

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 2 No. 67

11th August 1922

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for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

The Voice of the Workers' International

By Karl Radek.

After the opening speeches by the representatives of Workers' and Peasants' Russia the representatives of the Communist International came to word.

Clara Zetkin accused the S.R.'s of the betrayal of the World Revolution. Clara Zetkin is the guardian of the revolutionary tradition of the working-class movement. She entered the movement at a time when the German worker was bound hand and foot by the Bismarckian Socialist Laws; when the French worker still felt the depressive influence of the Commune's failure, that glorious uprising of the Parisian proletariat. Clara Zetkin is a pupil of Marx and Engels. She received her lessons in Socialism within the walls which had witnessed the murder of the Communards, where small pilgrimages of the workers still met yearly, on the birthday of the Commune. She learned to know Socialism when the persecutions of the "Iron" Chancellor forced the German Social Democracy to live illegally. She learned to know Socialism among the Russian Revolutionists, to whom her husband belonged. And she remained true to the revolutionary ardor of those young days. During many decades, this wonderful woman went from city to city, from factory to factory, arousing the workers to combat and teaching them the ways of their struggle. No one among the teachers of the proletariat, outside of Bebel, was so adored by the workers. They felt in her words not only the profound culture of the fighter, but her deep-felt convictions, for which she was ready to sacrifice her life; they felt her intense love for the abused and the oppressed. The old Bebel used to say: "There are only two men in the party outside of myself: Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin".

And then came the times of ordeal. Guns let loose their thunder, and the Social Democrats ran to cover. These years of betrayal show how right Bebel had been. From the first day of the World Revolution, Clara Zetkin took her place in the ranks of those revolutionists who fought mercilessly against the Second International for its betrayal of the Socialist cause, and who were gathering the working masses for the *War against War, the World Revolution*. Who still remembers how Clara Zetkin came to the First International Conference for the *War to end War* in Berne, Easter 1915; how she sang the International at the farewell meeting for those members who were leaving to conduct illegal work; how from that aged voice and that white hair the *true faith* radiated upon those present; who still remembers these things, will never forget what Clara Zetkin means to the international proletariat. On account of her activities she was sent to prison. The death of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, murdered by that same Scheidemann band which is now squealing so loudly against the trial of the S.R.'s, did not daunt her. During the first period of the Revolution, Clara Zetkin was the flaming torch which pointed to the world proletariat the way to battle, to victory.

And in memory of the revolutionary past of the proletariat, of its hard waged battles for freedom; in the name of the future of the working-class, Clara Zetkin accused the S.R.'s of the betrayal of the World Revolution.

The Russian Revolution is the first victory of the world proletariat. Soviet Russia is the stronghold of the World Revolution. Who raises his hand against Soviet Russia, raises it against the international working-class, and must perish.

Muna also brought the S.R.'s face to face with their crimes. And no one has a better right to do it. The Czech worker Muna, a war prisoner, understood that it was his duty to fight heart and hand with the Russian proletariat for the Soviet System. Muna fought at the front against the Czecho-Slovakian legions financed by the French Government. He fought for the World Revolution against the vanguard of the Russian counter-revolution, against these supporters of the S.R. dictatorship in Samara. When the revolution broke out in his native country, he hurried to the Czecho-Slovakian workers, who had been misled by the nationalistic crowd.

The Czecho-Slovakian Social Democrats, the same who are now protesting so loudly against the S.R. trial, often attacked him bodily at workers' meetings and mishandled him shamefully. They called him a paid agent of the Soviets, and threw him into prison for supporting the Soviet Power in Hungary. Muna did not despair. His work is bearing its fruits. When millions of Czecho-Slovakian workers, exasperated by the impudent provocations of their government, declared a general strike, Muna was sent to prison for a second time. Vain persecution. Success crowned the work of Muna and his comrades. The great majority of the Czecho-Slovakian workers left the treacherous Social Democracy and created a Communist Party; so that Muna is today at the head of one of the greatest proletarian parties in the world, a party which in a land of 3,000,000 workers, counts 300,000 members.

In the name of the workers, he accused the S.R.'s of having corrupted the Czech Workers' Legions and placed in their hands weapons against the workers' government, by covering the machinations of the Entente capitalists under the flags of Socialism and Revolution.

Further were the S.R.'s indicted by the leader of the Hungarian workers, Bokanyi. The appearance of this adored leader of the Hungarian workers revealed like a flash the historical significance of this S.R. trial. Bokanyi has been fighting for thirty years among the Hungarian workers against the Hungarian capitalists and landowners. He remained, in the corrupt, opportunistic atmosphere of the Hungarian Social Democracy, the apostle of the workers' revolutionary spirit. When the Hungarian proletariat proclaimed its dictatorship against the capitalist forces of the whole world, Bokanyi was made a People's Commissar of Soviet Hungary. After the defeat, after the capitulation of the Social Democracy before the white guards, after the dissolution of the Communist Party, Bokanyi did not abandon the working-class. He faced death in the prisons of the Hungarian White Terror, just as hundreds of other Hungarian workmen, who were murdered without a trial, before the eyes of civilized Europe.

"Vandervelde did not come to our help then", said Bokanyi to the S.R.'s. Coolly he looked death in the face, calm before his Hungarian executioners, and proudly maintained his allegiance to the World Revolution. On the day when he was condemned to death, nothing could be heard in the factories of Budapest, but: "Long live Bokanyi, leader of the Revolution!"

