MOSCOW CHEKISTS DURING THE CIVIL WAR, 1918-1921

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Moscow Chekists During the Civil War, 1918-1921

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ABSTRACT

When the Bolshevik party embarked on its vision of transforming Russia into the world's first communist state, it required balancing the long term goal of constructing this future society with the short term exigencies of remaining in power. The operation of the Moscow Cheka illustrates how the Bolsheviks balanced the role of ideology and the impact of circumstance in the establishment of Soviet rule. This thesis analyses the role, both formal and actual, of the Moscow Cheka between 1918 and 1921.

The Moscow Cheka distinguished between 'common', economic and political crimes. While the Moscow Cheka's policing role initially focused on the 'common' criminal realm, from the summer of 1919 onwards the emphasis shifted to economic and political matters. This thesis attempts to explain the factors which produced the cyclical patterns of heightened repression followed by relative tolerance in the economic, social and political realms. Although it is dangerous to assume that every policy has a developmental rationale, tangible foreign and domestic factors continually modified Cheka policies and emphasis.

This analysis of the Moscow Cheka modifies the accepted view in four main areas: Cheka characteristics; Cheka concentration on political matters; the height of the political terror and the Cheka / Bolshevik party relationship. The following impressions are unsupported: the Chekists were primarily bourgeois in origin, members of ethnic minorities, and long standing Bolshevik party members. Chapter One shows that the Moscow Chekists were predominantly young, Russian males from a working class background and with limited party experience. The image that the Chekas or Extraordinary Commissions were primarily concerned with neutralizing political opposition to Soviet rule is not upheld. Chapter Two reveals that policing economic crimes, speculation and malfeasance, constituted the Moscow Cheka's main focus. The belief that the highest concentration of political repression in the early Soviet period occurred in the fall of 1918 is not substantiated in this study. Chapter Three emphasizes that the combination of civil disturbances and the military threat posed by General Denikin, in the fall of 1919, produced more political terror in Moscow at this time than in the fall of 1918. This study questions the simplistic generalization that the legitimacy of the Bolshevik party was intrinsically linked with the Cheka organizations. Overall, a complex, ambivalent relationship existed between the Bolshevik party and the Chekists.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Iurii Vladimirovich Got'e, Muscovite historian and Rumianstev Museum Director, who most eloquently chronicled the chaos and destruction of Moscow during the early Soviet period in his diary Time of Troubles.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe thanks to many members of the Simon Fraser University community. My gratitude extends to my supervisory committee - Dr. Hutchinson, Dr. Kitchen, and lastly to Dr. Debo - who as my senior supervisor willingly devoted time, energy and enthusiasm to this endeavour. Dr. Harden's instruction made learning Russian a pleasure, Karen Patterson and Susan Riddell provided computer assistance and my fellow graduate students, who always kept their sense of humour, restored mine.

The Patterson and Leach families gave me balance and perspective. Finally, in Vancouver and Moscow, the Popoks provided me with an invaluable opportunity to study and enjoy family life in the Soviet Union.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LISTS OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

On 7 (20) December 1917, within six weeks of the Bolshevik seizure of power from the Provisional Government, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage was created. This investigatory committee was commonly called Vecheka (VChk) or Cheka (Chk) from the first two words of the abbreviated Russian title. This study will primarily concentrate on analysing the role, both formal and actual, of the Moscow Cheka, from its inception in March of 1918 to the introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in March of 1921. What major transformations occurred within the Moscow Cheka apparatus during the years of 'War Communism'? What were the limits or controls on security police activity and how effectively did they function? What was the relationship between the Bolshevik Party and the Moscow Chekists?

The Moscow Cheka was selected for a variety of complementary factors. While there are two, main comprehensive works on the Vecheka, Lennard Gerson's The Secret Police in Lenin's Russia and George Leggett's The Cheka: Lenin's Political Police, this study hopes to fill the existing gap in this literature by providing the first detailed case study of the Moscow Cheka. A background to Moscow life in the early Soviet period can be obtained from Diane Koenker's Moscow Workers and the 1917 Revolution, William Chase's Workers, Society and the Soviet State Labor and Life in Moscow 1918-1929 and Richard Sakwa's Soviet Communists in Power, A Study of Moscow During the Civil War, 1918-1921. An examination of the Bolshevik party organization is found in Alexander Rabinowitch's The Bolsheviks Come to Power, Thomas Rigby's Lenin's Government: Sovnarkom 1917-1922, Robert Service's The Bolshevik Party in Revolution, A Study in Organizational Change and Leonard Schapiro's The Origin of The Communist Autocracy: Political Opposition in the Soviet State , First Phase 1917-1922. The main general Soviet works are N. M. Aleshchenko's Moskovskii sovet v 1917-1941gg., A. Ya. Grunt's Moskva 1917-iy: Revoliutsiia, G. S. Ignat'yev's Moskva v pervyi god proletarskoi diktatury, B. A. Klimenko's Borba s kontrrevoliutsiei v Moskve and Ocherki istorii Moskovskoi organizatsii KPSS 1883-1965gg.

With western access to 'sensitive' Soviet topics restricted, obtaining the following compilations of state documents was crucial in choosing Moscow. The basis of my primary sources are V. I. Alidin's M Chk, Iz istorii moskovskoi chrezvychainoi komissii 1918-1921, G. A. Belov et al.'s Iz Istorii vserossiiskoi

chrezvychainoi komissii 1917gg, P. G. Sofinov's Ocherki istorii vserossiiskoi chrezvychainoi komissii 1917-1922gg, S. K. Tsvigun's V. I. Lenin i V Chk: Sbornik Dokumentov (1917-1922gg.), and V. A. Kutuzov et al.'s Chekisty Petrograda: Na Strazhe Revoliutsii. It must be emphasized that all the previous works contain 'selected' documents (letters, telegrams, decrees, orders etc.) that foster an image of an accountable, effective and efficient Cheka apparatus. Further primary sources include V. I. Lenin's Polnoe sobranie sochinenii and the Bolshevik newspapers, Izvestiia and Pravda. Leading Chekists' accounts are readily available, for example, Feliks Dzerzhinsky's Prison Diary and Letters and Selected Works, Martyn Latsis' Chrezvychainye komissii po borbe s kontrrevoliutsiei and Yekab Peters' Vospominaniia o rabote v V Chk v pervyi god revoliutsii. The state sponsored biographies of Feliks Dzerzhinsky include A. V. Tishkov's Dzerzhinskii and Pervyi Chekist (Dzerzhinskii) and S. K. Tsvigun's Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskii: Biografiia.

This study will utilize relevant memoir and diary accounts to describe personal experiences with the Moscow Cheka and life generally in Moscow between 1918 and 1921. Memoirs, for a variety of reasons, must be used with great caution: some writers probably have embellished their accounts to heighten dramatic impact, and there are the usual problems of accuracy when recounting events many years later. However, memoirs and diaries describe what individuals themselves experienced or heard about directly, and can be equal to other primary sources which have their own problems of interpretations. A broad spectrum of people wrote the memoirs cited in this study: some remained loyal Soviet citizens and some did not, some emigrated and some stayed at home, some were arrested foreigners and some were not. The following are either diary or memoir accounts from foreigners residing in Moscow: Alexander Berkman's The Bolshevik Myth (Diary 1920-1922); Louise Byrant's Mirrors of Moscow; Emma Goldman's My Disillusionment in Russia; Marguerite Harrison's Marooned in Moscow; Arthur Ransome's Six Weeks in Russia in 1919; and Victor Serge's Memoirs of A Revolutionary. Russian citizens who interacted with the Moscow Cheka include: Iurii Vladimirovich Got'e's Time of Troubles, The Diary of Iurii Vladimirovich Got'e, July 8,1917 to July 23, 1922; Simon Liberman's Building Lenin's Russia; Pavel Malkov's Reminiscences of a Kremlin Commandant; Sergei Melgounov's The Red Terror; George Popof's The Tcheka: The Red Inquisition; and I. Steinberg's In the Workshop of Revolution. The quality of the works is varied but V. I. Got'e, an historian at Moscow University and director of the Rumianstev Museum, provides the most valuable and unique account

because his manuscript " is a nearly perfect example of the true diary...this one was never revised censored, or embellished at a later time by its author."[1] The memoirs are a valuable source that help chronicle the destruction, confusion and chaos of this period.

In terms of secondary sources, many western historians' perceptions about the early Soviet period are influenced by their preference for an evolutionary, democratic political system and many are suspicious about attempts to create a new, non-capitalist socialist order. It has been exceedingly difficult for historians to separate their political preferences from their treatment of the tumultuous revolutionary years between 1917-1921. To analyse Lenin's Soviet Russsia without the knowledge of the single-party dictatorship, forced collectivization and Stalinist terror in the 1930's is almost impossible. John Keep's The Russian Revolution: A Study in Mass Mobilization adheres to a blatant example of reading history backwards when he states, that " Any evaluation of this revolution's place in history must proceed from an awareness of the consequences to which it led: namely, the world's first experiment in totalitarian rule."[2]

The legitimacy of the October Revolution must be established to evaluate subsequent Bolshevik actions. As Ronald Suny explains:

> Because possible justifications of the 'legitimacy' of the Soviet system seem to be implied in certain explanations of how the Bolsheviks came to power, much of the literature emphasizes the artificiality, the accidental or manipulative quality of the October Revolution and concomitantly de-emphasizes the deep and long-term social developments that provided both the context and the momentum in which Lenin's party was able to emerge victorious.[3]

Although seemingly contradictory, the October Revolution may have been artificial and manipulative, but the Bolshevik victory may have been supported by most workers and peasants. Leonard Schapiro, emphasizes both the accidental and manipulative factors in the Bolshevik victory. If the revolution had " happened say in 1912, it is at least improbable that it would have led to a victory for the Bolsheviks," and " bolshevism proved to be less a doctrine, than a technique of action for seizing and holding of power, of the Bolshevik party."[4] Robert Daniels in Red October, believes that the nature of the October revolution caused the whole course of Bolshevik policies because given " the fact of the party's forcible seizure of power, civil violence and a militarized dictatorship of revolutionary extremism followed with remorseless logic."[5] Western writers who abhor the historical determinism of Soviet writers should reflect on their own biases. It was not

inevitable that civil violence would necessarily ensue. After October 1917 the Bolsheviks had a variety of options to choose from; the liveliness of debates among the coalitionists, Left Communists, Democratic Centralists and Workers' Opposition, attest to this.[6]

The study of the Moscow Cheka between 1918 and 1921 provides valuable insights into the Bolshevik party, the inter-party debates, the policy of 'War Communism' and the nature of the civil war. With the transfer of the Smolny government from Petrograd to Moscow in March 1918 this city became the headquarters of the Bolshevik party, the capital city of Soviet Russia, and hence the center of power for the Bolshevik project. The key historical debates of this period revolve around the degree to which 'external' or 'internal' factors contributed to the emergence, by 1921, of a centralized, authoritarian Soviet regime that was dominated by the Bolshevik party. Broadly speaking there is an attempt to discover why, in such a limited time, the Bolshevik party radically transformed into a highly disciplined, centralized, coercive body. Nevertheless, perceptions about the degree of centralization and coercion before October 1917, often determines if the transformation of the Bolshevik party was 'radical.' According to Alexander Rabinowitch, in 1917 the Bolshevik party possessed an " internally relatively democratic, tolerant, and decentralized structure and method of operation, as well as its open and mass character," the subsequent changes seem remarkable.[7] Was there an intrinsic element in bolshevism that predisposed it towards coercive methods or did 'external' factors 'compel' the Bolshevik leaders to impose drastic measures? The major explanatory 'external' factors include the civil war, allied intervention, international isolation and hostility, and the Tsarist authoritarian political, economic, and social heritage. The proponents of a continuity in political culture between Tsarism and the Soviet regime suggest that both systems have similar patterns of state dominance over society. However, it seems too simplistic to contend that a line can be drawn from Tsarist rulers to Bolshevik leaders and that some sort of fatality or 'weakness' predestines Russians to live under authoritarian rule. A cursory glance at the level of political activity in 1917 among the Russian populace indicates a strong commitment to some form of self government.[8] The tendency to dismiss this political activity because it did not mirror Western liberal democratic practices is patronizing. Furthermore, it would seem that the inner dynamics of the Tsarist and Soviet regimes " are so much at variance, the patterns of authority so different, and the ideological bases of the respective societies so much the antithesis of each other that it would be far fetched to

suggest that they are systematically similar."[9] This study will emphasize the role ideology played in the consolidation of the Bolshevik state and refutes Adelman's claim that Leninist theory was not a decisive force in the creation of the party machine by 1921.[10]

There is considerable debate concerning the nature, beginning and end of the Russian civil war. There is a lack of consensus on the beginning date of the civil war which is compounded by Lenin's declaration, that " on 25th of October 1917 civil war in Russia was a fact." [11] What level of hostilities is required to make the claim that a state of civil war existed? To establish precisely when the civil war in the cities transformed into a civil war of armies is difficult, because as David Footman states, the " fighting began untidily and haphazardly."[12] Consequently both Soviet and Western historians have proposed various dates for the start of the civil war: the bolshevik coup in Petrograd, the Kerensky-Krasnov expedition or the officer cadets' rising in Petrograd a few days later; the Japanese landing at Vladivostok; and British takeover at Murmansk in April 1918, or the revolt of the Czechoslovak legion in May 1918.[13] The legitimacy of the measures applied by the Bolshevik government and its Cheka apparatus to maintain power often center on when the civil war began and the intensity of this conflict. Generally, the launching of the Red Terror in September 1918 marks the beginning of the 'real' civil war for the Moscow Cheka. However, the sporadic nature of the fighting was reflected in shifts of Bolshevik internal policy that greatly influenced the Cheka organizations.

The main tenets of the policy of 'War Communism' were nationalization and centralization, but more specifically several characteristics were: " the nationalization of virtually all economic enterprises and activities, the centralization of economic policy, the requisitioning of peasant produce (*prodrazverstka*), the 'abolition' of money and its replacement by natural wages and a socially organized barter system and the increasing use of state power to raise industrial production."[14] However, to fully understand the ideological nature of this period, war communism must be seen as a combination of economic and political measures. The civil war coincided with the massive social, economic and political changes which made up the system of war communism. The Bolsheviks interpreted the civil war as a class war, both domestically and internationally: the poor peasants versus the kulaks, the Russian proletariat versus the Russian bourgeoisie and international revolution versus international capitalism. William Chase's declaration that, " the policy of War Communism, which dates from June 1918," is somewhat misleading because throughout Workers,

Society and the Soviet State, Labor and Life in Moscow 1918-1929 he neglects to inform the reader that it was a retroactively named policy.[15]

Significantly, no official policy named War Communism was declared in the summer of 1918 by the Bolshevik authorities and " Lenin himself first used the term in his notes in late March 1921."[16] The drafting of a New Economic Policy coincides with the necessity of naming the old policy, therefore Lenin created the term War Communism to cover the period from approximately June 1918 to March 1921. The extreme measures of the period could be somewhat justified by stating that a special kind of communism - war communism - had to be implemented because of the civil war and allied intervention. This is a controversial point and some authors believe that economic dislocation and chaos alone would have sufficed to introduce these measures.[17] The implication is that a more accommodating Soviet system would have arisen if there had been no war. In some respects this argument is flawed because it suggests a lack of Bolshevik responsibility for the onset of civil war, as if they were merely reacting to the circumstances, not creating them. This is false. Sheila Fitzpatrick analyses the link between the civil war and the Bolsheviks' authoritarian rule:

> it must be remembered that there was a two way relationship between the Bolsheviks and the political environment of 1918-1920. The Civil War was not an unforeseeable act of God for which the Bolsheviks were in no way responsible. On the contrary, the Bolsheviks had associated themselves with armed confrontation and violence in the months between February and October 1917; and as the Bolshevik leaders knew perfectly well before the event their October coup was seen by many as an outright provocation to Civil War.[18]

There is considerable debate over whether War Communism was a temporary expedient to survive those peculiar conditions of civil war or an end in itself. Classic western interpretations generally have stressed it was either a " compound of war emergency and socialist dogmatism "[19] or " the rule of the besieged fortress "[20] and " an improvisation in face of economic scarcity and military urgency in conditions of exhausting civil war."[21] William Chase concurs that " although some Bolsheviks viewed it as the realization of the revolution [it was] a bona fide survival strategy."[22] The crucial point is Chase's belief that only " some Bolsheviks " viewed war communism as an end in itself. Chase provides no evidence to substantiate this view, and furthermore neglects to find any statements that at the time of the decrees and resolutions (June 1918 - March 1921) the measures were heralded as temporary ones that would be revoked with a return to

peace. If the majority of Bolsheviks endorsed war communism as the realization of the revolution, then the survival strategy theory can be dismissed. It will be argued that many Bolshevik leaders including Lenin, Trotsky, Dzerzhinsky and Bukharin (the party's leading theoretician) fully endorsed war communism until a culmination of factors (Kronstadt Rebellion, Antonov and Makhno uprisings etc.) forced a re-evaluation.[23] A leading Comintern member, Victor Serge, contended that:

> The social system in these years was later called 'War Communism.' At the time it was called simply 'Communism', and any one who, like myself, went so far as to consider it purely temporary was looked upon with disdain. Trotsky had just written that this system would last over several decades if the transition to a genuine, unfettered Socialism was to be assured. Bukharin...considered the present mode of organization to be final[24].

Sakwa's interpretation that war communism corresponded to the fundamental aims of the Bolshevik project in both economic and political spheres is more credible than Chase's because "if Lenin defined NEP as a 'retreat' as a 'concession to the peasantry' and argued that it would 'last long but not forever,' then what was the preferred economic model against which to set the retreat if not war communism."[25] His argument is generally convincing but he assumes that Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders had a clear, coherent model of their new society. How many Bolsheviks genuinely wanted a war communism type regime or were forced to pretend to be in full control? As Sheila Fitzpatrick contends:

> While War Communism policies were in force it was natural for Bolsheviks to give them ideological justifications - to assert that the party armed with the scientific ideology of Marxism, was in full control of events rather that simply struggling to keep up.[26]

This complements Roberts' interpretation that, " it is clear from his writings during that period that he [Lenin] either sincerely thought or was forced to pretend that he thought that the policies of 'war communism' were an effort to establish socialism. Whatever his opposition , if any, to the program during the period itself, he did not refer to its policies as temporary or wartime measures."[27]

Nevertheless, many areas in this early Soviet period still require extensive research. For example, there have been few serious attempts to systematically quantify and analyse the numbers and types of 'casualties' between 1918 and 1921. This contrasts with the lively debate over the scale of the terror and its effect on the Soviet people among historians, demographers and political scientists studying Soviet terror under Stalin.[28] Despite the usual problems of access to source materials, what accounts for this neglect? It is possible that because the Bolshevik government endured both a civil war and foreign intervention, this has partly absolved

their use of terror. Furthermore, the nature and scale of the 1930's terror which produced massive civilian, military, state and party official casualties makes the nature of the Cheka terror less 'interesting' to Western historians. Only a full examination of Lenin's society that includes the scope and scale of those arrested, interned, exiled or executed will afford insights into the parallels with Stalin's regime.

A continuing debate centers on Lenin's culpability for the rise of Stalin. Leonard Schapiro claims, that " it was Lenin . . . who equipped him [Stalin] with the weapons and started him upon his path."[29] Thomas Rigby argues that the civil war put a premium on the speedy and authoritative resolution of immediate problems and that this conflict profoundly changed party-state relations because in " the process Sovnarkom became increasingly dependent on the Party Central Committee."[30] Both before and when he fell ill Lenin failed to make satisfactory arrangements for Sovnarkom's leadership, and therefore the " eclipse of Lenin's Sovnarkom helped to pave the way [for] a new personal despot [Stalin] from the Central Committee Secretariat."[31] In a similar vein George Leggett contends, that by " 1921, with intra-Party factions banned and power increasingly concentrated at the pinnacle of the Politburo (to which the Cheka was directly subordinated), the Leninist Party's rule had degenerated far in the direction of . . . autocracy."[32] Conversely, Robert Service provides a less deterministic outlook, that the " degeneration from the unhealthy but by no means moribund party organism of 1923 to the rotten, deathly hulk of the late 1930's was avoidable. Preventative measures could have been taken if only a majority within the ascendant party leadership had possessed a keener awareness of the moral and practical dangers of permitting excesses of coercive administrative techniques."[33] These debates revolve around Lenin's perceived role in the early Soviet years and especially his responsibility for the war communism system. Sakwa's following analysis suggests that war communism provided the necessary, if not sufficient, conditions for the emergence of the Stalinist version of totalitarianism because of:

> the belief in the need to remould society; the emergence of new-style party committees increasingly free from the control of the mass of membership; the increasingly formal nature of mass participation; the confusion of economic aims with the ultimate aims of socialism; increased intolerance within the party and the end of legitimate oppositional activity and the use of coercion to maintain and ideological line.[but there existed a] different balance within the state structure: Lenin's based on the dominance of the party; Stalin's on the maximum development of precisely the three areas where the party had been weak during war communism - the labour state, the secret police, and the bureaucracy."[34]

One part of this analysis is flawed. The party's relationship with the secret police was not weak, but complex and ambivalent. The larger question central to this study is the degree of control exercised by the Bolshevik Party over the secret police. To what extent the Bolshevik party derived their legitimacy from the role of the Chekas is debatable. As will be shown the most severe criticism of Chekist activities came from within the Bolshevik Party, primarily from the Commissariat of Justice (NKIu) and the Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD.) However, the repression of non-Bolshevik party members through intimidation, censorship, internment, exile and finally execution, largely restricted their ability to consistently criticize the Cheka organizations.

The experiences of opposition parties highlights the debate in Soviet literature over ascertaining the date at which the one party state began in the Soviet republic: 1920-22, 1924, or even 1930. As will be shown the Cheka apparatus played a crucial role in its establishment. Perceptions of what constitutes 'effective' oppositional activity are crucial in one's interpretation. Schapiro has argued that by 1921, with the break-up of the Menshevik and SR parties, the one-party state was finally introduced.[35] The view that in Moscow a *de facto* one-party state coincided with the start of the civil war is strengthened by the fact, " that out of a total of fifty-three people who served on the [Moscow] soviet's presidium in its eight compositions between 14 November 1917 and 3 January 1921 only five were non-Bolsheviks, none of whom served after July 1918."[36] Nevertheless, until 1921 Bolshevik policies towards socialist opposition parties vacillated between cycles of harsh repression and relative tolerance. Explaining the major shifts in economic and political policies within the Moscow Cheka apparatus will be the major focus of this study.

1 "Introduction," in Iurii Vladimirovich Got'e's Time of Troubles, The Diary of Iurii Vladimirovich Got'e, Moscow, July 8, 1917 to July 23, 1922. Translated, edited and introduced by Terence Emmons (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), p.6. This diary was never revised or altered because Got'e agreed to submit his manuscript to Frank Golder, an American historian and an agent of Herbert Hoover's American Relief Administration (ARA), for safekeeping and to preserve his impressions for posterity (see pages 4-5.)

2 John Keep, The Russian Revolution: A Study in Mass Mobilisation. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1976), p.468.

3 Ronald Grigor Suny, " Towards a Social History of the October Revolution." American Historical Review, 88 (1983): 31-52, p.31.

4 Leonard Schapiro The Origin of the Communist Autocracy: Political Opposition in the Soviet State: First Phase, 1917-1922. Second Edition. (London: MacMillan 1977), p.10, p.14. Alexander Rabinowitch in The Bolsheviks Come to Power: The Revolution of 1917 in Petrograd. (New York: W. W. Norten, 1976) p.xx. concurs that the Great War had a profound effect on the Bolshevik victory.

5 Robert Daniels, Red October: The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. (London: Scribner, 1968), p. 218.

6 The Bolshevik government experienced a series of internal party revolts. The coalitionists wanted to broaden the Bolshevik basis of support by forming a larger socialist coalition government. The Left Communists were an opposition faction that came to prominence in 1918 through its advocacy of revolutionary war and perceived extreme left wing positions on economic and social policy. The Democratic Centralists arose in 1920 with a broad aim to restore party democracy. Similar to the Democratic Centralists the Workers' Opposition also arose in 1920 but was led by trade unionists who espoused extreme left wing views on party organization, economic administration and social policy. Significantly, Lenin coined their name. See Harold Shukman, (Editor) The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the Russian Revolution. (Oxford, U.K.: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1988), pp.150-152. See Richard Sakwa Soviet Communists in Power, A Study of Moscow During the Civil War,1918-1921. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), chs. 7-8.

7 Rabinowitch, op. cit., p.xxi.

8 The following authors attest to the explosion of democratic activity in spontaneous mass organisations (Oskar Anweiler, Marc Ferro, Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, John Keep, and Rex Wade) and social histories of Russian workers, peasants and soldiers (Diane Koenker, Ziva Galili y Garcia, Robert Devlin, William Rosenberg, David Mandel, Stephen Smith, Graeme Gill, Allan Wildman and Evan Mawdsley.) Full citation is in the bibliography

9 Sakwa, op. cit., p.13. Schapiro, op.cit., concurs, p.ix. Conversely, the following interpretation suggests, " an apparently pathological subservience to the will of the maniac tyrant all seem to show that there is something endemic to the Russian character which clamours for the tyrant and the inquisitor." Bernard Bromage, Man of Terror: Dzerzherynski. (London: Peter Owen, 1956),p. 10.

10 The full quote contends that " the nature of the revolution and the civil war, not Leninist theory and pre-revolutionary experiences, were decisive forces in the creation of the party machine by 1921."Jonathan Adelman, " The Development of the Soviet Party Apparat in the Civil War: Center, Localities, and Nationality Areas," Russian History, 9, (1982), 82-110, p.87.

11 John Bradley, Civil War in Russia, 1917-1920. (London: B. T. Batsford, 1975), p.10.

12 David Footman, Civil War in Russia (London: Faber, 1961), p.22.

13 Bradley, op. cit.,p.10 and Sakwa, op. cit., p.22.

14 William Chase. Workers, Society and the Soviet State: Labor and Life in Moscow 1918-1929. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press,1987), p.15. Harold Shukman's definition: " adopted a policy of requisitioning farm produce (so-called prodrazverstka), sought to ban all private trade, nationalized almost all industrial establishments, tried to achieve central control over production and allocation of goods, partially replacing money (which was rapidly depreciating) by accounting in kind." op. cit., p.148. Also Alec Nove's summation in An Economic History of the U.S.S.R. (London: Pelican, 1972), p.74.

15 Chase, op. cit., p.15.

16 Sakwa, op. cit., p.21.

17 Robert Service, The Bolshevik Party in Revolution, 1917-1923: A Study in Organisational Change (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1979),p.9, Sakwa, op. cit., p.24.

18 Sheila Fitzpatrick, The Russian Revolution. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp.64-65, Sakwa, op. cit., pp.21-22, Shukman, op. cit., p.149.

19 William Chamberlain, The Russian Revolution, 1917-1921, vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1965), p.96, E. H. Carr, The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923, vol.2 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1952), p.53, Alec Nove, op. cit., p.78.

20 Merle Fainsod, How Russia is Ruled, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963), p.93.

21 Maurice Dobb, Soviet Economic Development Since 1917, (New York: International Publishers, 1948), p.122.

22 Chase, op.cit., p.15.

23 Alec Nove, provides a good overview of Bolshevik party members' views about war communism, op. cit., pp.78-82. A brief summation of the Kronstadt Rebellion, the Antonov and Makhno Uprisings can be found in Shukman, op. cit.,157-9, 184, 348-9.

24 Victor Serge in Memoirs of a Revolutionary 1901-1941 (London: Oxford University Press,1963), p.115

25 Sakwa, op. cit., p.26.

26 Fitzpatrick, op. cit., p.71. Alec Nove, concurs that war communism fits the example of " actions taken in abnormal circumstances for practical reasons are often clothed in ideological garb and are justified by reference to high principles. It is all too easy then to conclude, with documentary evidence to prove it, that the action was due to a principle." op. cit., p.47.

27 Paul C. Roberts, " War Communism ": A Re-examination, Slavic Review, June (1970), 238-261, p.249. Roberts provides a good analysis of the rationale behind war communism and his well-documented interpretation supports his thesis that Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and Bukharin all believed war communism to be an end in itself, see pages, 238-261.

[28] The following books and articles provide a sample of this lively debate: Barbara Anderson and Brian Silver, " Demographic Analysis and Population Catastrophes in the USSR." Slavic Review, 44, #3 (Fall 1985), 517-536. Steven Rosefield " The First 'Great Leap Forward' Reconsidered: Lessons of Solzhenitsyn's Gulag Archipelago," Slavic Review,#4, (December 1980) 559-587 and " An Assessment of the Sources and Uses of Gulag Forced Labour 1925, 56." Soviet Studies, 33-1, (January 1981), 51-87. John Getty's Origins of the Great Purges, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Robert McNeal's Stalin, Man and Ruler. (New York: St.Anthony's/Macmillan, 1988) Robert Thurston " Fear and Belief in the USSR's 'Great Terror,' Response to Arrest, 1935-1939." Slavic Review 45, 2 Summer (1986) 213-234. Stephen Wheatcroft " On Assessing the Size of Forced Concentration Camp Labour in the Soviet Union, 1929-56." Soviet Studies, 33, #2 (April 1981), 265-295.

[29] Schapiro, op. cit., p.361.

[30] Thomas Rigby, Lenin's Government: Sovnarkom 1917-1922. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.185.

[31] Rigby, op.cit., p.238.

[32] George Leggett, The Cheka: Lenin's Political Police: The All Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter Revolution and Sabotage December 1917 to February 1922. (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press,1981), p.362. Most future references to Leggett will refer to the aforementioned book, unless otherwise specified. In a similar manner Lennard Gerson maintains, that " The secret police developed into a pillar of the Soviet state with Lenin's support and approval. . . without the apparatus of repression created by Lenin [Stalin] would have been deprived of a key weapon in his drive for absolute power." in The Secret Police in Lenin's Russia. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), pp.271-272. Unless specified, all future references to Gerson will refer to The Secret Police in Lenin's Russia. Furthermore, Ronald Hingley concurs that, " the true author of the Soviet secret police terror was not Stalin, but Lenin" in The Russian Secret Police: Muscovite, Imperial, Russian and Soviet Political Security Operations. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), p.130.

[33] Service. op. cit., p.211.

[34] Sakwa, op. cit., p.277. Furthermore, John Dziak argues that " New relationships of state to society with no restraints on the former; state directed terror, the infallibility not merely of the party but state security as well; and the fixation with forced confession as the determinant of guilt - these were the legacies that made the latter phenomenon of Stalinism possible." in Chekisty A History of the KGB. (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988.), p.16.

[35] Schapiro, op. cit., pp.354-355. E. G. Gimpelson, " Iz Istorii obrazovaniia odnopartinnoi sistemy v SSSR." V I KPSS, 11, (1965), pp,14-15.

[36] Sakwa, op. cit., p.181.

CHAPTER ONE

Without any experience in the practice of government, the Bolsheviks embarked on their vision of transforming Russia into the world's first socialist state. To attain this vision required destroying the repressive social, economic and political underpinnings of the existing capitalist system and eventually establishing a communist society. An amalgam of Marxist-Leninist writings, lessons from the Paris Commune of 1871, and practical experience acquired through governing Soviet Russia shaped Bolshevik policies and aims. Nevertheless, the mechanism that would finesse entry into this future communist society was an adaptation of Marx's " dictatorship of the proletariat."[1] The exact contours of this theoretical, transitional period were left vague, but it was " stamped with the birth marks of the old society [and] is a fairly grim vision of unrestrained political authority marked by relative material scarcity in which all are made employees of the state. "[2] Throughout the entire early soviet period the Bolsheviks had to balance the long term goal of transforming Russia into a communist society with the short term exigencies of remaining in power. A focus on the Moscow Cheka illustrates how the Bolsheviks balanced the role of ideology and the impact of circumstances in the establishment of Soviet rule. Because the Moscow Cheka was created as a subsidiary of the ubiquitous security agency, the Vecheka, an analysis of the roots, composition and organization of the Moscow Cheka begins with its parent organization.

