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The Bolsheviks'
"German Gold" Revisited

An Inquiry into the 1917 Accusations

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Introduction

On the evening of 4 July 1917, at the height of the anti-government uprising, the Provisional Government's Minister of Justice, Pavel N. Pereverzev,¹ authorized a press release accusing the Bolshevik leaders of treasonable activities. The report published the next day alleged that Lenin had been sent to Russia by the German government to rally support for a separate peace with Germany and "to undermine the confidence of the Russian people in the Provisional Government."² The money for his activity was allegedly channeled from Berlin to Petrograd, by way of Stockholm. In Stockholm the transfer was carried out by the Bolshevik Jakob Fürstenberg (Hanecki) and the Russo-German Social Democrat Alexander Israel Helphand (Parvus). The main recipients in Petrograd were the Bolshevik lawyer Mieczyslaw Kozłowski and Evgeniia M. Sumenson, a relative of Fürstenberg-Hanecki. She and Kozłowski ran a trading business as a cover for financial dealings with Fürstenberg, thus making the transfer of German funds look like a legitimate business transaction.³

The published report referred to two different types of evidence for the charges. The first accusation—that Lenin was working for the Germans—rested on the rather shaky testimony of Ensign Dmitrii S. Ermolenko, who alleged that he had been told about it by German intelligence officers while a prisoner of war in a German camp. The second charge—that the Bolsheviks were receiving German money—was better documented by intercepted telegraphic communications between those involved in the money transactions between Petrograd and Stockholm.⁴ To look into the accusations, the Provisional Government appointed a Special Investigative Commission, headed by the Procurator of the Petrograd Judiciary Chamber, Nikolai S. Karinskii. The Commission used the exchange of telegrams as its main evidence, and after two weeks, on 21 July, formally charged the Bolshevik leaders with high treason.⁵

According to the counterintelligence officials who assisted the preliminary investigation, the telegrams were actually coded correspondence, and "constituted a

direct proof of the contact existing between the Bolsheviks and enemy agents."⁶ This interpretation was then adopted by the Provisional Government in an official statement, marking the beginning of the legal proceedings against the Bolshevik leaders:

From the numerous telegrams in the hands of the legal authorities it is established that a constant and extensive correspondence was carried on between Sumenson, Ul'ianov (Lenin), Kollontai, and Kozlovskii residing in Petrograd, on the one hand, and Fürstenberg (Ganetskii) and Helphand (Parvus), on the other. Although this correspondence refers to commercial deals, shipment of all sort of goods, and money transactions, it offers sufficient reasons to conclude that this correspondence was a cover-up for relations of an espionage character.⁷

Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders flatly denied the charge that commerce was a disguise for espionage, and that the telegrams could be viewed as coded correspondence with German agents.⁸ While in public they preferred to focus on discrediting the less credible evidence against them—such as Ermolenko's hearsay testimony⁹—privately they were more concerned with showing that the telegrams provided no basis for alleging the receipt of German funds. From his hiding place in Finland, Lenin wrote to Fürstenberg-Hanecki in Stockholm, demanding that he publish all the telegrams and furnish a detailed explanation of each. Although Fürstenberg did not follow his leader's request, Bolsheviks in Stockholm prepared an interpretation of the telegrams by autumn 1917, when the trial of the Bolshevik leaders was scheduled to take place.¹⁰

Thus, both the prosecution and the accused assigned a great deal of importance to the telegrams. While the former sought to show that the telegrams confirmed the Bolsheviks had received German money through their Scandinavian agents, the latter aimed to demonstrate they were no more than innocent business correspondence. Neither side, however, had the chance to make its case in court,

because the Bolsheviks seized power from the Provisional Government in October. The Procurator's Commission was immediately dissolved, and the documents it had collected remained inaccessible until the Soviet regime collapsed 74 years later. No trace of the material gathered by the Bolsheviks for their defense has been found. Moreover, the telegrams have not been subjected to scholarly scrutiny until now.

Soviet historians have generally disparaged the issue of "German money." When referring to the July campaign, they seem to follow in the footsteps of their Bolshevik predecessors, discrediting Ermolenko and his testimony, while discounting the telegrams.¹¹ And although the recent politics of *glasnost*' and the events of August 1991 have ended the monopoly of party historians on the subject, Russian scholars are just beginning to free themselves from the ideological conformity of the Communist era, which thus far has precluded any serious discussion of the 1917 "German money" controversy and hence any contribution to its elucidation.

