Martov at the end of 1922
MARTOV

A Political Biography of a Russian Social Democrat

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To Alan McBriar,  
teacher and friend
Preface

This book attempts to record Martov's ideas and activities in the Russian revolutionary movement and in international socialism. I have not presumed to write a history of the complex and diversified Menshevik movement—Georgian Menshevism alone would have baffled me. Yet while the history of Menshevism remains to be written, I feel that this need not prevent me from undertaking a study of Martov. Unlike Bolshevism which can simply be equated with Leninism, social democratic Menshevism was always far more than mere 'Martovism' and, at times (as in the crucial period of the Provisional Government of 1917), radically departed from it. Nor have I presumed to pry into the intimacies of Martov's personal life. Having no family, worldly possessions or private interests of his own, Martov put all he had into the service of the Russian revolution and of socialism. For the purpose of this study, then, his public was his private life.

If Nicolai N. Sukhanov and his Memoirs of the Revolution aroused my interest in Martov and his performance and failure in 1917, it was Professor Leonard Schapiro, my Ph.D. supervisor at the London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London), who encouraged and prodded me to attempt a full-scale political biography of Martov. I am deeply grateful to him for his kind encouragement and his wise and tolerant supervision, which made my study under him in 1961 and 1964 a memorable and cherished event. This book is largely based on this Ph.D. thesis.

I am also greatly indebted to the late Boris Nicolaevsky, the fairy godfather of students of the Russian revolutionary movement, and to Mme Anna M. Bourguina, for generous access to their archives, in particular to Martov's unpublished correspondence, and for giving me so much of their time, knowledge, and friendship.

I also wish to pay tribute to the late Mrs Lydia O. Dan-Tsederbaum, the 'grand lady of Menshevism', who in the memorable winter of 1961-2 shared with me her great treasury of recollections and exquisite conversation.

Hugh Stretton, Professor of History at the University of Adelaide, contributed in many ways to make possible this study by a member of his department and helped to clarify the result. I am deeply in his debt.
Finally, I wish to record my gratitude to my colleague and friend, Professor Ladis Kristof, formerly Associate Director of the Inter-University Project on the History of the Menshevik Movement, now Research Associate of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, for his generous scholarly help, prudent advice, and hospitality.

Warm thanks are due to my learned tutor and mentor in the British Museum, Dr J. H. H. Keep of London University; Professor Reinhard Bendix of the University of California, Berkeley; Dr Jonathan Frankel of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Sir Isaiah Berlin of Oxford; the veteran Mensheviks Grigorii Aronson, Lev Lande, Boris Sapir, and Solomon Schwarz of New York; Professor Alan McVay of Monash University, Melbourne; Professor Harry Rigby of the A.N.U., Canberra; Professor Bertram D. Wolfe of the Hoover Institution, Stanford; Mrs Vera Broido-Cohn and Mr Chimen Abramsky of London; and to my colleagues Professor George Rudé, Dr John Gilchrist, and Mr Alan Sykes, who have given me of their time and knowledge to comment on sections of the manuscript.

I am grateful to Professor Leopold Haimson, Director of the Inter-University Project on the History of the Menshevik Movement, in New York, for access to the facilities and the collection of Menshevik materials of the Project, and to Mrs Julii A. Kammermacher-Kefali for her warm hospitality there; to Professor Henry Roberts and the Russian Institute, Columbia University, where I spent the winter of 1961-2 as a visiting research scholar; to Professor Lev Magerovsaky, Curator of the Archive of Russian and East European History and Culture at Columbia University; to the Bund Archives, New York, and their very erudite and helpful H. Kempinsky; to the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, for generous access to its facilities, especially to the B. Nikolaevsky Collection and the Paris Okhrana Archive; to the staffs of the Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide, for inter-library loans, the International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam, the Reading Room of the British Museum, the British Library of Political and Economic Science at the London School of Economics, the Bibliothèque de la Documentation Internationale Contemporaine, Paris, the Library of Congress, Washington, the Public Library of New York, the Australian National Library, Canberra, the Verein für die Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung, Vienna, and to its secretary, Herr Hans Schrotch—for access to their research facilities and manuscripts; to the Fulbright Foundation for paying my fare to New York in 1961 and to the British Council for paying my return fares to London in 1964; to the University of Adelaide which made it possible for me to spend the long vacation, 1965-6, in Stanford; to Miss Dorothy Mann of the London School of Economics and Political Science and Mrs Joan Middleton of the University of Adelaide who have typed successive versions of the text with patient care; to Mrs Marie Bienstock of New York for her hospitality and conversation, and to Mrs Marina Tinkoff of the Hoover Institution for guiding me through the Paris Okhrana Archive.

My final thanks are due to my dear ones, to Ada, David, and Anne, for their forbearance and affection, which have made this study a family venture and a labour of love.
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Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>I.I.S.H.</td>
<td>International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam</td>
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<tr>
<td>Menshevik Project</td>
<td>Inter-University Project on the History of the Menshevik Movement, New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>N.C.</td>
<td>Boris Nicolaevsky Collection, Hoover Institution, Stanford, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.O.A.</td>
<td>Paris Okhrana Archive, Hoover Institution</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perepiska</td>
<td><em>Perepiska G. V. Plekhanova i P. B. Aksel'roda</em>. Moscow, 1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polnoe sobranie sochinenii</td>
<td><em>V. I. Lenin, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii</em>, 5th ed. Moscow, 1958–</td>
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Events are dated western style when they happened in the west; old Russian style when in Russia. Dates are as given in the original letters, journals and newspapers: western style when written from or published in the west; old Russian style when written from, or published in or for Russia. Translations from the originals are my own.