Opinions differ as to whether the original project for the Vecheka was essentially the brainchild of Lenin, as Soviet spokespeople maintain, or of Feliks Dzerzhinsky, its first Chairman.[3] To decide if Lenin or Dzerzhinsky initiated the Vecheka concept partly depends on one's perception of whether Lenin's pre-October writings advocated the introduction of the political police system. Despite Leggett's claim of Lenin's " consistency in his pre-October theoretical and practical writings on this topic," the verdict is uncertain.[4] As early as 1901 Lenin wrote: " In principle we have never rejected, and cannot reject, terror. Terror is one of the forms of military action that may be perfectly suitable and even essential at a definite juncture in the battle, given a definite state of the troops and the existence of definite conditions."[5] In his treatise The State and Revolution, composed in August- September 1917 and first published in 1918, Lenin argued that " the exploiters are unable to suppress the people without a highly complex machine for performing this task, but the people can suppress the exploiters even with a very simple 'machine,' almost without a 'machine,' without

a special apparatus, by the simple organization of the armed people."[6] This quote has been interpreted either as evidence of Lenin's desire to form a people's militia or a secret police organization.[7] However, Lenin in his pre-October statements seems to show little desire to restore a political police apparatus. Lenin's general comments about revenge against the Tsarist system and its supporters, must be separated from allusions to a specific state security apparatus. In the summer of 1917 it seems that Lenin sincerely believed that a people's militia would fulfill all security functions:

> [We need] A genuine *People' s* militia, i. e. one that, firstly consists of the *entire* population, of all adult citizens of *both* sexes; and, secondly, one that combines the functions of a people's army with police functions, with the functions of the chief and fundamental organ of public order and public administration.[8]

Granted, it would have been inadmissible to suggest creating an institution that paralleled the hated Okhrana. It must be emphasized that many Bolsheviks, including Lenin, sincerely believed that the October Revolution would be the catalyst for revolution throughout Europe. Ostensibly, this revolution would make the formation of an institutionalized political police and a regular army apparatus redundant. Nevertheless, reality modified the existing Bolshevik ideology about the proper form of organizations in the early Soviet state. For example, the Red Army was initially structured " on the voluntary system and 'mutual comradely respect,' breaking decisively with the 'old system,' but during the early stages of the civil war, a lack of volunteers and the chaos caused by elective command, forced disbanding the " militia army " and a professional Red Army was introduced.[9] Similarly, in the regular police sphere a volunteer 'Workers' Militia' run by the local soviets proved ineffective and was soon replaced by a regular, centrally controlled police organization, the ' Workers' and Peasants' Militia.' [10]

From the available evidence Dzerzhinsky, not Lenin, was the main instigator of the Vecheka concept. An overview of Dzerzhinsky's exemplary revolutionary record reveals not only how he was instrumental in creating the Vecheka but why he was selected as chairman. When he was released from Moscow's Butyrki prison on March 1, 1917, he was almost forty years old and had given twenty two years to the revolutionary movement. Arrested six times by the Tsarist authorities, he spent over eleven years (three of them doing hard labour) in prisons or Siberian exile.[11] Because of the continual pattern of arrest, imprisonment, followed by escape or release, Dzerzhinsky only had two significant periods of liberty in his adult life, June 1902-June

1905 and late 1909-September 1912. It was during this second period of freedom that he worked " quietly and even conspiratorially " on the formation of a special party investigation commission to uncover agents provocateurs within the Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL.)[12] This commission became an instrument of factional politics and ironically Dzerzhinsky wrongfully accused Joseph Unshlikht, his future Vecheka deputy, of being an Okhrana agent.[13]

Dzerzhinsky's penchant for security matters was expanded during 1917 when he headed special commissions within the Moscow Bolshevik Party to develop the Bolshevik Military Organisation and Red Guard in this region as well as raising the Red Guard and garrison troops in Petrograd to repel the Kornilov insurrection. However, Dzerzhinsky's experience as a leading member in the Military Revolutionary Committee (M. R. C.) was probably the decisive factor, because it not only " testified to the fact that the defense of the conquests of the October Revolution would be in safe hands," but greatly expanded his organizational skills:

> [Dzerzhinsky] organized and supervised the guarding of wine cellars and the requisitioning of goods from profiteers, and sanctioned meetings and assemblies; he helped organize the defence of the country's state borders, was in charge of dispatching armaments and propaganda literature to the provinces and supplying army units and offices with food, clothes, and fuel; he instituted the search for valuables stolen from the Winter Palace etc. [14]

Furthermore, it was " he [Dzerzhinsky] who was charged by the Sovnarkom to propose measures to deal with the crippling strikes, and his were the practical recommendations accepted by the Sovnarkom."[15] Conversely, Soviet commentators have found it expedient to link the founding of the Vecheka with Lenin's note to Dzerzhinsky, because it contained the general 'quotable' preamble of drafting " exceptional measures to combat counter-revolutionaries and saboteurs."[16] Significantly, while Lenin's note was solely concerned with punishing the striking civil servants; (recommendations headed under this topic) Dzerzhinsky's recommendations, accepted by the Sovnarkom, urged the formation of a broad, centralised, security commission which became the foundation of the Vecheka:

> The commission's tasks:
> 1 To suppress and liquidate all attempts and acts of counter-revolution and sabotage throughout Russia, from whatever quarter.
> 2. To hand over for trial by revolutionary tribunal all saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries, and to work out means of combating them.
> 3. The Commission solely carries out preliminary investigation, in so far as this is necessary for suppression.[17]

Interestingly, the appellation "Extraordinary Commission" (Cheka) was the term used by Dzerzhinsky when he initiated his own intra-party investigation of agents-provocateurs within the SDKPiL.[18]

According to the latest, official biography of Dzerzhinsky, he was " appointed by the Party and by Lenin personally as head of the . . . Vecheka."[19] Lenin attested, that " We must find a staunch proletarian Jacobin," and Luncharski and Kuzmin proposed Dzerzhinsky's candidature.[20] However, Dzerzhinsky did not have a proletarian background because he was born into the Polish intelligentsia and gentry class or *szlachta.* In some respects the selection of this 'honorary' proletarian was surprising because Dzerzhinsky was Polish and neither an " Old Bolshevik " (joined the Bolshevik party in 1917) nor a 'Leninist.' Despite official statements that " Dzerzhynski was a consistent and firm Leninist " his political activities before 1917 suggest the contrary.[21] One interpretation suggests that " Dzerzhinsky faced little competition, if any, for the job [because] other prominent Bolsheviks shunned the idea of service in the Extraordinary Commission. . . "[22] This is a possibility, but when Dzerzhinsky was appointed chairman of the Vecheka, this body was only a hastily improvised investigative commission - its ominous reputation developed later.

Numerous investigative and security bodies existed in the fall of 1917. Most authors have emphasized the link between the Vecheka and the Military Revolutionary Committee (M.R.C.)[23] The M. R. C. was essentially a temporary apparatus that implemented a broad range of security and public order matters and existed until its functions could be transferred to the regular departments of state, the People's Commissariats. The Vecheka would fill the operational and administrative void that would remain after the dissolution of the M. R. C. One Soviet commentator states, " With the passage of time, the Military Revolutionary Committee became unnecessary and in December 1917. . . the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission was set up to deal with counterrevolution, sabotage and speculation."[24]

Nevertheless, despite a traditional focus on the M. R. C., more emphasis needs to be placed on the parallels between the Red Guards and the Vecheka. In terms of the rationale, functions and personnel there was a high degree of continuity between these two organizations. The broad aims of the Red Guards were to " maintain public order and security [and] defend against counterrevolution, protect the gains of the Revolution, and advance worker interests."[25] The formation of the Vecheka, it was claimed, " signified the emergence of state security bodies of a new, socialist type which protected the achievements of the revolution,

the vital interests of the working class, the peasantry and all toiling people."[26] According to Rex Wade's Red Guards and Workers' Militias in the Russian Revolution the fundamental features of the Red Guards in 1917 were: " their voluntary, self-formed and self-directed nature; their intensely local, usually factory orientation, their hostile attitude toward established political authority; and their volatile and crisis oriented membership."[27] Many Red Guards joined the Cheka to continue their revolutionary activity but were compelled to adjust to becoming protectors of an existing political system. This re-orientation required a dramatic shift in structure and mentality. Nevertheless, many references exist to the participation of the Red Guards in the formation of the Vecheka apparatus.[28] From my biographical sample approximately twenty-five per cent (46 of 183) of the Chekists had participated in either the Red Guards or the M. R. C. (See Appendix 1)

The main institutional antecedents of the Vecheka were the M. R. C. and the Red Guard. However, unlike them, the Vecheka commenced operation in a special status, formally attached to the Sovnarkom. Why was the Vecheka not officially institutionalized as a People's Commissariat, subordinated to the NKVD (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs), which controlled the regular police and militia, or made accountable to the VTs IK (All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets)? Possibly, the Vecheka was not attached to the VTs IK because of the multi-party nature of this forum, with strong Left SR representation, and the chance that dissenting Mensheviks and Right SRs might resume their positions.[29] With Dzerzhinsky being a founding collegium member of the NKVD and integrally involved in reorganizing the Petrograd militia, the most logical subordination of the Cheka would have been to this Commissariat. In fact, under the conditions of the 6 February 1922 decree the Cheka was renamed the GPU (State Political Administration) and it was reorganized under the rubric of the NKVD. A high ranking political police official later candidly argued that:

> If the Left Socialist Revolutionaries entered the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, what kind of struggle with counterrevolution would there be? Therefore the thoughts of the leadership began to work in a different direction - the necessity of creating a special extraordinary organ of struggle with counterrevolution, not a commissariat, but a commission, from which the Left Socialist Revolutionaries could be excluded, and, if let in, then not on the basis of a demand on their part, but on the basis of business-like considerations.[30]

This argument partly falters on the fact that members of the Left SR's party were soon co-opted into the Vecheka Collegium.[31] Ideally the Bolsheviks would probably have desired a purely Bolshevik Vecheka Collegium, but to broaden the legitimacy of this new Soviet government Left SR's were encouraged to join. Furthermore, the decision to include Left SR's in the Cheka organizations was probably also due to the chronic personnel shortages faced by Bolshevik government. Creating a separate commissariat or subordinating the Vecheka to the NKVD would have given the uncomfortable impression that this socialist government was regularizing its political police apparatus. Instead by " giving it the status of an 'extraordinary' agency, and by attaching it to the Sovnarkom, the Bolsheviks demonstrated the Vecheka's temporary, exceptional nature, while stressing its direct supervision, by the highest and most responsible government body."[32]

Organizational matters aside, in retrospect, the need to develop a large state security organization somewhat negates the idea that Russia had developed the sufficient 'conditions' to sustain a socialist revolution. The creation of a political police network can be interpreted as subordinating a basic principle of the communist project to immediate necessities. The official Soviet explanation is that the Cheka apparatus represented a " new, socialist type " of state security body.[33] However, the Bolshevik leaders faced imminent loss of power in the winter of 1917-1918. This fledging government faced the passive, but damaging resistance by remnants of the Tsarist bureaucracy, uprisings on the part of anti-Bolshevik political parties and groups, as well as the collapse of 'revolutionary discipline' among the populace. A centralised security agency was needed, but whether public order and security functions could have been handled by the NKVD is a moot point.

Nevertheless, on the internal front the task of defending the revolution was primarily assumed by the Vecheka. When the Vecheka Collegium moved from the Smolny Institute to its new headquarters in Petrograd at number 2 Gorokokhovaia Street, its operation began modestly: all the office supplies were initially transported in Dzerzhinsky's briefcase; the budget was only one thousand rubles; and the entire staff consisted of twenty-three people, including secretaries and couriers.[34] To facilitate the growth of Soviet power, 'Extraordinary Commissions' were established in 1918, throughout Soviet territory. In early March 1918 the Moscow Cheka was formed by the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee under Martyn Latsis.[35]

With the removal of the Smolny government to Moscow on 10 March 1918, and with it the Vecheka, the two bodies were united on 19 March and the staff of the Moscow Cheka joined the larger body. Formally, the Vecheka was subordinate not only to the Sovnarkom but also to the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee.[36]

It was only in November 1918 that Moscow received its own separate city Cheka (MChK). The proliferation of provincial, city and local Chekas throughout 1918 necessitated that the Vecheka concentrate more of its attention on administering this network as a whole. The Moscow Soviet decided that the city needed its own Cheka to " maintain control over the local Chekas, " and in early December 1918 the Moscow Cheka began operation, headed by F. E. Dzerzhinsky, with the collegium of B. A. Breslav, Y. M. Yurovski, V. N. Manstev and S. A. Messing.[37] The exact division of powers and functions between the Vecheka's central headquarters in Moscow and the Moscow Cheka is difficult. Formally, the Moscow Cheka was made responsible for " all matters dealing with the struggle against counter-revolution, speculation and malfeasance in the city of Moscow " and was given " all rights conferred upon provincial Extraordinary Commissions."[38] The acquisition of quasi-provincial powers attests to the special status which the Moscow Cheka enjoyed. In principle the Cheka organizations operated on the basis of a hierarchical chain of command that made each Cheka organ subordinate to the next higher one. Although the Vecheka became a controlling body over the local Chekas, it " still handled the most important cases."[39] While a vociferous debate ensued between the NKVD, NKIu (People's Commissariat of Justice) and the Vecheka, only glimpses of the institutional rivalry between the Moscow Cheka and the Vecheka exist. As Lennard Gerson accurately surmises, the " ambitions and rivalries of the top echelons of the secret police are not evident on the basis of available information."[40]

Organizationally speaking the Moscow Cheka would acquire numerous functions that facilitated the growth of many interchangeable departments, subdepartments and sections, etc. According to the Guide to Central and Local Institutions of the RSFSR, Party Organisations and Trade Unions issued by the VTsIK Information Department in Moscow, and dated 22 January 1920, the following picture emerges:

Secret Operational Department. The Department's seven sections dealt with (1) speculation, (2) misconduct in office, (3) counter-revolution, (4) operational support, (5) intelligence procurement, (6) supervision of stores in Moscow, (7) direction of Moscow area politburos (raionnye politbiuro.)

Investigation Department. Functions: investigation of persons under arrest, and passing of verdict on each completed case.

Administrative Department. (Bolshaia Lubianka 7) : Functions: provision of accommodation, repairs, heating, lighting, canteens, feeding of prisoners, custody of prisoners' belongings,etc.

Commandant's Department. Functions: protection of M-Cheka, issue of passes to visitors, receipt of correspondence and parcels for prisoners.

Information Bureau. Functions: dealt with enquiries about prisoners, issued passes to prison visitors etc.

Special Department. (Bolshaia Lubianka, Bolshoi Kiselnyi Pereulok 15) Functions: Combating of espionage, counter-revolution, and misconduct in office in the armed forces; included an office issuing passes for entry into the military front zone.[41]

Conversely, from the Soviet Publication Krasnaia Moskva, 1917-1920 also published in 1920, the following is the stated organizational structure of the Moscow Cheka:

1. General Department comprised of:

   a. Presidium
   b. Special Group attached to Presidium
   c. Commandant
   d. Prison Section
   e. Butyrki Prison
   f. Combined Garage
   g. Photography
   h. Switchboard

2. Registration- Information Statistics Department
3. Special Department
4. Speculation Department
5. Counter-revolutionary Department
6. Politburo
7. Economic Department
8. Criminal Department

The Moscow Cheka remained in this state without any serious alterations until June 1920, when the Moscow Cheka (MChk) and Guberniia Cheka (GChk) were merged. Associated with this merging was the final dissolution of the Criminal Department and the organization of a Legal Bureau and an Information Bureau.[42]

Although both organizational structures describing the Moscow Cheka were published in 1920, the former chronologically precedes the latter.[43]

To describe the known organizational characteristics of the Moscow Cheka is relatively simple compared to finding and analysing members of this organization. To facilitate this process, the largest known prosopographic study of Chekists has been compiled. Due to the nature of studying a political police apparatus, implementing the advantages of social history methods is difficult. This combination of social and political history, even with this topic, will hopefully prove that these approaches can comfortably co-exist. This prosopographic approach is beneficial because " an understanding of who the actors were will go far toward explaining the workings of the institution to which they belonged, will reveal the true objectives behind the flow of political rhetoric and will enable us to better understand their achievement, and more correctly to interpret the documents they produced."[44] Nevertheless, there are limitations to this approach. With the secrecy surrounding the political police, it is impossible to verify what percentage of Chekists are represented in this sample, or to check, for example, to what extent 'rank and file' (whomever this term actually represents) are found in this study. It is questionable whether this recorded minority is a genuine random sample of the whole. The very fact that these Chekists were recorded in biographies, suggests that they were in some respect atypical. These Chekists were primarily found in the following primary and secondary sources: V. I. Alidin's M Chk Iz istorii moskovskoi chrezvychainoi komissii 1918-1921 gg. (Moscow, 1978), V. A. Kutuzov's Chekisty Petrograda: Na Strazhe Revoliutsii (Moscow, 1988), George Leggett's The Cheka: Lenin's Political Police (Oxford, 1981), Heinrich Schultz's (editor) Who Was Who in the USSR (Munich, 1972), Harold Shukman's (editor) The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the Russian Revolution (Oxford, 1988), and Joseph Wieczynski's (editor) The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History (Florida, 1976). From this information the following categories have been pursued: patronymic and given names; sex; date of birth; ethnic origin; social origin; original political party; date joined the S.D.P.; membership in either the Red Guards or Military Revolutionary Committees; and the Cheka Category. The following provides a brief overview of why the categories were selected and the criteria used to classify the Chekists.

Certain biographical information, date of birth, sex, ethnic and social origin was included to record their personal particulars so that general characteristics can be adduced. Date of birth was also included to test the image that Chekists were very young (usually defined as youths under 20) and the date at which they joined the Party. The sex classification was pursued to ascertain the ratio of men to women in the various Cheka organizations. As will be shown, the criterion for selecting social and ethnic origin is considerably more difficult.

The social origin of the listed Chekists has been determined by identifying the family occupation, usually the father's, and / or their *soslovie* (Tsarist social legal category.)[45] From this information the Chekist will usually fall into one of the following six broad categories: peasant; worker; white collar worker; bourgeois; bourgeois-intelligentsia or gentry. Many of these categories are vague and elusive but the following guidelines have been used. All the various types of peasants, including farm labourers, will be included under the broad category of peasants.[46] In terms of defining the working class, (*rabochii klass*) Soviet studies generally apply a very narrow definition, virtually equating it with factory workers.[47] Diane Koenker contends that workers can be grouped into three major categories: factory workers, artisans and those employed in transport and other services, but she does not include white collar workers (*sluzhashie.*)[48] Alternatively, Victoria Bonnell utilizes a broader working class definition that includes:

> a multiplicity of groups in manufacturing, sales-clerical, construction, transportation, communication, and service occupations who belonged to the hired labor force and were engaged in manual or low level white collar jobs [49]

The latter definition is generally employed in this study and higher level white collar workers are placed in a separate category. Artisans (*remeslenniki*) will be included in the working class but unfortunately not all cities had a separate legal category for *remeslenniki.* A broader category of *meshchane*, (townspeople) roughly corresponding to the petty bourgeoisie, could also include the *remeslenniki.* [50] The white collar workers found in this study can be divided into two broad groups, the *gosudarstvennye sluzhashie* (government officials) and *zemski sluzhashie* (employees in Zemstvo institutions - teachers, physicians, agronomists, statisticians, clerks and so on.)[51]

Because the bourgeoisie technically embraces all those people between the nobility and the workers (including peasants) it is an elusive category, but for the purposes of this study it includes both 'upper' and

'lower' or petty bourgeoisie.[52] The bourgeois-intelligentsia includes that sector of society who prior to 1917 held " radical left-wing views [and] were highly critical of the tsarist regime."[53] The final classification employed is the *pomeshchiki* or noble landowning class. Overall, the main purpose of this category is to analyse both the social origins of various types of Chekists and test the Soviet claim that the ranks of Cheka were largely comprised of 'proletarian elements.'[54]

Known ethnic origin of the Chekists has been listed in the tables. This classification was pursued because of the widely held belief that the Cheka apparatus was predominantly comprised of non-Great Russian ethnic minorities, particularly, Latvians, Poles and Jews. Examples of references to ethnic minorities in the Cheka ranks abound in both memoir and secondary literature. For example, George Popoff, a journalist arrested by the Moscow Cheka, contends that " some hundreds of Chinese, Letts, Magyars and Caucasians form the corps of executioners' assistants," while another contemporary, Vladimir Got'e, described the Cheka organizations as dens " filled with Latvian urchins and Latvian wenches."[55] This study will test George Leggett's argument that there existed a "striking racial heterogeneity at the summit, a diversity that is also evident among Chekist rank and file."[56] It is possible that the perception of non-Russians was highly exaggerated. Ethnic origin has been ascertained through a combination of the following: references in primary and secondary sources; the region where the Chekist was born and the given and patronymic names.[57] Unfortunately, many authors when discussing national origin often note non-Russian Chekists but frequently assume and fail to categorically record Russian Chekists.

Information about membership in the Party is not necessarily the Bolshevik Party; it refers more broadly to the Social Democratic Party, whether of Russia (including both the Menshevik and Bolshevik wings), Poland, Latvia, etc. To partly remedy this vagueness known association with the Mensheviks, SR's, or other political parties has been compiled in the category of original political party. This category also tests the 'purity' and background of the Chekists. For example, Feliks Dzerzhinsky only officially joined the Bolshevik party in August 1917, but his membership is backdated to 1895, when he entered the newly formed Lithuanian Social Democratic Party.[58] The Bolshevik Party was renamed the Russian Communist Party in March 1918 and those who joined in 1918, or later, specifically joined the Communist Party. Chekists who joined the Bolshevik Party and when they joined will be analysed. This study will test the Soviet declaration

that " Many of them [Chekists] had joined the Bolshevik Party even [my emphasis] before October [1917]."[59] As will be shown many Chekists joined in 1917 or later. There are obviously different attitudes, motives, and degrees of commitment involved in belonging to a legal, political party that has assumed control, than in joining an illegal, underground party.

Participation in either the Red Guards or Military Revolutionary Committees (M.R.C.) was noted to provide insights into the background of the Chekists. Was participation in either the Red Guards or M. R. C. typical for most Chekists? Many high level officials in the Cheka apparatus came from the Petrograd M. R. C. and its ancillary commissions. Six of the ten members of the originally constituted Vecheka Collegium were members of the M. R. C., and three of the M. R. C.'s eight man liquidation commission entered the Vecheka Collegium within a few days.[60]

Finally, to differentiate between the various types of Cheka organizations, four membership categories exist: Moscow Cheka; Petrograd Cheka; Vecheka Collegium and other. These divisions were employed to provide comparisons between the two main city Chekas - Moscow and Petrograd. Members of the Vecheka Collegium were separated to provide insights into not only the Cheka hierarchy but to contrast their background and experience with the other Cheka groups. To extend the sample, members of the remaining Provincial and Urban Chekas have been included under the label of 'other' Chekists.

The general picture that emerges from this prosopographic study suggests that the Moscow Chekists were predominantly young male Russian workers limited in party experience. Although numerous colourful tales of female Chekists exist in the literature, statistically speaking, they only comprised of a minority, in all levels in this organization.[61] From the entire sample of one hundred and eighty three people there were only nine women (see Appendix 5.) Of these nine women, four worked in the Moscow Cheka and five in the Petrograd Cheka (each representing less than ten percent of the sample.) Although some women attained leadership positions in the Cheka hierarchy, Varvara Iakovleva was the only woman who entered the Vecheka Collegium.[62] There is no formal indication that women were either encouraged or discouraged to join the Cheka apparatus. The paucity of female Chekists, especially at the higher levels, perhaps confirms the belief that many Bolshevik leaders, despite proclamations of equality, relegated women party members to inferior positions.[63] Unfortunately, the two main historians of the Cheka, George Leggett and Lennard Gerson, fail

to discuss why only a small minority of women worked in this organization or why those who did join, generally did not assume leadership positions. Female participation was low in other party and state organizations. Women comprised of a small proportion of the Bolshevik party, representing only 13 per cent of the joint Moscow Party Organization in August 1920.[64] The percentage of women in Bolshevik executive bodies was even lower. Throughout the 1917-1921 period on average only 4 per cent of the Moscow Soviet plenum was female.[65] In light of the burden placed on women during this period of extreme economic chaos and deprivation, the standard view that women were " politically apathetic " and marked by " passivity and lack of consciousness " should be modified.[66] In 1920 Amercian journalist, Marguerite Harrison, described the plight of Muscovite women:

> When you work from six to eight hours a day, spend three or four standing in line outside one of the cooperatives waiting for food and clothing issued on cards, or dragging a hand sled loaded with wood for several versts, cook your own meals, feeding four mouths where there is enough for two you have little time for anything else.[67]

The participation of young people in the ranks of the Cheka was striking. Using 1918 as the year of entry into the Cheka, almost ninety five percent (174 of 183) of the Chekists were under forty years of age. However, the impression that the Chekists were very young is not confirmed by the statistics: only seven people were under the age of twenty. Although it only operated in an auxiliary role, the Moscow Cheka actively sought co-operation from Komsomol (Communist Youth organization) members, and this may have contributed to the perception that many Chekists were very young.[68] The age composition of the Moscow Cheka was as follows:

Age	Number of People
Under 20:	3
Between 20-29:	30
Between 30-39:	26
Over 40:	3
Total	62

These figures also mirror the age breakdown of the Petrograd Cheka, but not the Vecheka Collegium.[69] The average age of both a Moscow and Petrograd Chekist was twenty nine, whereas the average age of a Vecheka Collegium member was thirty three. This is predictable because the executive body of the Cheka organization would be expected to have the most mature, experienced personnel. While increased age does not

necessarily ensure maturity, it is difficult to calculate the exact impact that youthfulness had on the organization. Many assumptions are made about the behaviour of young people that are hard to verify.[70] From available demographic material the relatively young age of most Chekists was consistent with the general population. Both before and after the revolution, Moscow's population was quite young with 60 per cent of the residents in both eras being less than thirty years old.[71]

Similarly, the numerous references to ethnic minorities in the Cheka organizations only gain validity if their presence was significantly different from the local population. Although, the Moscow Cheka personnel reflected a diverse ethnic background, 'Great Russians' dominated. The approximate ethnic breakdown of the Moscow organization was:

Ethnic Origin	Number of People
Russian	34
Latvian	9
Jewish	8
Polish	6
Belorussian	4
Armenian	1

In this study Latvians formed the largest minority nationality group in all four categories of the Cheka organization. According to S. P. Melgounov, a Muscovite historian, " the Muscovite Che-ka came to be known as "the Lettish Colony," A propos of the attraction which the institutions of Moscow had for Latvia's population, the Bulletin of the Left Social Revolutionary Party remarked: " Letts flock to the Extraordinary Commission of Moscow as folk emigrate to America, and for the same reason - to make their fortunes."[72] The impression that many Latvians worked for the Moscow Cheka is also due to the fact the Latvian Strelki frequently acted as Chekist auxiliaries, although technically they were not integral members of the Cheka.[73] Because no special Chekist uniform existed, it is possible that the general populace was unaware of this 'technical' distinction.

Latvian, Jewish, Polish and Ukrainian Chekists comprised the four major ethnic groups.[74] Jewish Chekists generally formed the second largest minority group and this can partly be explained by the fact the lifting of residence restrictions in the Pale of the Settlement saw the proportion of Jews rise seven-fold in

Moscow to reach 28,016 by 1920, the largest single minority (2.8 per cent of the population.)[75] It has been suggested that Feliks Dzerzhinsky's Jewish affiliations, which included numerous relationships with Jewish revolutionaries (six of the eight top leaders in the SDKPiL were Jewish), significantly affected the hiring of Jewish personnel.[76] Some evidence of Dzerzhinsky's hostility towards Russians exists. In an interview in 1922 Dzerzhinsky described Tsarist persecution and occupation of Polish Lithuania and admitted that " as a young boy, I dreamt of the cap of invisibility and of killing all Muscovites."[77] More generally, the perception that many ethnic minorities worked in the Cheka apparatus is partly due to the fact that Moscow " took on a more cosmopolitan flavour with the proportion of national minorities rising from 4.8 per cent in 1912 to 15 per cent of the population in 1920."[78] Using the 15 per cent figure, the Moscow Chekists still had a disproportionate number of ethnic minorities in their ranks (Russians 55 per cent versus non-Russian 45 per cent approximately.) This broadly translates into ethnic minorities having triple the representation in this organization compared to their local population base. This over-representation is consistent with the other Cheka organizations.[79]

The Vecheka Collegium is the only organization where Russians were in a slight minority (49 per cent.) George Leggett's supposition that " not more than seven of the top twenty Chekists were of pure Great Russian ethnic origin " is not consistent in this larger sample, with 17 of the 35 Collegium members being Russian.[80] While the aforementioned statistics seem to substantiate the belief that large numbers of ethnic minorities worked for the Cheka, Leggett seems to exaggerate their relative proportion in the hierarchy.

Despite attempting to find the ratio of Russian to non-Russian Chekists, one is still dealing with the public perception that ethnic minorities dominated the ranks. Collegium members were probably the most visible Chekists to the general public and the combination of a Polish chairman, Dzerzhinsky, and two Latvian deputies, Latsis and Peters, possibly accentuated the belief that ethnic minorities 'controlled' the Cheka apparatus. As Lennard Gerson argues," [it] was no wonder, therefore, that many native Russians came to view the secret police as an alien occupying force."[81] The critical question is whether there was a deliberate policy to hire non-Russians. Naturally, there is an absence of documentary proof that the recruitment of ethnic minorities was a desired or deliberate policy. Unfortunately, only vague information about hiring procedures exist.[82] What is known is that the Politburo members were aware of this imbalance

in some areas and sought to alleviate the 'problem.' The following discussion is from the 18 April 1919 Politburo meeting:

> that Latvians and Jews constituted a vast percentage of those employed in Cheka frontal zone units, Executive Committees in frontal zones and the rear, and in Soviet establishments at the center; that the percentage of them at the front itself was comparatively small one; that strong chauvinist agitation on this subject was being carried on among the Red Army men and finding a certain response there; and that, in Comrade Trotsky's opinion, a reallocation of Party personnel was essential to achieve a more even distribution of Party workers of all nationalities between the front and the rear.[83]

Deciding if deliberately hiring minority groups was a rational policy depends on one's perception of the role of the secret police. Bromage suggests that " Lenin chose non-Russians to do the punitive work; [because] if any crisis of resentment should arise these foreigners would be useful scapegoats."[84] Considering the crisis-ridden early Soviet regime, it is highly unlikely that Lenin would have had the time to 'select' many Chekists. Leggett's interpretation, that " Very probably such discriminatory staffing sprang from a deliberate policy of using national minorities or aliens to perform the Chekas' disagreeable tasks, on the calculation that such detached elements could be better trusted not to sympathize with the repressed local population," is not entirely convincing.[85] As will be shown the Cheka methods of operation did not solely rely on intimidation and coercion; co-operation from the public was also sought. The Soviet press was replete with suggestions to 'help' the Cheka discover criminals. After Trotsky's Politburo protest, the Kiev Cheka received an order prohibiting the appointment of Jews to top Cheka posts, and requiring, for propaganda reasons, the token execution of Jews (previously only one Jew had been executed by the Kiev Cheka.)[86] This example highlights the fact the Cheka organizations did not operate in a vacuum, public opinion, if only for reasons of political expediency, was heeded. No known order applied to the Moscow Cheka, but the Moscow Cheka's well publicized attacks on Zionist organizations were perhaps an effort to appear 'impartial.'[87]

To analyse the ethnicity of the Moscow Chekists and its subsequent impact on organizational behavior is difficult. Similarly, ascertaining the social origins of these members and discovering their impact is problematic. The breakdown of both the Petrograd and Moscow Cheka generally does support the contention of a " distinctly proletarian Chekist rank and file."[88] The known social origin profile of the Moscow Cheka is as follows:

Social Origin	Number of People
Peasant	7
Worker	15
White Collar Worker	3
Bourgeois	3
Bourgeois-Intelligentsia	4
Gentry	1

From the above figures Moscow Chekists with a peasant background were approximately 21 percent of the total, workers 45 percent, white collar workers 9 percent, bourgeois 9 percent, bourgeois-intelligentsia 12 percent and gentry 3 percent. Although those from a working class background were the single largest group, it is possible that the Chekists exaggerated their 'proletarian' background. A comparison of the Moscow Party Organization by class composition and occupation in 1920 revealed that while about half claimed to be worker by class, only just over a fifth were employed in a manual profession.[89] The main distinction between the Moscow and Petrograd city chekas was that Petrograd had a preponderance of members from a peasant background. The social breakdown of the city chekas does not mirror the Vecheka Collegium.

It is clear from the following statistics that a Vecheka Collegium member was more likely to be bourgeois or bourgeois-intelligentsia in social origin, than either a Moscow or Petrograd Chekist. However, this breakdown does not support Leggett's findings that fifty-five per cent of the Collegium were from a bourgeois, principally bourgeois-intelligentsia background. From the known social origin profile of the Vecheka Collegium, members with a peasant background were approximately 23 per cent of the total, workers 27 per cent, white collar workers 4 per cent, bourgeois 7.5 per cent, bourgeois-intelligentsia 31 per cent and the gentry 7.5 per cent: [90]

Social Origin	Number of People
Peasant	6
Worker	7
White Collar Worker	1
Bourgeois	2
Bourgeois Intelligentsia	8
Gentry	2

This mirrors the leadership of both the Bolshevik and Menshevik Parties who were predominantly bourgeois in origin, and support's Lenin's maxim that political consciousness does not arise spontaneously within the workers, but " can be brought to the workers only from the outside."[91]

The characteristic which most likely ensured entry into the Vecheka Collegium was length of party membership. On average a Vecheka Collegium member entered the Social Democratic Party in 1907, a Moscow Chekist in 1913 and a Petrograd Chekist in 1914. Overall, these figures broadly translate into a Collegium member in 1918 having eleven years of party experience, a Moscow Chekist five years and a Petrograd Chekist four years. In terms of the average age they joined the S. D. P., Collegium members were twenty two, Moscow Chekists were twenty four and Petrograd Chekists were twenty five. From this study most Chekists eventually joined the Bolshevik Party (176 of 183 or ninety six percent.) In some of the state biographies party membership was mentioned but no date of entry was given. Yakov Peters boasted that, the " best Party forces were found in the Cheka;" while only " 4-6 per cent of all Red Army soldiers and 5-6 per cent of all government employees were Communists, 65 per cent of all Chekists in 1918 and 50 per cent in 1920 were communists and sympathizers."[92] No definition of who qualifies as a 'sympathizer' is given. Nevertheless, in terms of Moscow these figures do not correspond to Sakwa's findings that by August 1920, over a quarter of the Moscow party was involved in office work and a fifth belonged to the Red Army.[93] In the Moscow Cheka over ninety per cent of the personnel joined the Bolshevik Party and compared to the local population this was a privileged and virtually exclusive membership. During the early soviet period, Moscow party membership never represented more than a small proportion of the population because there was only one communist for every sixty two of the independent population in 1918 and by September 1920 this had increased to one communist for every twenty two.[94]

Discovering when the Chekists joined the Bolshevik party is as important as analysing the proportion of Chekists with party membership. In all Cheka organizations the year 1917 saw a dramatic entry into the Bolshevik Party that surpassed all previous and subsequent years under consideration. In the entire study 50 out of 176 Chekists joined in 1917 (see Figure 1.1.) This tendency is also found in the Moscow and Petrograd Chekas where respectively 19 out of 59 (thirty two per cent) and 18 out of 35 (fifty- one per cent) joined in the year 1917 (see Figures 1.2 and 1.3.) The Vecheka Collegium had the least significant

increase in 1917 among its members. Party membership was steady and relatively constant (see Figure 1.4.) Although it is difficult to separate the pre-and post October entries in 1917, it would seem that joining the Bolshevik party in 1917 was a more promising prospect than in any other previous year. The fact that many Chekists joined the Bolshevik party in 1917 is not unusual because of the massive local and national increase in party membership.[95] In terms of the proportion who joined in 1917 or later, overall this accounted for almost half of the total (82 of 179), over half in both Moscow and Petrograd (respectively 30 of 59 and 31 of 55), but less than a fifth (7 of 34) of all Vecheka Collegium members. Succinctly, Moscow and Petrograd Chekists were not long term party activists. Although it is too simplistic to surmise that most of those who joined in 1917 or later were 'careerists' or 'opportunists', these Chekists constituted a different brand of Bolsheviks who generally did not endure tsarist imprisonment and persecution. From this larger sample, with over fifty per cent of Moscow Chekists joining in 1917 or later, this study seems to refute Adelman's figure that over seventy per cent (24/33) of the leaders of the Moscow Cheka in the civil war had joined the party before October 1917. His figures are derived from the biographies in Alidin's M Chk but Adelman only selects 33 out of the 36 listed to make his calculations.[96] Many Moscow Chekists joined the party organization in 1917 or later, and this pattern was consistent with the findings of the August 1920 re-registration which stated that a substantial majority of the Moscow Party Organization (84 per cent) had joined after October 1917.[97]

In general these statistics suggest that members of the Vecheka Collegium showed more dedication to the Bolshevik Party because on average they joined at an earlier age, amassed over ten years of party experience by 1917 and over eighty per cent (27 of 34) joined before 1917. One factor which tests long term dedication to the Bolshevik Party is political affiliation or membership in another political party. Overall this was not a typical occurrence with only ten per cent of the Chekists being members of other political parties. These ten members consisted of seven SR's, six SDKPiL members, five Mensheviks, an Anarchist and a Bundist. Interestingly, twenty per cent of Vecheka Collegium members had previous political party affiliations (three SR's, two Mensheviks, and two SDKPiL members.) In the Moscow Cheka there existed six SDKPiL members, two SR's, one Menshevik and one Bundist while the Petrograd Cheka had one Menshevik and two SR's. Information about non-Bolshevik political affiliations may have been suppressed, for reasons of

political expediency, by officials and by Chekists. Consequently, these political affiliation figures may be deflated.