The helping hand of Soviet Russia saved him from the hell of the Hungarian counter-revolution. He now appears before the court, draws for the S.R.'s a picture of the fall of the

Hungarian Soviets and the ensuing carnage, and asks the S.R.'s: "Do you not realize, that had you been able to overthrow the Soviet power in Russia, you yourselves would then have been overthrown by the White Guards, who have instituted a dreadful reign of terror?"

The S.R.'s did not understand this,—for they did not want to understand. The most upright among them declare, that they prefer the dictatorship of capital and the large landed proprietorship to that of the proletariat. Zenzinov says: "Let Koltchak win, and I will pardon him, however he may treat us S.R.'s".

In the name of the Hungarian proletariat, which has suffered all the pains and difficulties of the revolutionary struggle; which now, under the yoke of the White Dictatorship, raises to us its bleeding hands to swear that it will continue the struggle until the Red Flag of Communism again flies over Budapest; in its name, Bokanyi demands that the S.R.'s should answer for their crimes against the Proletarian Revolution. They are responsible for those who have betrayed the Hungarian proletariat.

The indictments pronounced by the representatives of the Communist International are the voice of the international proletariat, demanding the punishment of the S.R.'s. They should not seek satisfaction in the fact that the Communist International does not as yet represent the majority of the workers. True, it has not the majority of the working-class behind it yet. But

when Karl Marx sounded his great call in 1847: "Workers of the World, Unite!" only a handful of revolutionary workers stood at his side.

He had nevertheless the right to speak in the name of the whole world proletariat, for he represented its interests and its future. Millions of workers are still attached to the traitors, millions of workers have not yet broken away from the bourgeoisie, millions of workers have not yet found the courage for a war to the death with capital. They are still the dumb slaves of the bourgeoisie. On that account only, could Vandervelde and Henderson, Renaudel and Scheidemann have defended the S.R.'s in their name. All those workers who fought during the war for the maintenance of the International, all those workers who have languished in prison for its restoration, all those workers of all countries who have given their lives for the Proletarian Revolution, from the 20,000 Germans whom Noske shot down, to the workers in the South African gold mines, whom English capital, Henderson's patron, murdered,—*all the living elements of the international proletariat which represent the future of the working-class are behind us in our fight against the S.R.'s.*

In the name of the Communist International, that is, in the name of the future of the international proletariat, comrades Zetkin, Muna, and Bokanyi demanded a pitiless judgment of the past, present and future of the S.R. Party.

Speeches of the Prosecution for the Communist International

(Special Report to Inprecorr.)

Comrade Muna (Czecho-Slovakia)

Led by the S.R. Party, the Czecho-Slovakian legions have inflicted a severe wound to the Russian Revolution. They, (the S.R.'s) were the nucleus around which all the forces of the counter-revolution grouped themselves. The counter-revolutionary activity of the Czecho-Slovakian legions created in Czecho-Slovakia itself a temporary confusion of which the bourgeoisie took advantage to strengthen their vacillating position. As a result, the development of the Czecho-Slovakian and the Central European revolutionary movement was greatly retarded. Without the active participation of the right wing S.R.'s in the counter-revolutionary action of the Czecho-Slovakians, the civil war in Russia would have never assumed the magnitude that it did, which became a necessity for the maintenance of the Revolution. The S.R.'s waged war to the death against the Soviet Power, making use of foreign weapons and foreign financial aid, and resorting to individual acts of terror.

I gather from the declarations of the defendants, that they defend their actions on this ground; that they believed the Entente and the Czecho-Slovakians were fighting for the ideas of Democracy, progress and national independence. Certainly the leaders of the S.R.'s are too intelligent not to have understood the nature of Entente imperialism. They must have understood that the Entente had but one interest: the destruction of the Russian Proletarian Revolution, and the erection of a government acceptable to Western capital instead of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic. Even before the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, before the S.R.P. could claim that the Bolsheviks were the Germans' agents, or allies, the Entente was already busy in creating a unified, counter-revolutionary, anti-Bolshevistic front, which would include all anti-Soviet elements, from the S.R.'s to the Czarist generals and Czecho-Slovakians. Already in November 1917, that is still before Brest-Litovsk, a meeting of Entente representatives, the "Russian" (counter-revolutionary) and Roumanian military staffs took place in Jassy, where the armed intervention against Soviet Russia was decided upon. It was then that attempts were made to use the Czecho-Slovakians, not against the Germans, but against the October Revolution. In November 1917 the first counter-revolutionary front, led by General Alexeiev, was formed with Allied help and under the banner of the Cadet Party. To this front were sent the Czecho-Slovakian troops, organized by the two notorious reactionaries, *Kral and Nemetshek*. A courier fell into the hands of the Soviet Government, and on his person were found a letter from Alexeiev to the French Mission, asking that at least a part of the Czecho-Slovakian legions be sent to the Don front. The commandant of the Czecho-Slovakian army had not the least excuse to proceed against the Soviet Government. Comrade Smeral, as witness for the prosecution, has read to you excerpts from the book by Major *Kratochvil*, a man totally unconnected with Bolshevism, which prove that the Soviets had treated the Czecho-Slovakian troops on their territory in very friendly fashion.

As long as the Ukraine remained in the hands of the Bolsheviks, observes this same Kratochvil, the position of the Czecho-Slovakians was much better than under the subsequent rule of the Ukrainian Rada.