In contrast, the question of German aid to the Bolsheviks has always been the subject of intense scholarly interest in the West.¹² All major works on the Russian Revolution (from William H. Chamberlin's classic study published in 1935 to the 1990 volume by Richard Pipes) touch on this theme. But there seems to be no agreement in the literature on either the extent of the German assistance or the ways in which it reached the Bolsheviks. Some scholars' conclusions concur with the allegations made by the Provisional Government—that German funds reached Lenin through Parvus-Fürstenberg-Kozlowski's business, and that the coded telegrams were simply a cover for those transactions.¹³ Others have been more cautious, noting first that the telegrams' significance is limited to identifying the addresses and surnames of the individuals who communicated with Fürstenberg in Stockholm, and second that they do only to "suggest the possibility that the Bolsheviks were recipients of funds supplied by the German government."¹⁴ While circumstantial evidence could be found to support either view, both are problematic due to the lack of concrete and reliable documentation.

When dealing with the July accusations, Western historians refer exclusively to 29 telegrams, which were first reproduced by the former head of the Petrograd

counterintelligence, Colonel B. V. Nikitin, in his memoirs in the 1930s.¹⁵ These materials must be treated with caution, however, given both their origin and the fact that they were not properly analyzed. First, Nikitin reproduced them from notes he had taken almost two decades earlier, in 1917, when he received the 29 copies from French intelligence. Second, the French had intercepted them during their transmission, making it impossible to check the accuracy of the reproduction. And, finally, Nikitin had insufficient time to examine the documents to the extent they required, for he received them only shortly before he was removed from the Bolshevik case.¹⁶ All this may explain the absence of the numbers, the dates and the times of dispatch in Nikitin's 29 telegrams. Moreover, the numerous mistakes, inaccuracies and misspellings of names and addresses mentioned in them inevitably led to erroneous conclusions by those attempting to explain the telegrams' meaning.¹⁷

The only concentrated attempt to date to interpret and systematize the 29 telegrams was made by the émigré historian Sergei P. Mel'gunov in 1940.¹⁸ Yet considering the aforementioned deficiencies of Nikitin's telegrams, and the limited sources available to Mel'gunov at the time, the historian could not have adequately explained the telegrams' contents. In fact, he did not reach specific conclusions as to whether the telegrams confirmed the transfer of German money to the Bolsheviks, determining only that they represent some kind of coded correspondence that could have served as a cover for suspicious activities.¹⁹

Neither Nikitin's memoirs nor Mel'gunov's study resolved the controversy over the telegrams' meaning. Instead, they created the impression among subsequent historians that the Provisional Government considered only those telegrams reproduced by Nikitin.²⁰ It is also believed that Petrograd counterintelligence was the only agency involved in deciphering the telegrams, and that the main investigation of Bolshevik-German ties was concentrated under Nikitin's direction. In fact, it was the Investigatory Commission of the Procurator of the Petrograd Judicial Chamber (*Prokuror Petrogradskoi Sudebnoi Palaty*) that supervised the primary investigation. The main data for the case came through the Procurator's Commission from the Central Counterintelligence Division of the Main

Administration of the General Headquarters (*Glavnoe upravlenie General'nogo shtaba*) in Petrograd, a body to which Nikitin had practically no connection. Furthermore, the charges made against the Bolsheviks rested on 66 telegrams, which were obtained by the Central Counterintelligence Division at the Petrograd Telegraph Office shortly before the July uprising.