Coupled with the image of party experience among Chekists, the impression that many participated in either the Red Guards and or the Military Revolutionary Committees (M. R. C.'s) is somewhat valid. The overall study reveals that approximately a quarter (46 of 183) of the Chekists belonged to either the Red Guards or M. R. C.'s. In the Moscow Cheka the percentage was even higher with 15 out of 62 members participating in both, whereas in Petrograd 14 out of 35 Chekists were Red Guards. Most Collegium members were in the M. R. C. and a few were in the Red Guards. The significance of this factor is that a fairly large proportion of Chekists had some degree of experience in these quasi military organizations. Time in these organizations developed skills, experience and a certain mentality that both facilitated and hampered their adjustment to working in the Cheka apparatus.[98]

In terms of other prior experience, a widely held belief existed that many Chekists were former employees of Tsarist security agencies. Popoff contends that " Not without cause are fifty per cent of the Tchekists former gendarmes and heroes of the Ochrana," while Adelman argues, that " given the harsh repression and infiltration of the Bolsheviks by the Okhrana, it was inadmissible to use more than a handful of men from the Okhrana in the secret police."[99] Neither generalization is validated, but it seems the Cheka leaders adopted a pragmatic approach to former Tsarist officials:

> Thus, as early as February 1919, with civil war raging on several fronts, a Vecheka order authorized the release from confinement of former police officers whose loyalty to the republic could be vouched for by local party organizations.[100]

Significantly, the Bolshevik regime was interested in a compositional breakdown of their institutions. In August 1918 a survey was conducted by the Commission for the Verification of Soviet Employees. Because the Vecheka and Moscow Cheka were merged at this juncture, it provides some insights into both organizations. While the exact number of security police officials were not specified, from a total of approximately 750-800 Vecheka employees, 16.1 per cent or 125 people were "former people."[101] The Vecheka had the second lowest proportion of former employees of the Tsarist regime and the Supreme Military Council contained the lowest (only 12 persons or 8.5 per cent of the total.)[102] In terms of former *chinovniki* (officials of the Tsarist government per se), Vecheka employed 2, while 14 served in the NKVD

(Commissariat for Internal Affairs) and 39 in the NKIu (Commissariat of Justice.)[103] Unfortunately, the mechanics of how the survey was conducted is not given, but it does seem to indicate that the most 'sensitive' organizations contained the lowest proportion of former Tsarist employees. Nevertheless, that 16.1 per cent of the Vecheka were former employees of the Tsarist regime seems a large proportion and suggests that the Bolsheviks sacrificed, at least initially, some measure of dubious loyalty for expertise and knowledge - even in the Vecheka.

Accepting that approximately 750-800 Vecheka employees existed in the summer of 1918, the number that transferred to the newly formed Moscow Cheka in December is unknown. However, recalling that the Moscow Cheka enjoyed provincial status, the Vecheka instruction of 1 December 1918 suggested the following personnel distribution:[104]

Provincial Cheka personnel:

General Office	23
Commandant's Department	16
Legal Department	12
Secret (Secret Operational) Department	26
Territorial Liaison Department	20
Total:	97 (say 100)

To calculate the Cheka personnel strength is always difficult because reliable and comprehensive data is not available. Leggett suggests that as of 1 January 1919 the Moscow Cheka contained 300 members compared to Petrograd's estimated 400 members.[105] With the Vecheka also located in Moscow one would expect a smaller Moscow Cheka than a Petrograd Cheka. By the end of the civil war the staff of the Moscow Cheka was reported to have been 4,000 strong, falling to 600 in February 1922 after its reorganization as the GPU (State Political Administration.)[106] However, despite the reliability of the source material, if the Moscow Cheka expanded from 300 members in January 1919 to 4,000 by January 1921, this incredible growth testifies to its high priority level during the civil war.

The previous background on the Moscow Cheka in terms of its roots, personnel composition and organizational structure should provide a basis for the core of the thesis, the economic and political role exercised by the Moscow Cheka in the early Soviet regime. Feliks Dzerzhinsky, who initiated the Vecheka, would continue his position as chairman of the Vecheka while assuming the added responsibility of chairing

the Moscow Cheka. This testifies to the importance of the Moscow Cheka. The prosopographic study of the Moscow Chekists suggests that they were predominantly young Russian males from a working class background with limited Bolshevik party experience. Gradually, between 1918-1921, the recruits were younger, had no or little party experience, and were more likely to be from a peasant or working class background.[107] To accommodate the numerous functions that occupied the Moscow Cheka, the organizational structure would become a flexible array of interchangeable departments, subdepartments and sections.

Figure 1.1

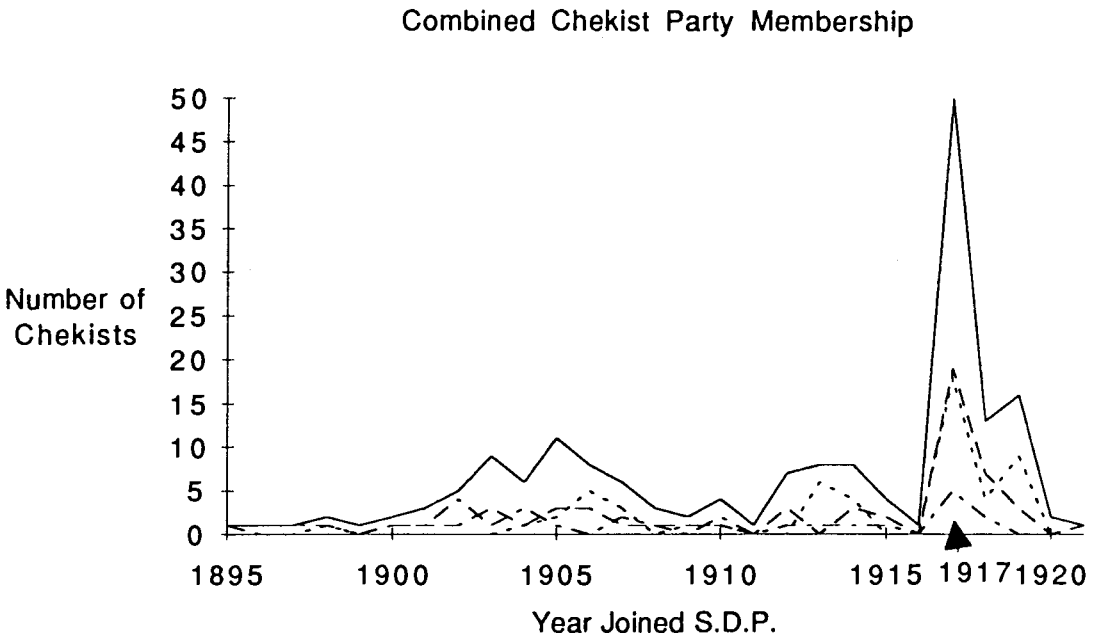

Combined Chekist Party Membership
Number of Chekists
50
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1895
1900
1905
1910
1915
1917
1920
Year Joined S.D.P.

Figure 1.2


Moscow Chekist Party Membership
Number of Chekists
20
18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
1895
1900
1905
1910
1915
1917
1920
Year Joined S.D.P.

Figure 1.3

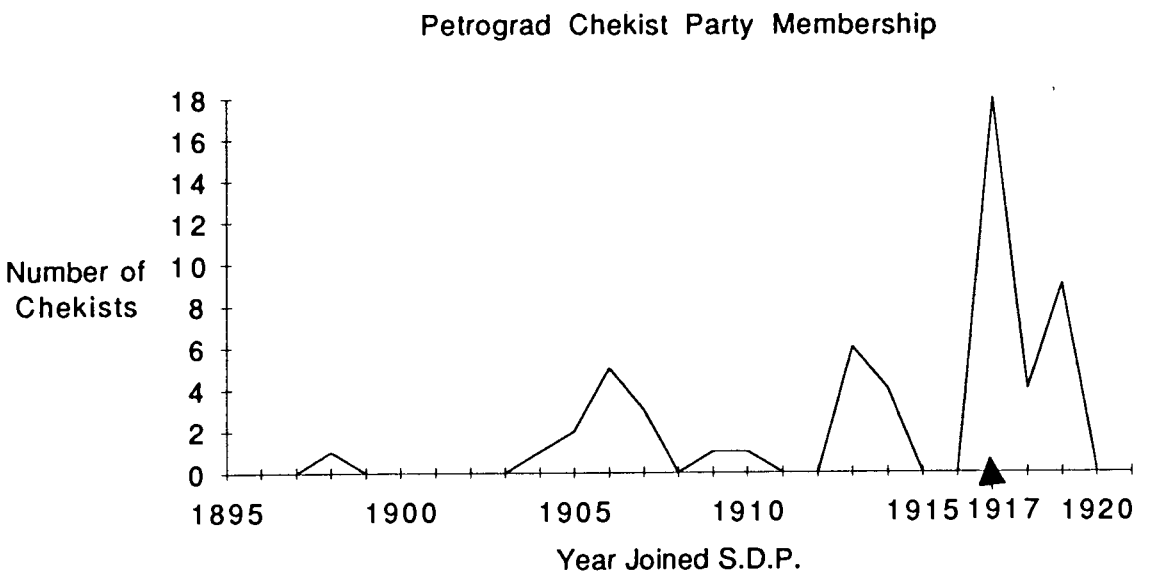
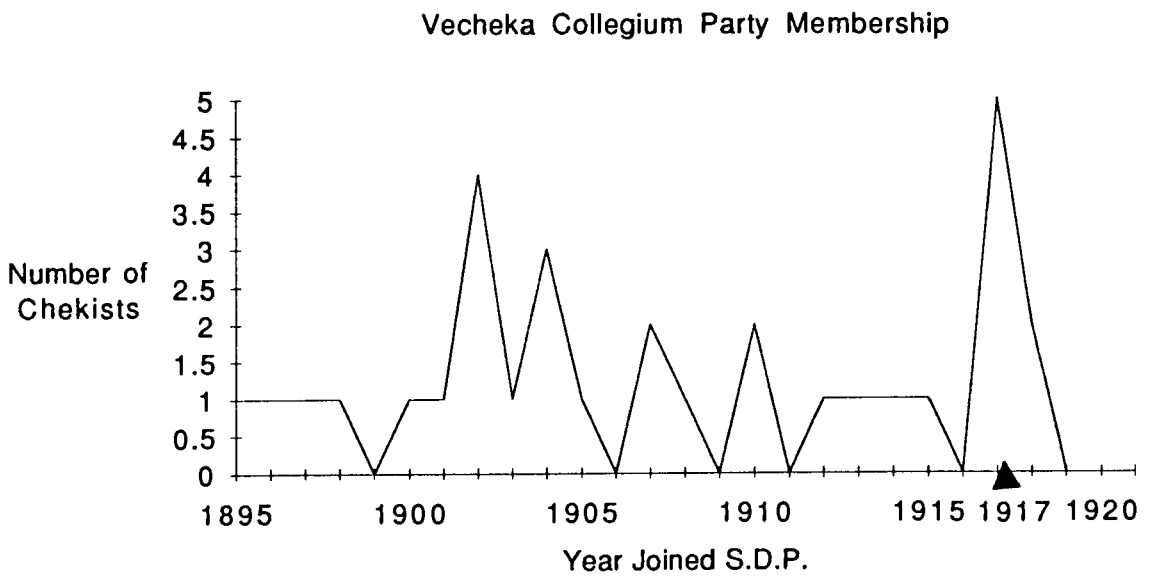

Petrograd Chekist Party Membership
Number of Chekists
18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
1895
1900
1905
1910
1915
1917
1920
Year Joined S.D.P.

Figure 1.4


Vecheka Collegium Party Membership
Number of Chekists
5
4.5
4
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
0.5
0
1895
1900
1905
1910
1915
1917
1920
Year Joined S.D.P.

[1] More specifically Marx argued that following the revolution there would be a " political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." "Critique of the Gotha Programme," Selected Works (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1968), p.331

[2] Sakwa, op.cit., p.3.

[3] From the Soviet perspective, Malkov, op. cit., p.67 declares, that " at Lenin's initiative, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) was set up to deal with counter revolution, sabotage and malfeasance." Michael Heller " Lenin and the Cheka: The Real Lenin, " Survey, 24, Spring (1979), p.178 implies Lenin. Ronald Hingley, The Russian Secret Police: Muscovite, Imperial, Russian and Soviet Political Security Operations, 1565-1970. (London: Hutchinson and Co. Ltd., 1971), p.119 is not explicit but leans towards Dzerzhinsky. This view is shared by E. J. Scott " The Cheka and A Crisis of Communist Conscience." Soviet Affairs, Number One, (1956), p.3 " It was apparently as a result of Dzerzhinsky's proposal that the Cheka was organized." and George Leggett concurs, op. cit., p.19. Some authors stress the culpability of both, " It must be stressed that this was all the creation of Lenin and Dzerzhinsky, " John Dziak, Chekisty, A History of the KGB (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), p.15 and Lennard Gerson is inconsistent, he stresses that Dzerzhinsky was " its architect and master builder, " but also " When . . . Lenin decided to create an institution capable of defending Soviet Power on the internal front, he entrusted the task to . . . Felixs Edmundovich Dzerzhinsky." op. cit., p.8

[4] Leggett, op. cit., p.xxx.

[5] V. I. Lenin Collected Works (Moscow, 1960-1970), V, p.19.

[6] V.I. Lenin Collected Works (Moscow, 1960-1970), XXV, p.463.

[7] Leggett, op. cit., p.xxix contends the implied " machine" is the peoples' militia while Gerson, op. cit., p.6 upholds the latter view that this statement foreshadows the creation of the Vecheka. E. J. Scott, argues, that " Whether or not Lenin played a direct part in establishing the Cheka, he had long been supplying, in his writings on the theory and tactics of the revolution, the theoretical arguments which were used to justify its creation." op. cit., p.2. Scott's claim is poorly validated with references of revenge against the Tsarist system but no explicit quote that suggests the creation of a political police apparatus.

[8] Lenin's Collected Works, Vol. XXXI, pp.41-42.

[9] J. Erickson in Shukman, op. cit., p.186. Also see Rex Wade Red Guards and Workers' Militias in the Russian Revolution. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), p.318.

[10] Krasnaia Moskva, 1917-1920 gg, Editors L. Kamenev and N. Angarskii (Moscow: Gosudarstvennaia obraztsovaia tipografiia, 1920), cols. 635- 636. Leggett, op. cit., p.xxxi. Further examples of Bolshevik idealism include: the Poles would recognize the troops as proletarian brothers rather than Russian aggressors; rampant inflation and currency devaluation was confused with the withering away of money; and some Bolsheviks saw orphans as a blessing in disguise because the state could give the children a true collectivist upbringing, in Sheila Fitzpatrick The Russian Revolution, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 76.

[11] Leggett, op. cit., pp.22-23. For an indication of Dzerzhinsky's life as a revolutionary also see Gerson, op. cit., pp. 8-15; C. C. Khromov (editor) Feliks Dzerzhinsky: A Biography. Trans. Natalie Belskaya. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1988), ch.2 - 3; and all of Robert Blobaum's Feliks Dsiersynski and the SDKPiL : A Study of the Origins of Polish Communism. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.)

[12] Blobaum, op.cit., p.182.

[13] Blobaum, op. cit., p.210.

[14] A. V. Tishkov, Pervyi Chekist (Dzerzhinskii) (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1968), p.5. Long quotation from Khromov, op. cit., pp.83-84.

[15] Leggett, op. cit., p.19.

[16] Leggett, op. cit., p.19.

[17] Leggett, op. cit., p.17, Gerson, op.cit., pp.25-26.

[18] Blobaum,op. cit., p.210

[19] Khromov, op. cit., p.6.

[20] Brian Freemantle KGB, (London: Michael Joseph/ Rainbird Ltd., 1982), p.21.

[21] Khromov, op.cit., p.8. " Dzerzynski consistently opposed Lenin on such crucial issues as the national question, the agrarian question, the relationship between the Party and affiliated trade unions, Bolshevik support for 'expropriations' and other so called 'partisan' activities. . . he stubbornly defended the independence and integrity of the SDKPiL against Lenin's encroachments in 1903 and again in 1911 [also] shared the 'errors' and 'theoretical deviations' of what communist historians have termed 'Luxemburgism.' Blobaum, op. cit., p.230; p.4.

[22] Gerson, op. cit., p.24. This view is shared by I. Steinberg In the Workshop of Revolution. Trans. Peter Sedgewick. (New York: Rhinehart Co., 1955) p.221.

[23] This includes the ancillary commissions of the M.R.C.: "the Military Investigation Commission, the Supervisory Commission for the Press, the Commission for Checking Credentials of Smolny Personnel, the Commission for Reorganising the Security of Petrograd, and the Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage." Leggett, op. cit., p.7. For an emphasis on the M. R. C./ Vecheka link see Leggett, op. cit., pp.6-18, Gerson, op. cit., p.22, and E. J. Scott, op. cit., pp.2-3.

[24] Malkov, op. cit., p.67. Unfortunately, he does not elaborate what made the M.R.C. "unnecessary."

[25] Rex Wade, op.cit., pp.302-303.

[26] Khromov, op. cit., p.86.

[27] Wade, op. cit., p.311.

[28] Wade, op. cit., p.314, Gerson, op. cit., p.25, Leggett, op. cit., p.32, Khromov, op. cit., p.86.

[29] Leggett, op . cit., p.21.

[30] Latsis, " Tov. Dzerzhinskii i VChk," Proletarskaia revoliutsiia, no. 56 (1926), p.82.

31 Leggett, op. cit., p.21.

32 Leggett, op. cit., p.21.

33 Khromov, op. cit., p.86.

34 Gerson, op. cit., p.25.

35 V. I. Alidin et al. (editors) M Chk - iz istorii Moskovskoi chrezvychainoi komissii 1918-1921gg.: dokumenty (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo, 1978), p.5.

36 Alidin, M Chk, p.5.

37 Sakwa, op. cit., p.172. The full title of the Moscow Cheka was the Moscow Extraordinary Commission for combating counter-revolution, speculation, and malfeasance (MChk)- (Moskovskaia Chrezvychainaia Komissiia po borbe s kontrrevoliutsiei, spekuliatsiei, sabotazhem i prestupleniiami po dolzhnosti.)

38 Belov et al. op. cit., pp.238-240 and 247. Originally published in Izvestiia, no. 1 [January 1 1919] and no. 22 [February 31, 1919.]

39 Sakwa, op. cit., p.172.

40 Gerson, op. cit., p.xiv.

41 The entire organizational structure is derived from Leggett, op. cit., pp.218-219.

42 The complete organizational structure has been reproduced from Krasnaia Moskva, column, 635.

43 The RSFSR Guide was dated January 1920 while the Krasnaia Moskva source described the June 1920 merging and therefore probably contained latter information about the Moscow Cheka.

44 Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography" in Historical Studies Today Editors Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), p.114.

45 It is impossible to use the Tsarist classification in its entirety because no new social or legal category of 'worker' was created to include them in the social hierarchy. Shukman, op. cit., p.4. For a concise discussion of the various *soslovnye* groups see Sergei Pushkarev, Dictionary of Russian Historical Terms From the Eleventh Century to 1917, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970), pp.137-139. According to official statistics the percentages of the different *soslovnye* group around 1900 were as follows: peasants, 77.1 percent; *meshchane* (townspeople), 10.7; *inorodtsy* (native tribes and peoples) 6.6; cossacks, 2.3; nobility and officialdom, 1.5; clergy, 0.5; merchants and *pochetnye grazhdane* (distinguished citizens) 0.5; others, Pushkarev, op.cit., p.139.

46 See Pushkarev, op. cit., pp.46-48 for a brief description of the legal categories for peasants.

47 Victoria Bonnell, The Roots of Rebellion: Workers' Politics and Organizations in St. Petersburg and Moscow, 1900-1914, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p.21, footnote 4, p.22. It is significant that in Krasnaia Moskva, col.634 the arrestees are divided by the following occupational groups: workers, (*rabochi*) artisans, (*remeslenniki*) white collar workers, (*sluzhashchie*) merchants, (*torgovets*) and those from indeterminable occupations (*bez opredelenni zanyati*)

[48] Diane Koenker, Moscow Workers and the 1917 Revolution (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp.25-26. The explanations given for not including the *sluzhashchie* are partly ideological and the autonomous nature of white collar workers (separate associations from factory workers and artisans etc)

[49] Bonnell, op. cit., p.24. Furthermore, types of workers are included in Table 1-1, Koenker, op cit., p.23.

[50] Koenker, op. cit., fn. 87, p.53. In the eighteenth century *meshchane* was used in two senses: either it meant the entire commercial-artisan class in the towns and cities, or in a limited sense it designated only the lower groups of the city population, the petty tradesmen, craftsmen and the like. Gradually during the nineteenth century it assumed the latter meaning, Pushkarev, op. cit., pp.59-60.

[51] Pushkarev, op. cit., p.129.

[52] Barbara McCrea, Jack Plan and George Klein The Soviet and East European Dictionary, (Santa Barbara and Oxford: ABC CLIO Information Services, 1984), p.38.

[53] John Paxton, Companion to Russian History. (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1983), p.174.

[54] For example in February 1920 Dzerzhinsky claimed that, " No where, in any institution, is there such a percentage of worker-Communists as in ours." G. A. Belov et al. Iz Istorii Vserossiiskoi Chrezvychainoi komissii 1917-1921 gg. Sbornik Dokumentov, (Moscow: Gosizdatel'stvo, 1958), p.361. Kremlin Commandant, Pavel Malkov, described Moscow Chekists, as " all courageous combatants, men with initiative and chiefly of working class origin."op. cit., p.145.

[55] George Popoff, The Tcheka: The Red Inquisition. (London: A. M. Philpot Ltd., 1925),p.133, Got'e op. cit., p.248, and see pp. 329, 401. For further evidence of the image of many ethnic groups in the Cheka ranks see: Bromage, op. cit., p.147; Dziak op.cit., p.44; Andrew Ezergailis The Latvian Impact on the Bolshevik Revolution. The First Phase: September 1917 to April 1918.(New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), pp.178, 252, 289-291; Gary Waxmonsky, Police and Politics in Soviet Society, 1921-1929. PhD Dissertation No. DA8216292 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982),p.40 and George Leggett, op.cit., ch. 12.

[56] Leggett, op. cit., p.260.

[57] The 1988 Petrograd Chekisty was forthright about both the ethnic and social origin of their members but Alidin's 1978 M Chk (Moscow Cheka) failed to supply such information in their biographies.pp.304-308.

[58] Blobaum, op.cit., p.2, Leggett, op. cit.,p.257.

[59] Malkov, op.cit., p.145. Also see Dzerzhinsky in Belov op.cit., p.361.

[60] Leggett, op. cit., p.20.

[61] The proportion of women in the Moscow Cheka should have increased because of Red Army levies, the flight of males to their villages, and higher male death rates created an unprecedented higher ratio of women to men. See Chase, op. cit., p.75, Sakwa, op.cit., p.37. Female Cheka exploits described in S.P. Melgounov, The Red Terror in Russia, Trans. C. J. Hogarth, (London: J.M. Dent , 1925), pp. 166, 195, 198, 199, 200, and 203.

62 V. N. Iakovleva was also Chairman of the Petrograd Cheka and Vera Braude was Deputy Chairman of the Kazan Provincial Cheka. E. D. Stasova and Berta Ratner were Petrograd Presidium members and N. A. Roslavets was a Moscow Collegium member, Leggett, op. cit., pp.262-262.

63 In discussing E. D. Stasova, a prominent, experienced party activist, Erickson contends, that " It is not at all clear from published sources whether her failure to achieve a more prominent position stemmed from her own limitations or from an implicit tendency in the party to promote men in preference to women, both before October and after." Shukman, op. cit., p.380. This supposition may have applied to many women Chekists.

64 Sakwa, op. cit., p.158 and see p.159 for an age and sex structure breakdown of the MPO in August 1920.

65 Sakwa, op.cit., p.180 and plenum participation figures, between 1917-1921, found in Table 6.1 page 169.

66 Harrison, op. cit., p.82 and Sakwa, op.cit., p.212.

67 Harrison, op. cit., p.82

68 Alidin, MChk, p.165.

69

Petrograd Cheka		Vecheka Collegium	
Under 20	3	Under 20	0
Between 20-29	28	Between 20-29	10
Between 30-39	21	Between 30-39	19
Over 40	2	Over 40	6
Total	54	Total	35

70 " Young workers tend to be more extremist than older workers for the same reason they are more active: they have less to lose by such radical behavior." Koenker, op. cit., p.27.

71 Chase, op. cit., p.75, Koenker, op. cit., pp.82-83.

72 S. P. Melgounov, op. cit., p.249. It should also be stressed that some Chekists were a mixture of nationality groups.

73 Ezergailis, op.cit., p.291 and Malkov, op. cit., pp.70, 198, and 229.

74

Cheka Organizations		Petrograd Cheka		Vecheka Collegium	
Russian	106	Russian	36	Russian	17
Latvian	19	Latvian	6	Latvian	4
Jewish	17	Ukrainian	4	Polish	4
Polish	10	Jewish	3	Jewish	3
Ukrainian	9	Estonian	3	Ukrainian	2
Belorussian	7	Polish	2	Georgian	2
Estonian	4	Belorussian	2	Armenian	1
Georgian	4	Azerbaijani	1	Belorussian	1
Armenian	3	Italian-Swiss	1		
Azerbaijani	3				
Hungarian	1				
Italian-Swiss	1				

[75] Sakwa., op. cit., p.36. Also, the fact that many Jews became revolutionaries, and in numbers out of all proportion to the relative size of their population in Russia, is well documented. Leggett, op.cit., p.263, Gerson. op. cit., p.60, Shukman. op. cit., p.210.

[76] Leggett, op.cit., pp. 24-25. It should be stressed that the SDKPiL operated in the Vilna area which had a large Jewish population and generally Blobaum states that, the "influence of the the Jewish socialist movement on Dzierzynski was of fundamental importance." op cit., p.225.

[77] Recorded by Mickiewicz-Kapsukas, the Lithuanian and communist leader, in Blobaum op. cit., p.24.

[78] Sakwa, op. cit., p.36. Because of the evacuation of the western provinces, an increasing number of non-Russian workers Letts, Poles and Lithuanians resided in Moscow. Koenker, op. cit., p.20.

[79] The overall Cheka study reveals that Russians comprised of 57 per cent versus non-Russian representation at 43 per cent. In the Petrograd Cheka the figures were Russians 62 per cent , non-Russians 38 per cent. In the Vecheka Collegium 49 per cent were Russian compared to 51 per cent non-Russian.

[80] Leggett, op. cit., p.257.

[81] Gerson, op. cit., p.60.

[82] Although vague about the exact mechanisms Yakov Peters suggested that a " careful selection of personnel staff " existed, quoted in Waxmonsky, op.cit., p.48 while Steinberg, Left SR Justice Minister, contended that " Chekists of middle and lower strata were haphazardly chosen from semi-ideological and semi-adventurist elements," op.cit., p.222.

[83] Politburo minutes quoted in Jan Meijer (editor) The Trotsky Papers 1917-1919, Volume 1, (The Hague, London, Paris: Mouton and Co, 1964), pp.360-363.

[84] Bromage, op.cit., p.147.

[85] Leggett, op. cit., p.263.

[86] S. P. Melgounov (editor) of documents entitled " Chekist o Ch.K, " in Na chuzhoi storone, Vol. 1X, (1925) pp.132 and 137.

[87] Alidin, M Chk, p.229. The V Cheka Circular document partly deals with policies towards Zionists and is quoted in Sotsialisticheskii vestnik, no.5 (April 5, 1921), pp.12-14 and partly reproduced in Latsis, Chrezvychainye komissii, pp.56-57. Complex factors influenced the Bolshevik treatment of Zionists see Shukman, op.cit., pp. 211-213.

[88] Leggett, op. cit., p.262. The social origin profile of the Petrograd Cheka is as follows:

Social Origin	Number of People
Peasant	24
Worker	19
Bourgeois	1
Bourgeois-Intelligentsia	5
Gentry	1
Unknown	5

89 Sakwa, op.cit., p.162.

90 Leggett's study of twenty top Chekists found 11 of the 20 belonged to the bourgeoisie or bourgeoisie-intelligentsia., op. cit., p.257.

91 Leggett op.cit., p.257.

92 Adelman, op.cit., p.82.

93 Sakwa, op. cit., p.162 and graph of MPO members by profession in August 1920, p.163.

94 Sakwa, op.cit., p.158.

95 Thomas Rigby Communist Party Membership in the USSR, 1917-1967 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968), p.85. Massive MPO growth from 600 members in February 1917 to 17,306 members in October 1920 occurred, Sakwa, op. cit., p.135.

96 Adelman, Communist Terror, pp.81-82. See Alidin's MChk, pp.304-308.

97 Sakwa, op.cit., p.137.

98 In the Vecheka Collegium fourteen were in the M. R. C., 3 in the Red Guards and 2 in both, Evseev and Dzerzhinsky. The Red Guards were distinguished by: " their voluntary, self-formed and self-directed nature; their intensely local, usually factory orientation, their hostile attitude toward established political authority; and their volatile and crisis oriented membership." Wade, op.cit., p.311.

99 Popoff, op. cit., p.9. and Adelman, Communist Terror, p.79. " Most of the Tchekists are from the old police and gendarmery." Ransome, op. cit., p.65.

100 Latsis, Chrezvychainye komissii, p.53. Similarly, an NKVD directive limited the retention of former police personnel to " exceptional instances " where the individual was deemed indispensable, Waxmonsky, op.cit., p.38.

101 M. P. Iroshnikov Sozdanie sovetskogo gosudarstvennogo apparata: sovet narodnykh komissarov i narodnye komissariaty, (Moscow and Leningrad: Izdatelstva Nauka, 1966), p.53. Vecheka document of 10 June 1918 argued that the staff totalled 1,000, Leggett op.cit., p.99.

102 Iroshnikov, op.cit., p.57.

103 Iroshnikov, op.cit., p.57.

104 Indebted to Leggett. op. cit., p.99.

105 Leggett,op. cit., p.100.

106 From a confidential intelligence service report February 14, 1922, forwarded to the State Department by the U.S. Commissioner in Riga. M 313, reel #80. 861.041/10, p.2 in Waxmonsky op.cit, p.97.

107 Most Chekists spent extended periods with the Red Army and to isolate major trends and changes in four years is difficult.

CHAPTER TWO

Moscow became a devastated city that had witnessed unprecedented chaos and misery between the October Revolution in 1917 and the inauguration of the New Economic Policy in March 1921. The deprivations of war, economic collapse and Bolshevik policies all contributed to a cold, hungry and hostile populace that had plummeted to almost half the size it had been in 1917.[1] At no point between October 1917 and March 1921 did Muscovites receive adequate food rations.[2] The single most important reason for the collapse of Moscow's economy was the deterioration of the nation's transport system, especially the railroad.[3] To briefly summarize the complex economic crisis, there existed chronic shortages of fuel, raw materials, manufactured goods and particularly food, which all contributed to growing inflation and declining productivity.[4] Accordingly, the Cheka organizations formed bodies to monitor transportation, food, fuel etc and the severity of the economic crisis gradually increased the Moscow Cheka's policing role in these areas. The present chapter will analyse the economic and social role exercised by the Moscow Cheka. Despite a belief that the Chekas primarily monitored political dissent, the main role of the Moscow Cheka, at least, was policing the local economy. It is striking that almost 80% of the cases handled by the Moscow Cheka involved economic crimes, for example, speculation and malfeasance. The latter is included in an economic category because malfeasance usually involved some form of speculation - purloining goods from Soviet depots, irregular transactions, and forgery etc.[5]

However, the Moscow Cheka's initial contribution to the defence of Soviet Russia was to reduce the common crime rate, which was escalating with the deteriorating economic situation. In 1918 the steepest recorded rise in crime occurred; the murder rate was eleven times greater than in 1917 and the robbery rate was 285 times greater.[6] The Moscow Chekists were obliged to devote much time and energy to these criminals because the existing police and judicial agencies were weak and unreliable. According to a Moscow Cheka spokesperson, the " first step was the conscientious investigation and disclosure of the contact between banditry and many within the Criminal Investigation Department owing to material interests [my emphasis.]"[7] The following is a breakdown of those arrested for the various types of criminal activity between 1 December 1918 and 1 November 1920:

TABLE 2.1 ARRESTED AND EXECUTED 'COMMON CRIMINALS, 1918-1920[8]

ARRESTED	NUMBERS
For Banditry	543
For Storing Weapons	218
Counterfeiter	111
Forged Documents	765
Organized Swindling (at games)	890
Escaping or Assisting Escapees	117
Suspicious Individuals	987
Other offences	2166
Total:	2644
EXECUTED	
For Banditry:	338
Counterfeiting:	13
Forging Documents:	8
For Escaping:	10
Total:	369

From Table 2.1 it is clear that 'banditry' was perceived as the most serious offence with the death penalty applied to 62 per cent of the offenders (338 of the 543.) What type of crime would denote the category 'suspicious individuals' is unclear; that most were arrested under no official category is striking.

This initial preoccupation with common crime was reflected in the large proportion of cases handled by the Moscow Cheka in the first half of 1919.[9] Until May 1919, of the 2391 cases investigated by this agency, 1092 or almost half (47 per cent) involved common crime. But in the late summer of 1919 a drastic turning point occurred and the the number of criminal cases plummeted to only 14 per cent of the total. From this point until November 1920 criminal cases never constituted more than 20 per cent of Moscow Cheka arrests. Although the percentage of arrests declined, in terms of evaluating the success of the Moscow Cheka in dealing with this category, the actual numbers arrested remained fairly constant (see Table 2.7.) Beginning in August 1919, a large decline in the percentage of criminal cases occurred; this coincided with a steep rise in the number and percentage of those arrested for speculation and malfeasance (817 to 3136 arrested - from 27 per cent to 56 per cent of the total.) This dramatic switch is partly due to the fact that harvesting season began in August and therefore Muscovites had more opportunity to engage in illicit trade or speculation. The official explanation for this turning point is that the campaign against speculation began slowly because Vecheka agents were also working in Moscow and this " left very little material for the Moscow Cheka."[10] The previous admission provides a glimpse at the institutional rivalry between the

Moscow Cheka and the Vecheka competing for the same resources. Chronic personnel shortages plagued the Moscow Cheka and initially the Speculation Department, for example, was apparently only comprised of seven " responsible workers."[11]

That the campaign against speculation and malfeasance constituted the main function of the Moscow Cheka is primarily due to the supply policies of the early Soviet regime. The main objectives of Soviet supply policies were to concentrate the scarce resources in the hands of the state with the double aim of ensuring at least a minimum level of food for key sectors of the population and of eliminating commodity exchange or free market.[12] A central part of 'dictatorship of the proletariat' entailed a violent class struggle that stipulated that the most effective way of destroying the bourgeoisie as a class was to destroy their economic base. Market relations would be replaced by state-controlled rationing which was ideologically attractive to many Bolsheviks. However, the Soviet authorities did not provide even a subsistence level of food and supplies through rationing; this caused an illegal 'second' economy to flourish.