In the cross examination of Smeral, the question was put by one of the defendants whether the witness knew of the "Trotsky telegram". I assume that the defendants referred to the order of Trotsky, dated May 25, to effectuate the "disarmament of the Czecho-Slovakians". This order is regarded by supporters of the Entente and by our Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie as the cause of the Czecho-Slovakian uprising. And the defendants are trying to use this same bourgeois argument. But certain facts lie before us which prove that Trotsky's order was not the cause, but the result of a Czecho-Slovakian rebellion, which had already taken place. From February 1918 on, the Czecho-Slovakians were subjected to a systematic anti-Sovietistic propaganda. In January the news was spread among them that the Soviet Government intended to turn over to Austrian Justice all the Czecho-Slovakian war prisoners. During the German invasion of the Ukraine, an agreement was reached by the Czech chiefs and the Germans that the Czecho-Slovakians would stop to fight against the Germans. The Czecho-Slovakian troops then retreated into the interior and the Eastern part of Russia. The common soldiers still maintained a friendly attitude towards Soviet Russia. Their withdrawal from the Ukraine took place with the permission of the Soviets. These troops retained their weapons. The Council of the People's Commissars decreed that the Czechs should be helped in all possible ways during their march to Vladivostok. On the 20th of March, the Secretary of the Czecho-Slovakian National Council, Klocander, telegraphed to the Army: "*Trotsky has ordered that our transport be assisted during our whole march.*"

But in a short time these friendly relations vanished. On the 1st of May, friendship still prevailed between the Czecho-Slovakian troops and the Soviet Government; on the 24th the Tsheliabinsk episode took place and a week later, the counter-revolutionary *putch* of Gayda. *Who was the inciter of these disorders?*

At that time no large organized Soviet forces existed in Siberia. On the 24th of April, the Czecho-Slovakian paper *Dennik* received the following information from Omsk: "*No military troops in Siberia. The Partisan troops and Internationalists dispose of a mere battalion. The recruiting of the Red Army is beginning. There are no sufficient weapons and uniforms.*" We see from this, that the Czecho-Slovakians did not need to fear any aggression on the part of the Red Army or the internationalist Bolshevik troops. News to the contrary are nothing but lies and served a definite purpose.

Then came the new agreement on the transport of the Czecho-Slovakian troops. These troops, located East of Omsk, were to be sent to the French front, over Archangelsk or Murman. *The soldier masses did not know that this change took place at the wish of the Allies, as a result of the personal intervention of the French representatives, and that the agreement was signed*

by Trotzky on the one side and the Czech commandant on the other.

The Czecho-Slovakian legionaries were at that time in a very excitable mood. The wildest rumors were in circulation, that transportation to Archangelsk had been refused, and the soldiers decided to break through to Vladivostok, against all obstacles which the Soviet Government might put in their way. They even spoke of the possibility of an overthrow of the Government.

It was not until the 25th of May, that is, eleven days after the Tcheliabinsk episode, that the above-mentioned Trotzky order for disarmament appeared. In the next few days one episode follows another. On the 25th of May Gayda takes possession of Novo Nikolaievsk, arrests the Council, and installs a previously prepared provisional government. The war against Soviet Russia had begun. On the same day uprisings take place in Marionovka, in Omsk, in Irkutsk. On the 28th of May, following the order of Gayda, the Czecho-Slovakians occupied Mishnendinsk. Russian White Guards were already participating in these actions. This proves that the cooperation of the White Guards as well as the political overthrow of our Soviets had been prepared long before. On the 29th of May, the new government assumed power in Pensa; in the beginning of June, Samara had joined that government.

These actions had been prepared long before. The Czecho-Slovakian soldiers did not have the least notion of the connection of these facts, and that we had to deal here with avowed counter-revolutionary action.

How were these events prepared? Who took part in their preparation?

In this connection the inquest has revealed grave evidence against the S.R. Party. Gayda confesses in his memoirs that he had long been in negotiation with the Russian counter-revolutionary organizations. Major Kratochvil writes in his book that the S.R. Markov claimed to have received a few days before the uprising a laconic telegram from Gayda, to the effect that on the 25th of May the Czecho-Slovakians would proceed against the Soviet Government, and that the S.R.'s were advised to take part in that action. The book of Kratochvil brings to light interesting details about the relations of the Czecho-Slovakians to the S.R.'s. The S.R.'s managed the cooperative societies which furnished the Czecho-Slovakian transports. The S.R.'s formed connections with the Czech officers and introduced them into the secret organizations of the Russian officers.

The relations of the S.R.'s to the Czecho-Slovakians are proved not only from the book of Major Kratochvil, but also from the testimony of certain of the witnesses, such as *Pascal, Mayski, Dvorshetz*, and others. The witness Dvorshetz affirmed that after the occupation of Pensa, the S.R.'s sent to the Czecho-Slovakians a confidence man named Brushvin. From the further testimony of this witness we learn that the Czecho-Slovakians intended to remain only three days in Samara, and lengthened their stay only under pressure from the S.R.'s. And only with the help of the Czecho-Slovakian bayonets could the S.R.'s temporarily maintain their power, and by their acts of revenge against peasant and worker, open the way for Koltchak.

The S.R.P. is a petty-bourgeois party. Their counter-revolutionary activity began with the first day of the Revolution. It assumes a revolutionary mask and parades under a Socialistic name. It deceived not only the Russian proletariat, but also the proletariat of Western Europe, in particular the Czecho-Slovakian legionaries.