A copy of the 66 telegrams was passed on to Minister of Justice Pereverzev, who used them on the second day of the uprising to make public the accusations against the Bolshevik leaders.²¹ On that same day, 4 July, Pereverzev passed his copy on to the well known pro-war socialist Grigorii A. Aleksinskii to have their entire contents published in the press. They appeared a week later in the Petrograd journal *Bez lishnikh slov*.²² Other copies were sent by Central Counterintelligence to military agents (attachés) in Scandinavia with instructions to gather data on the individuals and addresses mentioned in the telegrams. One such copy was found by this author among the papers of the Russian military attaché in Copenhagen, Major-General Sergei N. Pototskii, housed since 1947 in the archives of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace.²³

The present work seeks, first, to provide an introduction and an analysis of the complete texts of the telegrams used by the Provisional Government as the main evidence against the Bolshevik leaders in July 1917. This will require determining the telegrams' origin and authenticity, as well as the identity of the people and events to which they refer. Second, it will evaluate the extent to which the contents of the telegrams confirm allegations that business transactions between Parvus-Fürstenberg and Kozlowski served as a cover for the transfer of German funds to the Bolshevik treasury. Finally, this study will lay the foundation for the reassessment of the "German money" controversy in the historiography of modern Russia.

The Origins of the Telegrams

In late June 1917, Russian Counterintelligence obtained copies of telegraphic communications between Bolshevik leaders in Petrograd and their associates in Stockholm, which led it to suspect dealings with the Germans. Minister of Justice Pereverzev believed that, with these documents in hand, he was prepared to move against Lenin and his associates. During the July uprising, he released part of the information to support his accusation that the Bolshevik leaders were collaborating with the German government. The case against the Bolsheviks rested mainly on the exchanged telegrams, whose contents allegedly showed that substantial German funds were being sent to the party treasury. To determine the truth of these accusations, we need to examine the sources on which they were based.

While nearly all studies of the Provisional Government period mention the July accusations, most scholars focus on how they altered the balance of power in favor of the Government, rather than on their validity. Some Western historians explain Pereverzev's decision to make public the compromising material about Lenin as having been necessitated by the extreme circumstances of the uprising, viewing it as an effort to save the Provisional Government from a Bolshevik overthrow. These same historians assume that the basic evidence for the prosecution of the Bolsheviks consisted of the 29 intercepted telegrams.²⁴ Many Soviet historians, on the other hand, adhere to the view that the July accusations were based on documents fabricated by Aleksinskii and Counterintelligence.²⁵ In order to evaluate these arguments and analyze the telegrams' meaning, it is imperative to examine how the July accusations were prepared and to establish the origins and authenticity of the telegrams. Then, an attempt will be made to analyze how Russian Counterintelligence chose these particular telegrams. To complete the analysis, the content of each telegram will be explained and interpreted.

It was French Intelligence who first suggested that the Provisional Government use the telegraphic communications between the Bolshevik leaders and their associates in Stockholm as evidence against Lenin. During his visit to Russia

in spring 1917, Albert Thomas, a prominent French socialist and member of the cabinet, informed leading members of the Provisional government—Kerenskii, Tereshchenko and Nekrasov—that French intelligence suspected Lenin of having ties with the Germans.²⁶ Before his departure in early June, Thomas instructed Pierre Laurent, a captain of the French military mission in Petrograd, to keep Tereshchenko informed as new information became available. Soon after that, Laurent reported to Tereshchenko that French Intelligence had intercepted telegrams between Lenin and his people in Stockholm, indicating dealings with the Germans.²⁷ Tereshchenko thought it necessary to share this information with both Pereverzev, who had already become suspicious of Lenin after the Bolshevik leader crossed Germany en route to Russia in April, and with Nikitin, the head of Petrograd Counterintelligence who assisted the Minister of Justice in gathering information on Bolshevik leaders.²⁸

On 21 June, Nikitin received copies of 14 intercepted telegrams, and immediately began to investigate them. Their contents, however, did not interest Petrograd counterintelligence as much as the names of their addressees. The telegrams revealed to Nikitin "names of those beside Lenin who constantly communicated with Hanecki—a German agent and a trusted man of Parvus."²⁹ It was just this kind of evidence that Pereverzev needed to initiate legal proceedings against the Bolshevik leaders. But as Pereverzev later recalled, given the decline in the authority of the Provisional Government and the almost certain interference on behalf of the Bolsheviks by the leaders of the Petrograd Soviet, this could only be done after making public the information about Lenin's German ties.³⁰ Yet to do so he first needed the approval of the Provisional Government, the majority of whose members knew neither of the telegrams nor of the investigation under way.³¹