The Moscow Chekists' primary role was to control this illegal economy. The Vecheka was overburdened with Moscow speculators and this was part of the rationale given for creating a separate Moscow Cheka to assume this role.[13] The aforementioned figure that 80 per cent of the cases handled by the Moscow Cheka involved economic matters is complemented by other state sources which cited economic crimes- robbery, theft, appropriations, and swindling as accounting for 90 per cent of the city's reported crime.[14] Menshevik David Dallin captures the essence of the word 'speculation' which became the economic equivalent of the word 'counter-revolution' in the political sphere:

> Speculation has grown to such an extent as never before. You say that it is a small fault of the mechanism. Hurry. Shoot. That is not terrible, we've got used to it. Speculation is the surrogate that you have created for the bourgeoisie.[15]

The epitome of the free market and synonymous with 'speculation' was the Sukharevka, a bustling, perpetually crowded market square to the north-east of Moscow city center. Smaller markets, for example, Okhotny market, close to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, Smolensky market, and smaller ones on Tver street and around the Arbat also thrived (see Map 2.) Emma Goldman, an American Anarchist, provides the following description of the Sukharevka:

> Here gathered proletarian and aristocrat, Communist and bourgeois, peasant and intellectual. Here they were bound by the common desire to sell and buy, to trade and bargain. Here one could find for sale a rusty iron pot alongside of an exquisite ikon; an old pair of shoes and intricately worked lace; a few yards of cheap calico and a beautiful old Persian shawl. The rich of yesterday, hungry emaciated, denuding themselves of their last glories; the rich of today buying - it was indeed an amazing picture of revolutionary Russia.[16]

Between 1 December 1918 and 1 November 1920 the Moscow Cheka allegedly arrested 26,692 for speculation and from this figure 17,870 alone, were arrested by the Sukharevka Subdepartment.[17] An indication of the importance of the markets for the Muscovites is the estimate that in 1918 and 1919, Muscovites spent about about three quarters of their wages on food, half of which they purchased at private markets.[18]

Although the government supply monopoly covered most foods and all non- co-operative trade and eating establishments, it seems curious that these markets were allowed to operate. No working definition of what constituted illegal trade can be given because the Soviet authorities adopted a pragmatic approach to private trade. At various times during the civil war the government and the Moscow Soviet legalised the so-called *meshochniki* , (bagmen) a system where people were permitted to bring grain (usually with an upper limit of 1.5 poods or 24 kg) into Moscow. The *meshochniki* or *polutorapudniki* (one and a half poodniks) included not only professional entrepreneurs, but 'ordinary' peasants, workers, merchants and Soviet employees etc.[19] Technically, all forms of illicit trading could be classified as speculation and the Soviet authorities did not always distinguish between a professional trader (usually 'unemployed') and those who were trading for personal or family consumption.

The campaign for universal employment was linked with the offensive against the speculators. According to Krasnaia Moskva a compilation of arrested speculators by occupation revealed that by far the largest group (42 per cent) had no defined occupation (see Table 2.3.) This complements the report in April 1920 that claimed up to a fifth of the guberniia's (province) population lived a 'parasitical existence' (unemployed.)[20] By 1920 all Muscovites were legally required to have a labour book which, was a " record of every step one made, and without it no step could be made. It bound its holder to his job, to the city he lived in, and to the room he occupied, it recorded one's political faith and party adherence, and the number of times arrested. . ."[21] If the authorities enforced these regulations then this should have helped eliminate private trade. Monitoring the employment record of Muscovites was a recurring problem and a note from

Lenin in January 1920 still urged the Moscow Cheka to provide a " responsible, experienced party investigator to look into the completely unsatisfactory state of labour duty in Moscow."[22]

As the economic crises accelerated, a growing militarization of labour was officially sanctioned. The Ninth Party Congress in January 1920 adopted Trotsky's thesis on compulsory labour which stressed that it was essential to draw skilled and experienced workers back into industry by gradually recalling them from the army, food detachments, state institutions, and the ranks of the peasantry and speculators.[23] The Cheka was intricately involved in this militarization of labour policy because on 29 January, 1920, Feliks Dzerzhinsky, was appointed chairman of the Central Committee on Compulsory Labour. Stiff penalties were imposed for labour violations, an April 1920 Sovnarkom decree prescribed the following: for one day absence, a 15 per cent deduction in the monthly bonus; for two days absence, a 25 per cent deduction; and for three days absence, a 60 per cent deduction with lost time being made up by compulsory labour and absences in excess of three days were considered sabotage.[24] Despite the severity of punishments imposed, the high desertion rate among militarized workers suggests the policy's limited effectiveness.[25] By 1920 the production value of Moscow industry was only 15 per cent of the 1913 level.[26]

Despite the alleged egalitarianism of war communism, low productivity compelled the Soviet government to use economic specialists or *spets*. They were given numerous incentives (one-person management, paid bonuses, preferential accommodation, holidays etc.) Ambivalent about whether the economic benefits of hiring these specialists compensated for their political suspiciousness, the Moscow Committee of the Bolshevik Party at its meeting of 11 January 1919, called on the Cheka to establish supervision over " bourgeois specialists."[27] A similar innovation occurred in the Red Army whereby former Tsarist officers (euphemistically termed *voenspets* or 'military specialists') were paired with Communist political commissars. Some Chekists were essentially the 'political commissars' of the economic field.

One non-Communist economic *spets* was Simon Liberman, who was subject to police harassment in Moscow while he worked in the vital timber industry. Liberman had both a Menshevik and 'capitalist' background. The following provides a brief overview of the methods used by the Cheka and the strategies employed by the individual under suspicion. In the fall of 1919 Liberman was summoned before a economic *troika*, (three person board) comprised of Peters, Eiduk and Avanesov, and was threatened with execution if

the railroad should halt for lack of fuel. A personal note from Lenin temporarily remedied the situation, but " Soon I was surrounded by persons who, I did not doubt, reported to the Cheka all my conversations, telephone calls, the contents of my correspondence, instructions to my subordinates, and everything else. There was a ceaseless watch over all my movements."[28] In an unusual private talk with Dzerzhinsky, Liberman was able to convince the chairman, that his department would be able to function more effectively without constant hostile Cheka supervision, " I can fulfil my duties only if I enjoy your trust, just as I enjoy that of Vladimir Ilyich. I don't mind if anyone representing you is placed by my side. But I can't work if I am made to feel constantly that I am being shadowed and watched by men who are hostile to me and ignorant of my work."[29] Liberman's friendship with Lenin probably helped his success. However, this case also emphasizes that the Cheka adopted a pragmatic approach to suspects. In a directive issued in December 1918, Dzerzhinsky warned his agents against indiscriminate arrest of ' bourgeois specialists; ' they were to be taken into custody only when irrefutable proof of their criminal or counter revolutionary guilt existed and the basic question to be answered in any case was: would the specialist under suspicion be of more use in prison or working for the soviets?[30] The general public was not informed of this directive and therefore the threat of arrest and harassment of 'bourgeois specialists' was still prevalent. It is debatable to what extent this directive was followed but suggests that a certain degree of flexibility was urged in the quest for economic productivity.

Absenteeism and declining productivity was integrally linked with speculation and malfeasance. Many engaged in illicit activities for speculation. For example, workers stole or fashioned tools, equipment and materials from the factories or soldiers stole from their supply sections and these stolen goods were sold or exchanged for food on the black market.[31] Policing the economy was also assumed by Rabkrin (People's Commissariat of Worker's and Peasants' Inspection) which tried to prevent the removal of state goods to the market. Despite the elimination of the *meshochiniki* who had been held responsible for supplying Sukharevka, a report in mid-1920 admitted that the market still thrived and suggested that most of the material sold there now came from Soviet bodies themselves.[32]

According to official sources the Moscow Cheka monitored malfeasance because the other judicial and criminal authorities were weak.[33] The following table attests to the importance of malfeasance:

TABLE 2.2: ARRESTED FOR MALFEASANCE 1918-1920[34]

TYPES OF MALFEASANCE	NUMBERS ARRESTED
Sabotage:	396
Embezzlement:	1519
Debauchery:	210
Bribery and Blackmail:	694
Concealment (of goods):	189
Embezzling money:	26
Desertion:	770
Other malfeasance:	1445
Total:	5249

The previous statistics are revealing. For example, what types of activity were sabotage? As previously mentioned, 'sabotage' could have been levied for work absenteeism, strikes and other forms of workers' protest. Evaluating whether malicious intent or ignorance caused sabotage was difficult. Tomski, a Bolshevik trade union leader, declared, that " worker ignorance of accounting procedures wreaked such havoc with factories' books that it often looked like sabotage" but he added, " I do not think it is sabotage, only Russian illiteracy."[35] In an apologetic tone Soviet officials admitted malfeasance was a " colossal problem, [but that] Every revolution knows one unsightly although transitory characteristic: the appearance on the scenes of any rogue, hired hand, adventurer and plain criminal who are attached to power for profit-seeking or other criminal purposes."[36] Furthermore, the fact that only 26 people out of over 5,000 were arrested for embezzling money is significant because it alludes to the fact that spiralling inflation made rubles virtually worthless. The main source of revenue for the Soviet government was the printing press; this excessive issuance of rubles produced chronic inflation. Got'e provides a personal example of this problem, " Ninochka's funeral in November 1919 cost 30,000; Uncle Eduard's funeral in December 1921 was 5,000,000; M. M.'s [Ryndin] funeral in March 1922 was 33,000,000."[37] The spiralling inflation forced people to rely on their insufficient rations or exchange goods, further contributing to the growing speculation.

The narrowing definition of legal economic activity, increased the functions but not necessarily the effectiveness of the Cheka apparatus. The fact that private trade flourished despite official condemnations, suggests that the authorities were essentially powerless to enforce a total blockade. Part of the ineffectiveness was due to massive Cheka corruption. Numerous reports of corrupt Chekists, including Moscow Chekists, have been documented.[38] Vladimir Got'e, a Muscovite historian, noted in November 1919 that the

Rumiantsev Museum was offered the opportunity: " to buy firewood at a speculative price from a person who is both a speculator and a member of the [Moscow] Cheka of the Vindava railroad. Typical for the Russian Revolution."[39] The Museum complied with the offer. This contrasts with the predictable assertion by Yakov Peters, a prominent Chekist, that :

> If one asks the question, Were there many violations --- I answer, surprisingly few. This is explained primarily by the careful selection of the personnel staff and by that ideological weld which existed in the apparatus. A prominent role was also played by that merciless punishment which the Cheka meted out to its members in instances of abuses of any kind.[40]

One way of assessing the degree to which Cheka misconduct was officially handled, is to analyse the type of punishment for the violators. Scant information exists on this question; both lenient reprimands and the death penalty were imposed for similar offences.[41] Nevertheless, working in the Speculation Department, in particular, offered numerous opportunities for various types of corruption or malfeasance. While many speculators were arrested, " it was a well known fact that many of the officials of the Moscow Cheka which conducted the raids could be "fixed" if you knew how."[42] From the meticulously compiled list in Krasnaia Moskva the wide variety of valuables, foodstuffs, clothing and other commodities confiscated by the Moscow Cheka highlights the benefits of misappropriation (see Table 2.8.) As early as October 1918 the correct disposition of the items confiscated by the Cheka was a prominent concern of Moscow party and soviet authorities.[43] It was at this time, on the anniversary of the October revolution, at the height of public outrage over Cheka depredations, that Lenin rallied to this beleaguered organization. The following quote illustrates that Lenin was not concerned with Cheka violations but with their broader significance in the dictatorship of the proletariat:

> That alien elements should attach themselves to the Cheka is fully understandable. With self-criticism we'll knock them off. What's important for us is that the Chekas are directly implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in this respect, their role is invaluable. There is no other path to the liberation of the masses than repression of the exploiters by force. [my emphasis][44].

Furthermore, there is no indication that in September 1920, when the Extraordinary Commissions were granted military status and therefore allotted special rations and sundries, that misappropriation lessened.[45] In terms of the Soviet regime's priorities it is significant that the Chekas only gained parity with the Red Army in September 1920. A winding down of outside hostilities (conclusion of the Soviet-Polish war on 1

October 1920) perhaps affected this decision. Furthermore, it also highlights Soviet inability to provide wide-scale preferential rations, and possibly implicitly acknowledges the Cheka ability to 'acquire' their own provisions.

From the manner in which the Speculation Department of the Moscow Cheka conducted raids on the Sukharevka and other markets points to a degree of corruption. The following eyewitness account suggests that some Chekists warned vendors of an impending raid:

> You could always tell when a raid was about to take place. Warned by a mysterious system of wireless telegraphy sellers and buyers alike began to grow restless, wares were gathered up in bundles, portable stands were dismounted, their owners scuttling down side streets and vanishing mysteriously into open doorways.[46]

Alexander Berkman, an American Anarchist, witnessed a similar raid on Sukharevka in 1920 and noticed that, the " booty taken from the traders was being piled on a cart by the Tchekists. I looked at the stores. They remained open; they had not been raided."[47] It is debatable whether this was a deliberate policy of selecting a special type of speculator or that the stores had bribed the Moscow Chekist(s). The Moscow Cheka adopted a vacillatory policy with regard to the regulation of private trade. It seems the populace was deliberately left confused about what was legal and illegal to trade:

> One week it would be legal, for instance to sell meat, two weeks afterwards there would be a decree forbidding the sale of meat and a raid would be made on all meat dealers. It was the same with butter and many other things.[48]

It is clear that the Chekists would often select a particular type of dealer for an *oblava* or raid: " One morning I wished to buy a pound of butter. There was plenty of fresh butter on the market...Suddenly word went around that government inspectors were after butter dealers. In five minutes there was not a pound of butter to be seen." [49] A rotating policy of intermittent harassment existed:

> In the spring [1921] the market on the Okhotny Riad was closed and the booths torn down, but the Soukharevka was allowed to go on undisturbed. Still later all the small stores were closed, then they were opened and the Soukharevka closed.[50]

Eyewitness accounts, from both Soviet and non-Soviet sources, of what happened both during and immediately after a market raid are generally consistent. The exits would be blocked and the Chekists and militia would examine all documents and look into all packages. Those caught with illegal merchandise or improper documents would be surrounded by a cordon of armed Chekists and herded en masse to the

appropriate headquarters, while others were let out one by one.[51] These raids had the added bonus of apprehending deserters or persons without proper identification papers.

While raids and searches were common methods employed by the Moscow Cheka to discourage speculation, an attempt was made to tax or fine "the new bourgeoisie." It was difficult " to tax them [speculators] because they carried on their operations secretly and it was next to impossible to find out who they were [and they] did not bank their money. . ."[52] Vladimir Got'e submitted the following petition to the Moscow Cheka on 1 September 1918 :

> the Moscow Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution, Crimes of Office and Speculation has assessed me a fine of ten thousand rubles for the acquisition in April of this year of one pud and five pounds [41 pounds] of sugar outside the rules established for receiving sugar; moreover it was indicated. . .that the mentioned fine is being assessed against those who obtained the sugar as representatives of the bourgeois class. [my emphasis][53]

The nebulous definition of illegal activity is shown in the above petition. Got'e requested help from M. N. Pokrovskii, Commissar of Popular Enlightenment, and took the precaution of " not sleeping at home or even looking in there - a stupid and vile situation."[54] Got'e possessed an acute awareness of the rationale behind fining the bourgeoisie and submitted the following information in his defence: " I live exclusively by my own personal labor, I have never exploited the labour of others and have never engaged in any kind of speculative enterprises; at the present time I am working in soviet institutions."[55] Whether Pokrovski's influence or Got'e's petition was the deciding factor is unclear, but Got'e's fine was annulled. The Moscow Cheka's economic role was intrinsically linked with its political role of eradicating the bourgeoisie. The impression gathered is that a worker who purchased illicit sugar would not have been assessed a fine, and therefore discriminating against "former people" was heralded as "class justice." Martyn Latsis, an enthusiastic Chekist leader, explicitly made the connection between class and 'guilt':

> We are not waging war against individual persons. We are exterminating the bourgeoisie as a class. During the investigation, do not look for evidence that the accused acted in deed or word against Soviet power. The first questions that you ought to put are: To what class does he belong? What is his origin? What is his education or profession? And it is these questions that ought to determine the fate of the accused. In this lies the significance of the Red Terror.[56]

Who were most likely to engage in speculation, or perhaps more accurately who were most likely to be arrested for speculation? Different levels of speculation existed and Muscovites made the distinction between

the " big speculators: " who dealt in foreign currency turning over millions every day and the " small fry " who haunted the markets or engaged in house-to-house trade.[57] In Krasnaia Moskva the Moscow Cheka compiled data on the age, sex, marital status, and occupation of the arrested speculators:

TABLE 2.3: COMPOSITION OF ARRESTED SPECULATORS BY AGE AND SEX 1 OCTOBER 1919 UNTIL 1 JUNE 1920[58]

		Number	Percentage
MINORS	Males:	1463	11%
UP TO 17	Females:	770	5%
ADULTS	Males:	5865	43%
18-54	Females:	4924	36%
RETIRED	Males:	336	2%
55 & UP	Females:	399	3%
TOTAL:	Males:	7684	56%
	Females:	6093	44%

The general picture that emerges from Tables 2.3 and 2.4 is that the 'typical' arrested speculator was an adult male, married with children, and with a Red Army background.

TABLE 2.4 : SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF SPECULATORS[59]

From Table 2.3:		Number	Percentage
SINGLE:		4080	30%
MARRIED WITHOUT CHILDREN:		4053	30%
MARRIED WITH CHILDREN, Convicted:		5231	40%
(Previously convicted)	Males:	352	2%
	Females:	264	2%
WORKERS			
	Males:	954	7%
	Females:	810	6%
ARTISANS			
	Males:	588	4%
	Females:	469	4%
WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS			
	Males:	2801	20%
	Females:	648	4%
TRADERS			
	Males:	891	6%
	Females:	974	7%
INDETERMINABLE OCCUPATION:	Males:	2467	19%
	Females:	3174	23%
FROM THE MALES, MILITARY PERSONNEL:	Red Army	936	7%
	Deserters	91	1%
	Discharged	2083	18%

Overall, the statistics in Tables 2.3 and 2.4 confirm the general impression in the memoir literature that numerous members of the Red Army engaged in speculation, probably because they had access to military supplies.[60] A fairly even proportion of men and women were arrested, (54 to 46 per cent respectively) but theoretically more women should have been arrested because by 1920 they made up over half of Moscow's population (51.5 per cent.)[61]

It would seem that the percentage of arrested juveniles and retired people (21 per cent) is underestimated. Numerous accounts in memoir literature and other official accounts emphasize that many children and elderly people engaged in speculation.[62] Apparently almost 80 per cent of the arrested people were of working age, (18 - 55 years) but in terms of demographic statistics approximately 30 per cent were under 18 and 7 per cent were over 55, perhaps making their arrest record deflated.[63] It is possible that commentators were more sensitive about the arrest of children and elderly people and therefore noted it; for example, Alexander Berkman, protested to Communist officials: "Do you call those barefoot boys and old women- speculators?"[64] Juveniles under 18 and people above 55 were not required to have a *Trudovaia Kniga* (labour book) and perhaps this would make it easier for them to engage in speculation without facing the added threat of being arrested for work desertion.[65] Those most visibly engaging in speculation were not necessarily most likely to be arrested. It is possible that juveniles and elderly people were unable to pay the necessary graft to the Chekists to avoid harassment, and therefore frequently arrested. For example, one contemporary remarked that trading was forbidden, ". . . Only to the peasant women and the kids peddling cigarettes. But look at the stores - if they pay enough graft they keep open all they want."[66]

Furthermore, the fact that the Moscow Cheka compiled statistics on the occupation of the arrestees reveals that a link between occupation (implicitly referring to class) and crime was assumed. Interestingly, official 'traders' constituted only 13 per cent of the total, while white collar workers represented 24 percent and those from an indeterminable occupation were 66 per cent. While the association with speculators and 'no defined occupation' ('unemployed') has been emphasized, the large proportion of arrested white collar workers is also significant. White collar workers were frequently employed in Soviet institutions and therefore had access to government supplies and goods. By 1920 the occupational structure of Moscow had substantially altered. Office workers increased their proportion of the population from 15 per cent in 1918 to 21 per cent in

1920 while the industrial working class fell by 44 per cent from 155, 026 in 1918 to 87, 091 in 1920, but as a proportion of the working population it represented a decline of only 3.2 per cent to 13.4 per cent.[67]

What types of punishment were implemented by the Moscow Cheka and did the nature of these penalties gradually change, and if so, why? From general official crime sources successively more stringent penalties were imposed for the violators of economic crimes: (theft, robbery, misappropriation, swindling) whereas in 1918 and 1919, fines were the most common punishment for such crimes, (48 per cent and 44 per cent respectively) by 1920 deprivation of freedom and forced labour were the most common punishments (59 percent and 29 per cent respectively.)[68] From the available information it is impossible to statistically verify if the Moscow Cheka also gradually imposed stricter penalties. Although from Krasnaia Moskva those arrested for speculation and malfeasance by the Moscow Cheka almost quadrupled from 1919 to 1920 (6,631 to 23,139) this source does not provide a monthly or annual breakdown of the penalties imposed by the Moscow Cheka. From the following Table 2.5, approximately 30,000 were arrested by the Moscow Cheka for speculation and malfeasance, but the death penalty was allegedly used sparingly.[69]

TABLE 2.5: EXECUTED FOR SPECULATION AND MALFEASANCE:[70]

Speculation:	53
For Malfeasance and Bribery:	47
Misappropriation:	8
Desertion:	47
Sabotage and Spoiling Fiscal Property:	2
Total:	157

What classification did the Moscow Chekists employ to decide whether a person would be charged with malfeasance or speculation? This is unclear. For example, although the government had a bread monopoly, bread was sometimes openly sold undisturbed, and it was difficult for both the buyer and the Chekist to determine the vendor's legitimacy:

> It was next to impossible to tell what was legally placed on sale by persons who received the maximum allowance of two pounds a day, such as the Red Army workers, and those who made it with flour secured through underground channels, or bread stolen from the government bakeries.[71]

The following is a list of punishment and warning measures imposed by the Moscow Cheka for all crimes between 1 December 1918 and 1 November 1920:

TABLE 2.6: PUNISHMENT AND WARNING MEASURES IMPOSED 1918-1920[72]

TYPE OF PUNISHMENT	NUMBER
Arrested:	42,878
Work Searches:	13,080
Imprisoned in Concentration Camps:	5,214
Imprisoned:	25,008
Forced Labour:	1,649
Executed:	578
Released:	22,979
Fined: (In sum: 469, 071 rubles. 53 kopeks)	58
Confined for various terms in jail:	30
Transferred into other institutions:	10,770

How successful was the Moscow Cheka in combating speculation and malfeasance? The large numbers of Muscovites arrested in this category should not be interpreted as a success for the Moscow Cheka. Although approximately 30,000 people were arrested for speculation and malfeasance in 1919 and 1920, this is not necessarily an indication of the Moscow Cheka's strength. If political police organizations are judged on their ability to maintain law and order, then the fact that arrests in this category quadrupled between 1919 and 1920 suggests a chronic weakness (see Table 2.7.) However, the failure to contain the speculation problem lies more generally with the supply mechanics of this early Soviet regime. In principle, speculation and, to a lesser extent, malfeasance should have been drastically reduced if the populace was able to receive adequate food and supplies. The following is a conversation between Arthur Ransome, British newspaper correspondent, and a Communist official in Moscow:

> There is only one way to get rid of speculation, and that is to supply enough on the card system.[rations] When people can buy all they want at 1 rouble 20 they are not going to pay an extra 14 roubles for encouragement of speculation. And when will you be able to do that? I asked. As soon as the war ends, and we can use our transport for peaceful purposes.[73]

Many factors created the conditions that allowed speculation to flourish. Operating a war time economy not only created massive transportation difficulties, but the politically astute measure of supplying the Red Army with preferential rations .(*payok*) caused general deprivation and resentment. For example, "a significant

part" of the food that reached Moscow went to the garrison.[74] Nevertheless, the Moscow Cheka by 1920 apparently contributed to the declining dependency of workers on the market:

> In the first half of 1918 in Moscow, 85 per cent of workers and 77 per cent of the rest of the population used the free market to buy bread; in March - April 1919 the proportions (in both capitals) were 75 per cent and 74 per cent. By 1920 only a quarter of the workers' budget was devoted to the free market and that of the non-worker higher.[75]

However, when free market relations were encouraged under the auspices of the New Economic Policy in March 1921, the Soviet government partially relinquished its role in completely controlling and policing the economy. Henceforth a limited form of free trade was permitted - it was no longer illegal to be a speculator.

Only months before the inauguration of the NEP the Vecheka decided to expand their role to include rescuing the millions of homeless children and orphans (*bezprizornye*) Because of the devastating effects of the Civil War and famine, by the winter of 1920-21 about four to five million *bezprizornye* roamed the cities and countryside in search of food and shelter.[76] Accordingly, in early 1921, Dzerzhinsky approached the Commissar of Education, Anatoly Luncharsky, and proposed the formation of the following commission:

> The fruits of the revolution are not for us but for the children. But in the meantime how many have been crippled by the struggle and poverty! . . . I would want to head this organization myself and include the VCheka in its work. A second consideration prompts this: I think our apparatus is one of the most efficient. Its branches are everywhere. Its opinion is taken into consideration. People are afraid of it. [77]

Thus, on 27 January 1921, headed by Dzerzhinsky, the Commission for the Betterment of Children's Lives (*Komissiia po uluchsheniiu zhiznii detei*) was established. The timing of this commission in January 1921 is significant because it illustrates that more resources and time were available for the Cheka organizations. For example, Sofia Dzerzhinsky (Dzerzhinsky's wife) attests, he " was waiting for the end of the Civil War to be able to concentrate more on the communist education of children, of the youth."[78] This is probably a sincere statement because the prominent Bolshevik, Karl Radek, recounted that Dzerzhinsky in 1919 exclaimed, that " 'After victory, I shall take the People's Commissariat of Education.' The comrades, who were present during this conversation, laughed. Dzerzhinsky stiffened."[79] This unusual insight perhaps highlights the fact that Dzerzhinsky was never given the respect among fellow Communists he felt he deserved. The Commission for the Betterment of Children's Lives was perhaps an effort to generally broaden his legitimacy and specifically to improve his chances of heading the Commissariat of Education.

This new accruement gave a demonstration of the truth in Martyn Latsis' statement, that " It [the Vecheka] must watch everything: military life, food, education, positively all economic organs, health, outbreaks of fire, communications, etc..." [80] Soviet chroniclers of the Vecheka have emphasized the humanitarian aspects of this Commission and point to Dzerzhinsky's deeply embedded love of children.[81] Dzerzhinsky's correspondence was censored in prison - writing about party or organizational matters was restricted - therefore perhaps it is not surprising that Dzerzhinsky's Prison Diary and Letters contain numerous discussions about the plight of children:

> The tragedy of life is the suffering of children. Poverty, no family warmth, motherless, brought up solely on the street, in the beerhouse - these are the things that martyrize the children.
>
> I am always best among children and workers . . . There is more simplicity and sincerity, fewer conventions and the interests and cares of this circle are more in tune with my own.[82]

This campaign to rescue and resettle the destitute children also had the added bonus of eliminating the pernicious effects of the 'bourgeois' family. In a letter to his sister, Aldona, Dzerzhinsky lectures her on the evils of families and in a similar vein other Bolsheviks saw the orphans as a "blessing in disguise since the state could give the children a true collectivist upbringing."[83] A further example of the ideological underpinnings of this decision include Dzerzhinsky's assertion, that " The care of the children is the best means of destroying counter-revolution. Having met the challenge of providing material security and well being for children, Soviet power will win supporters and defenders in every worker's and peasant's family and wide support in the struggle against counter-revolution." [84] This emphasis on the Russian youth also corresponds to the Bolshevik belief that the salvation and continuation of the Revolution depended on its young people.[85] However, it is ironic that the Cheka, among other security bodies, contributed to the instability of their youth by arresting, detaining and eventually executing the parents that left these children orphans. During May 1920 the Moscow Cheka arrested juvenile pickpockets (between eleven and fifteen years old) and proceeded to cajole and threaten the children to divulge the names of other fellow pickpockets.[86] These juveniles were beaten and " through fear of further floggings, even to inform against perfectly innocent persons, persons whom they had never known at all."[87] Furthermore, Steinberg accurately

summarizes Dzerzhinsky's 'humanitarianism,' " He worried about the children? Yet he made orphans of thousands of children, widows of countless wives, whenever his orders killed their fathers and husbands."[88]

Nevertheless, the most important consideration was probably the enormous impact youths had on the Russian economy and general social stability. As the latest official biography of Dzerzhinsky attests, rescuing the children " was considered an important facet of the Vecheka activities to protect revolutionary law and order and prevent crime."[89] Moscow had the second highest crime rate in the country and there existed widespread opinion that juvenile crime, in particular speculation, was rampant.[90] Although the figures in Krasnaia Moskva suggest that only sixteen per cent of all arrested speculators were under 17, a broader comparison by Chase of official crime data indicates that more than half of Moscow's crimes were committed by children under the age of 17.[91] Nevertheless, other official sources claim that these " Ragged, hungry and sick children swarmed railway stations, hid in cold and damp basements and attics of abandoned ramshackle buildings, begged, stole and sold things on the black market, [and they] were particularly numerous in Moscow."[92] It is difficult to measure how successful the Moscow Cheka was in remedying the situation, but " in Moscow alone in 1922 more than 4,600 serious crimes had been committed by children."[93] By 1922 the Moscow Cheka for the Struggle against Child Homelessness set up nine reception points for 2,600 children, and two isolation centers for 600 children, but admitted that this was far from enough; at times over 10,000 homeless children stayed there.[94] By August 1922, on the national level, from the approximately 5.5 million homeless children, over a million were placed in children's homes, about three million received aid, but about 1.5 million children had not been reached by any form of aid.[95] Generally, the Cheka organizations improved the situation but the overall task was far from accomplished. A mixture of social, economic and political factors induced the decision to rescue the *Bezprizornye*.

Similarly, a combination of ideological and economic factors effected Cheka policies towards religious institutions. Monitoring religious organizations reflected the Bolshevik belief that the security police should " act as moral guardians, reformers, and agents of social transformation."[96] Dzerzhinsky, along with many other Bolsheviks, did not mask his contempt for religious institutions and their officials, " I detest priests, I hate them. They have cloaked the whole world in their black soutanes in which is concentrated all evil - crime, filth, prostitution; they spread darkness and preach submission."[97] An indication that the cheka

organizations were soon monitoring religious matters is reflected in the fact that " the 'Troika' [three person board] established in the Guberniya [Provincial] Soviets to enforce the Decree (of January 23, 1918) on the separation of the Church from the State, consisted of a Chekist and two local officials." [98] The Cheka organizations along with other Soviet institutions, primarily, Proletcult (Proletarian Culture Movement) adopted a variety of measures to reduce religious observance and influence. Alongside the *subbotniks* (unpaid Saturday work) were the *voskresniks* (unpaid Sunday work) which had the added significance of striking a blow against organized religions.[99] During a heightened fuel crisis in November 1918, the Moscow Cheka was charged with the important task of watching for " the heating of any churches or other establishments of worship whatsoever, and, if any such heating be discovered, bringing it to a stop immediately."[100] Economic scarcity propelled innate Bolshevik hostility to organized religion. Religious leaders were also subject to arrest, detention, imprisonment and execution. Patriarch Tikhon of the Russian Orthodox Church, estimated that by 1920 approximately three hundred and twenty two bishops and priests had been executed since the beginning of the Revolution.[101] In Moscow in early September 1918, Archpriest Vostorgov, was one of the important hostages executed during the early stages of the Red Terror.[102] Interestingly, while clerics fell under the jurisdiction of the department to combat counter-revolution, the lists found in Krasnaia Moskva summarizing arrests by the Moscow Cheka for 'counter-revolution' do not contain a category for religious leaders (see Table 3.2.) Specifically, reprisals included disenfranchisement under the 10 July 1918 RSFSR Constitution and classification as "non-labouring elements" (receiving no food, fuel or clothing rations).[103] Despite a concerted campaign to eradicate religious belief and organised religion, it seems the Soviet authorities had limited success in this realm. The widespread persistence of religious faith in Moscow is well-documented and evidence exists that at least formal observances exerted a hold even on Bolshevik party members. Residing in Moscow in 1920 Marguerite Harrison, an American journalist, observed that:

> In the provinces as well as in Moscow the churches were always crowded, and [the]priests,. . . told me that they had never lived so well on tithes as they were then living on the voluntary contributions of their parishioners.[104]

A policy of deterring religious observance was especially pursued within the Bolshevik party and adopting a correct attitude was increasingly interpreted as a test of party loyalty. In mid 1919 the Moscow Guberniia Committee warned that any communist observing religious practices would be punished (many still were

being married in church and having their children baptized.) By April 1920 an uncompromising line forced a choice: either the party or the church.[105] Because there was a steady list of expulsions for infringements of this rule it suggests this was a recurring problem for the Bolshevik authorities.[106] In this time of economic and political chaos the security and comfort gathered from attending church services apparently outpaced the threat of dismissal from the party.

In summation, the Moscow Cheka's role in economic and social matters increased throughout the course of the civil war. In some respects, the diversity of functions assumed by the Moscow Cheka should not simply be deduced as an indication of their power because " the overburdening of general police organs with a variety of administrative and welfare functions served as an effective barrier to police professionalism."[107] In the economic realm, the Moscow Cheka only achieved a qualified success. This Extraordinary Commission was successful in allowing the government to survive the internal and external assaults on Soviet Russia, but was ultimately unable to prevent the massive disintegration of the economy.

