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military governor. He was honest enough not to deny the rumors, brazenly alleging that “true” Russians, exasperated by the “un-faithfulness” of the students, Jews, and Socialists, were entitled to express their feelings. Trepov’s retort was reported by the delegation to the Executive Committee of the soviets. A few hours later some twelve thousand armed workers were ready to meet the challenge of the Black Hundreds. The pogrom did not materialize.²¹ There is evidence that Trotsky himself was active in organizing self-defense groups against the Black Hundreds from his Kiev headquarters. A Jewish student from Nikolayev relates: After the first pogrom the Jewish community was shrouded in deep mourning. . . . Two days later my elder brother, an active member of the local Social-Democratic party, told me that the head of the party wanted to talk to me. . . . It was Trotsky; my brother let me in on a secret, informing me that Trotsky had returned from abroad and was conducting revolutionary activities throughout the Ukraine from Kiev. From time to time he also visited Nikolayev to encourage the local revolutionaries who remained faithful to him from the days—years	quarters with a request for more arms. . . . Trotsky provided arms to all places attacked. . . . However, later on disappointment set in, for our belief that our “ally,” the Russian Social-Democrats, personified by the great and famous revolutionary Trotsky, would supply us with most of the arms needed for our defense, had been misplaced. . . . Two days later, when I called again on Trotsky and raised before him the matter of arms supply, he had this advice to proffer: “I am informed from reliable sources that your leader Jabotinsky has successfully organized the Jewish self-defense group in Odessa and that it is provided with plenty of arms. Apply to him and ask him to allot at least part of this supply for your branch organization.” Having no alternative, we decided to send a delegation to Jabotinsky without delay asking for his assistance.²² Although Trotsky refused to go along with Gruzenberg in giving priority to the Jewish issue in the case, he nevertheless minced no words in castigating the government for its pogromist policy, and, in fact, some of the most dramatic parts of his speech at the trial hurled bitter accusations against the tsar and his henchmen:

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Return now ago—when he had been their leader, as yet in his former name—Bronstein. . . . Trotsky invited me into his room and asked me to give him a detailed report of the students’ meeting which took place at the Technicum on the day of the pogrom. Instead of showing interest in the details of the pogrom and the reasons for the impotence of the Russian defenders, he asked me to relate to him as fully as I could the speeches and the deliberations of the students, and then, referring to the question of self-defense, informed me contentedly: “You should know that we have entered into an agreement with the heads of the local Zionists with the object of establishing a common self-defense organization. This will consist of your Zionist friends and members of the Russian Social-Democratic party. You and your brother will serve as liaison officers between our forces and those of the Zionists. It is my request that, as soon as new outbreaks occur, you should hasten to my apartment to receive full instructions, as the situation will warrant.” Indeed, a week later members of the Black Hundred in our town made an attempt to organize a new pogrom, but this time they were met by strong and well-organized defense forces. . . . Trotsky’s apartment served as headquarters. The first news we received by telephone was quite encouraging, but at noon the pogromists were joined by a number of policemen and armed cossacks, and the defenders applied to head-	Return now 22. Nahum Yerushalmi, “Pegishotai ‘im Trotski be-‘inyenei ha-hagana	Notes to pages 61–65 243 ha-‘ivrit” [My meetings with Trotsky in matters relating to Jewish self-defense], <i>Haboker</i> (Tel Aviv), 6 January 1950.

(My Meeting with Trotsky in Matters Relating to Jewish Self-Defense, HaBoker (Tel Aviv), Nahum Yerushalmi, January 6, 1950. Cited in: ‘Trotsky and the Jews’, Joseph Nedava, pp. 60-61) <https://archive.org/details/trotskyjews0000unse/page/60/mode/2up?q=agaga&view=theater>