The S.R.'s worked upon the social patriotic feelings of the legionaries. They took advantage of their enmity towards Germany and represented the Soviets as an institution of spies and agents of German imperialism. They urged them to rise against the Soviet Government and kindle the flames of a desperate civil war, which, thanks to the Czecho-Slovakian bayonets, assumed atrocious proportions.

With the help of the Czecho-Slovakians the S.R.P. became the centre of all the Russian counter-revolutionary activities. The S.R.'s bear full responsibility for the crimes of the civil war; for the death of the workers and peasants, for the death of our Red Guards who fell at the fronts of the Civil War. The counter-revolutionary activity of the S.R.'s was also of great help to the Social-Patriots of Western Europe. The Western bourgeoisie has no one else but these S.R.'s to thank that the power of capital, which the war had so seriously shaken, has temporarily been strengthened again.

I need not base my demand for the punishment of the defendants upon this or that law paragraph. The working-class of Russia and the proletariat of Europe have pronounced their verdict already, without waiting for that of the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal.

The verdict of the revolutionary proletariat is: "Absolute political death of the S.R. Party!" Whatever the verdict of the

Court, it can never be as severe as that which the revolutionary proletariat has already pronounced.

The S.R. Party has dug its own grave by its deeds. The verdict of the international proletariat precipitates them into that grave; nothing remains for the Supreme Tribunal but to erect the tombstone.

Comrade Bokanyi (Hungary)

This Court is not only the tribunal of the Russian proletariat; it is the court of the vanguard of the proletariat of all nations. The Russian Social Revolution is the firing example for the Socialist world Revolution, just as the French and English bourgeois revolutions were the examples for the succeeding bourgeois revolutions in all countries. To the Russian people a tremendous role was ascribed by the World Revolution. It forced the end of the imperialistic war. This, however, is not its chief merit. Our gratitude goes to it because it laid the cornerstone to the first proletarian government in the world and accelerated thereby the coming of the World Revolution.

In the revolutionary struggle all means leading to the revolutionary goal are permissible. Some individuals and some parties may make mistakes during this period of struggle. History will not count that against them if they did not swerve from the revolutionary end.

Did the S.R. Party display such revolutionary purpose during the Russian Revolution? No. Their fight during the whole period was not for, but against the Revolution. And they declare, furthermore, that they will continue to fight against it.

Did the S.R.'s work hand in hand with the proletariat, did they follow proletarian ends? No. The S.R.P. was always a tool in the hands of the world bourgeoisie, in the hands of the Entente.

The claims of the defendants that they were defending the interests of world democracy, cannot stand any critical test.

The S.R.'s say that they will continue their fight in the future. Why do they defend their position so obstinately? Because they do not believe in the historical role of the proletariat. They believe the time is not yet ripe for it. The proletariat, however, recognized its role, and grasped the power from the hands of the S.R.'s.

The S.R.P. pretends to be a Peasant's Party. The World War proved that the bourgeoisie was incapable of further constructive work. It will be replaced by the proletariat which has already sown the seeds of the new life. And when the workers and peasants of Russia began that work of progress, the S.R.'s attempted to hinder them with all the means at their disposal. This is the great crime of the S.R.'s, and they bear the greatest responsibility for the present misery in Russia.

I would like to ask one question: What would have happened if the S.R.'s had succeeded in overthrowing the Soviet rule, as they wished? Hungary, now under the yoke of the Entente, may serve as an example. The defeat of the Social Revolution, and the annihilation of the Soviet power in Hungary became a big trump in the hands of the reaction. If the counter-revolution in Russia had been successful, it would have meant a still greater victory for the reaction.

I must point to another small, but very important detail. When another tribunal in Budapest, not a revolutionary, one, but a bourgeois class tribunal, was trying revolutionists, Mr. Vandervelde did not think it necessary to come to their defense. That was in Budapest. But when the trial of the S.R.'s in Moscow began, Mr. Vandervelde hurried thither. And there was a great difference between the proceedings of the court in Budapest and those of the Supreme Tribunal. There the rights of the accused were very little considered, and death penalties handed out by the dozen. Here all the rights of the defendants were respected. The cross difference between the two trials will first become known when the minutes of the proceedings reach the foreign countries and are compared with the minutes of the proceedings in Budapest.

The Supreme Tribunal may well take pride in its impartiality and objectivity. And its verdict will be such as it considers necessary in the interest of the proletariat.

Comrade Clara Zetkin (Germany)

The S.R.'s have themselves recognized our right to attend this trial. They recognize the right of the world proletariat to judge them. The Third International represents a large section of the workers of Western Europe, and on that ground alone our presence here would be justified. Furthermore the political importance of our affiliated parties, is greater than that of their numerical size, for they represent the vanguard of the world proletariat.

The policy of the S.R. Party has been opportunistic and counter-revolutionary. This is no struggle between parties, but between Revolution and Reaction. Two elements oppose each other, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. During the whole time, the S.R.'s have been on the side of the bourgeoisie.

It is no question here of the means which a party may have used; it is not for that reason that we have brought the S.R.'s to trial. It is a question of the ends which those means were to achieve.

The S.R.'s used all means to bring again under the yoke of the bourgeoisie the proletariat which thanks to the heroic struggle of the Russian workers and peasants, had achieved its freedom.

Thereby have the S.R.'s lowered themselves to janissaries of the bourgeoisie in its fight against the proletariat. The S.R.'s are all the more dangerous to our cause in that they assumed the name of a Socialist party, while fighting the workers.