TABLE 2.7: TOTAL PERCENTAGE AND NUMBER OF ARRESTS FROM COUNTER-REVOLUTION, SPECULATION, AND MALFEASANCE IN 1919-1920[108]

THE YEAR 1919

CRIME TYPE	1 JAN-30 APR		1 MAY-31 JUL		1 AUG-31 OCT		1 NOV-31 DEC	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
COUNTER-REVOLUTION	429	18%	1139	35%	1689	30%	1207	32%
MALFEASANCE & SPECULATION	870	35%	817	27%	3136	56%	1808	49%
CRIMINAL OFFENCES	1092	47%	1151	38%	755	14%	677	19%
TOTAL:	2391	100%	3107	100%	5621	100%	3692	100%

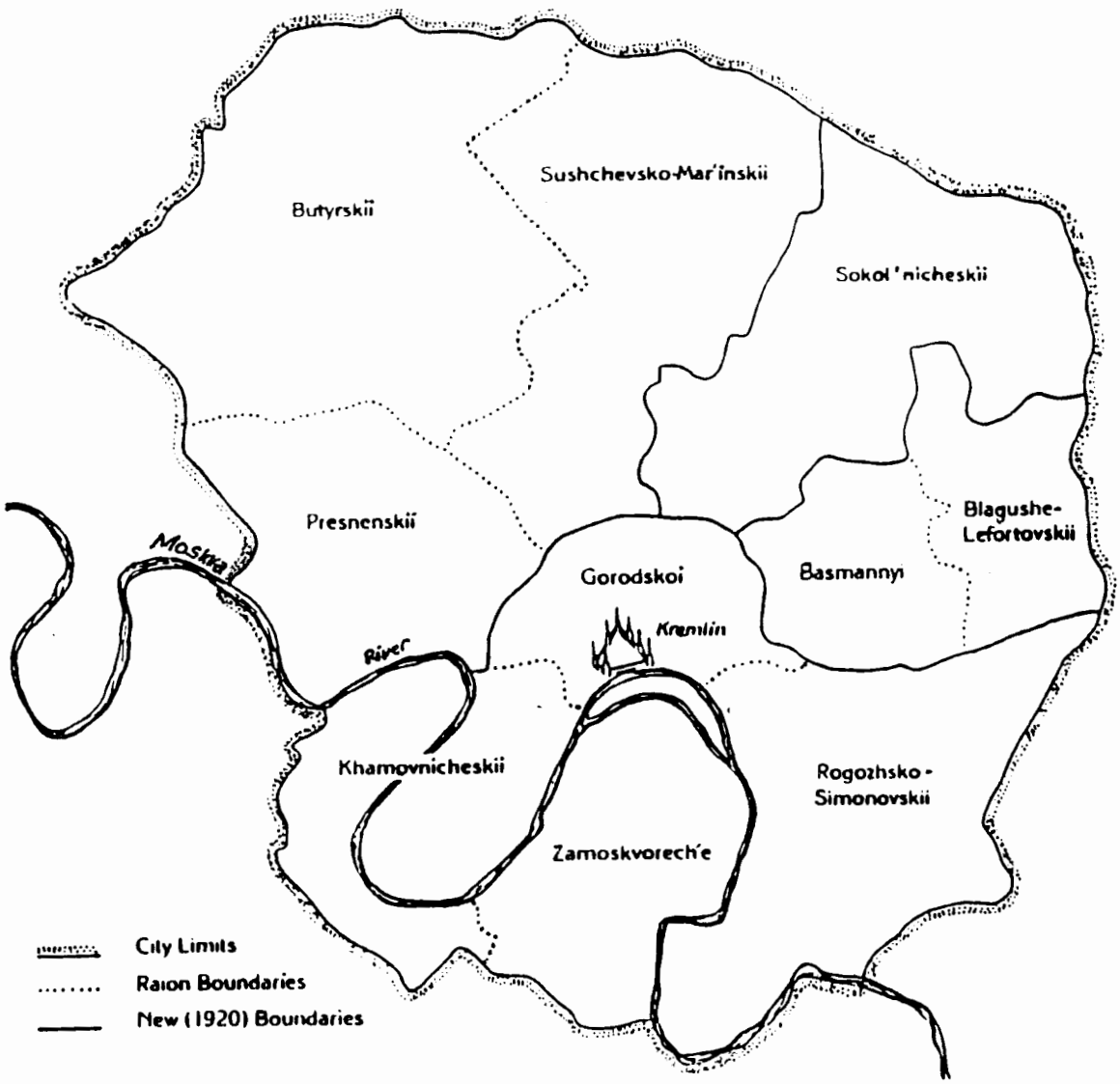
THE YEAR 1920

CRIME TYPE	1 JAN - 31 JUN		1 JUL - 1 NOV	
	#	%	#	%
COUNTER-REVOLUTION	870	4%	1240	10%
MALFEASANCE & SPECULATION	14245	85%	8894	74%
CRIMINAL OFFENCES	2661	11%	1981	16%
TOTAL	17776	100%	12115	100%

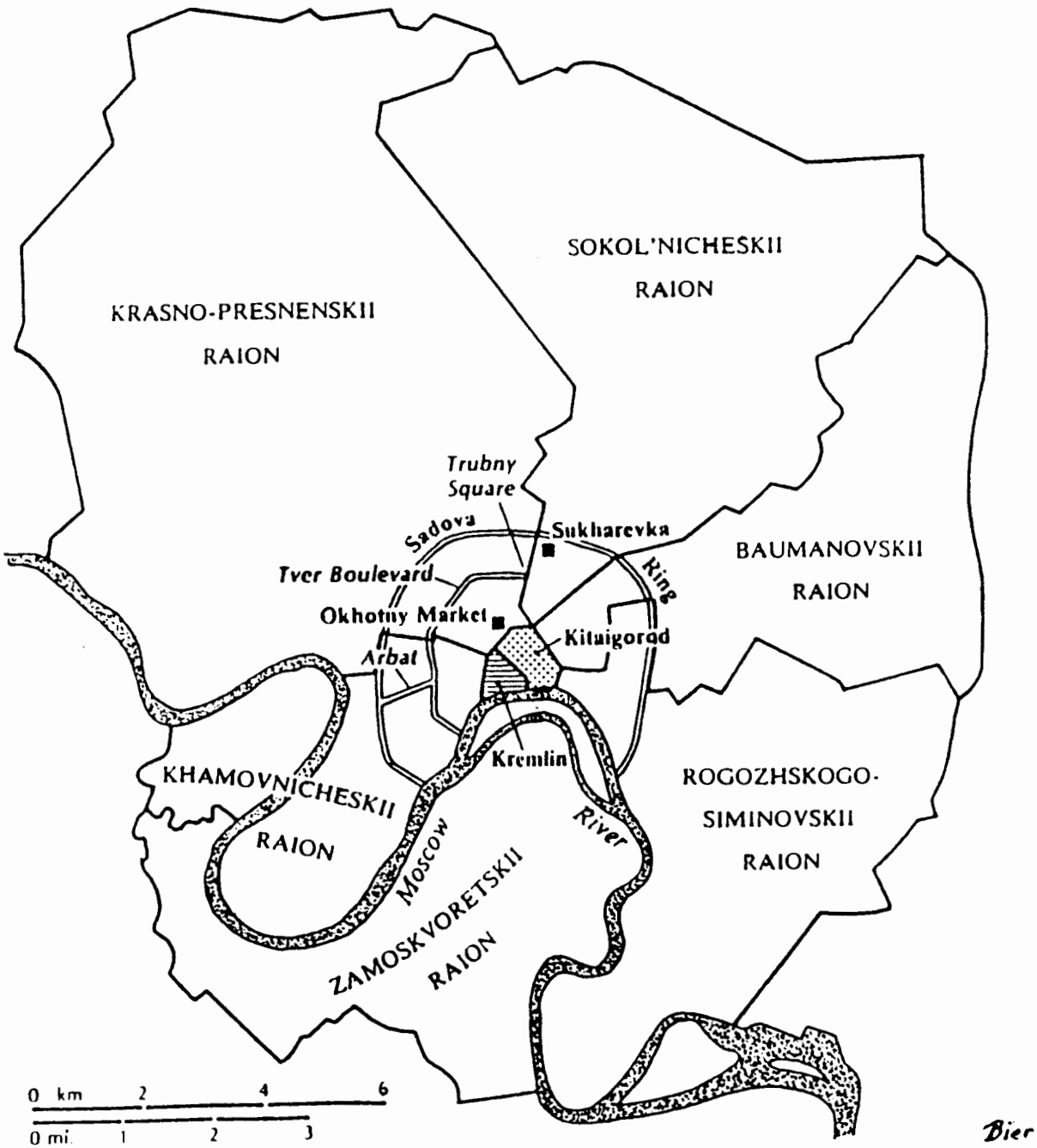
TABLE 2.8: MOSCOW CHEKA'S CONFISCATED SPECULATION ITEMS, 1918-1920:[109]

ITEMS:	AMOUNT
Gold Coins	17,726 r.
Silver Coins	14,103 r. 85 k.
Copper Coins	29 p., 21 f., 23 z., 53 d.
Credit Notes	28,853,639 r.80 k.
Falsified Notes	2,146,414 r. 65 k.
Foreign Credit Notes	1133 sht.
Foreign Gold Coins	141 sht.
Silver Coins	1597 sht.
Metal Coins	1178 sht.
Precious Stones	1940 carats
Platinum	2 carats
Interest bearing Russian Securities	5,649,058 r. 05 k.
Interest bearing Foreign Securities	356 sheets
Annuled Coupons	227,860 r. 79 k.
Gold Bullion and wares	9 f. 39 z. 41 d.
Silver	19 p. 25 f. 72 z. 40 d.
Miscellaneous Items	16,714 1/2 arshin
Metal wares	2,791 sht.
Gold Pocket Watches	34 sht.
Silver Pocket Watches	26 sht.
Metal Pocket Watches	24 sht.
Footwear	1709 sht.
Linen	4500
Ready-made Clothes	806 sht.
Hides	17 p. 3/4 f.
Semi-Prepared Hides	138 suits
Head-dress	1190 sht.
Photographic Apparatus	28 sht.
Binoculars	30 sht.
Telephonic Apparatus	28 sht.
Typewriters	26 sht.
Bicycles	14 sht.
Knives and Scissors	2852
Wine and Spirits	3 barrels, 83 bottles
Substitute	299 sht.
Sugar	298 p. 06 f.
Confectionery Goods	117 p. 11 f. 246. 510 sht.
Flour	847 p.06 f.
Grain	1077
Bread	111 p. 31 f.
Meat	327 p. 26 f.
Vegetable Oil	205 p. 26 f.
Creams	47 p. 11 f.
Fish	127 p. 11 f.
Tea and Coffee	179 p. 20 f.
Matches, salt, candles etc.	917 p. 37 f. 11,910 sht.
Soap and Toiletries	250 p.
Perfumes	28, 582 sht.

MAP 1: THE RAIONS OF MOSCOW IN 1920[110]



MAP 2: MOSCOW AND ITS MARKETS IN THE 1920'S[111]



1 Chase, op.cit, p.73. According to Sakwa by 1920 Moscow's population was 40 per cent lower during the civil war and by half since the peak of February 1917, op.cit, p.35.

2 Sakwa, op. cit., Chase, op.cit, p.20. Memoir accounts all emphasize the growing hunger of Muscovites, see Got'e op.cit., p.157, 102, Emma Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, (New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1970), p.23,123; Alexander Berkman, The Bolshevik Myth, Diary 1920-1922. (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1925), p.59; Marguerite Harrison, Marooned in Moscow: The Story of an American Woman Imprisoned in Moscow. (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1921), p.150 and Arthur Ransome, Six Weeks in Russia in 1919. (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1919), pp.28-29.

3 By 1921 " Nearly eighty per cent of the railway lines were out of operation. Some 4,000 bridges were in ruins, more that 400 depots and repair facilities had been destroyed" Lennard Gerson, "Felixs Dzerzhinsky as People's Commissar of Transport 1921-1924." Second World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, (1984), p.220.

4 For a good overview of the economic situation see Sakwa.op.cit, ch. 2, Chase, op.cit., ch.1, Dobb, op.cit, ch. 1-4 and Nove, op.cit., ch. 2-3.

5 Krasnaia Moskva, col. 634 and col. 630.

6 Chase, op.cit., p.21.

7 Krasnaia Moskva, col.629.

8 Krasnaia Moskva, cols.631-632.

9 All figures in this paragraph are derived from Krasnaia Moskva cols. 629-635, see Table 2.7. These figures are directly copied and their arithmetic is difficult to fathom because total 'common criminals' arrestees should amount to 5797 not 2644.

10 Krasnaia Moskva, col. 630. Interestingly, in the abbreviated form of this section in Alidin's M Chk ,p.250 this is the only sentence missing in the entire text. The rivalry between the Moscow Cheka and Vecheka over resources did not correspond to the image of harmonious relations.

11 Vlast Sovetov, 1919, no. 10, p.26.

12 Sakwa, op.cit.,p.60

13 Alidin, M Chk, p.110.

14 A. G. " Moskovskaia obshcheugolovanaia prestupnost' v period voennogo kommunizma " Prestupnik i prestupnost; (Moscow, 1927), sbornik II, pp.355-384.

15 From the II SNKh Congress quoted in Sakwa, op.cit, p.60.

16 Goldman, op.cit.,p.23. For further descriptions of markets see Alexander Berkman, op.cit., pp.55-60 and Harrison, op.cit., pp.150-157.

17 Krasnaia Moskva, col. 631.

18 Chase, op.cit., p.27.

19 Chase, op.cit.,p.26. Got'e, took advantage of the legal respites and transported grain back to Moscow, op. cit., p.336.

20 Kommunisticheskii Trud 28 April 1920 in Sakwa, op.cit., p.61.

21 Goldman, op.cit., p.69.

22 Lenin, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii,vol. 54,, pp.424-425.

23 Chase, op.cit., p.46

24 S U, 1920, 36, p.172. in Chase, op.cit., p.46.

25 For example of the 38,514 workers mobilized for work in thirty five armament plants during the first nine months of 1920, 34,939 deserted- a net addition of only 3,575 to the workforce, A. Anikst Organizatsiia rabochei sily v 1920 gody (Moscow,1930),50-51. As early as January 1918 one Muscovite said, that " One more basic feature of the Russian revolution is universal laziness and abstention from work.",Got'e op.cit, p.104.

26 Sakwa, op.cit., p.44. See Table 2.7.

27 Pravda,18 January 1919.

28 Simon Liberman, Building Lenin's Russia (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1945),p.40.

29 Liberman,op.cit, p.41.

30 This directive was published in Martyn Latsis, Chrezvychainye komissii po borbe s kontr-revoliutsiei.(Moscow, 1921), pp.54-55. A further example of economic expediency is found in the anthology Lenin i Vchk, where Lenin appeals to Dzerzhinsky to release the eminent hydroelectric designer, Professor Graftio, " since Grafito is a specialist of the first order.",op.cit., p.440.

31 Krasnaia Moskva, col.630, Chase, op.cit., p.21, Sakwa, op.cit, p.61, Harrison, op.cit.,p.151, Goldman, op.cit., p.17, and Berkman, op.cit., p.55.

32 Kommunisticheskii Trud, 4 June 1920

33 The struggle with malfeasance " by way of normal legal repression was impossible in view of the weakness of the judicial apparatus and the criminal investigation apparatus." Krasnaia Moskva, col.630.

34 Krasnaia Moskva, col. 632.

35 Chase, op.cit, p.20. Illiteracy was a chronic problem although official sources cite that 84.3 per cent of men and 67.9 per cent of women were literate; a campaign in March 1920 revealed that in Moscow almost a quarter million people were illiterate, Sakwa, op.cit, p.42.

36 Krasnaia Moskva, col. 630.

[37] Got'e, op.cit., p.448. Chronic inflation was officially recognized by the price index compiled by the Central Statistical Administration which noted that: the price of standard ration goods rose from 1.00 unit in 1913 to 27.80 units in January 1918 to 26,900 units three years later, in Chase, op.cit. p.19. Berkman comments that in the countryside the villagers " pleaded that they could do nothing with the' coloured papers' and begged for articles of ' manufacture,' op.cit., p.272.

[38] Alidin, M Chk, pp.106-107, Gerson, op.cit., pp.68-72, Scott, op. cit.,p.8., Leggett op. cit., pp.52, 117-120, 142, 143, 144, 157, 181, 186-91, 201, Adelman, op.cit., p.84, Berkman, op. cit.,p.65.

[39] Got'e, op. cit., p.317.

[40] Peters writing in the popular journal Ogonyëk in honour of the tenth anniversary of the Vecheka and GPU in Waxmonsky, op.cit., p.48.

[41] Gerson, op.cit., pp.64-65, 69-70.

[42] Harrison, op.cit., p.152. Goldman reported that watching a soldier sell tea to a shopkeeper she inquired " Did he not fear I would report him?" "That's nothing, " the man replied nonchalantly, " The Tcheka knows all about it - it draws a percentage from the soldier and myself." op.cit., p,17. One man was arrested for selling thirty arshins of cloth (legally permitted to sell 3 arshins.) The Moscow Chekist released the arrestee and permitted him to keep 3 arshins. The Moscow Chekist absconded the remaining 27 arshins of cloth, Harrison, op.cit. pp. 152-153.

[43] Alidin, M Chk, pp.101, 103, 105.

[44] Lenin, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii, vol.37, p.174.

[45] Tsvigun et al. Dzerzhinskii, pp.199-201.

[46] Harrison, op.cit., p.154.

[47] Berkman, op.cit., p.59.

[48] Harrison, op. cit., p.154.

[49] Harrison, op.cit., p.155.

[50] Harrison, op.cit., p.154.

[51] Berkman, op.cit, p.58 and Harrison, op.cit. p.154. For a soviet account Pavel Malkov, Kremlin Commandant, described a Sukharevka raid thus: " That morning several lorries drove out of the Kremlin. They split up and arrived at the Sukharevka by different routes, pulled up while the Latvians piled out of them and formed a cordon holding the market in a steel ring. Then the raid began and more than 300 people were detained. [then the] documents of every single person were examined [and] each detainee was carefully interrogated and some were passed on to the militia while others were set free." op.cit.,pp.148-149.

[52] Berkman,op.cit, p.90.

[53] In Appendix Letter 1 in Got'e, op.cit, p.463.

[54] Got'e, op.cit., p.98.

55 Got'e, op. cit.,p.463.

56 Latsis in Krasnyi Terror, No. 1 Kazan, 1 Nov 1918 and in Pravda, 25 December 1918 in Leggett, op.cit, p.114.

57 Harrison, op.cit, p.93.

58 Krasnaia Moskva, cols. 633-634. Once again the arithmetic is wrong because the numbers of arrested males should be 7664 not 7684.

59 Krasnaia Moskva, col. 634.

60 See Harrison, who contends " There were always numbers of Red soldiers in this section, holding under their coats and offering surreptitiously for sale, excellent army shoes purloined from the commissary stores." op. cit., p.151, Goldman, op.cit., p.17, Berkman, op. cit., p.55.

61 Sakwa, op.cit, p.37 and Chase, op.cit, p.75.

62 For the high proportion of children involved: " more than half of the city's crimes were committed by children under the age of 17." Chase, op.cit, p.59. For references to both children and elderly people speculating see Alexander Berkman, op. cit,. pp.58, 59 ,65 , 81, Harrison, op.cit., pp.126, 152, 153.

63 See Sakwa, op.cit, p.37 Table 2.2 and Chase, op. cit., p.76.

64 Berkman,op.cit, p.59.

65 Harrison, op.cit, p.95.

66 From a Buford deportee quoted in Berkman, op.cit,. p.65.

67 Sakwa, op.cit, p.38. See Table 2.4 for a complete occupational structure breakdown of Moscow in 1918 and 1920 based on Statisticheskii ezhegodnik g. Moskvy i Moskovskoi gubernii, issue 2, 1914-25 (Moscow,1927) pp.52-3.

68 Prestupnik i prestupnost pp.355-384.

69 Executions are listed in Krasnaia Moskva, col.632. The figures in this book are inconsistent, in the tables a total figure of 29,770 arrestees exists (cols.633-634) but in the text the number is 31,941 (cols. 631-632.) Unfortunately both Sakwa and Gerson, who frequently use this source, fail to point out the numerous arithmetic errors in this publication.

70 Krasnaia Moskva, cols. 632-633.

71 Harrison, op.cit., pp.153-154.

72 Krasnaia Moskva, col.633.

73 Ransome, op. cit., pp.28-29.

74 Chase,op.cit, p.23.

75 Kritsman, op.cit., p.158 quoted in Sakwa, op.cit, p.60.

76 Sofinov, op.cit., puts the figure at four million, p.215; while according to Tsvigun et al. op.cit., over five million orphaned waifs existed, p.282. For a fuller description of the *besprizornye* and the appalling conditions they endured see Vladimir Zenzinov Bezprizornye (Paris, 1929).

77 Quoted in Lunarchsky, " Dzerzhinskii v Narkomprose," Felix Dzerzhinskii, 1926-1931: Sbornik Statei, ed. R. Abikh (Moscow 1931), pp.423-425.

78 Khromov, op.cit, p.161.

79 Quoted in Steinberg, op. cit., p.229.

80 Latsis Chrezvychainye Komissii, p. 24. The Tsarist police were also involved in a variety of humanitarian functions, including providing clinics and ambulance service to Muscovites, see Robert Thurston. " Police and People in Moscow 1906-1914," Russian Review, July 1980, pp. 320-338.

81 Khromov, op.cit., pp.161-168 and the Introduction to Dzerzhinsky's Prison Diary and Letters. pp.6-7.

82 He was " restricted to writing about personal and family matters, " Prison Diary and Letters, p.7. The first quote is from a letter dated 21 October, 1901 in Siedlce Prison and the second quote is from a letter dated 21 April , 1914, Prison Diary and Letters, p.144, 227.

83 Prison Diary and Letters, pp.134-135, Fitzpatrick, op.cit., p.76. See interview with Alexandra Kollontai in Harrison. op.cit., p.78.

84 Belov et al. op. cit., pp.423-424.

85 The role of the youth in transforming Russian society has been stressed, see Khromov, op.cit, p.167, Shukman. op.cit., pp.156,157. " Recruitment into the Bolshevik party from 1917 was overwhelmingly from young people, [less than one per cent from those over forty] those over 40 were a 'lost generation' as far as the party was concerned, " and the Komsomol organization reflected "the feeling that the Bolshevik revolution was one of youth against tradition, a new world against the old," Sakwa, op.cit., p.160,.207. See Harrison, op.cit., p.78 interviewing Alexandra Kollontai who " Like many other thoughtful Communists, she believes the present generation is hopeless so far as making conscious Communists of the masses is concerned and that, as the Communists express it,' the children are our future.'"

86 Melgounov, op.cit., p.192.

87 Melgounov, op.cit., p.193.

88 Steinberg, op.cit., p.228. In a similar vein Harrison while imprisoned in Moscow, discusses how jailed pregnant women and mothers with children were poorly treated, op.cit., p.295

89 Khromov, op.cit., p.161.

90 Krasnaia Moskva, col. 634., Chase, op.cit., p.59 fn. 29, Harrison, op.cit., p.126, Ransome, op. cit., p.81.

91 Krasnaia Moskva, col. 634. Chase's estimate is based on A. G. " Moskovskaia obshcheugolovnaia prestupnost' v period voennogo kommunizma, " Prestupnik i prestupnost (Moscow 1927), sbornik II, 355-384 and Statisticheskii ezhegodnik 1918-1920, chast XIX tab. XII, 95.

92 Khromov, op.cit., p.164.

93 No definition of a serious crime is given Zenzinov, op.cit., pp.181-189.

94 Khromov, op. cit., p.164.

95 Khromov, op. cit., p.165.

96 Knight, op.cit., p.10.

97 Dzerzhinsky, Prison Diary and Letters, p.178.

98 E. J. Scott, op.cit., p.13 citing N. Iustitsii, otchet IXomu Vserossiiskomu sezdu Sovetov (1921). p.42.

99 For example on Easter Sunday 16 April, 1920 a huge *voskresnik* was staged, Sakwa, op.cit., p.204.

100 Tsvigun et al., op.cit., p.287.

101 Leggett, op.cit., p.309 and Harrison, op.cit.,p.132.

102 Leggett, op.cit., p.309.

103 Harrison, op.cit., p.135. In Soviet Russia a graded rationing system existed which allotted rations according to the perceived value of work to the Soviet state.

104 Harrison, op.cit., p.133 and 134-139, Berkman, op.cit., p.56, Ransome, op. cit., p.64.

105 Sakwa, op.cit., p.206. Many " Red Armists in uniform " attended church, Harrison op.cit., p.134.

106 Sakwa, op.cit, p.206.

107 Waxmonsky, op.cit., p.29.

108 Krasnaia Moskva. cols. 633-634.

109 Krasnaia Moskva, cols. 631-632. These items probably did not constitute all the confiscated goods, but the variety of absconded goods is striking. The legend explains the abbreviations found in Table 2.8.

r=rubles, k= kopecks
p=pood = 1 pood = ca.36 lb.=16.5 kg.
f=funt = 1/40th pood =0.41 kg.
z= zolotnik = 1/96 of a pood.
d= dolya = 44mg.
arshin = 28 inches
barrel = bochka = 108 gallons
sht.= shtock = pieces or items

110 Sakwa, op.cit., p.xv.

111 Chase, op.cit, p.x.

CHAPTER THREE

During the course of the civil war the Moscow Cheka became increasingly involved in monitoring, arresting and guarding against perceived political opposition to Soviet rule. Between 1 December 1918 and 1 Nov 1920 the Moscow Cheka allegedly uncovered 59 counter-revolutionary groups and arrested over five thousand people (see Table 3.2.) Significantly, not only 'bourgeois' parties were annihilated; all non-Bolshevik parties of the left in Soviet Russia (Mensheviks, Right and Left SR's, Anarchists, Populist Socialists and Maximalists, etc.) were virtually destroyed. Bolshevik policies towards these parties oscillated between repression and relative tolerance. Tangible internal and external factors modified the policies of the Moscow Cheka. It should be emphasized that in analysing political repression and terror all matters are not easily explained or categorized; here one " runs the risk of finding a developmental rationale for every policy a regime adopts, whether or not one exists [and] Nowhere is this danger greater than in the analysis of political terror."[1] This chapter will analyse primarily the major transformations in the political role of the Moscow Cheka. Central to this study is the relationship between the Bolshevik party and the Moscow Cheka and the limits or controls, formal and actual, on Moscow Cheka activity.

The newly formed Moscow Cheka was merged with the Vecheka when the latter transferred their headquarters, along with the Soviet government, to Moscow in March 1918. The Chekists began their security operations in a city that resented their presence. Yakov Peters, Vecheka Deputy Chairman, stated " The Muscovites basically did not welcome the Cheka. "[2] The Soviet government selected the Anarchists, a disparate collection of groups rather than a cohesive party, as their first target on the left for attack. One Chekist leader described the atmosphere, " In Moscow, in general, at that time there was a peaceful mood, and the Moscow military commissariat even issued arms to the anarchist headquarters " and Trotsky even admitted that the Anarchists had " helped in our hour of revolution [October]. "[3] However, the period of co-operation was subsiding and the Anarchists gradually engendered the hostility of the Soviet government. The Moscow Anarchists continued their critique of Bolshevik policies in their newspapers, the Anarchist-Syndicalist's *Golos Truda* (The Voice of Labour) and the Moscow Federation of Anarchist's, *Anarkhiia* (Anarchy.)[4]

Significantly, only after signing the controversial Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (virulently opposed by the Anarchists) did the Soviet authorities begin a security assault on them. This treaty initially reduced

Bolshevik military reliance on the Anarchists and this "breathing spell" (*peredyshka*) allowed the Cheka to consolidate their domestic hold. In the spring of 1918, the Anarchists unlike the other leftist parties, were a tangible security threat:

> Partly in preparation for the anticipated guerilla warfare against the Germans, and partly to discourage hostile maneuvers by the Soviet government, the local clubs of the Moscow Federation of Anarchists had been organizing detachments of " Black Guards," arming them with rifles pistols and grenades.[5]

Local crime authorities and the Moscow Federation of Anarchists found monitoring the activities of these armed groups difficult; illegal 'requisitioning' of private residences and 'expropriations' were rampant. The Moscow Federation, for example, were to announce in the 16 March 1918 issue of *Anarkhiia*, that " it does not condone any seizures for personal gain or for personal profit in general, and that it will take every step to combat such manifestations of the bourgeois spirit."[6] The "in general" disclaimer questions the Moscow Federation's commitment to combat this activity.

Less than a month later, on April 11, 1918, the Soviet authorities planned a co-ordinated attack on the Anarchists. Pavel Malkov, Kremlin Commandant, discussed this Vecheka meeting that produced a " prepared plan of operations. . . Cheka detachments, army units, Latvian riflemen from the Kremlin were all drawn into operations aimed at disarming the anarchists."[7] The previous account could be interpreted as a concerted security operation, but it also reflects the initial weakness of the Cheka units, because army units and Latvian *strelki* had to be deployed. The scope and importance of this April 11/12 operation is highlighted by the twenty six anarchist centers that were raided. Most Anarchists surrendered peacefully, but in the Donskoi Monastery and in the House of Anarchy (headquarters of the Moscow Federation) fierce resistance produced hundreds of arrests and the death or injury of about a dozen Cheka agents and thirty Anarchists.[8] Soviet sources are inconsistent on the numbers of captured and arrested Anarchists, figures range from 400 to 800 arrested.[9] Accepting that 600 Anarchists were arrested in this single raid, the official figures of arrestees compiled by the Moscow Cheka in Krasnaia Moskva contend that only 643 Anarchists (432 Anarchists and 211 Underground Anarchists) were arrested in a two year period seem grossly underestimated(see Table 3.2.)

Not only are the statistics questionable but it is clear that to undermine the legitimacy of this movement, the number of "ideological" anarchists captured was severely deflated. Peters predictably claimed that only 5

per cent of those arrested were "ideological"(*ideinye*) Anarchists and Malkov also contends that " there were not more than about thirty real 'ideological' anarchists."[10] Categorizing the "real 'ideological' anarchists" proved difficult and the Soviet authorities were reluctant to distinguish between the criminal elements, political terrorists and the idealistic theorists among the Anarchists. A consistent and familiar response by the Bolshevik authorities was that they were only rounding up criminal elements, not truly "ideological" Anarchists.[11] The link between anarchism and criminality was continually emphasized. Dzerzhinsky contended that after this April 11/12 raid, " which ended in the clearing out of the anarchists' stronghold, criminality in Moscow decreased by 80 per cent."[12] However, this claim is not substantiated and the official statistics compiled in Krasnaia Moskva indicate that up until August 1919 criminal offenses still constituted the main role of the Moscow Cheka (see Table 2.7.) Significantly, unanimity on the Anarchist attack did not exist among all party and state organs. The Moscow Soviet protested that many Anarchists were shot without their consultation and as Latsis commented later:

> Nowadays this seems amazing, but at the time there were not a few comrades. . . for whom the principle of the inviolability of the individual was placed higher than the interests of the revolution.[13]

The party which subsequently also violated "the interests of the revolution" was the Left SRs who orchestrated an uprising on 6 July 1918. In conjunction with the Anarchists, the Left SR party was the most combative party of the left operating in Moscow. The Moscow Cheka claimed to have unearthed fourteen Left SR counter-revolutionary organizations and arrested 196 party members between 1 December 1918 and 1 November 1920 (see Table 3.2.) The Left SRs were the only political party to officially share power with the Bolsheviks in the coalition government after the October Revolution. Although a growing estrangement between these parties was developing, the harsh conditions of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and the Bolshevik policy of exacting grain from the peasantry to feed the cities (*Kombedy*- Committees of the Poor) finalized the split. However, many Left SRs still retained their prominent positions in the Cheka organizations. For example, 7 of the 20 Vecheka Collegium Chekists were Left SR members in July 1918. The Left SR revolt began with the assassination of the German ambassador, Count Mirbach, on 6 July 1918 and was swiftly followed by the capture of Dzerzhinsky and Latsis. Through exploitation of their position in the Vecheka, the Left SRs had a dominant influence in the Vecheka Combat Detachment, headed by Dmitrii Popov.

Nevertheless, the Bolshevik authorities succeeded in isolating the Left SRs and in thwarting this uprising. The Left SR party contended that the assassination of Mirbach was not part of the plot to overthrow the Bolsheviks, but to demonstrate opposition on specific issues (Brest-Litovsk, restoration of the death penalty and the oppression of the peasants.)[14] As Left SR Steinberg put it: " Why did the LSR Rising fail? It failed because there was no question of rising against the Government. If the Party had wished to overthrow the Bolshevik Government and seize political power for itself, it would have acted differently. But the Party was not concerned at that moment with seizing the apparatus of government, it was concerned with bringing about a radical alteration of Soviet policy."[15] Although Aleksandrovich and twelve other insurgents from Popov's Combat Detachment were summarily condemned to death by the Vecheka on 7 July 1918, the reprisals, in general, were relatively lenient.[16]

Beginning in the summer of 1918 and continuing throughout the the civil war, socialist parties of all hues were faced with a severe dilemma. Any opposition to Lenin's regime during the civil war might tip the balance in favour of the counter-revolutionaries; but active support, or even benevolent neutrality, might make the Bolsheviks difficult to oust after the conflict.[17] Accordingly, a variety of stances which ranged from active resistance, through passive neutrality to eager collaboration, were adopted in the leftist camp. The degree of collaboration or resistance was primarily modified by certain conditions, such as the nature of internal Bolshevik policies and the external threat posed by the Allied and White Armies. Co-operation with the Bolsheviks became difficult throughout the summer of 1918 because the nature of Cheka reprisals intensified, culminating in the 5 September Sovnarkom Decree on the Red Terror, which stated:

> that it is absolutely essential to safeguard the rear by means of terror; that in order to increase the activity of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, and to instill into it a more systematic approach, it is necessary to reinforce it with as many responsible Party comrades as possible; that it is essential to protect the Soviet Republic against its class enemies by isolating them in concentration camps; that all persons involved in White Guard organizations, plots and insurrections are to be shot; and that it is necessary to publish the names of those shot, giving the grounds for their execution.[18]

Considerable debate revolves around whether this phase of terror marked a significant departure from the past and secondly, if the circumstances justified such repressive measures as an official state policy of Red Terror. This decree was not a radical break from previous policies because the Soviet government had long been preaching and practicing terror.[19] The following examples highlight Soviet repressive policies:

declaring Kadets "enemies of the people" in November, 1917; dissolving the Constituent Assembly in January 1918; ordering that " Enemy agents, profiteers, marauders, hooligans, counter-revolutionary agitators and German spies, [were] to be shot on the spot" in February 1918; implementing the Committees of the Poor (forcibly requisitioning grain 'surpluses' from the peasants) in June 1918; and urging mass terror to avenge the murder of Commissar Volodarsky in June 1918.[20] In early June Dzerzhinsky gave the following interview to the Menshevik paper *Novaia Zhizn* (New Life):

> We stand for organized terror. . . Terror is an absolute necessity during times of revolution.. . . We terrorize the enemies of the Soviet government in order to stop crime at its inception. . . The Cheka is not a court. The Cheka is the defence of the revolution as the Red Army is. And just as in the civil war the Red Army cannot stop to ask whether or not it may harm individuals, . . . the Cheka is obliged to defend the revolution and conquer the enemy even if its sword by chance sometimes fall upon the heads of the innocent.[21]

On 25 July 1918, Vladimir Got'e wrote, " It seems that the Moscow terror is intensifying: the telephones have been disconnected; the newspapers have all been suppressed, except for theirs, of course; people are in the dark; only rumours that as a rule make no sense creep out of the gloom."[22]

It is problematic to decide if the scale and scope of the domestic and foreign threats to Soviet power justified the introduction of the 5 September Decree on Red Terror. In this debate, John Adelman contends, that " it was the spreading White terror in the summer of 1918 which unleashed Red terror. . . The assassinations of Volodarsky, a popular Petrograd tribune, and Uritsky, head of the Petrograd Cheka, and the serious wounding of Lenin at the end of August, [both attacks coincidentally occurred on 30 August] compelled the Party to counter with Red terror, " while John Dziak states that " Red terror begat White counter-terror; however the ferocity of the Red crusade, driven by a programmatic ideology preaching class hatred, far outpaced the reactive White impulse."[23] Dziak's interpretation is more convincing. At the end of August Latsis, a leading Chekist, declared, " In the civil war there is no place for judicial procedure. The struggle is one of life and death. If you do not kill, you will be killed . . . kill that you may not be killed."[24] In a similar vein Lenin argued that, " Terror was forced upon us by the terrorism of the Entente."[25] The impression that Allied intervention inspired the terror is not valid - its military impact (as opposed to its psychological effect) was negligible at this stage.[26]

It should be emphasized that the Soviet government was not merely responding to alleged military assaults on their power, but intensifying the ideological component in this civil war. Menshevik David Dallin contends, an " intensified civil war fitted in with Lenin's conception of a true revolution against all 'urban and rural capitalist elements.'"[27] Latsis would summarize the essence of Chekist procedures:

> Do not ask for incriminating evidence to prove that the prisoner opposed the Soviets either by arms or by words. Your first duty is to ask him to what class he belongs, what were his origins, education, and occupation. These questions should decide the fate of the prisoner. This is the meaning and essence of Red Terror. . . [28]

Both sides bear responsibility for the escalating violence, but the Bolsheviks intensified the crises by resorting to 'class justice,' irrespective of personal guilt. Individual attacks against prominent Party members were translated into wholescale retribution against certain groups of people. Karl Radek, a leading Bolshevik, contended that intimidating certain sectors of the population was crucial:

> For whereas punishment of individual bourgeois who have never really taken an active part in the White Guard Movement is valuable enough in so far as it may intimidate the rest, the sequel to the death of a Communist worker ought to be a taking of bourgeois lives by the dozen[29]

Guilt by association became the operating credo as thousands of hostages were shot in the following months throughout Soviet Russia. Significantly, the first mass killing preceded this decree; on 3 September, Izvestiia announced that over 500 hostages had been shot by the Petrograd Cheka (officially 800 executions occurred in the first six weeks of this decree in this city.)[30] Former Left SR Justice Minister, Steinberg, summarized this insidious new element:

> Terror, finally is in the mass executions of the innocent, when random members of the opposing classes, who fall into the hands of the regime, or who happen to be in its prisons, pay for other men's guilt: terror is in the system of hostages, by which some are held responsible for the deeds of others.[31]

The official call for " open, mass systematic terror against the bourgeoisie and its agents " was heeded as hundreds of Muscovites were executed in the fields of Khodynka:

> Mass executions in Moscow- Scheglovitov, Khovstov, Beletskii, and the archpriest Vostorgov have perished, they hardly could have thought that they would perish because of the shot fired at Lenin by the Jewess SR, Roid-Kaplan [Fanny Kaplan.][32]

Class hatred was taken to new lengths under the dictatorship of the proletariat: it was not sufficient to expropriate the bourgeoisie, instead it became a campaign for their actual physical liquidation. The aim, as

Latsis put it on 1 November 1918, was " to destroy the bourgeoisie as a class."[33] Official figures about the scale of the executions in Moscow in the fall of 1918 are vague, but estimates range from 300-500 people and the Weekly Bulletin of the Cheka no. 6. published a list of ninety executed people which included ex-ministers, military officers, co-operative society employees, lawyers, students and clergy.[34]

That the scale of the Cheka reprisals in Moscow was significant, is reflected in the movement by party and state organs, for greater accountability and restraint. The Red Terror did not create an antagonistic relationship between the Moscow Soviet and the Cheka organizations, it only intensified earlier misgivings.[35] State institutions, especially the NKVD (Commissariat of Internal Affairs) and NKIu (Commissariat of Justice), were launching a campaign of criticism against the Cheka organizations. The NKVD executive departments were formally attached to the Provincial and District Soviets, but were still taking their orders from the central Vecheka (dual subordination caused friction) and the NKIu resented the competing systems of punitive Cheka organizations operating parallel to the NKIu's Revolutionary Tribunals but without judicial procedures.[36] Numerous pleas by various soviet bodies called for greater party direction over the *raion* Chekas and urged that local Chekas should give frequent reports to party meetings.[37] Moscow's newspapers lambasted the Cheka for the enthusiasm with which it imposed the death penalty.[38] Leading Chekists were well aware of the mounting criticism. Latsis admitted, " the majority of Party members had ill-conceived notions about the Vecheka, and some of them even campaigned against us, " and Moroz commented that this was the most testing time in their history.[39]

Part of the problem involved Cheka reliance on oral rather than written directives, especially in critical or sensitive cases.[40] While oral directives allowed for a greater degree of operational flexibility, the liabilities in accountability and control are significant. In October 1918, the Moscow Party Committee complained that " the absence of norms regulating the activity of the Extraordinary Commissions, painfully colours their work to the greatest degree, creating a number of negative occurrences."[41] These " negative occurrences " remain vague, but the Chekists responded to these criticisms through an internal revision of policy and a press campaign. In November 1918 the first Chekist training course which lasted two weeks, was created in Moscow and during 1919-20 it eventually developed into a two month program.[42] Unfortunately, few details about the curriculum, type of training or results are available.[43] A further indication that the Chekists were

concerned about promoting a more professional security force, is found in Vladimir Got'e's 12 October 1918 diary entry which provides the following intriguing information:

> I was visited today in the museum by the head of the investigatory section of the Cheka, comrade Romanov, who asked me to help them find instructions or regulations for the gendarmes [Corps of Gendarmes, the political police instituted by Nicholas 1], so that these regulations, in altered form, can be applied to the current chaos. . . [44]

Flexibility was required in the desperate and chaotic conditions faced by the Chekists and this produced the ironic situation of a revolutionary security organ, the Cheka, seeking the rules of an imperial police, the Corps of Gendarmes. The previous quote also emphasizes that the Cheka did not have a clear, coherent model of operation, but were developing their policies in an ad hoc manner. Significantly, this was a private visit to the museum, but it tempers the rhetoric about "revolutionary conscience" and "communist intuition" solely guiding the Chekists.[45] Publicly, the Chekists were urged to operate under a revolutionary code, but privately the Cheka leaders, at least, were scrambling to control their personnel. By November 1918 the Moscow Soviet felt that the city required its own Cheka if only to control the *raion* chekas, and in early December the Moscow city Cheka was created.

