Stankevich, a German worker, and others.

The colony of exiles was increased to twenty-three persons, fourteen of whom were politicals. There were among them exiles condemned by administrative decrees, who received eight roubles a month, and deportees who received nothing at all. It was difficult to find work in Fedino, and if anyone succeeded in finding temporary employment he had to work for ten kopecks from one at night till nine o'clock in the morning, threshing corn in frosts of thirty degrees to forty degrees Réaumur. The material condition of the deportees was made worse by the fact that they, too, were not allowed to leave the village. The unequal material circumstances of the exiles who were living in such proximity to each other in a tiny village might easily have led to great dissatisfaction and misunderstanding among them. To forestall this the Fedino colony worked out the following plan: a communal dining-room was organised, and each exile in turn prepared the meals for all. The provisions for breakfast, lunch and supper were bought jointly and were equally divided among the exiles in the quantities established by a general meeting of the exiles. The same procedure was followed with the kerosene, soap, sugar, and so on. The provisions and other necessities were bought in Aban, through Comrade Korolchuk; while he himself provided us with cheese, butter, fat, and milk in winter from his own farm.

At first we each paid the peasants three roubles a month for our room, bread and boiled water. The clothing and money

questions alone remained unsolved. They were settled in this manner. All the money which was received by the exiles in the commune was entrusted to an elected treasurer, who made all necessary purchases. Each member of the commune had his own personal account with the treasurer. At the end of each month the expenses were divided among all the members of the commune. This amount was subtracted from the accounts of those comrades who had money to their credit, while the other comrades, who had no account, had the same amount added to their debit column. Every three months a general reckoning-up of accounts was held, and the comrades who had credit balances paid up for those who had no funds. After this new entries were made to the accounts of every member of the commune until the next general three-months' reckoning. Comrades who had more than twenty roubles to their credit had the right to spend two roubles a month for their personal needs without the sanction of the commune committee, which consisted of the treasurer and two other comrades. These three performed the function of a political centre for all the political exiles. Comrades who had less than twenty roubles could only spend money on their private needs with the sanction of the committee. The committee also considered the question of clothing for comrades who had no money but needed clothing. These financial arrangements in the Fedino commune prevented the serious economic squabbles which were rampant in many other colonies of exiles.

The exiles who did not receive any funds from the government earned their living in various ways; in winter they fished and gathered nuts for sale. Occasionally they would hunt squirrels, but that happened only rarely, as we were not allowed to carry arms. In summer life became easier. During the war the villages of the Kanski district were left without labourers; for almost all the men had been sent to the war (no one had been recruited from the Angara Valley district). The deportees went to work there; for owing to the dearth of labourers in 1916 the exiles were allowed to change their residence within the same district, or even the same province. During the summer many of the exiled settlers used to fell trees, which they sent down the Yeniseisk in rafts for construction work or for the saw mills. For each log they received from one rouble to one rouble twenty kopecks. But the return journey had to be made by steamship up the Yeniseisk River, then in rowing boats up the Angara river, and finally on horseback to the village. This was fairly expensive travelling. The

Fedino peasants also used to raft lumber in the spring, but they returned home via Kansk, which was nearer and cheaper, since they could go by steamship and train and only needed to go a short distance on horseback. Thus the exiles managed to exist in one way or another without being a burden to others. In 1915 living expenses, not including clothing, as described above, averaged six to seven roubles a month for each comrade, and in 1916, ten to twelve roubles. When Austrians, Germans, Turks and Jews began to be sent to Fedino as "war criminals" the village became congested. The peasants attempted to raise the rents, and, what was even worse, they began to encroach upon the dwelling-space allotted to the political exiles. We therefore bought a hut from Comrade Payist for twelve roubles and another one from a peasant. We carried the second hut over to where Payist's hut was, made it higher, enlarged the windows, and furnished it tolerably well. In these huts we could accommodate eight comrades.

We received the Petrograd periodicals, as well as papers and books, with which we arranged a respectable library. There was time enough to read, especially in winter, and our colony certainly read. We arranged lectures, read reports, after which we had heated discussions; for our group included adherents of different parties and currents. We organised celebrations on the First of May, January 9th, April 4th, on the anniversary of the Decembrist revolt, and on New Year's Eve. Exiles from Maleyev, Yar, Pochet and other villages within a radius of forty or fifty miles generally used to come to these celebrations.