The Russian proletariat has the right to bring its enemies to trial. It bought this right dearly, and allows no one to force it again under a bourgeois yoke. The S.R.'s have attempted to undermine the Russian Revolution. This is a crime with which the murder of hundreds, of thousands, even of millions cannot be compared.

The S.R. Party, and the semi-bourgeois parties of the Second International wrote and will continue to write that the S.R.'s are standing before a "party tribunal". That is not true. The S.R.'s do not stand before a party tribunal, but before the Justice of the Russian workers and peasants. *The S.R.'s stand before the tribunal of a proletarian state.*

Some say, that the S.R.'s are being tried by a class tribunal. That is true. But where does super-class justice exist? There are two sorts of class tribunals: the bourgeois and the proletarian. The class justice of the bourgeoisie is the justice of a minority ruling a majority. The class justice of the workers is the justice of a majority which has overthrown the rule of a minority. The Revolutionary Tribunal is a mighty weapon in the hands of the proletariat, in its war against the bourgeoisie.

We must not forget the words of Karl Marx, our great teacher: "The first duty of every revolutionist is to destroy of his enemies". The annihilation of the enemy serves not only to fortify the positions already won, it opens the way to our march onward. By acting according to this admonition, the Revolutionary Tribunal not only fortifies the victories of the Russian Revolution, but acts also in the interests of the World Revolution.

Marx said that "France could not realize Socialism, for this was impossible in a country surrounded by capitalistic states". In France Socialism could not be realized, but only proclaimed. The same thing happened also in Russia. Until now the Russian workers and peasants could not realize Socialism, for this is possible only in connection with a World Revolution. But the Russian workers and peasants proclaimed Socialism, and their heroic struggle against capitalism opened the way for the onward march of the World Revolution. And woe to him who opposes the work of the Russian Communists, and thereby retards the progress of the World Revolution!

The S.R.'s intended the destruction of those only at whom they fired their curare poisoned bullets; they did not see, they did not feel that they were murdering the World Revolution.

The S.R.'s claim that they were fighting against usurpers, but there are no usurpers who could hold their power without the support of the masses. The S.R.'s themselves are a good example. They seized power, without having the masses behind them, supported by foreign bayonets. Their power, which had no foundation in the masses, soon fell again from their hands.

As a defense, the S.R.'s call attention to their past. Yes, they have fought against Czarism. But even then, they did not lean upon the masses. In 1905, when the proletariat rose to battle for the first time, the ways of the proletariat and the S.R.'s parted. The S.R.'s fought mainly against Czarism. But they did not see the other fight, of which the overthrow of Czarism is but an episode. This difference first showed itself definitely in 1917. That year brought the S.R. victory. But this victory was also their final defeat. When they assumed power, instead of continuing the fight with the proletariat, they sided with the bourgeoisie. Their foreign policy was dictated entirely by the Entente; their inner policy by the Russian bourgeoisie. With all the means of the state power, they repressed every movement against the bourgeoisie, or even against the large landed proprietors. Similarly in the villages. The S.R.'s called themselves a Peasant Party; and this Peasant Party suppressed the fight of the peasants against the landowners by force of arms. The greatest crime of that party, however, is that it did not end imperialistic war, but made all possible attempts to continue it.

In this they exercised a most dangerous influence upon the international proletariat. Every Social Patriot had the right to say: "See, there you have true Socialists, true Revolutionists,

and they are continuing the War". This was the tune of the Western Social Patriots propagating the continuation of the war.

The S.R.'s pretend that they were fighting for the national interests of Russia. But this same Party sacrificed Russia's border provinces to the intervention, and helped the invasion of Russia by foreign armies, to fight the Soviet government.

The S.R.'s hindered with all their power the economic reconstruction of Russia. Through all this time they supported the capitalists and the landowners. The S.R. Party showed less intelligence than the illiterate Russian peasant who understood that there were but two alternatives: either the proletariat is the hammer and beats down its enemy class, the bourgeoisie; or the proletariat is the anvil suffering eternally under the blows of the bourgeoisie.

In their fight against the Soviets, the S.R.'s have spared no means: alliance with the foreign bourgeoisie, alliance with the reaction, and terror. And still they were defeated.

The S.R.'s rendered one small service when they created the small border states, which served then as headquarters for the White Terror. The workers and peasants learned in this way who stood behind the S.R.'s. But the workers and peasants were not the only ones to suffer from this terror; the S.R.'s took their share of it. At their February Conference tones of reconciliation could be heard. The 9th Party Congress, however, continued in the old way.

Reconciliation was attempted through the S.R. organization in Ufa, and an understanding was reached with the Communists there. The C.C. of the S.R.P. then expelled the people who had signed the agreement. The adherents of the reaction and the Entente remained in the Party. An understanding with the Communists was refused, the alliance with the bourgeoisie maintained.

Outside of the leaders, there were also workers in the S.R. Party, men of action. They honestly believed in the justice of the cause they were serving. They believed themselves true revolutionists, and were willing to stake their lives for the Revolution. They have erred.

But now they are undeceived about their leaders, they realize the crimes they have been led to commit. They thought they were fighting for the Revolution, and it appeared that they had fought against it.

They began to suffer from a painful inner struggle. Unwillingly the question came up: How can we atone for our crimes against the Revolution? They found an answer: Reveal what the S.R.P. is, and thereby destroy that reactionary Party, and help the workers and peasants. This they did before the trial, and now, in these proceedings. In this way, by their remorse, by their inner sufferings, they atone for their crimes against the Revolution. The workers, the peasants and the Revolutionary Tribunal will take that into account, and show towards them an appropriate mercy. Their conscience will reproach them till their death for their crimes against the proletariat. And that is in itself a sufficient punishment.