While the Moscow Soviet formed the Moscow Cheka partly to control the *raion* chekas, the most logical organization to monitor Cheka activities was Goskontrol (Commissariat for State Control) or in its transformed state, after early 1920, Rabkrin, (Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.) The mandate of these organizations was to " check the activities and the effectiveness of the work of all state bodies on behalf of Sovnarkom."[46] Significantly, according to the Interim Report of the Committee to Collect Information on Russia a list from 1920 stated that Goskontrol department Number 6 was responsible for inspection of VTsIK, Sovnarkom, NKVD, NKID (Commissariat of Foreign Affairs) and NKIu but the Vecheka was not mentioned.[47] Direct Rabkrin interference in cheka affairs, was only found by in the 1920 Rabkrin report concerning the inspection of 38 places of detention in Moscow, including 5 prisons and 7 forced labour camps; of the 293 persons participating in the inspection, 53 represented the Moscow Cheka and Vecheka.[48] Although hardly an impartial body, this commission investigated the cases of 7,132 prisoners (of whom 3, 147 or 43 per cent had been committed by the Moscow Cheka or Vecheka) and recommended that 3,074 or 42 percent of the total, could be released without danger to the state.[49] This is not only

testimony to the crucial role the Cheka organizations played in Moscow, committing 43 percent of the prisoners, (members of the NKVD, Revolutionary Tribunals and NKIu also had the powers of arrest) but the fact that 42 per cent were given the recommendation to leave suggests large-scale mistakes occurred. During this same investigation, 95 percent of the 1,569 inmates in the Butyrki prison (primarily political prisoners) were attributed to the Moscow Cheka and Vecheka but, significantly, only 45 prisoners had been sentenced; the rest were under investigation.[50] It would seem that numerous Muscovites were arrested on dubious grounds because after a Rabkrin examination of those arrested by all city criminal authorities in the first six months of 1920, 11,344 or 65 per cent were recommended to be freed.[51] These statistics seem to refute Adelman's recent apologetic analysis that " the terror and coercion was directed against real and substantial enemies during wartime."[52] Rabkrin controls on the Chekas were sporadic because no official or regular mechanism existed to monitor their activities.

If neither Goskontol nor Rabkrin regulated Cheka activities, then the most logical 'outsider' was Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, because the Vecheka was formally subordinate to Sovnarkom and then to the Politburo. There is a general consensus among Soviet and many Western commentators that Lenin himself maintained effective control over, and responsibility for, Cheka activities. Soviet writers have attempted to boost the legitimacy of their current system and its continuity with the past, by extolling the leadership qualities and organizational ability of their first leader, while western writers have often focused on the involvement of Lenin in the Cheka organizations, to prove the link between Lenin and Stalin.[53] One official Soviet account which contends that Lenin " not only defined its basic orientations, but in a number of instances exercised direct supervision over the measures taken by Chekist organs," mirrors the typical Western interpretation " of the decisive role played by Lenin in shaping the practical and theoretical bases of the Cheka's activity."[54]

To measure Lenin's direct involvement in the Moscow Cheka is problematic. Geographical proximity should have made Lenin's monitoring the Moscow Cheka easier than the Provincial chekas. Nevertheless, it is interesting that he only wrote 13 out of the 229 documents compiled in the only official anthology of this organization, MChk Iz Istorii Moskovksoi chrezvychainoi komissii (1918-1921,)[55] This contrasts with the most recent official collection S.K. Tsvigun's Lenin i VChk, where Lenin wrote most of the 532 documents. Lenin's main mechanism to ensure an accountable network of Cheka organizations was to develop a close

relationship with the chairman of the Moscow Cheka and Vecheka, Feliks Dzerzhinsky. Despite fundamental theoretical and policy differences, both in the pre-revolutionary and post revolutionary eras, Lenin accorded Dzerzhinsky privileged instant access.[56] Dzerzhinsky and Yakov Sverdlov, chairman of the VTsIK, were the only two people who were immediately permitted through a special door into Lenin's office.[57] Lenin often sent telegrams or notes to Dzerzhinsky and other leading Chekists, giving practical orders on the principles of arrest, search and investigation. For example, searches are " to be conducted at night; " during searches " special measures must be taken to prevent papers being destroyed, escapes made, documents concealed; " arrests are not be made immediately but after the person has been " followed and tracked down."[58]

Lenin was not only concerned with the operational aspects but also the personal needs of the Chekists. One account from the Moscow Cheka's Economic Department addressed to " Vladimir Ilyich " requested 1,417 rubles and 75 kopecks for the purchase of a pair of boots, a suit, braces and a belt, but Lenin carefully checked this bill and found it an underestimate: " Herewith remitting 2,000 rubles, I request and categorically demand that this account, which is clearly an underestimate, be amended."[59] Ironically, the real market prices of July 1919 would have made these purchases impossible even for 2,000 rubles.[60] Nevertheless, this example highlights Lenin's attention to small details and fosters the image of his scrutinizing approach to all matters concerning Cheka activity. On a more significant level, Lenin in 1919 appointed a party Politburo member - Bukharin at first and later Stalin - to the Vecheka Collegium with right of veto, to improve accountability and dispel criticism.[61]

The tactic of posting party Politburo members to the Vecheka mirrors the continual effort by both the Cheka and party hierarchy to increase the proportion of Communist party members in the Cheka ranks. Lenin's declaration, that " a good Communist is also at the same time a good Chekist" was reaffirmed by statements, that " Establishing the closest possible links between Party organizations and Extraordinary Commissions. . . binding all Party members in responsible posts to report to the Extraordinary Commissions" was desirable.[62] As early as April 1918, Dzerzhinsky proclaimed to the highest party and state organs that: "Personnel of the Commission [Cheka] are already overloaded with work after several months, and are cut off from any intercourse whatsoever with their party, the soviets, and the masses" and further requested from the Moscow Oblast Council of Peoples Commissars " ideally self-restrained comrades."

[63] In the Moscow district of Gorodskoi, the Raion Party Organization (RPO) on 19 September 1918 noted the lack of party direction over the raion Chekas and urged that more party members should join to ensure control.[64] Nevertheless, ambivalent feelings about the role of the party within the Cheka organizations existed. This was illustrated by the Moscow Zamoskvorech'e raion Cheka, which asked the Raion Committee (RK) in September 1918 to form communist detachments to assist in raids and searches (this implied only an auxiliary role for the party.)[65] Assessing whether the local or *raion* Cheka bodies were consistently ambivalent about party influence is impossible to verify. The Moscow Soviet believed the Cheka organizations were ambivalent about party and soviet control and this perception contributed to the abolition of the raion chekas in January 1919. Nevertheless, the main rationale behind this abolition was that the *raion* chekas " had distinguished themselves by the ferocity with which they had prosecuted the red terror."[66]

Nevertheless, the Cheka hierarchy was keen to acquire personnel and to develop links with party bodies, especially Komsomol (Communist Party Youth Organization.) Scant information exists about this relationship. However, the Moscow Chekist, E. G. Kronenberg, was one of the organizers in 1920 and later secretary of the Komsomol cell which was attached to both the Moscow Cheka and Vecheka.[67] Only one out of the 229 documents in Alidin's M Chk, discussed the Cheka-Komsomol relationship. Significantly, this document involved an order issued by the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party which declared that participation in " searches, arrests and investigations [exerts a] demoralizing influence "on Komsomol members.[68] These youths participated in operational activities with the Moscow Chekists, but it is impossible to deduce from the available information whether their numbers changed over time.[69] Generally, however, the existence of a Cheka-Komsomol cell highlights that the Cheka wanted to be associated with Communist youth, and potentially with the future Communist party leadership. Interestingly, no information exists about whether or not the Moscow Cheka tried to develop official links with the other major communist agitational body, Zhenotdel (the Women's Section of the Central Committee.)[70] Recruitment campaigns, especially for party members, were continually in progress because of alleged quantitative and qualitative personnel shortages.

If the Moscow Cheka was such a vital organization, why was it plagued with chronic personnel shortages? The official explanation contends that the answer was " clear and simple. There were no new

people, and the best ones were sent to the front (30 people in August of this year [1919] and the worst ones expelled."[71] In December 1919 a Central Committee decree called on Party committees to send the " greatest number of the most steady, capable of being fully responsible comrades " to the Cheka to replace mobilized Communists.[72] This is a plausible explanation; according to the compiled biographies and secondary sources, Red Army assignments during the civil war were frequent among Chekists.[73] Nevertheless, personnel shortages were not due simply to the military effort; earlier, in June 1919, as part of the campaign to reduce Chekist influence, an undetermined number of Chekists were transferred to the militia and to the Criminal Investigation Department.[74]

This personnel handicap - although few organizations admit to being adequately staffed - must have affected the efficiency and thoroughness of their investigations. One Moscow Chekist commented:

> If one bears in mind that only in rare instances were fewer than five persons brought in for interrogation in connection with each case, the usual number being ten to fifteen, with many cases requiring the interrogation of up to one hundred persons, it becomes clear why an investigator often had to work thirty to forty hours without rest, why only a few were able to endure such punishing labour for any length of time, and why the interrogation of various counterrevolutionaries, saboteurs, and speculators did not always take place immediately after arrest.[75]

In the first half of 1919, the Moscow Cheka Investigation Department, with a staff of only twelve, managed to process no fewer than eight thousand cases, or about three cases a day for each Cheka investigator.[76] The Moscow Cheka officially admitted to struggling " especially in the Investigation and Operational departments [my emphasis] in order to avoid subjectivity, one-sidedness and prejudicial actions."[77] This incredible admission is coupled with the assurance, in the same sentence, that the Moscow Cheka was " straining every nerve " to recruit a " more intelligent and educated cadre of workers, especially in the Investigation department."[78] These admissions are significant for a variety of reasons. Problems were directly attributed to general personnel deficiencies, both quantitatively and qualitatively, but the whole rationale of the Cheka organizations was not questioned. Secondly, because the Investigation department handled most of the cases dealing with suspected counter-revolutionaries, and its workload would more that double during the summer of 1919, serious questions arise about whether or not cases were thoroughly investigated and proper procedures followed (see Table 2.7.)

However, the Moscow Cheka concentrated initially more on strictly 'criminal' rather than political matters. After the "Red Terror" of the fall of 1918, a political relaxation occurred from approximately November 1918 to March 1919. This thaw is confirmed statistically; the lowest recorded arrest of political suspects occurred in the spring of 1919 (429 were arrested by the Moscow Cheka, See Table 3.1.) Menshevik and SR clubs were allowed to reopen; their members held meetings; printed newspapers, etc. Lenin wrote the following justification:

> The period of sharp divergence between our proletarian revolution and Menshevik and SR democracy was a historical necessity. It would be preposterous to insist solely on tactics of repression and terror toward petty-bourgeois democracy when the course of events is forcing it to turn towards us.[79]

Although Allied intervention was accelerating, Soviet hopes and efforts were being directed towards a negotiated settlement with the West; the defeat of Germany, and the possibility of a German revolution were encouraging signs. The rationale given for the initial thaw was the Spartakusbund Uprising and the imminent convening of the Third International (Comintern.)[80] Significantly, this period of relative toleration lasted only until March 1919; the Spartakusbund had already been suppressed in January 1919, negotiations with the West had failed by March, and the Comintern had opened on 4 March 1919.[81] Whenever the Bolsheviks wanted to impress foreign opinion, more conciliatory policies were adopted. Nevertheless, renewed repressions occurred around March 1919 because " the Bolsheviks had stopped courting western socialists."[82] The newspaper of the Menshevik Central Committee, Vsegda Vpered (Always Forward) was closed down on 26 February, 1919 and similarly the SR newspaper Delo Naroda, (People's Cause) under Victor Chernov's editorship, was also closed in late March.[83]

In April 1919, the Menshevik Central Committee, based in Moscow, issued a leaflet documenting the new wave of repression:

> Our premises are sealed, then unsealed, then resealed. We are arrested on the pretext of checking our identity papers, and then the press announces forthwith that five deserters are found among us. We are released with apologies and rearrested a week later. In the interim, the Presidium of the Moscow Soviet declares that we are legal party. . . , and a few days later the same Moscow Soviet declares us enemies of the working class, and its resolution consecrates the arrest of Mensheviks and persecution initiated against us by the official newspapers.[84]

This highlights the vacillating nature of Bolshevik repressions. Brovkin contends that " out of moral concern for their political reputation, or political expediency some Bolsheviks had a hard time bringing themselves to agree to an outright ban on the socialist opposition press."[85] These are valid explanations but the possibility exists that these vacillations were deliberate. Its seems plausible that the Bolsheviks intended to keep the opposition in limbo by altering erratically their policy, and Cheka activities during the summer of 1919 would support such an interpretation.

During the summer of 1919, Moscow Cheka activities shifted, concentrating not only on malfeasance and speculation, (See Chapter 2) but also on counter-revolution. There was a manifold increase in the number of cases of counter-revolutionary activity uncovered by their agents: from 429 during the first third of 1919, to 1,139 between 1 May and 31 July, and 2896 between 1 August and 31 December (See Table 3.1.) A significant factor in this steep rise is the intensification of the civil war in Moscow, when General Denikin and his troops approached the city in the summer of 1919. The military danger led to the discovery of numerous 'plots.' A new wave of heightened repression gripped Moscow.

TABLE: 3.1 ARREST OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES BY THE MOSCOW CHEKA[86]

1919						1920					
1JAN-30 APR		1MAY-31 JUL1		1AUG-31 OCT1		1NOV-31 DEC1		1JAN-31 JUN 1		1JUL- NOV 30	
429	18%	1139	35%	1689	30%	1207	32%	870	4%	1240	10%

It has generally been acknowledged that the greatest concentration of 'terror' occurred after the promulgation of the decree on Red Terror, in the fall of 1918.[87] However, available information suggests that contrary to accepted opinion, the scale of the 'Red Terror' in the fall of 1918, was far less than in the fall of 1919. Between January 1919 and November 1920 the largest concentration of political arrests, 2896, occurred during the last six months of 1919, peaking with the arrest of 1689 people between 1 August and 31 October. Memoir and diary accounts also support these statistics. According to Sergei Melgounov there was " another wave of bloody terrorism " and Vladimir Got'e, on 4 October 1919, wrote the following diary entry:

> . . . the essential character of the present moment: it is, of course, more serious than a year ago when the outbreak of 'red terror' was the consequence of the attempt on Lenin's life. The pressure from without has grown stronger; they [Bolsheviks] themselves recognise that decisive days are at hand.[88]

Bolsheviks exaggerated the military threat in the fall of 1918, but in the fall of 1919 they faced a substantial military force of Allied and White troops, and therefore the possibility of more severe repressions existed.[89] The Bolsheviks certainly recognised the danger. Lenin, in a note dated 8 June 1919, urged an acceleration in the tactic of holding hostages: " We must increase the capture of hostages from the bourgeoisie and from officers' families in view of the growing number of cases of treason. Arrange with Dzerzhinsky. . ." [90]

It should be emphasized that the arrests and searches were not merely due to the Denikin advance; civil disturbances in Moscow were increasing. On 12 June 1919, Got'e's following note foreshadows the crackdown:

> Moscow, has begun to be agitated. The cause of this is the non distribution of bread, and there is nowhere to get it. There is agitation among the workers and rabble in Moscow: there were demonstrations already last Sunday, repeated on Monday and Tuesday. . . The demands are - bread, down with the civil war, free trade.[91]

If the Soviet power was ostensibly based on the support of the working classes then demonstrations calling for " bread, down with the civil war, [and] free trade " highlight the precarious condition of 'the dictatorship of the proletariat.' From the middle of the summer onwards, the Moscow Cheka would continue their policy of intermittent harassment of the populace. The scale, scope and methods of searches and arrests would alternate between targeting particular groups and periods of relative calm followed by intense repression. One Muscovite describes the pattern: on 1 August, the " basic fact of Moscow life for the past few days: universal searches, or at least searches on an unprecedented scale; " on 13 August " The searches have stopped; " on 1 September " The arrests carried out on Friday surpass all plausibility: they picked up [people] in all circles. Apparently the arrested number in the hundreds: they took Kadets, other party people, they snagged the Religious-Philosophical Society, theosophists, lawyers - you can't tell what guided those who were doing the arresting, that is the Cheka. The general impression remains that they are taking hostages. "[92]

As previously mentioned, arrests of counter-revolutionaries peaked between 1 August and 31 October 1919, and this was partly due to the discovery of the so-called National Center and the bombing of the communist party headquarters. The National Center was a clandestine organization of anti-German, anti-

bolshevik liberals that allegedly supplied the White armies with information on the Red Army and prepared for insurrections in Petrograd and Moscow.[93] Dzerzhinsky's version of this conspiracy was printed in Izvestiia of 27 September, and he reported the arrest of about 700 out of a total of 800 participants, all of them officers or officer-cadets.[94] Although the conspirators were captured on the night of 18-19 September, retribution was swift because Izvestiia and Pravda of 23 September named sixty-seven members of the National Center who had been executed. Nevertheless, Got'e questions the details of this 'plot':

> If this isn't simple provocation, is it possible to imagine a greater stupidity? How in the Kadet manner it all is - in the first place, all [the posts] go to them, who have let everything slip; secondly, everything is naively put down in writing.[95]

However, the 25 September 1919 "Underground Anarchists'" bomb attack on the Communist Party's headquarters in Leontevskii Pereulok, which killed twelve and wounded fifty-five Party members attending a plenary session, was a definite plot.[96] Many prominent anarchist leaders disavowed the bombing attack, but this event triggered a massive wave of new arrests. Because responsibility for this attack was not traced to the Anarchists and Left SRs until later, many hostages who were captured and executed were of the 'bourgeois' variety. Summary justice prevailed, because " Dzerzhinsky came direct from the scene of the explosion to the Moscow Cheka and ordered that all Kadet Party members, ex-gendarmes, aristocrats, and other representatives of the ancien regime who were held in Moscow prisons and camps should be executed forthwith. Literally hundreds perished that night and on the following day, before the order was rescinded on the intervention of the VTsIK and of the Communist Party's Central Committee."[97] Despite discovering the real culprits, (Anarchists) the Soviet authorities still levied the charge of promoting "white-guardist agitation."[98] Hundreds of Anarchists were rounded up by the Moscow Cheka and Vecheka and jailed or tried by three-person summary courts. Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, intervened on the behalf of forty-five Anarchists in Moscow's Butryki prison, who were on a hunger strike because of the unbearable conditions and because no formal charges had been laid, even after many months of incarceration.[99] A meeting with Lenin produced the familiar assurance, that " *ideini* Anarchists are not persecuted [but that] agitation against the Soviet government cannot be tolerated."[100] Paul Avrich concluded sardonically about Cheka methods: " Unfortunately for the "ideological" anarchists, the Cheka did not bother to run its prisoners through a catechism of anarchist doctrine before meting out retribution."[101] On the one hand an official appeal " to all

Moscow workers and all ideological anarchists " about information concerning the Leontevskii bombing was published, but on the other hand, Soviet officials refused to legalize "ideological" Anarchists educational literature.[102] Nevertheless, the 'correct' individual behaviour of Anarchists did not ensure immunity from official harassment.

External factors modified the Cheka repression, because the treatment of Anarchists in Moscow can be directly traced, for example, to whether or not the Soviet government was co-operating with the Anarchist leader, Nestor Makhno, in the Ukraine. Nestor Makhno collaborated with the Red Army when the Whites were a serious military danger, but asserted his independence when the White threat subsided.[103] During one period of co-operation the Soviet authorities agreed to amnesty all Anarchists in Russian prisons and guaranteed the Anarchists freedom of propaganda, on condition that they refrain from calling for the violent overthrow of the Soviet government.[104] This agreement was rescinded in November 1920, when after Wrangel's final defeat in the Crimea, the Ukrainian Cheka began arresting leading Anarchists who were later transferred to Moscow. Similarly, during the autumn of 1919, at the height of General Denikin's advance on Moscow, the Mensheviks and SRs co-operated with the Bolsheviks, by loyally carrying out a recruiting campaign for the Red Army, but were also subsequently repressed.[105]

The sporadic nature of the fighting reflected shifts in Bolshevik internal policy. General Denikin and the Volunteer Army came to within 250 miles of Moscow in October 1919 but were repelled in November and this marked the beginning of a new thaw in political repression in early 1920. The cumulative effect of military victories against General Yudenich and his Northwestern Army on the outskirts of Petrograd, General Kolchak's army in Siberia and General Denikin's army near Orel, created new conditions which led to the formal abolition of the death penalty on 18 January 1920.[106] During 1919 and 1920 the lowest arrest rate of counter-revolutionaries by the Moscow Cheka over a six month period occurred in the first half of 1920, (870 people) and furthermore this only accounted for 4 % of the overall arrests (See Table 3.1.)

On the eve of the abolition of the death penalty, the Moscow Cheka allegedly executed several hundred prisoners. Victor Serge, then an official of the Comintern with many contacts among Bolshevik leaders, contends that hushed voices spoke about the tragedy:

> While the newspapers were printing the decree . . .Cartload after cartload of suspects had been driven outside the city during the night, and then shot, heap upon heap. How many? In Petrograd between 150 and 200; in Moscow, it was said, between 200-300.[107].

Izvestiia printed a list of 521 people shot (345 by the Moscow Cheka), during the period that the death penalty was officially abolished from 18 January to 24 May 1920.[108] Further indications that the abolition of the death penalty was ignored or bypassed is found in the 28 January supplementary decree (" not to be published ") by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee, which exempted the front zones from this decree, and in the Vecheka secret order which stated: " In view of the abolition of the death penalty, it is suggested that persons whose crimes would otherwise have rendered them liable to supreme penalty now be dispatched to the zone of military operations where the decree concerning capital punishment does not apply."[109] It is impossible to determine how many prisoners were transferred and then executed.

Nevertheless, the outbreak of the national revolutionary war with Poland from April 1920 coincided with the reintroduction of the death penalty on 24 May 1920. The fact that many socialist parties rallied to support the Red Army in the Russo-Polish War did not alter, in the opinion of the Cheka organizations, their intrinsic opposition to Bolshevik rule.[110] Significantly, at the height of the Russo-Polish War the Vecheka summarized, in the 1 June 1920 circular, their unprincipled tactics in dealing with socialist parties:

> In general, with regard to anti - Soviet parties, the state of martial law should be exploited by proceedings against members of these parties as speculators, counter-revolutionaries, persons misusing their authority, wreckers of the internal front damagers of the military front, or for making common cause with the Entente and its agents.[111]

This circular highlights the fact that there was no attempt to distinguish between the various branches of Menshevism, Anarchism and the Social Revolutionaries; all non-Bolshevik parties deserved repression, especially under erroneous categories.

Despite an armistice with Poland on 12 October 1920, there was no truce with the socialist parties; only increasing intimidation and repression. In early 1921, many prominent Bolsheviks explained the need for increased repressions; Trotsky declared, " Now that the Civil War is over, the Mensheviks and SRs are especially dangerous and must be fought with particular ruthlessness " Lenin contended that " the place for the Mensheviks and the SRs . . . is in prison," and finally Dzerzhinsky maintained, that now " `that the peaceful building has begun, malicious criticism of the Soviet authorities is more inadmissible than ever."[112]

As previously mentioned, during the civil war the Menshevik, SR and Anarchist parties all co-operated, on different levels and at various times, with the Bolsheviks to avoid the spectre of a White 'counter-revolution.' When the Whites lost the civil war the socialist parties and the Bolsheviks no longer shared a mutual enemy, their tenuous alliance was essentially redundant.

A further wave of 'counter-revolutionary' arrests was precipitated by the so-called 'small civil war' of peasant uprisings, conspiracies and urban anti-Bolshevik disturbances, which continued into 1921. The disillusionment with Bolshevik rule was manifested in a wide range of 'proletarian' rebellions (revolts in Tambov, Vorenezh, Siberia, Kronstadt, etc..) which the Muscovite historian, Vladimir Got'e, accurately stated in 1921, "anti-bolshevik jacquerie(s)- this was something unthinkable three years ago."[113] The humiliation and fear that accompanied the 'pride and joy of the revolution' (Kronstadt sailors) mutinying against Bolshevik rule caused widespread reprisals among political parties of all hues.

Nevertheless, significantly, on 25 February, before the Kronstadt Rising, the Moscow Cheka arrested 160 Mensheviks in their Moscow club and arrests occurred in Petrograd and throughout the provincial cities.[114] During the first three months of 1921, altogether approximately 2,000 Mensheviks, including the entire Central Committee, were arrested.[115] This would prove to be long-term detention. Officially only three Menshevik counter-revolutionary organizations were discovered by the Moscow Cheka and, significantly, no separate category exists for them under individual counter-revolutionary arrests (See Table 3.1.) Massive arrests of all non-bolshevik party members, Right and Left SRs, Anarchists etc. occurred during the first third of 1921 and accelerated throughout the remainder of the year .[116]

The Tenth Party Congress in March 1921 which debated the economic, social and political chaos of Soviet Russia, was intrinsically linked with the heightened repression. After embarking on a hunger strike, the Anarchists sent the following document to the authorities:

> The systematic man-hunt of Anarchists in general, and of Anarcho-Syndicalists in particular, with the result that every prison and jail in Soviet Russia is filled with our comrades fully coincides in time and spirit with Lenin's speech at the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party. On that occasion Lenin announced that the most merciless war must be declared against what he termed "petty bourgeois Anarchist elements" which, according to him, are developing even within the Communist Party itself, owing to the "anarcho-syndicalists tendencies of the Labour Opposition."[117]

Although this quote highlights the rationale involved in the suppression of the Anarchists; a concerted campaign against all forms of alleged opposition, whether from opposition parties or from within the Communist Party, was pursued. Lenin's banning of intra party factionalism, at the Tenth Party Congress can be directly linked to the heightened repression against remaining political parties. Discrediting the platform of the Workers' Opposition involved a smear campaign: when a member of the Workers' Opposition urged more freedom of expression, Zinoviev declared that he must be a " Socialist Revolutionary or sick. "[118] The Anarchists were perceived as particularly threatening because their endorsement of workers' control through the factory committee system corresponded to the platform of the Workers' Opposition.[119] Similarly, the promulgation of the New Economic Policy (NEP) mirrored the economic plan advocated by the Mensheviks throughout the civil war. This program stated that " fixed prices had to be raised, competitive pricing introduced and the efficiency of the procurement agencies restored so that the peasants would have an incentive to produce."[120] Ostensibly, competing for the loyalties of workers and peasants, the Bolsheviks did not wish to be reminded that the main tenet of the NEP, which urged the abolition of the food levy and its replacement by a tax in kind, (to alleviate the burden imposed by the state and reward the peasant for greater effort) corresponded to the Menshevik program.

In conclusion, the role of the Moscow Cheka in political cases reflected the shifts in Bolshevik policy and the sporadic nature of the fighting. Predictably there seems to be a strong link between the military danger facing Moscow and the number of political or counter-revolutionary cases handled by the Moscow Cheka. With General Denikin approaching Moscow, the intensification of the civil war in the late summer of 1919 led to the discovery of numerous disturbances and 'plots,' and the Moscow Cheka's role in political cases dramatically increased. Overall, the largest concentration of political arrests, 2896, occurred during the last six months of 1919, peaking between 1 August and 31 October 1919 when 1689 were arrested (see Table 3.2.) From available evidence, the scale of the arrests and terror in Moscow in the fall of 1919 exceeded both in intensity and scope the repression of the fall of 1918. With the lull in the civil war in the beginning of 1920, the number of political arrestees dramatically declined: only 870 cases in the first six months, compared to 1,568 for the same period a year earlier. With increased hostilities during the later half of 1920, 1,240 were arrested under the rubric of counter-revolution. The link between the military threat and increased political

repression does not explain the crackdown on opposition members during the first third of 1921 and its acceleration throughout the year. The conclusion of the Russo-Polish War and the defeat of the White and Allied Armies should have created new conditions and facilitated a thaw in political repression. Although the so-called ' small civil war ' of peasant and urban rebellions undermined Soviet rule, the Tenth Party Congress in March 1921, which passed resolutions that banned intra-party factionalism and the creation of the New Economic Policy, was intrinsically linked with eliminating the remnants of all opposition parties. As the Menshevik leader Martov concluded, Lenin's New Economic Policy was " purely Zubatovite: economic concessions while retaining political dictatorship."[121] The opposition could potentially become more dangerous during peacetime, and therefore economic concessions were combined with heightened political repression.

TABLE 3.2: MOSCOW CHEKA'S STRUGGLE AGAINST COUNTER-REVOLUTION 1 DECEMBER 1918- 1 NOVEMBER 1920[122]

SECTION A: Exposure of counter-revolutionary organizations:

Whiteguardists	22
Right SR's	12
Left SR's	14
Menshevik	3
Anarchist	1
Underground Anarchists	5
Maximalists	2

SECTION B: Arrested for counter-revolutionary activities:

Agitation	565
Counter-revolution	2622
Tsarist Officials	44
Okhraniks	14
Kadets	6
Left SR's	196
Right SR's	173
Anarchists	432
Underground Anarchists	211
Maximalists	96
Monarchists	28
Whiteguardists	69
Hostages	305
Disorganizing Food Requisition Teams	120
Blackmail	141
Crossing Border	74
Provocation and Blackmail	44
Total:	5140

SECTION C: Executed for counter revolution:

Counter-revolution	25
Okhraniks	2
Tsarist Officials	14
Whiteguardists	11
Total:	52

1 David Dallin and George Breslauer, Political Terror in Communist Systems, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), p.vi.

2 Yakov Peters, " Vospominaniia o rabote VChK v pervyi god revoliutsii" Proletarskaia Revoliutsiia, No. 10 (33),(1924) p.9. Peters attributes their unpopularity to the following factors, a shooting affray involving " drunk hooligan-bandits" in a Moscow Cafe and pursuing and shooting at the popular clown Bim-Bom, both "raised panic and the Vecheka was long remembered for these two factors." op.cit., p.9. In a press interview in August 1918 Peters also admits that the Cheka was compromised: Workers' confidence in our commission was at first significantly undermined by an extraordinary abundance of official corruption and all manner of official malfeasance." Alidin, M Chk, p.78

3 Peters, Vospominaniia o rabote, p.8 and Trotsky quoted in George F. Kennan, Russia Leaves the War (New Jersey, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), p.176.

4 The Moscow Federation was formed in March 1917 and made its headquarters the old Merchant's Club which was renamed the " House of Anarchy." A mixture of syndicalists and individualists co-existed with the predominantly Anarchist-Communist membership. The general criticism launched against the Soviet government included: "the creation of the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom), the "nationalistic" Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, the formation of the Cheka, the nationalization of the banks and of the land, the subjugation of the factory committees-in short, the erection of a 'commissar-state *(komissaroderzhavie)*, the ulcer of our time,'" Paul Avrich, The Russian Anarchists (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967), p.179.