Through an agreement between Pereverzev and Tereshchenko, Captain Laurent was invited to a cabinet meeting on 24 June to introduce the telegrams. In contrast to French Intelligence, Nikitin, Pereverzev, and most probably Tereshchenko, the majority of the government's ministers did not consider them sufficient evidence to bring charges against the Bolsheviks, and decided to put off publicizing the documents until "a more appropriate moment."³²

The decision to withhold the information signified to Pereverzev, first, that he must proceed on his own, and, second, that the divulgence of the information must come from someone outside of the government. As a member of the Popular Socialists (*Narodnye sotsialisty*) party and a prominent defense lawyer in political trials under the old regime, Pereverzev had extensive contacts among Petrograd socialists.³³ In fact, it was from them he obtained most of his information about the émigré Bolsheviks' collaboration with Parvus and other socialists affiliated with the German government. Two of Pereverzev's most important informants during spring and summer 1917 were Vladimir L. Burtsev, a non-party (and non-Marxist) socialist and Russia's most renowned specialist in matters of secret police provocation, and Grigorii Aleksinskii, the one-time Bolshevik Duma deputy who finally split with the Bolsheviks after they adopted the defeatist position at the start of World War I.³⁴

Both men were known for their press campaigns accusing the émigré internationalists of receiving money from the Austrian and German governments to publish revolutionary literature.³⁵ Both became bitter opponents of Lenin upon their return to Russia—Burtsev at the end of 1915, and Aleksinskii in April 1917. Moreover, neither had any official affiliation with either the Provisional Government or the Petrograd Soviet. Consequently, as private individuals they could endorse the publication of the evidence against Lenin, thus allowing Pereverzev to circumvent the cabinet's decision. It appears that Burtsev preferred maintaining a low profile, whereas Aleksinskii agreed to publish and publicly endorse the compromising material at the necessary moment.³⁶

Meanwhile, Pereverzev had ordered Petrograd counterintelligence to begin surveillance of the individuals mentioned in the telegrams, and to prepare a list of Bolshevik leaders to be arrested. Pereverzev also arranged for the cooperation of the Central Intelligence Division of the Main Administration of General Headquarters in Petrograd, who he hoped would provide additional information about the Bolsheviks' Scandinavian links. In contrast to Nikitin's counterintelligence, whose operations were limited to the Petrograd Military District, the Central Counterintelligence Division was receiving information from an extensive intelligence network abroad,

supervised by the military attachés, and from the counterintelligence divisions of all the military districts in Russia. It also worked closely with Military Censorship, which was charged with overseeing all incoming and outgoing correspondence with Russia.³⁷

On 28 June, Pereverzev took decisive action, using his double authority as Minister of Justice and Procurator General, the latter position giving him emergency executive powers within the capital. He placed all cases involving "individuals suspected of links with the Germans" under the direction of his friend and subordinate Ivan P. Bessarabov.³⁸ He also requested that Central Counterintelligence obtain from the Petrograd Telegraph Office any telegrams involving those under suspicion. This resulted in the gathering of dozens of telegrams over a period of three months (April, May and June). They included the telegrams already known from French Intelligence, as well as the most recent ones sent from Petrograd through the afternoon of 28 June.³⁹

By 1 July, Central Counterintelligence selected from this larger group a set of 66 telegrams for use specifically in the case against the Bolsheviks. These contained the names of Bolshevik leaders in Petrograd and their associates in Scandinavia. A copy of the set, the one that eventually found its way into the Hoover Archives, was distributed to the military agents in Scandinavia for further investigation—or, as it was referred to in the professional jargon, "elaboration" (*razrabotka*)—the process of identifying and collecting information on the individuals mentioned in the telegrams. Another copy of the 66 telegrams was passed on to Pereverzev.⁴⁰ Concurrently, the counterintelligence office on the Russian–Swedish border received orders to detain any of the suspects in case they attempted to cross.⁴¹ The stage was set for the prosecution of the Bolshevik leaders.