The adherents which the S.R.'s had lost from the left, they replaced with allies from the right. They have found friends in the bourgeois press and the Second and 2½ Internationals. And as a living proof of that friendship, Mr. Vandervelde appeared here. This movement to the defense of the S.R.'s united all those who hated and feared the Revolution.

Vandervelde and consorts declaimed here about the value of human life. They did not speak a word of it during the World War. Working hand in hand with the bourgeoisie, they allowed millions of proletarians to die for the "Fatherland". As Minister of Justice of His Majesty, Mr. Vandervelde was the presiding justice in the actions which the Belgian bourgeoisie brought against the Flemish autonomists and anarchists. One thousand five hundred men were sentenced to prison, some even to death.

Neither Adler nor Mac Donald thought of organizing a defense for the Communists who were brought to trial by the thousands in all the courts of Europe. We did not hear any protest then on their part; they found their voice again when the Soviet Government brought the S.R.'s to trial.

In Bavaria, about one thousand workers were sentenced for the March Action. No written indictment was given them. The court did not listen to their defense. The Bavarian proletariat was betrayed to its enemies, and that, at a time when a Social Democrat, Ebert, occupied the presidency of the Republic. In Germany they condemned about 6,000 proletarians under "Special Laws". Their life in the prisons of the German Government was much worse than that of the defendants here. When 125 Communist prisoners declared a hunger-strike, and a motion made in the Reichstag for their release, the Social Democrats voted with the bourgeois parties against it.

And the representatives of the Second and 2½ Internationals are shameless enough to prattle about the mistakes

of the proletarian court. The accused should have known better than to call for their defense these people, whose hands still reek with proletarian blood.

Vandervelde and his friends did not come here, to Moscow, to prove their love for humanity, but to prepare from here a new assault against Soviet Russia. But when they realized, that their efforts would have no result here, they departed, and left the defendants without their precious help.

The foreign press clamors that we should pardon the crimes of the defendants in consideration of their revolutionary past. For the Third International their past merits are totally insignificant in comparison with their present crimes. The intelligence of the accused, its importance in a culturally backward land, is also brought forth in their favor. But we cannot pardon a poisoner, merely on the ground that he is an intelligent man. The defendants have poisoned the minds of the Russian peasant and worker. It is further claimed that this trial is an act of vengeance perpetrated by victors against vanquished; that, though their crimes may be great, they are

a thing of the past. But the Kronstadt uprising and Tchernov's part in it, are not such old history. It is clear that in the future the S.R.'s will take advantage of every similar occasion against us.

When, against the combined attempt of the European bourgeoisie assembled in Genoa, to make an Entente colony of Russia, we attempted to form the United Front of the Internationals, the S.R.'s defeated our plan. The more difficult the new work of cultural and economic reconstruction, the more keenly must the Soviet Republic be on its guard against its enemies.

The World Revolution demands from you, Russian proletarians, great sacrifices still. You must mobilize your forces to defend the vanguard of the Revolution, the Russian Soviet Republic against all attacks.

In the name of the Third International I express my conviction that the court will know how to defend the conquests of the proletariat, and will find the necessary means for that work.

Summary of Prosecutor Comrade Pokrovski's Speech

(Special Report to Inprecorr.)

After the opening speech of Lunatcharsky, for the prosecution, Comrade Pokrovski spoke as representative of the state prosecution, and submitted the actions of the S.R.'s. to a vigorous Marxian analysis. He considered mainly the governmental activities of the S.R.-Party. Till the October Revolution, the S.R.P. was still responsive to the pressure of the masses. Naturally, not the masses which stood behind the Bolsheviks; but still, they were a party of the masses. Many S.R.'s, however, did not share this view. To the question of Comrade Bucharin how he could explain the S.R.'s contempt for the proletariat, witness Krakovietzky answered that the S.R.P. had always kept aloof from the masses, and represented rather a party of the *Intelligentsia*. Its agrarian policy demonstrated this clearly, and undermined its prestige with the peasant masses.

After a detailed description of the bourgeois, counter-revolutionary activity of the party, Comrade Pokrovski spoke of the famine catastrophe. The S.R.P. had decided to speculate on that catastrophe. It suffices to read their party literature to realize this. A most abominable article on the famine appeared in the S.R. magazine *Za Narod* (For the People). "Furthermore", so reads the proclamation in that magazine, "the Bolsheviks are doing nothing, nor do they want to do anything, against the famine". Zenzinov says quite openly that were Russia ruled by a democratic instead of a Bolshevik Government, America and Europe would not have refused their assistance to the famine relief. This is a direct incitement to overthrow the Soviets. The second number, which shamelessly advocates the economic intervention of Europe, with the aid of the notorious Noulens, is even more characteristic of that tendency.

It is self-evident that, in their attitude towards the famine question, the S.R.'s remained, the true servants of the same social forces which they had always served; they were the true servants of the bourgeoisie, foreign and Russian, whose close connection with the Noulens Commission are well known. This number contains a report of the Tenth Party Congress. The report begins with the following words: "Frightful times have come upon Russia. Hunger and epidemics rage through the land. Industry and agriculture have been destroyed, transportation crippled; we have no fuel, the petroleum and the coal mines are laid still. The people have stopped to work and are dying

off". The article ends as follows: "Our Party is gaining strength and courage. Our Party is growing; we hear the decided tramp of our members as they go to fight for the people's right, for the land, and for freedom, against Bolshevism and reaction. And our call finds lively response from those who are suffering hunger and disease, who are oppressed by Commissars and Tchekists". Which means, approximately: "Thank God! At last the Hunger! The Party can breathe freely again". In other words, "the Russians are dying of hunger, and we, the S.R.'s are earning our meals thereby".