5 Avrich, op. cit., p.183.

6 *Anarkhiia*, 16 March 1918, p.1.

7 Malkov, op.cit., p.229.

8 Alidin, M Chk,p. 22 cites that 10-12 Chekists and nearly thirty Anarchists were injured or perished, but according to Izvestiia 13 April 1918, p. 3 about 40 anarchists were wounded or killed.

9 Alidin, M Chk, contends that about 400 were arrested, p.22; Izvestiia, VTsIK, 13 April 1918, p.3 and Izvestiia 16 April 1918, pp.3-4 argues that 500 were arrested; and Pavel Malkov, Kremlin Commandant (a participant), op.,cit., p.237 believes about 800 were arrested.

10 Izvestiia, 6 November 1918, (full text in Belov, op.cit, p.208.) and Malkov, op.cit, p.237.

11 In the Spring of 1918 when Aleksandr Ge lodged a protest to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets he was told no *ideinye* anarchists were persecuted, G. P. Maximoff, The Guillotine at Work Twenty Years of Terror in Russia (Chicago: Chicago Section of the Alexander Berkman Fund, 1940), p.389. In 1920 Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman continued to hear this familiar refrain, op. cit., p.91, op.cit, p.223.

12 Quoted on February 17, 1919 in Ransome, op.cit., p.74.

13 Martyn Latsis, " Tov. Dzerzhinskii i V Chk " Proletarskaia Revoliutsiia, No. 9 (56), 1926, p.86.

14 Leggett, op.cit., p.78. There is one school of thought that views the assassination of Count Mirbach as an entire Soviet provocation, see George Katkov," The Assassination of Count Mirbach " in St. Anthony's Papers, No. 6, Soviet Affairs Number Two, David Footman (editor) (London, 1962), pp.53-93; John Dziak,

Chekisty A History of the KGB, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988) p.213; Stefan Possony, Lenin the Compulsive Revolutionary (London: 1966), pp.309-311; Adam Ulam, The Bolsheviks: The Intellectual and Political History of the Triumph of Communism in Russia, (New York: Macmillan Co. 1965), pp.425-425.

15 I. Steinberg, Spiridonova: Revolutionary Terrorist, Translated and edited by Gwenda and Eric Mosbacher, (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971) p.216.

16 Leggett, op. cit., pp.77-78.

17 Avrich, op.cit., p.196.; Brovkin, op.cit., p. 298.; Broido,op.cit., p. 21; Radkey, The Sickle under the Hammer, p.141.

18 SUR 1918, No. 65; 710, 5 September 1918, Izvestiia, 10 September 1918.

19 This view is shared by many observers, " In spirit and practice the terror really began much sooner, the Sovnarkom Decree on Red Terror of 5 September 1918 merely gave "legal" sanction to state directed homicide already underway since the previous December." John Dziak, op. cit., p.29, also see Leggett, op.cit., p.102, Steinberg, op. cit., p.138, Gerson, op. cit., p.133, Brovkin, op.cit., p.274. Conversely Adelman, op.cit., p.84 states that " A new [my emphasis] Cheka soon emerged."

20 Steinberg, op.cit., p.59, Dziak, op.cit., p.30, Leggett, " The Cheka and a Crisis of Communist Conscience," Survey, 25, Summer (1980), p.11-12. For a concise summary of the repressive policies applied between October 1917 to September 1918 see E. J. Scott, op.cit., pp. 6-8. In February 1918 Left SR Justice Minister, Steinberg, protested that entire social groups were declared outside the law , " Lenin resented my opposition to it in the name of revolutionary justice. So I called out in exasperation" Then why do we bother with a Commissariat of Justice? Lets call it frankly the Commissariat for Social Extermination and be done with it. Lenin's face suddenly brightened and he replied, " Well put. . . thats exactly what it should be. . . but we can't say that," op.cit., p.145.

21 Quoted in Bunyan, op.cit., p.227.

22 Got'e, op.cit., p.174.

23 Jonathan Adelman (editor), Terror and Communist Politics: The Role of the Secret Police in Communist States: (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984), p.83.and Dziak, op.cit.,p.32. This mirrors Leggett's view in " The Cheka and a Crisis of Communist Conscience" op.cit., pp.11-12.and Gerson, op.cit., p.133.

24 Izvestiia, August 23, 1918.

25 Lenin,(5), Vol. XL, p.101.

26 In terms of the Allied intervention 'causing' the Red Terror see John Silverlight, The Victors' Dilemma: Allied Intervention in the Russian Civil War, (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1970), p.64, Richard Ullman, Anglo-Soviet Relations, Vol.1: Intervention and the War, (Princeton: Harvard University Press, 1961),p.334.

27 Quoted in Leopold Haimson's The Mensheviks (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p.156.

28 Pravda, December 25, 1918.

29 Izvestiia September 1918 quoted in Melgounov, op.cit., p.33.

30 Izvestiia, 3 September 1918, in the 7 September 1918 Izvestiia the precise number of 512 was reported, the figure of 800 executions is from Ezhenedelnik V Chk, No.6, 27 October 1918.

31 Steinberg, op.cit., p.138. Steinberg whilst in prison in 1919 settled down to read the evening paper, Evening Moscow, and saw the headline. " Spiridonova, Steinberg and other leaders of the Left Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks declared hostages," op.cit., p.173.

32 Stalin's telegram published in 3 September 1918 Izvestiia, long quote by Got'e in his diary entry 7 September 1918, op.cit., pp.190-191., p.196.

33 Quoted in Melgounov, op. cit., p.39.

34 List from Melgounov, op.cit., p.5 and also found in Steinberg op.cit., p.150. Melgounov contended that " All we know is that during the same period Moscow, for its part, shot over three hundred persons." In his footnote giving evidence before the Lausanne Tribunal, P. Artibashev, estimated the number at 500. Overall, Latsis admitted that 1,015 people were executed by the Moscow Cheka quoted in Popoff, op.cit., p.284.

35 For example, the Moscow Soviet in the early summer of 1918 greeted Peters, during a presentation on Chekist activities, with shouts of *okhrannik* (an employee of the Tsarist political police), Peters, Vospominaniia o rabote, p.11.

36 Leggett summarizes this criticism in Shukman, op.cit., p.182-183. and Leggett, op.cit., pp.117-118. For a fuller discussion of the rivalry between the NKVD, NKIu and the Cheka organizations see, Scott, op.cit., pp.8-10, and Gerson devotes an entire chapter titled " the Secret Police and its Critics "to this matter, op.cit., pp.189-220, Waxmonsky, op.cit., pp.34-41.

37 From the Gorodskoi RPO on 19 September 1918. The Moscow Committee session on 5 October insisted that the raion Chekas were to be strictly controlled by the RK and every RK was to form a control commission to ensure that arrests were carried out correctly, Proletariia, 22 September 1918.

38 Vechernie izvestiia moskovskogo soveta (VIMS), 10,11, October 1918.

39 M. Latsis, " Chrezvychainye komissii po borbe s kontrrevoliutsiei" (Moscow, 1921), p.5. G. Moroz, " V Chk i Oktiabrskaia Revoliutsiia" Vlast Sovetov, No. 11, October (1919), p.6. Peters also acknowledged this mounting criticism from Party meetings and in the official communist press, Vospominaniia o rabote p.32.

40 Konstantin Shteppa(pseudonym of W. Godin), " Feliks Dzerzhinski, Creator of the Cheka and Founder of 'Chekism' in Wolin and Slusser (editors), The Soviet Secret Police, (New York and London:1970), p.83. Also see Alidin's M Chk, p.103.

41 Alidin, M Chk, p.103.

42 Alidin, M Chk, p. 238.

43 Almost a year later, 29 December 1919, a document contained in Alidin, M Chk, p.198, states that 20 comrades had just graduated from the Vecheka school specializing in special work in the Extraordinary Commissions and they were posted in the following Moscow *raion* chekas: 1 Alekseevsko-Rostokinskii, 1 Butyrski, 1 Suchchevsko-Marinskii, 1 Lefortovskii, 1 Khamovnicheskii, 2 Sokolnicheskii, 2 Rogozhskii, 3 Gorodskoi, 2 Zamoskvoreche, 3 Basmannyi, 3 Presnenskii.

[44] Got'e, op. cit., p.202. Unfortunately, Got'e does not elaborate if the Chekists were successful in their quest.

[45] Belov, op.cit., p.437. For a further indication of the type of instructions given to Chekists, see Latsis quoted in this thesis, Chapter 2. " Another new feature of Leninism was the concept of the 'revolutionary conscience,' deemed to qualify chekists to decide matters of life and death by instinct, since proletarian origin combined with proper political convictions supposedly guaranteed a sense of justice superior to than embodied in any code of law." Hingley, op.cit., p.129.

[46] Shukman, op.cit., p.173. A prominent Moscow Chekist, Ya. M. Yurovski, worked in Rabkrin., Alidin, M Chk, p.308.

[47] Izvestiia raboche-krestianskogo inspektsii, April 1920, quoted in Interim Report of the Committee to Collect Information on Russia (London, 1920), pp.18-23.

[48] Interim Report, op.cit., pp.18-23..

[49] Interim Report, op.cit., pp.18-23. However, the 3,147 Cheka arrestees were subsequently reviewed by a commission composed of Moscow Cheka, Vecheka, Rabkrin and NkIu representatives. Unfortunately, the results of this second commission are unavailable.

[50] Interim Report, op.cit., pp.18-23.

[51] Kommunisticheskii trud, 10 October, 1920.

[52] Adelman, op.cit., p.88.

[53] Many recent primary documentation has been released under the auspices of the KGB for example, S.K. Tsvigun et. al. Lenin i VChk (Moscow, 1975): Tsvigun et. al , eds. Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskii: biografiia (Moscow, 1977) and the older study Pervyi chekist (Moscow, 1968), by A.V. Tishkov, a retired Chekist. Western writers contend that " the secret police developed into a pillar of the Soviet state with Lenin's support and approval. . . without the apparatus of repression created by Lenin,[Stalin] would have been deprived of a key weapon in his drive for absolute power, Gerson, op.cit., pp.271-272 and " it was Lenin who laid the police-state foundations which made Stalin's monstrous feats technically possible." Leggett, op.cit., p.362. Also see Marc Jansen, A Show Trial Under Lenin.The Trial of the Social Revolutionaries in Moscow, 1922 (Hague, Boston, London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1982),p.194.

[54] Tsvigun, op.cit., p. 8.and Heller, op.cit, p.178.

[55] Alidin, M Chk,pp.:37; 55; 59; 60; 80; 108-109; 135-136; 162; 192; 228; 254-255; 283; 284.

[56] Despite official statements that " Dzerzhinsky was a consistent and firm Leninist," Khromov, op.cit., p.8. " Dzerzynski consistently opposed Lenin on such crucial issues as the national question, the agrarian question, the relationship between the Party and affiliated trade unions, Bolshevik support for 'expropriations' and other so called 'partisan' activities. . . he stubbornly defended the independence and integrity of the SDKPiL against Lenin's encroachments in 1903 and again in 1911" [also] " shared the 'errors' and 'theoretical deviations' of what communist historians have termed 'Luxemburgism.' Blobaum, op. cit., p.230, p.4. Furthermore Dzerzhinsky disagreed with Lenin on the following important policy matters: he abstained on the crucial vote on the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and endorsed Trotsky's plan for the militarization of labour during the trade union debate in 1921. In 1922, in an investigation he conducted into Stalin's highhanded policies in Soviet Georgia, Dzerzhinsky supported Stalin., Indebted to Gerson, op.cit., p.316. Also see Leggett's" Epilogue," pp.353-355.

57 Kremlin Commandant, Pavel Malkov, states that" All visitors whether People's Commissars or rank and file workers. . . passed through this door into the waiting room and, when summoned, went into Lenin at the appointed time. This rule applied to everyone but Sverdlov and Dzerzhinsky. Sverdlov and Dzerzhinsky generally used a third small door behind Lenin's desk chair." op. cit., p.167.

58 Tsvigun et al. op.cit., p.108; p.38; p.249.

59 Alidin, M Chk, p.162.

60 Heller, op.cit., p.186.

61 Boris Nicolaevsky quoted in Gerson, op.cit., pp.189-91.

62 Tsvigun, op.cit., p.363; 281.

63 Alidin, M Chk, p.33.

64 Pravda, 22 September, 1918.

65 Pravda, 27 September, 1918. The level of party commitment is questionable because the Moscow Chekists were repeatedly told that failure to participate in 'subbotniks' was a breach in party discipline , Sakwa, op.cit., p.204.

66 Sakwa, op.cit., p.173. This was not an enduring feature because the local chekas were presently replaced by political bureaux of the militia (regular police) fulfilling Cheka orders. Furthermore in March 1919 Dzerzhinsky became head of the NKVD and controlled the militia while still retaining his position as Vecheka and Moscow Cheka Chairman, Khromov, op.cit., p.10.

67 Alidin, M Chk, p.305. The precise role of this cell is left mute but, in general, the formation of communist cells was designed to " combat non-Bolshevik influence as it was to control its own membership." Sakwa, op.cit., p.118.

68 Alidin, M Chk, p.165.

69 From a recent official publication, a photograph exists of approximately 100 Komsomol members who participated in operations with the Petrograd Cheka ,Petrograd Chekisty, Na Strazhe Revoliutsii, Book 2, (Moscow: Izdatelstvo, 1988), p.107.

70 Peter Kenez argues, that " Two major organizations that had no other function but agitation were Komsomol, the youth organization and Zhenotdel, which was to mobilize women," in Shukman, op.cit., p.156.

71 Vlast Sovetov, (1919), p.26.

72 Sofinov, op. cit., pp.299-300.

73 Leggett, op.cit., pp.95-98, Gerson, op.cit., pp.91-100, Waxmonsky, op.cit., p.119, Adelman, op.cit., p.80. and from Alidin's MChk, 13 of 36 members worked in the Red Army., op.cit., pp.304-308.

74 From a 4 June 1919 resolution adopted by the Third All-Russian Conference on Extraordinary Commissions, Tsvigun et al. op.cit., p.208.

75 Vlast Sovetov, (1919), No. 10, p.26.

76 Vlast Sovetov, 1919, No.10, p.26. The figure that 8,000 cases were processed does not match the 5,498 arrested people between 1 January and 1 August 1919 in Krasnaia Moskva, col.633-634.

77 Vlast Sovetov, (1919), p.26.

78 Vlast Sovetov, (1919), p.26.

79 Pravda, 21 November 1918.

80 The persecution of Russian socialists hampered Lenin's and Zinoviev's efforts to attract western socialists into the Third International, see David Dallin in Leopold Haimson's (Editor) The Mensheviks. (Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press, 1974), pp.191-193 and Broido, op.cit., pp.114-115.

81 Broido, op.cit., p.115.

82 Broido, op.cit., p.115.

83 Broido, op.cit., p.115.

84 Dallin in Haimson, op. cit., p.200.

85 Vladimir Brovkin,The Mensheviks after October, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), p.121.

86 Krasnaia Moskva, cols. 633-634.

87 The terror " reached its apogee in September and October of 1918, " Brovkin, op.cit.,p. 274 mirrors Sakwa, op.cit., p.23 and Leggett, op.cit. p.267.

88 Melgounov, op.cit., p.14 and the long quote is from Got'e op.cit., p.308.

89 Allied intervention was negligible in the fall of 1918 see Silverlight, op.cit., p.64, Ullman, op.cit., p.334. and Mawdsley in Shukman, op.cit., p.142, but Moscow in the fall of 1919 was especially under siege, Sakwa, op.cit., p.175, Adelman, op.cit., p. 85, Mawdsley in Shukman, op.cit., pp.145-146.

90 Tsvigun et al. op.cit., p.216.

91 Got'e, op.cit., p.275. Sakwa, op.cit., p.175.

92 Got'e, op.cit., pp.. 284; 288; 294. On 30 September 1919 Got'e wrote in his diary " Last Friday my wife's uncle, D. K. Aleksandrov-Dolnik, was killed. When people interceded on his behalf, they said in the Cheka: " You don't know who you are interceding for-he is a tsarist provocateur." He perished as one of the victims of the new outburst of the red terror." p.307.

93 According to Dzerzhinsky, " The goal [of the National Center] was to seize Moscow and disorganize our center. At their last meeting they had already made final plans for their offensive. Even the hour had been determined: 6 o'clock in the evening. They hoped to seize Moscow if only for a few hours and take over the radio and telegraph. They intended to notify the fronts of the collapse of the Soviet government, thereby provoking a panic and demoralizing the army. For the implementation of this plan they amassed their own

officers here, and three of our military schools were in their hands. They planned to begin their advance in Vichniaki, Volokolamsk and Suntsevo, diverting our forces there, and then raise a revolt in the city itself," in Izbrannye proizvedeniia, I, Second Edition. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1967), pp.282-283. For further information concerning the National Center see Alidin, M Chk, pp.168-169; Martyn Latsis Dva goda bor'by na vnutrennem fronte (Moscow: Gosurdarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1920),pp.42-45; Leggett, op.cit., pp.284-286.

94 Full text in Belov, op.cit., pp.327-328.

95 Got'e, op.cit., p.296.

96 Avrich, op.cit.,p. 197. Ironically in August 1919 Lenin remarked that many Anarchists " were becoming the most dedicated supporters of Soviet power" but Lenin's enthusiasm for Anarchists was tempered with this bombing attack. Prominent Anarchist Chekists included Aleksandr Ge, M. B. Brener and Moscow Cheka's T. P. Samsonov, Leggett, op.cit., p.310. The Underground Anarchists (Anarkhisty Podpol'ia) was a splinter group from the Moscow Federation of Anarchists, founded by Kazimir Kovalevich, member of the Moscow Union of Railway Workers, and by a Ukrainian Anarchist, Petr Sobolev- Lev Chernyi also joined. Avrich, op.cit., p.188.

97 V. M. Chernov,(editor) Che-Ka : Materialy po deiatelnosti chrezvychainoi komissii (Izdanie tsentralnogo biuro partii sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov), (Berlin: 1922), pp.142-143. This scene is also recounted in Melgounov, op.cit., p.15.and for the official Soviet response see Alidin M Chk, pp.173-174.

98 Alidin, M Chk, p.195.

99 Berkman, op.cit., p.142. Delays in laying charges was a common occurrence, and officially admitted by the Moscow Cheka in Vlast Sovetov, 1919, no. 10, p.26.

100 Berkman, op.cit., p.143.

101 Avrich, op.cit., p.189.

102 For the full text of the appeal see Alidin, M ChK, p.191 while Berkman, op.cit., p.143 discusses the futile attempt to legalize Anarchist educational work.

103 For a summary of Nestor Makhno's activities see Avrich, op.cit., pp.209-233, Shukman, op.cit., pp.348-349.

104 Avrich, op.cit., p.221.

105 Schapiro, op.cit., p.205.

106 Gerson, op.cit., pp.159-160.

107 Serge, op.cit., p.99. His account is reinforced by an inmate in Moscow prisons, " the 160 persons who still remained in the Cheka building and in the local cellars and dungeons and concentration camps were all taken out and shot." Melgounov, op.cit., p.58., also Hingley, op.cit., p.128.

108 Quoted in Melgounov, op.cit., p.60.

109 " Protocol No. 5 of the Session of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee" Jan 28 1920, quoted in N. V.Krylenko, Sudoustroistvo, RSFSR, Lektsii po teorii istorii sudoustroistva (Moscow, 1923), p.356. and Melgounov, op.cit., p.60.

110 Gerson,op.cit., p.165.

111 Sotsialisticheskii vestnik, No.5. 5 April 1921, p.13, quoting Vecheka circular No. 5 of 1 June 1920.

112 Dallin, op.cit., p.236, Lenin (5) , Vol. XLIII, p.241, written on 21 April 1921, and Dallin,op.cit., p.236.

113 Got'e, op.cit., p.401.

114 Dvinov, " Ot legalnosti k podpoliu," quoted in Leggett, op.cit., p.320.

115 Schapiro, op.cit., pp.199-200.

116 " Throughout the year the VCheka and its local organs made mass arrests of the regimes various political opponents." Gerson, op.cit., p.185 and Leggett, op.cit., pp. 309-323.

117 Goldman, op.cit, p.204.

118 Quoted in Jansen, op.cit., p.191.

119 Goldman, op.cit., p.204. For a good discussion of the Workers' Opposition (an intra- Communist Party faction) see Shukman, op. cit., p.152 and Sakwa, op.cit., pp.254-60.

120 Brovkin, op.cit., p.98.

121 Quoted in Dallin in Haimson, op.cit., pp. 247-248. Sergei Vasilievich Zubatov was head of the Moscow Okhrana (Tsarist secret police) at the turn of the century and conducted his now famous experiment known in its time as 'Police Socialism'. Succinctly the tsarist autocracy wanted to mobilize a labour movement that was to be non- or anti-socialist and possibly even counter revolutionary, see Shukman, op.cit., pp.53-55

122 This table has been reproduced from the official Soviet Publication Krasnaia Moskva, col.631.

CONCLUSION

This analysis of the Moscow Cheka's policies began with a discussion of its roots, organization and a biographical sketch of known members. Testing the stereotypes of Chekists, using prosopographical methods, revealed that the Moscow Chekists were primarily young Russian male workers with limited party experience. The 'average' profile of a Moscow Chekist largely matched its Petrograd counterpart but contrasted with the picture of the Vecheka Collegium member who was older, bourgeois, often not Russian and a long standing Bolshevik. The change in the composition of the organization between 1918 and 1921 is clear: the Cheka recruits were younger men of working class origin and with moderate party experience. The persistent recruitment campaigns for party members discussed in chapter three is partly explained by the personnel changes outlined in chapter one.

This study has further revealed that the Moscow Cheka, at least, was involved primarily in policing economic crimes. An examination of the evidence available demonstrates that 80% of their work was investigation of speculation and malfeasance. Of the remainder, 13% of the cases were political and only 7% constituted common crime.[1] Traditionally, the Chekas have been associated with neutralizing political opposition to Soviet rule: the repression of opposition party members and the muzzling of civil liberties - freedom of speech, press, assembly, etc. The view that the Cheka's " underlying purpose - protecting the Soviet state against political subversion -"[2] has been perpetuated by the inherent bias in the available source material. Many opponents of Bolshevik rule and Cheka activity were from the intelligentsia and thus more likely to record their experiences in diaries, memoirs, articles and books than the illiterate workers or peasants. To illustrate, despite the official figures that 84.3 per cent of men and 67.9 per cent of women were literate, a campaign revealed that over a quarter million Muscovites (25%) were illiterate in March 1920 and the situation was worse in the working class districts.[3] An emphasis on the political role of the Chekas has also been emphasized because speculators were probably less likely to record their impressions than people subject to political repression.[4]

That Soviet authorities deliberately blurred the distinction between economic and political crimes must be stressed. A speculator in the economic realm was synonymous with a 'counter-revolutionary' in the political one. It was crucial that Bolsheviks abolish the old economic system and create a new socialist one:

> The casualty of the emphasis on the economic revolution, which involved the abolition of commodity exchange and private property, was the functioning of a free sphere of politics, civil society, the arena in which the battle for freedom, justice and equality is fought.[5]

The ideological nature of this newly created state meant that political considerations dominated both definitions of and attitudes to crime. Schafer contends that " the more pronounced the ideology of a political - social power, and the less possible the participation of ordinary men and social groups in the decision making processes, then the easier it is to see that all crimes are of a political nature."[6] The early Soviet state would certainly fit the above criteria. The highly ideological nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been emphasized throughout this study and the increasingly hierarchical and centralized decision making structure has been well documented elsewhere.[7] In the politically charged environment of the early Soviet period the very nature of crime was changing and the evolving Moscow Cheka was assuming responsibility from numerous new matters. Tsarist Russia discriminated against the poor and many other groups, but unlike the case in Soviet Russia, social origin was not a crime. What role would the militia fulfill as crime was defined increasingly in political terms and thereby fit to be monitored by the Cheka?

Complementary tactics were used in dealing with both economic and political arrestees. In keeping with alternating cycles of political repression and relative relaxation the Moscow Cheka adopted a vacillatory policy. While monitoring the private markets the Moscow Cheka alternately targeted not only the vendors but their products as well. This action complemented the Soviet policy of intermittently legalizing bagmanism (*meshochnichestvo.*) Economic expediency thus affected the treatment of ' bourgeois specialists,' who, via Dzerzhinsky's private order of December 1918, were arrested only when irrefutable proof of their criminal or counter-revolutionary guilt existed. If the specialist was more useful to the soviets free, then he or she was released.[8]

A certain degree of flexibility was exercised in political cases. For example, Mensheviks and SRs experienced a respite from political harassment in the first third of 1919 because the Bolsheviks were negotiating with the West and preparing for the inauguration of the Comintern. Similarly, the attack against Anarchists was reduced while the Bolsheviks were co-operating with Nestor Makhno in the Ukraine. Clearly, intermittent harassment was a familiar Bolshevik policy: the April 1919 Menshevik Central Committee circular reveals their reliance on this tactic. Nevertheless, the policies of hostage taking, applying guilt on a

collective rather than individual basis, and charging opposition party members under erroneous categories was deliberately built into the Cheka structure[9]. The legitimacy of the opposition party critiques on Bolshevik policy was masked as they were persecuted not as "Mensheviks" "Anarchists" or "SRs" but as 'speculators', 'white-guardists' or 'bandits' etc. For example, despite knowing the real identity of the culprits of the bombing attack on Communist Party headquarters in September 1919,(Anarchists) the charge of 'white-guardist' agitation was laid.[10] With General Denikin on the outskirts of Moscow, it was politically expedient to make the claim the attack was 'white-guardist' rather than Anarchist. Similarly, the Moscow Cheka executed the Anarchists Fania Baron and Lev Chernyi on a trumped up charge of counterfeiting contrived through Chekist *agents provocateurs.*[11] Although the Mensheviks maintained strictly their position as a legal opposition to the Bolsheviks, they were derisively called social-patriots, petty-bourgeois, counter-revolutionaries, and accomplices of White Guardists.[12] The April 1919 Menshevik Central Committee leaflet summarized the Bolshevik rationale: the " ruling party [Bolshevik] refused . . . to understand the principle of legal opposition - why - give anyone the means to criticize Bolshevik policies?"[13] Opposition within the Bolshevik party was banned in March 1921. Tolerating outside opposition was inconceivable. The dictatorship of the proletariat had clearly defined areas; those for the revolution (the Bolshevik party) and those against the revolution (all non-Bolshevik groups.)[14] No official opposition could exist. Furthermore, that opposition party members were falsely charged compounds the difficulty of calculating the political victims. Official figures in Krasnaia Moskva show that the Moscow Cheka executed 578 people between 1 December 1918 and 1 November 1920. It is highly possible that 'politicals' were executed under the guise of 'banditry' (338), 'white-guardist' agitation (11), or simply under the rubric of 'counter-revolutionary' activity (25) (see Tables 2.5 and 3.2.) The official sources are inconsistent on the number of victims. The Chekist Martyn Latsis contended that 1,015 people were executed by the Moscow Cheka during 1919 and 1920; Krasnaia Moskva lists 578 executions, (see Table 2.6) but an addition of the separate categories for political, economic and 'common' crime reveals 525 executions occurred.[15]

This scrutiny of the nature and role of the Moscow Cheka in the years 1918 to 1921 demonstrates that repression did not simply accelerate but occurred in waves of heightened suppression alternated with months of relative toleration. During 1918 a merged Vecheka and Moscow Cheka began by targeting the Anarchists and

then the Left SRs, but general political repression was heightened only after the 5 September decree on Red Terror. The activities of an independent Moscow Cheka began with an emphasis on purely criminal matters, changed then to political matters and finally showed an increasing effort in the economic realm (See Table 2.7.) An initial concentration on 'common' crime was probably due to the political thaw in the first third of 1919. However, de-emphasizing the political role and enhancing the purely criminal focus of the Moscow Cheka was deliberate. The Moscow Soviet resolution of 27 January 1919 called for sentencing to be removed from the Cheka and transferred to the tribunals.[16] This division of responsibilities was temporary as the growing military threat in the summer of 1919, peaking in the fall of 1919, forced a greater concentration on political matters. The Moscow Cheka coordinated heightened political arrests with economic repression. The arrest of speculators quadrupled with the onset of the harvest season from August 1919 (see Table 2.7.) Despite an emphasis on the Red Terror in the fall of 1918, available evidence suggests the largest concentration of political terror occurred during the last six months of 1919, peaking between 1 August and 31 October 1919 (see Table 3.2.) While there was a political relaxation during the first half of 1920, the largest overall arrests for economic crimes (speculation and malfeasance) occurred in this period.(14,000, See Table 2.7.) Ostensibly the Russo-Polish War increased the number of political arrests in the second half of 1920. Significantly, an outside military threat does not explain the increased political repression during the first third of 1921. Soviet Russia was crippled internally by the combination of massive peasant uprisings and huge urban demonstrations; (Tambov, Kronstadt, Siberia, etc.) these events caused revisions in Bolshevik policies. The Tenth Party Congress, in March 1921, passed resolutions that led to the creation of the New Economic Policy and banned intra-party factionalism - both were intrinsically linked with eliminating the remnants of all opposition parties. The dangers of permitting a limited form of free enterprise required neutralizing all opposition from within the Bolshevik party and remaining opposition parties.

Nevertheless, the central question remains: were the Extraordinary Commissions crucial to the consolidation of the Soviet state? It is possible that the Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) could have handled the role of eradicating political and economic subversion alone, but Feliks Dzerzhinsky also assumed the chairmanship of this body from March 1919 onwards. Victor Serge, leading Comintern member, contended that " the formation of the Chekas was one of the gravest and most impermissible errors that the

Bolshevik leaders committed . . .All evidence indicates that revolutionary tribunals functioning in the light of day (without excluding secret sessions in particular cases) and admitting the right of defence, would have attained the same efficiency with far less abuse and depravity."[17] There was no guarantee that the Revolutionary Tribunals would have been more effective and less arbitrary, but at least, in principle they were under the jurisdiction of the Commissariat of Justice (NKIu) and subject to more definite guidelines and rules. However, a fundamental part of the Cheka organizations was their ideological function in the dictatorship of the proletariat; it was a class struggle, harmonious social relations were not sought nor desired.

Nevertheless, one of the most striking features of Chekist activity was a lack of guidelines, rules and procedures. This was highlighted by the visit of Romanov, Moscow Chekist, to the Rumianstev Museum to acquire the instructions or regulations from Tsar Nicholas I's political police, the Corps of Gendarmes. The Moscow Soviet and Party Organization, the Commissariat of Internal Affairs and the Commissariat of Justice, particularly in the Fall of 1918, all demanded more controls and accountability from Cheka organizations. Chapter Three emphasized that the Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (Rabkrin) only exerted sporadic control because no official or regular mechanism existed to monitor Cheka activities. Generally, an ambivalent relationship existed between many party members and the Chekists; this study questions the interpretation that the " two were illicitly joined in what could properly be called a counter-intelligence state."[18] A distinction must be made between the relationship of Chekists and party members between 1918 and 1921 and the efforts of the party to sanctify the Chekists, and the founder Feliks Dzerzhinsky, by linking their achievements and hence legitimacy with the current secret police, the KGB.

In retrospect, the fact that the various party and state bodies were largely unsuccessful in their quest for Cheka accountability was largely due to the influence of V. I. Lenin. He consistently supported the latter, " a government of the workers cannot exist without such an organization [Cheka] as long as exploiters remain in the world."[19] Lenin recognized that the Cheka organizations were the weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, neutralizing or eliminating perceived opposition to Soviet rule; " the Chekas are directly implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat and in this respect its role is invaluable."[20] Precisely because the Vecheka was subordinate only to the Sovnarkom and later to the Politburo, the Extraordinary Commissions became the means by which Lenin could attempt to solve many problems, bypassing the

official channels and power structure. The Cheka organizations would assume multifaceted duties; the Moscow Cheka, for example, was not only concerned with monitoring religious matters and children's issues, as shown in Chapter two, but they were involved in the Commission for the Improvement of Workers' Living Conditions, in protecting unique musical instruments and in controlling the plunder of library books![21] Interestingly, in Russian Cheka means linchpin and the Extraordinary Commissions symbolized the organizational linchpin of the early Soviet state. Although the promulgation of the N.E.P. began the process of renaming the Cheka, the original purpose remained intact. On the eve of the fifth anniversary of the October Revolution, Martyn Latsis, in an article entitled, " The Unskilled Labourers [*Chernorabochie*] of the Revolution " eulogized his fellow Chekists' role in the consolidation of power and future purpose:

> We have no external fronts we have no internal fronts; we have no uprisings, no arsons, we have no explosions within. To whom are we obliged to a significant degree, if not to them, the unskilled workers of the revolution! Five arduous, bloody years. Five years of deprivation, danger, selflessness. But they are still at the post. True the weapon of death has been laid aside, but there is still the need for an unweakened watch over the enemy. . . May the energy of the new [GPU] workers not slacken, may they lead the socialist revolution without ruin to its full completion. . .[22]

The abolition of the Cheka organizations by the 6 February 1922 decree, began a new stage in the unfinished revolution because their functions were transferred to the institutionalized State Political Administration (GPU) which was placed under the jurisdiction of the NKVD. Traditionally, this re-orientation has been viewed as institutional enhancement. E. H. Carr stated that " the GPU was from the first, a regular and permanent organ, enjoying such authority and prestige never conferred upon the Cheka."[23] Nevertheless, it is possible that it represented institutional depreciation, because as one contemporary Menshevik commentator observed, " With abrogation of the title, the institution loses that revolutionary mysticism which distinguished the Cheka in the eyes of the faithful Communist."[24] Nevertheless, a combination of 'revolutionary legality' and 'revolutionary conscience' was emphasized after this decree. Justice Commissar, N.V. Krylenko stated, that " the proletarian administration of justice should not be guided solely by 'formal requirements' it should also be guided by the 'essence and spirit' of the proletariat."[25] During the early Soviet period the Moscow Cheka operated as the 'essence and spirit' of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a driving force in the consolidation of Soviet power in the heart of the Bolshevik project, the old capital of Muscovy.

[1] Krasnaia Moskva, col. 633.

[2] Knight, op.cit., p.3.

[3] Figures in Sakwa op.cit., p.42, and in the working class district of Basmannyi over a third were either completely or partially illiterate, op.cit., p.42. For further figures on Moscow's population see Sakwa op.cit. Table 2.1, p.34 and Chase, op.cit., p.75.

[4] Most of my 'independent' source material comes from oppositional party members or 'political' people. For example, Victor Serge was described as " an Anarchist, a Bolshevik, a Trotskyist, a revision-Marxist, and, on his own confession, a 'personalist', in the Introduction to Memoirs of a Revolutionary, p.ix. From other foreigners residing in Moscow Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman were Anarchists and Marguerite Harrison and Arthur Ransome were newspaper correspondents. Accounts from Russian citizens include Simon Liberman, a Menshevik, Sergei Melgounov, a Socialist Revolutionary, I. Steinberg, Left SR and P. G. Maximoff, an Anarchist.

[5] Sakwa, op.cit., p.266.

[6] Stephen Schafer, The Political Criminal The Problem of Morality and Crime. (New York: Free Press, 1974), p.22.