Comrade A. Feofilaktov (who fell in the guerilla war against Kolchak in Yeniseisk Province) displayed all the talents of a conductor. He organised an excellent choir of comrades who had never suspected that they could sing. In this manner we whiled away weary hours. But when discontent made itself felt and we were tempted to give way to melancholy, which was not infrequent, we went visiting exiles in other villages, despite the fact that our guardian-angel, Blagodatsky, would chase us and have us up for absenting ourselves without leave. On February 16th 1917 I was given three days imprisonment for absenting myself without leave. But how are you to keep from feeling dreary and despondent when you never see a human being, when there is nothing to do, although you are "at liberty," when for eight months you see so much snow all around that it becomes painful to look at; when you can only walk on the paths or risk being buried in the snow, which is

two yards deep. And when summer finally arrives it brings such swarms of mosquitoes and gnats that you cannot go out of the house without a protective net over your face.

The political exiles of the Angara Valley had an organisation whose aim it was to render financial aid to needy fellow-exiles, to organise escapes, supply information to the exiles on the political life in Russia, etc. The same organisation investigated various disagreements among the exiles, set up small libraries and sent out new literature, both legal and illegal, to the colonies of exiles. This organisation covered all the villages in the Pinchug and Kezhmsk districts.

Fedino, with all the villages around, comprised the Chunsk sub-region of the Angara Valley organisation.

During my stay in Siberia two congresses of the Angara Valley exiles were held, in which all the colonies participated. The general Exile Committee of the Angara Valley was elected at these congresses. Membership dues were ten kopecks a month. I was elected secretary of the Chunsk sub-region and carried on an intensive correspondence with the representative of the Committee of Exiles. In 1916 Comrade Gregory Aronstam, with whom I worked a great deal after the February Revolution in the sphere of railway affairs, was the representative. The committee supplied us with illegal literature and submitted to us a financial and general report of the organisation.

As Fedino was on the way from Boguchani to Kansk, many comrades who were escaping or were released from exile stayed with us on their way. In the winter of 1916 Ida Silberblatt was making her escape abroad; in the summer of the same year Comrades Petrikovsky and Knyshevsky were called up for the army. Many deportees took advantage of their right to move to another village and left Fedino for Kansk and its environs. Fedino was again left with only a few political exiles.

During the autumn of 1916 and early winter 1917 it grew unbearably dull. To study constantly was beyond one's endurance, and therefore I began to teach the children of a peasant family to read (this was illegal; for political exiles had no right to this), and to participate in the miserable public life of the village. My first job in that direction was to organise a co-operative, for by then even the peasants of Fedino had begun to feel the pinch of the war. The few articles of necessity which they used to get from the town, such as kerosene, soap, sugar, dishes, buckshot, had disappeared from the market.

The following circumstance was an additional incentive to organise a co-operative. There were no shops in Fedino, and the kulaks (rich peasants) used to bring kerosene, sugar, soap, and matches from town in autumn, and retail them to the peasants at exorbitant prices. When the peasants complained they said: "If you want to buy, buy; if you don't want to buy, you needn't. I bought it for myself." The peasants had no choice and paid the price. But they began demanding even higher prices when commodities began to disappear from the markets in Kansk and in Aban. We conceived the idea of organising a co-operative for the Chunsk sub-region. There was much talk before the peasants could make up their minds about it, because the rich peasants strongly opposed the idea. We political exiles worked at the organisation of the co-operative with all our might, and when it was finally in existence all of us became members of it. A peasant and I were elected local representatives to the Chunsk Co-operative Conference in Yar. This conference in turn elected its representative, a political exile, to the provincial conference.

In connection with the peasants' lack of culture and of an orderly mode of life, of which I have already spoken, the question may arise in the reader's mind: Could not the political exiles have exerted any healthy influence on the peasants with whom they were constantly in such close contact? Unfortunately the question has to be answered in the negative. Indeed, many an exile absorbed instead the "culture" of his peasant neighbours. True, the peasants used to come to us and we talked to them a great deal; particularly to the young men. They used to listen attentively, but afterwards they would go and ask the guard whether what we had said was true. They did this because, as I have already mentioned, they regarded us as criminals. It is significant that after the February Revolution the peasants handed me the village seal and all the attributes of the guard, requesting me to make such use of them as I saw fit. From that moment on we political exiles were no longer criminals in their eyes. During the Kolchak period these Fedino peasants, led by the political exiles who had remained there, took an active part in the guerilla battles against Kolchak's bands.