One of the resolutions of the 10th Party Congress is characteristic of the S.R.'s: they complain that the Bolsheviks having rid the country of the big landowners, there is no one left from whose yoke the Russian peasant is to be freed. This is the great crime of the Bolsheviks, that they have left the S.R.'s no reason for existence.

I finish my speech with the same keynote with which I began it. The Social Revolutionary Party, is neither Socialist, nor revolutionary. That it has nothing Socialistic, the defendants themselves will admit. From the moment the S.R.'s allied themselves with the blackest bourgeois reaction, and, in the name of that some bourgeois reaction suppressed even bourgeois liberty, wherever they could seize power, they have lost all right to the name *revolutionary*.

The S.R.P., therefore, is neither a Socialist, not a revolutionary party, but a bourgeois-reactionary party. Its only difference from the other bourgeois parties, is that the bourgeoisie has not recognized it among its leaders. It is just a party of janissaries, always ready to sell themselves for any particularly dirty or dangerous work. When the danger for the bourgeoisie is over, these mercenaries are gotten rid of unceremoniously.

Finally, I demand as a Marxist, that in its verdict the Tribunal establish definitely that the defendants did not belong to any revolutionary Socialist Party, but to an ordinary bourgeois reactionary party. I insist upon it mainly because a campaign is being waged against us which accuses us of condemning Socialists. We must tell those gentlemen outright: *Here, on the prisoner's bench, there are no Socialists. They are bourgeois conspirators, and we must treat them as such in accordance with the laws of the Soviet Republic.*

Summary of Comrade Krylenko's Speech

Krylenko then speaks for the prosecution. "It will be the task of history to settle definitely the part played by individuals in the development of historical events. The court's duty is to determine what definite people *have actually done*, whether their actions have been useful or destructive, and return its verdict accordingly.

The laws of the Soviet Republic demand that the court shall look painstakingly into the activities of the defendants. The criminal code provides that the proletarian court defend the workers' government against criminal and dangerous acts. All those who claim that this trial is an act of political revenge should read paragraph 8 of our criminal code, which provides for such penalties as are necessary for the protection of the state,

and for the prevention of crimes. We want to protect the workers' and peasants' government from new suffering, and make new crimes against it impossible.

Some of the defendants have declared in the name of the first group that *they would not renounce their right to organize rebellions against the Soviet Power*, and that they intended to make use of that right in the future. From the standpoint of revolutionary law the court could have, there and then, declared the proceedings at an end, and could have proceeded to the immediate application of social protective measures.

Krylenko then proceeds to the successive periods of Social Revolutionary activity. During the October Revolution, the S.R.'s stood in the front ranks of the bourgeois battalions which fought

the proletariat. Defendant *Lichatsh* did not deny that the S.R.P. had received money from the Entente, but he claims that this money was used for the defense of the Constituent Assembly, not for the benefit of the Party. This is a typical example of hypocrisy; the same object under another name. Krylenko points to the testimony of numerous witnesses, which established the fact of the close connection of the S.R.P. with the *Union for the Rebirth of Russia* and other reactionary elements; another proof is the financial help which the S.R.'s received from the Entente, through this same *Union for Rebirth*.

Krylenko now passes to the Moscow period of S.R. activity. During that time Timofeyev and Machin were busy procuring maps and secret military documents which had been stolen from the General Staff of the Red Army. "It is good" Krylenko says, "that the Russian workers and peasants should learn to know such traitors as Timofeyev and Machin, and that they see clearly, what the S.R.'s were preparing at their secret meetings". And turning towards the defendants: "These workers and peasants will soon bring in the verdict against you! We shall not trifle with you. We are here to defend the proletarian government for which so much blood has already been shed, and to which we have consecrated our lives".

Describing the relations of the S.R.'s to the Entente, Krylenko declares the first negotiations to have taken place in February 1918, between Timofeyev on the one side and Charles Dumas on the other. Dumas drew the attention of Timofeyev to a reservation on the part of the S.R.'s, contained in one of their Congress resolutions. "First Sovereignty, then Entente help". The S.R.'s reassured him, on their authority, that this reservation should not be taken literally, and that they, the S.R.'s, were ready to accept financial aid to overthrow the Bolsheviks, before their sovereign rule is established.

"A group of Russian citizens", Krylenko goes on, "has entered into relations with foreign countries, for counter-revolutionary purposes. The ensuing events brought untold misery to the Russian workers and peasants, and cost them thousands of lives." After the formation of the Samara front, Timofeyev began negotiations with the assistant to the French Mission, Ehrlich, and later entered into official relations with the French.

Joint conferences were held by these two parties, and the following program of action was drawn up: *The Entente would furnish officers, technicians and explosives. The S.R.'s would blow up bridges, railways, etc.*

After the S.R.'s captured Samara, they sent the Entente a declaration in which they asserted their willingness to carry on the war against Germany, and demanded of the Allies money and ammunition for that purpose.

Krylenko then proceeds to the S.R. government in Samara and Archangelsk, and points to its connection with the Czecho-Slovakians. He recalls the disgraceful flight of the S.R.'s from Archangelsk, particularly that of Lichatch, and their declaration, after they had helped the English to secure their position in Northern Russia, that the S.R. Party renounces all political responsibility for the fate of the workers and the peasants.