On 4 July, with a Bolshevik uprising in Petrograd in the making, Pereverzev decided to make public the information about Lenin's German connections. He was supported by Bessarabov and four other subordinates from the Ministry of Justice. Historians usually attribute his decision to a desire to preserve the Provisional Government's tenuous hold on power. He is said to have realized, by late on the

morning of 4 July, that further delay might be fatal, and to have "decided to let the neutral garrison regiments still balking at providing support for the Provisional Government have a look at the evidence...against Lenin."⁴² It is assumed that these actions allowed the Provisional Government to discredit its opponents and thus stave off the Bolsheviks' attempted coup. Although this may be true, evidence of the careful preparatory work put into the exposure and arrest of the Bolshevik leaders makes the July uprising look more like a convenient excuse for Pereverzev to go ahead with his plans. The extent to which the Provisional Government was still in control at the time of Pereverzev's actions is an issue in need of further study.⁴³ But the motives of Pereverzev and his close assistants for subsequently presenting the case in such a way seem sufficiently clear. It would be one thing if, in publicizing the material on Lenin, Pereverzev acted in the interest of saving the government; in such an instance the fact that he violated the government's decision to withhold the information could be explained as indeliberate and essential due to the emergency circumstances. But, in fact, Pereverzev had intended to circumvent the decision from the very outset, asking Aleksinskii to endorse the evidence against Lenin and continuing to prepare the assault against the Bolsheviks apart from the government. It appears he fully realized that, once the information was made public, the Provisional Government would have no other choice but to begin legal action.

By midday of 4 July, Aleksinskii was summoned to the headquarters of the Petrograd Military District, the stronghold of the pro-government forces, where Pereverzev gave him part of Ermolenko's testimony and his set of the 66 telegrams.⁴⁴ Aleksinskii was then asked to sign a request to the Committee of Journalists under the Provisional Government to publish the documents immediately.⁴⁵ The request was also signed by Vasilii S. Pankratov, an old revolutionary and friend of Burtsev, who headed the Propaganda Section (*Prosvetitel'nyi otdel*) of the Petrograd Military District headquarters.⁴⁶

As it turned out, however, that evening neither Pereverzev nor the Committee of Journalists was able to get a printing press or a typesetter to print the information. Only later that night did Burtsev and the journalist Evgenii P. Semenov

succeed in convincing their acquaintances at the editorial office of the pro-war non-party socialist newspaper *Zhivoe slovo* to print Aleksinskii's materials.⁴⁷ But it was technically impossible to fit all of it into one issue of the small paper. Thus, Aleksinskii and Pankratov rushed to put together a brief press report on the documents received from Pereverzev.

Early the next morning, broadsheets containing the report were posted throughout Petrograd. In a few hours, the report appeared in a special issue of *Zhivoe slovo* under the headline "Lenin, Hanecki & Co. Spies."⁴⁸ It reproduced excerpts from Ermolenko's deposition alleging that Lenin was working for the Germans, and only briefly mentioned the telegrams: "The military censorship has unearthed an uninterrupted exchange of telegrams of a political and financial nature between the German agents and Bolshevik leaders."⁴⁹ The report also appealed to the Provisional Government to begin immediately an investigation of the Bolshevik-German ties.⁵⁰ Thus, Pereverzev's bold action to release the information, though causing his own resignation and that of those directly under him, made it impossible for the government to further delay the prosecution of the Bolshevik leaders. Over the next few days a number of them were apprehended, and Lenin and Zinov'ev went into hiding in Finland.⁵¹ The Provisional Government appointed a Special Investigative Commission, which soon charged Lenin, Zinov'ev, Hanecki, Kozlowski, Sumenson, Kollontai and Parvus with state treason.⁵²

The documents Aleksinskii received from Pereverzev had still not been published in full. His attempts to publish them following the uprising met with sharp opposition from both the Provisional Government and the Soviet. While cabinet members argued that the premature disclosure of the evidence could impede the investigation in progress, leaders of the Soviet, as Tat'iana Aleksinskaia has recalled, requested that Aleksinskii first check the sources of the evidence.⁵³ With the resignations of Pereverzev and Bessarabov (both on 6 July), however, Aleksinskii lost his influential patronage and was no longer able to validate the telegrams, either at the Procurator's Commission or at Central Counterintelligence. He thus decided to approach the problem from the opposite end, inquiring as to whether the telegrams

had been sent from and received in Stockholm. He turned to his socialist friends in Sweden, who, after checking with the Stockholm Telegraph Office, confirmed that the exchanges had taken place.⁵⁴