CHAPTER XVII

HOW WE HEARD ABOUT THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION (1917)

On the evening of March 9th 1917 I was in a very bad mood. All day long my spirits were at low ebb; I did not go anywhere. I lay in my room in the dark, did not answer the door, and refused to let anybody in. Late that evening I heard hurried footsteps in the corridor and a persistent pounding on the door. Without waiting for a reply, Foma Govorek, a political exile turned peasant, who did not live in our village, rushed in and excitedly announced that a revolution had taken place in Russia. I told him that I was not in a joking mood just then; but he insisted that the wife of an exile in Pochet had been to Kansk and had witnessed a large mass meeting at which even soldiers had been present. The inhabitants of the town were congratulating each other on their new freedom, and the houses were decorated with red flags. We immediately called all the exiles together and began to devise ways and means of finding out what actually was going on in Russia and in the principal towns of Siberia. It was decided to send out exiles along all the main roads, in order to find out from peasants what they had seen in Kansk and Aban, and perhaps even get a newspaper from them. If we had heard nothing definite by morning, it was decided to send Foma to Kansk to find out everything in detail. During the night we got hold of some proclamations issued by Socialist-Revolutionaries and Social-Democrats who had been released from prison, calling on everybody to rally around the Committee for Public Safety. The leaflets further stated that Tsarism was overthrown and that the power was in the hands of the State Duma Committee.

No one slept that night. We discussed the question of what to do at the village meeting. But the most burning question was: how we were to escape from this hole to join the revolutionary movement in Russia. The most absurd suggestions were made in connection with all these questions, such as organising expeditions to all the villages to beat and arrest the police guards, who were about a hundred or a hundred and

fifty miles away from us, near Boguchani, where there were about ten times as many exiles as in our village. What was strange about these suggestions was that they were made by comrades who up to the revolution had trembled every time they came into contact with our harmless guard.

Towards morning we received leaflets giving the composition of the Provisional Government. I noticed immediately that Kerensky was the only "Socialist" among such Cadet and Octobrist giants as Guchkov and Milyukov. I thought then that Kerensky would probably play the part of lightning conductor of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, as Louis Blanc had done in France during the Revolution of 1848. I could not imagine that the revolutionary workers of St. Petersburg would nominate Kerensky, whom they hardly knew. It was quite obvious to me that the future struggle would be, not against Tsarism, but against the bourgeoisie. But what I did not know then was how strong the bourgeoisie had become during the war, and how quickly we could organise our Bolshevik Party, which alone was able to rally round itself the great masses of the proletariat and show them the correct method of fighting the bourgeoisie. The chief question which interested me was: Which will organise more quickly—our Party and the proletariat, or the bourgeoisie? It never occurred to me that the S.-R.'s might play first fiddle after the February revolution and that the Mensheviks would form a bloc with them; though it was obvious that the question of the hegemony of the proletariat or of the bourgeoisie in our revolution would again be raised in the Social-Democratic ranks. But our Party organised itself quicker—it rallied around itself, not only the workers but also the peasants; and not only defeated the bourgeoisie but also the petty-bourgeoisie, that is, the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Narodniks and other "Socialists."

We in Fedino were so cut off from life that we did not know the actual situation at the front either. I (and, indeed, many other exiles) was therefore not clear on the question of the outcome of the war after the February Revolution; although even after the Revolution I was a determined opponent of the war. But as I approached Kansk I saw countless soldiers trudging their way to the villages; from Kansk to Moscow the stations and trains were crowded with deserters. They eagerly drank in every word of the political exiles on their way back from Siberia, who spoke against the war, and dispersed as soon as somebody began speaking in support of fighting to a vic-

torious end. I realised that the masses had become tired of the war, and that it could not therefore last much longer.

I borrowed money for the fare and left Fedino on March 10th. The whole village saw me off. When I arrived in Pochet I found two telegrams—one from Penza and the other from Moscow—notifying me of the amnesty and suggesting that I should return there to work. There was also a money order. I travelled on horseback to Kansk, where I arrived on March 12th in the morning, A Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies was already organised in Kansk and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies was in full swing. Soldiers and search commissars were bustling about everywhere, rounding up and escorting all kinds of suspects; the Soviet was thronged with enthusiastic crowds; there were endless meetings of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies. The thought flashed through my mind that if this out-of-the-way town was thus astir with life and energy, what must be happening in Petrograd and in Moscow? I decided to go to Moscow and without further delay, the very same evening in fact, I took the train. The train was crowded with amnestied exiles. On the way I enquired of the Petrograd Central Committee where to go and what work I was to do. On March 23rd, the day I arrived in Moscow, I visited the Moscow Soviet, where I met many old comrades: Smidovich, Nogin, and many others; then I went to the Moscow Committee where I saw Zemlyachka; from there I went to the District Bureau of the Central Committee. All these organisations were housed in the same building, the Kaptsovsky School. When I received the reply from the Central Committee, saying that I should go there, I was already working with the Moscow railwaymen. I decided not to go to Petrograd, but to remain in Moscow and continue the work I had begun.

With the February Revolution a new chapter commenced in the struggle of our Party against the influence of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries on the working class; for the dictatorship of the proletariat; and against the world war. With all my might and energy I began to help the Revolution accomplish the tasks which it had placed before our Party and the working-class.