Krylenko then passes to the S.R. activity in the Ukraine. He points to their alliance with the nationalistic, bourgeois *Rada* and to their inimical attitude towards the strike which the railroad workers had called in protest against the rule of the Hetmen. He recalls the proposal made by Gerstein, member of their Executive Committee, to accept money from the French, for party purposes, and their approval of the Ukraine's separate treaty negotiations with the Germans. He points especially to the activities of the All-Ukrainian Military Commission, which was supported by the District Committee of the S.R.P., and at the same time acted in connection with the Volunteers of Denikin and received money from the counter-revolutionary General Romanovsky, as well as from the Entente.

Krylenko points to similar behaviour of the S.R.'s in the Don and the Kuban provinces, and passes then to the S.R. activity during the years 1919 to 1921.

At the 9th Party Congress, resolutions were passed to stop the armed war against the Soviets. But a short time later, the Central Committee interprets the resolution as meaning *no cessation of the armed fight*. The same thing had happened already before the Congress, at the February Congress. There, Donskoy amended a resolution for the complete cessation of hostilities against the Soviets, "that this cessation should be of short duration only". The amendment was then defeated. But Donskoy triumphed completely at the 9th Congress. Krylenko compares the two resolutions, so different from one another, and draws the conclusion that it was the duty of the S.R.'s, not to hush up the question, but to give it a clear and unambiguous answer. Instead of this, they continued their hypocritical policy, which

evaded every clear statement, and which could not fail to bear its fruits.

Krylenko dwelt shortly on the S.R. organization of the peasant movement in Siberia. At that time, Siberia had completely broken down, and the Koltchak band was in power. The Central Committee of the S.R. Party recommended the formation of *non-partisan peasant unions*. The Siberian District Committee of the S.R.'s may have opposed this plan, but the members of the S.R.P., among them Tiapkin, went on in their work, organized the Peasant Union, drew up its program, entered into connection with the *with the guard organization of Gustomezov, unhampered in any way by the District Committee*.

Passing to the Antonov period, Krylenko recalls that at the September Conference the delegates from the Tambov Province, pointed to the necessity of uniting with the Antonov movement. This meant logically, to conduct an armed fight against the Soviet Power. And this is actually what happened, as numerous witnesses have testified. The responsibility for the human lives sacrificed in the Antonov action lies fully and clearly with the Central Committee of the S.R.'s, which had given its help to this movement.

Krylenko then spoke of the activity of the S.R.'s in the Northern Caucasus, and dealt at length with the work of the so-called Administrative Centre, headed by the foreign delegation of the S.R.'s. The agent of the Administrative Centre, *Shrionskaya*, whose letters have been read in the course of the proceedings, organized an espionage centre in Constantinople, and from there, sent her agents to the Caucasus. Through the Czecho-Slovakian Mission, she was in constant connection with Paris, and the French and English spy systems. From the minutes of the Administrative Centre we learn that an arrangement was reached to translate into French all information on the position of the Russian troops. In spite of the resolutions of the 9th Congress, the A.C. organized the armed struggle against the Soviets in the Caucasus, and used as organizers, white-guard adventurers and officers. The S.R.'s, on whose conscience lies the death and the suffering of thousands upon thousands of workers and peasants, then took to cover.

From a number of documents, Krylenko proved that a connection existed between the Kronstadt mutineers and the Administrative Center. He shewed how the A.C. sent its agents into the border states, negotiated with white guard organizations in Karelia, and made all preparations to send food supplies to the Kronstadt mutineers.

"We now have a clear view of the activity of the S.R.'s"—went on Krylenko. "They were allied politically with foreign governments and counter-revolutionary organizations, which furnished them with money".

"I now put the question, whether the defendants' activities constituted a danger to the Soviet Republic, and whether we should apply against them, the measures provided against persons who endanger the security of the state?"

To both questions, Krylenko answered Yes!

Krylenko then spoke of the terrorist acts of the S.R.P., and proved from documents on hand, and from the testimony of witnesses, that the members of the Central Executive Committee of the S.R.P. had full responsibility for these acts.

Krylenko then formulated the crimes of each individual defendant, and pointed to the law paragraphs which dealt with those crimes. The court must base its punishment upon the spirit which dictated the laws, expressed in the introductory part of the Criminal Code. The law looks upon punishment as a deterrent of crimes, and as means of preventing the criminal from perpetrating new ones. Krylenko pointed to the fact that the court had the right, under certain circumstances, to impose no penalty upon the defendants, and to lodge with the All-Russian Central Executive Committee an explanation of their action. The court may minimize the criminality of certain defendants who no longer constitute a danger to the Republic, the purpose of our laws not being the punishment of criminals, but the protection of the state from dangerous, anti-social elements.

Krylenko demands the application of the highest penalty for all defendants of the first group, except Derff, Utgoff and Zlobin. "The Revolutionary Tribunal is an organ of the proletariat in the class-war; it is directed against the enemies of the working-class. For this reason, it can return but one verdict against the defendants of the first group, with the exception of those, already named: Death before a firing squad. Death for all the blood we have shed, for all the miseries, all the fears we have suffered during five years, and which these men have consciously caused. The defendants have declared that they would continue their attempts to destroy our work of five long, fighting years. We have a right to self-defense and self-protection!"

Krylenko began his speech at 4 P.M., and spoke till 2 A.M.