[7] Timothy Colton discusses the " hypercentralism of War Communism " in Moscow Party Organization. Problems of Communism, XXXVII, #1 January-February, 1988, p.35. See Chase, op.cit., p.50. As early as 1918 a Left Communist contended that the " leading figures (verkhi) of the party are no longer interested in the autonomous thought of local organizations but try, without further discussion, to subordinate them to the TsK, and these leading figures present themselves as the carriers of party thought." 22 May 1918 TsK circular, Perepiska, Vol III, p.73. A central part of the programme of the Workers' Opposition in 1920 was reducing the gap between the rank and file and the leaders (*verkhi i nizy*) and increasing the participation of the 'rank and file' in the decision making process.

[8] This directive was published in Martyn Latsis, Chrezvychainye komissii po borbe s kontr-revoliutsiei. (Moscow, 1921), pp.54-55.

[9] " In general, with regard to anti-Soviet parties, the state of martial law should be exploited by proceedings against members of these parties as speculators, counter-revolutionaries, persons misusing their authority, wreckers of the internal front damagers of the military front, or for making common cause with the Entente and its agents." Sotsialisticheskii vestnik, No.5. 5 April 1921, p.13, quoting Vecheka circular No. 5 of 1 June 1920. On the policy of hostages see Lenin in Tsvigun et al. op. cit., p.216.

[10] Alidin, MChk, p.195.

[11] Leggett, op.cit., p.311.

[12] Leggett, op.cit., p.322.

[13] Dallin, op.cit., p.199.

[14] For example Lenin declared that all non-Bolshevik parties were an example of " petty bourgeois democracy, which does not know where to settle, tries to sit between two stools, hopping from one to the other and falling in turn to the right and the left."quoted in Dallin op.cit., p.198. In the fall of 1919, in the " usual antinomian language of the time, it [the Moscow Central Committee] called for the Soviet Republic to be turned into a single [my emphasis] armed camp." Sakwa, op.cit., p.175.

15 Latsis quoted in Popoff, op.cit., p.284 and Krasnaia Moskva, cols. 631, 632, and 633.

16 Pravda, 30 January 1919.

17 Serge, op.cit. ,pp.80-81.

18 Dziak further reiterates that "It has no other claims to legitimacy other than the ideology that ordained and sanctioned the seizure of power in the first place. Essentially, then, the Bolshevik Party was a conspiracy that came to power and remained a conspiracy afterwards with the active collaboration of its secret police." op.cit., p.xvi.

19 Tsvigun et al. op.cit., p.544. Lenin further reiterated that " There is no other path to the liberation of the masses than repression of the exploiters by force," op.cit., p.118. The powerful role of Lenin in Moscow is reflected in the fact that " between 1917 and 1921 Lenin wrote or signed over 300 governmental directives and decisions on Moscow, concerning such matters as the setting up of new bodies of power, the restoration of industry, and the urban economy and the improvement of living conditions." Vladimir Shapovalov, The Moscow Soviet. Trans. Albert Zdornykh. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1984.) p.10.

20 Tsvigun et al. op.cit., p.118.

21 Alidin, MChk. p.272; 190; 275. Ironically, the two major Western works on the Cheka by Leggett and Gerson, op.cit., are currently under that euphemistic category " missing " from the Simon Fraser University library!

22 Quoted in Waxmonsky, op.cit., p.110.

23 E. H. Carr op.cit. Volume.II, pp.429-430. This interpretation is supported by Gerson, op.cit., p.273 and Leggett, op.cit., p.346.

24 Quoted in Waxmonsky, op.cit., p.90. Indebted to Waxmonsky for the concept that institutionalization does not necessarily improve status and prestige.

25 Quoted in Jansen op.cit, p.69.

NAMES	GIVEN NAMES	SEX	DATE OF BIRTH	ETHNIC ORIGIN	SOCIAL ORIGIN	ORIGINAL POLITICAL PARTY	DATE JOINED S.D.P.	RED GUARD/ M. R. C.	CHEKA CATEGORY
Abakumov	Viktor Semyonovich	m	1894	Russian?			1917		Moscow
Afavas'ev	Stepan Ivanovich	m	1894	Russian			1912		other
Aleksandrovich	V. A.	m	1884	Russian	Peasant	SR's			Collegium
Alekseev	Mikhail Nikolaevich	m	1892	Russian	Worker		1919	Red Guard	other
Agranov	Yakov Saulovich	m	1893	Jewish		SR's	1915		Collegium
Alkinis	Yan Yanovich	m	1895	Latvian			1913		other
Amosov	Pavel Nikanovich	m	1893	Russian	Peasant		1917		Petrograd
Andrianov	Nikolai Grigor'evich	m	1898	Russian?			1917	Red Guard	other
Anni	V. G.	m	1891	Russian?			1912		Moscow
Antipov	Nikolai Kirilovich	m	1894	Russian	Peasant		1914		Petrograd
Antonov	Vladimir Paulovich	m	1884	Russian	White Collar Worker		1902		Collegium
Artuzov	Artur Khristianovich	m	1891	Italian-Swiss	Worker		1917		Collegium
Atarbekov	Georgi Aleksandrovich	m	1891	Armenian	Bourgeois		1908		other
Avanesov	Varlaam Aleksandrovich	m	1884	Armenian	Peasant	Menshevik	1917	M. R. C.	Collegium
Averin	Vasily Kuzmich	m	1885	Russian?	Peasant		1904		Colleguim
Bagirov	Mir Dzafar Abbasovich	m	1896	Azerbaijani			1917		other
Bakayev	Ivan Petrovich	m	1887	Russian	Peasant		1906		Petrograd
Balitsky	Vsevold Apollonovich	m	1892	Ukrainian?			1915		other
Belenkii	Abram Ya.	m	1883	Russian?			1902		Moscow
Beria	Lavrenti Pavlovich	m	1899	Georgian	Peasant		1917		other
Berzin	Reynold Iosifovich	m	1889	Latvian	Peasant		1905	M. R. C.	Moscow
Blagonravov	Georgii Ivanovich	m	1895	Russian	White Collar Worker		1917		Moscow
Blyumkin	Yakov Grigor'evich	m	1898	Jewish	White Collar Worker	SR's	1921		Moscow
Bogorodski	Fyodor Semyonovich	m	1895	Russian?			1917		other
Bokii	Gleb Ivanovich	m	1879	Georgian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1900	M. R. C.	Collegium
Borchaninov	Aleksandr Lukich	m	1884	Russian?	Worker		1903		other
Boze	I. I.	m	1886	Latvian	Peasant		1907		Petrograd
Breslav	B. A.	m	1882	Russian?			1903		Moscow
Bulganin	Nikolai Aleksandrovich	m	1895	Russian	White collar worker		1917		Moscow
Chugurin	Ivan Dmitr'evich	m	1883	Russian	Worker		1902		Collegium
Chumak	G. I.	m	1883	Ukrainian			1917	Red Guard	Petrograd
Deich	Maks Abelvich	m	1886	Jewish		Bundist	1919		other
Dement'ev	V. P.	m	1901	Russian?			1919		Moscow

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Demyanovich	D. I.	m	1891	Belorussian	Peasant		1919		Petrograd
Deribas	Terentiy Dmitriyevich	m	1883	Ukrainian	Peasant		1903		other
Dingel'shedt	N. N.	m	1895	Russian	Gentry		1910		Petrograd
Dizhbit	Andrey Martynovich	m	1889	Russian?			1912		other
Dul'kis	K. K.	m	1890	Latvian	Peasant		1917		Petrograd
Dukis	Karl Yanovich	m	1890	Latvian			1917		Moscow
Dzerzhinski	Felixs Edmundovich	m	1877	Polish	Gentry / Intelligentsia	SDKPiL	1895	Red Guard/ M. R. C.	Moscow/Collegium
Evdokimov	Efim Georgievich	m	1891	Russian?	Worker		1918	Red Guard	Moscow
Evdokimov	Grigoriy Yeremyevich	m	1884	Russian			1903		other
Evseev	Dmitri Gavrilovich	m	1892	Russian?			1910	Red Guard/ M. R. C.	Collegium
Eiduk	Aleksandr Vladimirovich	m	1886	Latvian			1903		Moscow/Collegium
Fedotov	N. D.	m	1895	Russian	Peasant		1919		Petrograd
Fel'dman	Boris Mironovich	m	1890	Jewish			1919		Moscow
Filler	S. I.	m	1882	Russian?			1910		Moscow
Fomin	Fedor Timofeevich	m	1894	Russian	Worker		1917		Moscow
Fomin	Vasilii Vasilevich	m	1884	Russian	Worker		1910		Collegium
Freedman	I. A.	m	1896	Jewish?			1917		Moscow
Frishman	G. I.	f	1893	Estonian	Worker		1917		Petrograd
Galagan	Nikolai Ivanovich	m	1890	Russian	Worker		1917		other
Gerson	V. L.	m	1891	Jewish?			1917		Moscow
Glukhachenkov	Ivan Kuzmich	m	1886	Azerbaijani			1907		Collegium
Gluzman	A. G.	m	1881	Belorussian			1917	Red Guard	Moscow
Gol'shev	I. S.	m	1890	Russian	Worker		1917	Red Guard	Petrograd
Gribov	A. I.	m	1893	Russian	Worker		1917		Petrograd
Grigor'ev	F. V.	m	1895	Russian	Peasant		1917		Petrograd
Grundman	Elza Iakovlevna	f	1891	Latvian	Worker				Moscow
Il'in	V. I.	m	1889	Russian	Worker		1917	Red Guard	Petrograd
Ioselevich	A. S.	m	1899	Russian	Worker		1917		Petrograd
Ivanov	S. I.	m	1895	Russian	Peasant		1917		Petrograd
Karlson	Karl Martynovich	m	1888	Latvian	Worker		1905		other
Karuss	P. A.	m	1888	Belorussian	Peasant		1918		Petrograd
Kashirin	Ivan Dmitri'evich	m	1890	Russian?	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1919		other
Kedrov	Mikhail Sergeyevich	m	1878	Russian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1901		Collegium

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Khaskin	Ya. I	m	1900	Latvian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1919		Petrograd
Khromyakov	I. M.	m	1886	Russian?			1917		Moscow
Kolesnikov	Alexsey Konstantinovich	m	1895	Russian?			1917		other
Komarov	Nikolai Pavlovich	m	1886	Russian	Peasant		1909		Petrograd
Kondrat'ev	T. K.	m	1892	Russian	Worker		1913	Red Guard	Petrograd
Kornev	Vasilii Stepanovich	m	1889	Russian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1917		Collegium
Krapivyanski	Nikoali Grigor'evich	m	1889	Ukrainian	Peasant		1917		other
Krinochkin	V. G.	m	1888	Russian	Worker		1919		Petrograd
Kronberg	F. F.	m	1894	Latvian	Peasant		1917		Petrograd
Kronenberg	E. G.	m	1903	Latvian?					Moscow
Ksenfontov	Ivan Ksenfontov	m	1884	Russian?	Worker		1903		Collegium
Kulikov	A. G.	m	1888	Russian	Peasant		1917	Red Guard	Moscow
Kurshkovski	A. G.	m	1896	Polish?			1918		Moscow
Kushin	V. A.	m	1892	Russian	Worker		1913	Red Guard	Petrograd
Kuyll	A. I.	m	1888	Estonian	Peasant		1906		Petrograd
Kyaspert	Iokhanned Yur'evich	m	1886	Estonian	Worker		1912		other
Lander	Karl Ivanovich	m	1884	Latvian			1905		other
Latsis	Martyn Ivanovich	m	1888	Latvian	Peasant		1905	M. R. C.	Moscow/Collegium
Lemeshev	F. A.	m	1891	Russian	Worker		1914		Petrograd
Leonov	I. L.	m	1888	Russian	Peasant		1914		Petrograd
Likhachov	Ivan Alekseivich	m	1896	Russian	Peasant		1917	Red Guard	Moscow
Lobov	Semyon Semyonovich	m	1883	Russian	Peasant		1913	Red Guard	Petrograd
Liakhin	Nikolai Efimovich	m	1880	Russian			1902		Collegium
Makarov	F. P.	m	1885	Russian	Peasant		1919		Petrograd
Maksimov	I. M.	m	1880	Russian	Peasant		1917		Petrograd
Mantsev	Vasilii Nikolaevich	m	1888	Russian	Bourgeois		1906		Moscow
Medved	Fillip Demianovich	m	1889	Belorussian?	Worker	SDKPiL	1907	Red Guard	Moscow
Menzhinski	Viacheslav Rudol'fovich	m	1874	Polish	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1902		Collegium
Mertens	Stanislav Adamovich	m	1892	Polish	Worker	SDKPiL			Moscow
Mironov	Ivan Fyodorovich	m	1882	Russian			1905		other
Mesheryakov	N. N.	m	1891	Russian?			1917		Moscow
Messing	Stanislav Adamovich	m	1890	Polish/Jewish	Bourgeois Intelligentsia	SDKPiL	1908		Moscow/Collegium
Mikhailov	Vasily Mikhailovich	m	1894	Russian	Worker		1915		Moscow

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Mikhelev	R. B.	m	1887	Russian?			1917		Moscow
Mogilevski	Solomon Grigor'evich	m	1885	Jewish	Bourgeois		1914		Moscow
Moroz	Grigorii Semenovich	m	1893	Russian			1917		Collegium
Morozov	Dmitri Georgievich	m	1879	Russian	Worker		1905		other
Miasnikov	Aleksandr Fyodorovich	m	1886	Armenian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1906		Moscow
Nikiforov	Afinogen Nikiforovich	m	1891	Russian	Worker		1911	Red Guard	other
Nikolaev	A. P.	m	1890	Russian	Worker	SR's	1918		Petrograd
Nikolaev	V. N.	m	1887	Russian					Moscow
Nikolaev	M. S.	m	1878	Russian			1903		Moscow
Onufriyev	Evgeni Petrovich	m	1884	Russian?			1904		other
Ordzhonikidze	Grigori Konstantinovich	m	1886	Georgian	Gentry		1903		Collegium
Otto	E. M.	m	1884	Estonian			1906		Petrograd
Pauker	Karl Viktorovich	m	1893	Jewish	Worker		1918		Moscow
Pavlunovski	Ivan Petrovich	m	1888	Russian?	Bourgeois		1905	M. R. C.	other
Pel'she	Arvid Yanovich	m	1899	Latvian	Bourgeois		1915		Moscow
Peters	Yakov Kristoforovich	m	1886	Latvian	Peasant		1904	M. R. C.	Moscow/Colleguim
Peterson	Karl Andreevich	m	1877	Latvian	Worker		1898	M. R. C.	Collegium
Pevunov	D. M.	m	1884	Russian			1912		Moscow
Podgaiskii	M. I.	m	1894	Russian	Peasant		1913	Red Guard	Petrograd
Popov	Konstantin Andreevich	m	1876	Russian?		Menshevik	1917		other
Prokof'ev	A. A.	m	1900	Russian	Worker		1919		Petrograd
Prokof'ev	A. N.	m	1886	Russian			1912		Moscow
Prokof'ev	G. Ye.	m	1895	Ukrainian	White Collar Worker		1919		other
Priamikov	Nikolai Nikolaevich	m	1888	Russian	Peasant		1906		Moscow
Pulzhinkov	A. M.	m	1882	Russian	Peasant		1914		Petrograd
Rapoport	G. Ya.	m	1890	Jewish			1918		Moscow
Ratner	Berta Aronovna	f	1896	Jewish	Bourgeois Intelligentsia	SDKPiL	1917		Petrograd
Redens	Stanislav Frantsevich	m	1892	Polish	Worker		1914		Moscow
Rekstyn	Anna Ivanovna	f	1894	Latvian	Worker		1917	Red Guard	Moscow
Riks	A. I.	m	1889	Latvian	Worker			M. R. C.	Moscow
Romanov	Ivan Romanovich	m	1881	Russian	Peasant		1918		Petrograd
Romeiko	M. K.	m	1898	Latvian	Worker	SR's	1919		Petrograd
Ronchevski	K. A.	m	1894	Russian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia	SR's	1918		Moscow

NAMES	GIVEN NAMES	SEX	DATE OF BIRTH	ETHNIC ORIGIN	SOCIAL ORIGIN	ORIGINAL POLITICAL	DATE JOINED S.D.P.	RED GUARD/ M.R.C.	CHEKA CATEGORY
Rosiavets	N. A.	f	1888	Russian?			1917	Red Guard	Petrograd
Rozanov	S. N.	m	1887	Russian	Peasant		1917	Red Guard	Moscow
Rumianstev	F. G.	m	1880	Russian			1919		Petrograd
Rupishev	N. D.	m	1888	Polish	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1905		Petrograd
Rusanov	G. A.	m	1893	Russian			1916		other
Samsonov	Timofei Petrovich	m	1888	Russian	Worker	Anarchist	1919		Moscow
Samsonov	V. V.	m	1891	Russian			1917	Red Guard	Moscow
Savvastiev	I. C.	m	1882	Belorussian			1901		Moscow
Shchev'ev	P. G.	m	1891	Russian	Worker		1918	Red Guard	Moscow
Shklar	M. I.	m	1897	Belorussian			1918		Moscow
Shvarts	Isaak Izrailevich	m	1879	Jewish	Worker		1899		other
Skorokhodov	A. K.	m	1880	Ukrainian	Peasant		1906	Red Guard	Petrograd
Skrypnik	Nikolai Alekseevich	m	1872	Ukrainian	Bourgeois		1897	M. R. C.	Collegium
Smirnov	Aleksandr Petrovich	m	1872	Russian	Peasant		1896		Collegium
Stasova	Elena Dmitrievna	f	1873	Russian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1898		Petrograd
Stepanov	Y. I.	m	1889	Russian	Worker		1913	Red Guard	Petrograd
Stodolin	I. N.	m	1888	Jewish?			1917		Petrograd
Sveshnikov	N. F.	m	1888	Russian	Worker		1907		Petrograd
Svinkina	M. S.	f	1885	Russian?			1905		Petrograd
Tokareva	A. N.	f	1882	Russian	Worker		1904		Petrograd
Travianov	N. G.	m	1891	Russian	Peasant		1917	Red Guard	Petrograd
Trifonov	Valentin Andreevich	m	1888	Russian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1904	Red Guard	Collegium
Trillisser	Meyer Abramovich	m	1883	Azer/Jewish	Bourgeois		1901		other
Tsintsadze	K. M.	m	1887	Georgian?			1904		other
Tulupov	Aleksandr Vasil'evich	m	1886	Russian	Worker		1905	M. R. C.	other
Unshlikht	Iosif Stanislavovich	m	1879	Polish-Jewish	Bourgeois Intelligentsia	SDKPiL	1900	M. R. C.	Moscow
Uralov	Sergei Gerasimovich	m	1893	Russian	Worker		1914	M. R. C.	Collegium
Uritski	Moisei Solomonovich	m	1873	Jewish/Polish?	Bourgeois	Menshevik	1917		Petrograd
Uyuk	V. I.	m	1891	Russian?	Worker		1918		Petrograd
Valobuev	Konstantin Maksimovich	m	1879	Russian			1918	Red Guard	Collegium
Vasil'ev	V. A.	m	1887	Russian	Worker		1907		Petrograd
Vasil'evski	Vladimir Nikolaevich	m	1893	Russian?			1912	M. R. C.	Collegium
Vorobev	Iakov Zinovevich	m	1885	Jewish	Bourgois Intelligentsia		1908		other

NAMES	GIVEN NAMES	SEX	DATE OF BIRTH	ETHNIC ORIGIN	SOCIAL ORIGIN	ORIGINAL POLITICAL PARTY	DATE JOINED S.D.P.	RED GUARD M.R.C.	CHEKA CATEGORY
Voroshilov	Kliment Efremovich	m	1881	Ukrainian	Worker		1903		Collegium
Voskov	S. P.	m	1889	Ukrainian	Worker		1917	Red Guard	Petrograd
Vostretsov	Stepan Sergeivich	m	1883	Russian	Peasant	Menshevik	1920		other
Vozdvizhenski	Nikodim Dmitrievich	m	1893	Russian ?	Worker		1914		Moscow
Yagoda	Genrikh Grigorevich	m	1891	Jewish/Polish?	Bourgeois		1907	Red Guard	Collegium
Yakovlev	Yakov Arkad'evich	m	1896	Belorussian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1913		Collegium
Yakovleva	Varvara Nikolaevna	f	1885	Russian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia	Menshevik	1917		Moscow/Collegium
Yanshev	Mikhail Petrovich	m	1884	Russian	Worker				Moscow
Yegorov	A. K.	m	1888	Russian			1906		Petrograd
Yevgen'ev	Y. Y.	m	1896	Russian	Peasant		1919	Red Guard	Petrograd
Yurevich	P. I.	m	1892	Russian?			1917		Moscow
Yurovski	Yakov Mikhailovich	m	1878	Jewish	Worker		1905		Moscow
Zaks	Grigorii Davidovich	m	1882	Jewish		SR's	1918	M. R. C.	Collegium
Zalogin	I. N.	m	1886	Russian?			1917		Moscow
Zalka	Mate Mikhailovich	m	1896	Hungarian	Bourgeois		1920	Red Guard	other
Zhiga	Ivan Fyodorovich	m	1895	Russian?	Worker		1917		Moscow
Zhukov	Ivan Petrovich	m	1889	Russian			1909		Moscow

NAMES	GIVEN NAMES	SEX	DATE OF BIRTH	ETHNIC ORIGIN	SOCIAL ORIGIN	ORIGINAL POLITICAL PARTY	DATE JOINED S.D.P.	RED GUARD/ M.R.C.
Anni	V. G.	m	1891	Russian?			1912	
Belenkii	Abram Ya.	m	1883	Russian?			1902	
Berzin	Reynold Iosifovich	m	1889	Latvian	Peasant		1905	
Blagonravov	Georgii Ivanovich	m	1895	Russian	White Collar Worker		1917	M. R. C.
Blyumkin	Yakov Grigor'evich	m	1898	Jewish	White Collar Worker	SR's	1921	
Breslav	B. A.	m	1882	Russian?			1903	
Bulganin	Nikolai Aleksandrovich	m	1895	Russian	White Collar Worker		1917	
Dement'ev	V. P.	m	1901	Russian?			1919	
Dukis	Karl Yanovich	m	1890	Latvian			1917	
Dzerzhinski	Felixs Edmundovich	m	1877	Polish	Gentry / Intelligentsia	SDKPiL	1895	
Evdokimov	Efim Georgievich	m	1891	Russian?	Worker		1918	Red Guard/ M. R. C.
Eiduk	Aleksandr Vladimirovich	m	1886	Latvian			1903	Red Guard
Fel'dman	Boris Mironovich	m	1890	Jewish			1919	
Filler	S. I.	m	1882	Russian?			1910	
Fomin	Fedor Timofeevich	m	1894	Russian	Worker		1917	
Freedman	I. A.	m	1896	Jewish?			1917	
Gerson	V. L.	m	1891	Jewish?			1917	
Gluzman	A. G.	m	1881	Belorussian			1917	
Grundman	Elza Iakovlevna	f	1891	Latvian	Worker			Red Guard
Khromyakov	I. M.	m	1886	Russian?			1917	
Kronenberg	E. G.	m	1903	Latvian?				
Kulikov	A. G.	m	1888	Russian	Peasant		1917	
Kurshkovski	A. G.	m	1896	Polish?			1918	Red Guard
Latsis	Martyn Ivanovich	m	1888	Latvian	Peasant		1905	
Likhachov	Ivan Alekseivich	m	1896	Russian	Peasant		1917	M. R. C.
Mantsev	Vasilii Nikolaevich	m	1888	Russian	Bourgeois		1906	Red Guard
Medved	Fillip Demianovich	m	1889	Belorussian?	Worker	SDKPiL	1907	
Mertens	Stanislav Adamovich	m	1892	Polish	Worker	SDKPiL		Red Guard
Mesheryakov	N. N.	m	1891	Russian?			1917	
Messing	Stanislav Adamovich	m	1890	Polish/Jewish	Bourgeois Intelligentsia	SDKPiL	1908	
Mikhailov	Vasily Mikhailovich	m	1894	Russian	Worker		1915	
Mikhelev	R. B.	m	1887	Russian?			1917	

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Mogilevski	Solomon Grigor'evich	m	1885	Jewish	Bourgeois		1914	
Miasnikov	Aleksandr Fyodorovich	m	1886	Armenian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1906	
Nikolaev	V. N.	m	1887	Russian				
Nikolaev	M. S.	m	1878	Russian			1903	
Pauker	Karl Viktorovich	m	1893	Jewish	Worker		1918	
Pel'she	Arvid Yanovich	m	1899	Latvian	Bourgeois		1915	
Peters	Yakov Kristoforovich	m	1886	Latvian	Peasant		1904	
Pevunov	D. M.	m	1884	Russian			1912	M. R. C.
Prokof'ev	A. N.	m	1886	Russian			1912	
Priamikov	Nikolai Nikolaevich	m	1888	Russian	Peasant		1906	
Rapoport	G. Ya.	m	1890	Jewish			1918	
Redens	Stanislav Frantsevich	m	1892	Polish	Worker	SDKPiL	1914	
Rekstyn	Anna Ivanovna	f	1894	Latvian	Worker		1917	
Romanov	Ivan Romanovich	m	1881	Russian	Peasant			Red Guard
Roslavets	N. A.	f	1888	Russian?		SR's	1918	M. R. C.
Rumianstev	F. G.	m	1880	Russian			1917	
Samsonov	Timofei Petrovich	m	1888	Russian	Worker	Anarchist	1919	Red Guard
Samsonov	V. V.	m	1891	Russian			1917	
Savvastiev	I. C.	m	1882	Belorussian			1901	Red Guard
Shchev'ev	P. G.	m	1891	Russian	Worker		1918	
Shklar	M. I.	m	1897	Belorussian			1918	Red Guard
Unshlikht	Iosif Stanislavovich	m	1879	Polish-Jewish	Bourgeois Intelligentsia	SDKPiL	1900	
Vozdvizhensk	Nikodim Dmitrievich	m	1893	Russian ?	Worker		1914	M. R. C.
Iakovleva	Varvara Nikolaevna	f	1885	Russian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia	Menshevik	1917	
Yanshev	Mikhail Petrovich	m	1884	Russian	Worker			
Yurevich	P. I.	m	1892	Russian?			1917	
Yurovski	Yakov Mikhailovich	m	1878	Jewish	Worker		1905	
Zalogin	I. N.	m	1886	Russian?			1917	
Zhiga	Ivan Fyodorovich	m	1895	Russian?	Worker		1917	
Zhukov	Ivan Petrovich	m	1889	Russian			1909	

NAMES	GIVEN NAMES	SEX	DATE OF BIRTH	ETHNIC ORIGIN	SOCIAL ORIGIN	ORIGINAL POLITICAL PARTY	DATE JOINED S.D.P.	RED GUARD/ M.R.C.
Amosov	Pavel Nikanovich	m	1893	Russian	Peasant		1917	
Antipov	Nikolai Kirilovich	m	1894	Russian	Peasant		1914	
Bakayev	Ivan Petrovich	m	1887	Russian	Peasant		1906	
Boze	I. I.	m	1886	Latvian	Peasant		1907	
Chumak	G. I.	m	1883	Ukrainian			1917	Red Guard
Demyanovich	D. I.	m	1891	Belorussian	Peasant		1919	
Dingel'shedt	N. N.	m	1895	Russian	Gentry		1910	
Dul'kis	K. K.	m	1890	Latvian	Peasant		1917	
Fedotov	N. D.	m	1895	Russian	Peasant		1919	
Frishman	G. I.	f	1893	Estonian	Worker		1917	
Gol'shev	I. S.	m	1890	Russian	Worker		1917	Red Guard
Gribov	A. I.	m	1893	Russian	Worker		1917	
Grigor'ev	F. V.	m	1895	Russian	Peasant		1917	
Il'in	V. I.	m	1889	Russian	Worker		1917	Red Guard
Ioselevich	A. S.	m	1899	Russian	Worker		1917	
Ivanov	S. I.	m	1895	Russian	Peasant		1917	
Karuss	P. A.	m	1888	Belorussian	Peasant		1918	
Khaskin	Ya. I	m	1900	Latvian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1919	
Komarov	Nikolai Pavlovich	m	1886	Russian	Peasant		1909	
Kondrat'ev	T. K.	m	1892	Russian	Worker		1913	Red Guard
Krinochkin	V. G.	m	1888	Russian	Worker		1919	
Kronberg	F. F.	m	1894	Latvian	Peasant		1917	
Kushin	V. A.	m	1892	Russian	Worker		1913	Red Guard
Kuyll	A. I.	m	1888	Estonian	Peasant		1906	
Lemeshev	F. A.	m	1891	Russian	Worker		1914	
Leonov	I. L.	m	1888	Russian	Peasant		1914	
Lobov	Semyon Semyonovich	m	1883	Russian	Peasant		1913	Red Guard
Makarov	F. P.	m	1885	Russian	Peasant		1919	
Maksimov	I. M.	m	1880	Russian	Peasant		1917	
Nikolaev	A. P.	m	1890	Russian	Worker	SR's	1918	
Otto	E. M.	m	1884	Estonian			1906	
Podgaiskii	M. I.	m	1894	Russian	Peasant		1913	Red Guard

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Pulzhinkov	A. M.	m	1882	Russian	Peasant		1914	
Ratner	Berta Aronovna	f	1896	Jewish	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1917	
Riks	A. I.	m	1889	Latvian	Worker		1905	
Romeiko	M. K.	m	1898	Latvian	Worker		1918	
Ronchevski	K. A.	m	1894	Russian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia	SR's	1919	
Rozanov	S. N.	m	1887	Russian	Peasant		1917	Red Guard
Rupishev	N. D.	m	1888	Polish	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1919	
Skorokhodov	A. K.	m	1880	Ukrainian	Peasant		1906	Red Guard
Stasova	Elena Dmitrievna	f	1873	Russian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1898	
Stepanov	Y. I.	m	1889	Russian	Worker		1913	Red Guard
Stodolin	I. N.	m	1888	Jewish?			1917	
Sveshnikov	N. F.	m	1888	Russian	Worker		1907	
Svinkina	M. S.	f	1885	Russian?			1905	
Tokareva	A. N.	f	1882	Russian	Worker		1904	
Travianov	N. G.	m	1891	Russian	Peasant		1917	Red Guard
Uritski	Moisei Solomonovich	m	1873	Jewish (Polish?)	Bourgeois	Menshevik	1917	
Uyuk	V. I.	m	1891	Russian?	Worker		1918	
Vasil'ev	V. A.	m	1887	Russian	Worker		1907	
Voskov	S. P.	m	1889	Ukrainian	Worker		1917	Red Guard
Yegorov	A. K.	m	1888	Russian			1906	
Yevgen'ev	Y. Y.	m	1896	Russian	Peasant		1919	Red Guard
Zof	Viacheslav Ivanovich	m	1889	Ukrainian-Czech	Peasant		1913	Red Guard

NAMES	GIVEN NAMES	SEX	DATE OF BIRTH	ETHNIC ORIGIN	SOCIAL ORIGIN	ORIGINAL POLITICAL PARTY	DATE JOINED S.D.P.	RED GUARD/ M.R.C.
Aleksandrovich	V. A.	m	1884	Russian	Peasant	SR's		
Agranov	Yakov Saulovich	m	1893	Jewish	?	SR's	1915	
Antonov	Vladimir Paulovich	m	1884	Russian	White Collar Worker		1902	
Artuzov	Artur Khristianovich	m	1891	Italian-Swiss	Worker		1917	
Avanesov	Varlaam Aleksandrovich	m	1884	Armenian	Peasant	Menshevik	1917	M. R. C.
Averin	Vasily Kuzmich	m	1885	Russian?	Peasant		1904	
Bokii	Gleb Ivanovich	m	1879	Georgian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1900	M. R. C.
Chugurin	Ivan Dmitr'evich	m	1883	Russian	Worker		1902	
Dzerzhinski	Felixs Edmundovich	m	1877	Polish	Gentry / Intelligentsia	SDKPiL	1895	Red Guard/ M. R. C.
Evseev	Dmitri Gavrilovich	m	1892	Russian?			1910	Red Guard/ M. R. C.
Eiduk	Aleksandr Vladimirovich	m	1886	Latvian			1903	
Fomin	Vasilii Vasilevich	m	1884	Russian	Worker		1910	
Glukhachenkov	Ivan Kuzmich	m	1886	Azerbaijani			1907	
Kedrov	Mikhail Sergeyevich	m	1878	Russian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1901	
Kornev	Vasilii Stepanovich	m	1889	Russian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1917	
Ksenfontov	Ivan Ksenfontov	m	1884	Russian?	Worker		1903	
Latsis	Martyn Ivanovich	m	1888	Latvian	Peasant		1905	M. R. C.
Liakhin	Nikolai Efimovich	m	1880	Russian			1902	
Menzhinski	Viacheslav Rudol'fovich	m	1874	Polish	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1902	
Messing	Stanislav Adamovich	m	1890	Polish/Jewish	Bourgeois Intelligentsia	SDKPiL	1908	
Moroz	Grigorii Semenovich	m	1893	Russian			1917	
Ordzhonikidze	Grigori Konstantinovich	m	1886	Georgian	Gentry		1903	
Peters	Yakov Kristoforovich	m	1886	Latvian	Peasant		1904	M. R. C.
Peterson	Karl Andreevich	m	1877	Latvian	Worker		1898	M. R. C.
Skrypnik	Nikolai Alekseevich	m	1872	Ukrainian	Bourgeois		1897	M. R. C.
Smirnov	Aleksandr Petrovich	m	1872	Russian	Peasant		1896	
Trifonov	Valentin Andreevich	m	1888	Russian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1904	Red Guard
Uralov	Sergei Gerasimovich	m	1893	Russian	Worker		1914	M. R. C.
Valobuev	Konstantin Maksimovich	m	1879	Russian			1918	Red Guard
Vasil'evski	Vladimir Nikolaevich	m	1893	Russian?			1912	M. R. C.
Voroshilov	Kliment Efremovich	m	1881	Ukrainian	Worker		1903	
Yagoda	Genrikh Grigorevich	m	1891	Jewish (Polish?)	Bourgeois		1907	Red Guard
Iakovlev	Yakov Arkad'evich	m	1896	Belorussian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1913	
Iakovleva	Varvara Nikolaevna	f	1885	Russian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia	Menshevik	1917	
Zaks	Grigorii Davidovich	m	1882	Jewish		SR's	1918	M. R. C.

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Frishman	G. I.	1893	Estonian	Worker		1917		Petrograd
Grundman	Elza Iakovlevna	1891	Latvian	Worker		0		Moscow
Ratner	Berta Aronovna	1896	Jewish	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1917		Petrograd
Rekstyn	Anna Ivanovna	1894	Latvian	Worker		1917	Red Guard	Moscow
Roslavets	N. A.	1888	Russian?		SR's	1918		Moscow
Stasova	Elena Dmitrievna	1873	Russian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia		1898		Petrograd
Svinkina	M. S.	1885	Russian?			1905		Petrograd
Tokareva	A. N.	1882	Russian	Worker		1904		Petrograd
Iakovleva	Varvara Nikolaevna	1885	Russian	Bourgeois Intelligentsia	Menshevik	1917		Moscow/Collegium

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