To avoid further complications with the publication of the documents, Aleksinskii decided to publish them himself. He received funds for the project from the socialist journalist and playwright Leonid M. Dobronravov, who with Aleksinskii formed an editorial board of a new patriotic weekly bearing the title *Bez lishnikh slov* ("Without Verbiage"), a clear indication that the documents being published were meant to speak for themselves.⁵⁵ Aleksinskii's wife became the third member of the weekly's board.⁵⁶ The first issue appeared on 11 July, and contained the first 51 telegrams, 37 of which were published that same day in the evening edition of the moderately conservative newspaper *Ruskaia volia*.⁵⁷ Though there is no precise indication as to how the telegrams wound up in that paper, Aleksinskii's long-standing connections to *Ruskaia volia* lead one to assume that they came from him. Aleksinskii had worked for the paper until April 1917 and was a long-time acquaintance of its editor, A.V. Amfiteatrov. In fact, as early as 1915, Aleksinskii gave Amfiteatrov information on Parvus' contacts with the German government, on which he relied in his article in the Moscow liberal daily *Russkoe slovo*.⁵⁸ Aleksinskii published the remaining 15 telegrams on 19 July, in the second issue of *Bez lishnikh slov*.⁵⁹

Aleksinskii's publication, along with the set sent to the Russian Military Attaché in Copenhagen (in the Hoover Institution Archives), are the only two complete sets of the 66 telegrams known in the West. Neither of them has been analyzed by historians. Both the order and the texts are identical in these sets.⁶⁰ Aleksinskii's copy of the telegrams differs only in a few minor details, such as typographical errors and the spelling of some of the addresses and surnames.⁶¹ Both copies may be considered authentic, and therefore obtained from the same source.⁶²

How the 66 Telegrams Were Selected

The archive of the Russian military attaché in Copenhagen contains 120 of the telegrams obtained by counterintelligence from the Petrograd Telegraph Office on 28 June, including the 66 used against the Bolsheviks. This larger set seems sufficient to outline the primary criteria used by counterintelligence in their selection of the entire group of telegrams and, more specifically, of the 66. The present section will do so by comparing the text of the telegrams with available counterintelligence records.

An analysis of the 120 telegrams indicates that a telegram was selected if it referred to at least one of the individuals suspected by counterintelligence of having contacts with the Germans. For example, there were several telegrams exchanged by a certain Hirsch Rung in Helsinki, a Rubinshtein in Petrograd, and a third party in Stockholm whose name is not indicated.⁶³ When these names are compared with the records from the counterintelligence office on the Russian-Swedish border, it turns out that Hirsch Rung owned a Helsinki import-export firm that supplied his Petrograd associate Shaia M. Rubinshtein with German chemicals and textile products.⁶⁴ Rung's wife, Anna (née Rabinovitz), also took part in the business.⁶⁵ She would travel to Copenhagen and Stockholm to buy the goods and arrange their transport to Russia, where they would be picked up and sold by Rubinshtein.⁶⁶ In fact, counterintelligence had a special category of suspected "wartime profiteers," who during World War I engaged in the illegal import of German goods into Russia. It would receive information about them from various sources in Russia and abroad, analyze it, and include their names in so-called black lists. The lists were periodically updated and distributed to Russian officials stationed outside the country.⁶⁷

Counterintelligence also focused on the telegrams that mentioned prominent Russian émigré internationalists, such as Iulii O. Martov (Tsederbaum), Mark A. Natanson (Bobrov) and Anatolii V. Lunacharskii, who, following Lenin's lead, crossed through Germany in May of 1917. There are telegrams, for instance, sent by them to their friends and relatives in Petrograd, informing them of their

forthcoming arrival.⁶⁸ But these relatively few political émigrés⁶⁹ were not the only ones suspected of maintaining contacts with the Germans. Practically all émigrés expressing anti-war views were suspected; their return to Russia was seen as particularly harmful to the Provisional Government's war effort. Central Counterintelligence not only knew when such figures departed for Russia, but would be immediately informed upon their arrival across the border.⁷⁰

Still, Counterintelligence knew few details about the political émigrés; its information was spotty and frequently even inaccurate, leading to mistakes in its selection of the telegrams. The monitoring of their activities was entrusted to the Foreign Agency of the tsarist political police.⁷¹ It was only after the February Revolution and the beginning of the mass return of political émigrés to Russia, that counterintelligence began to pay attention to them. But even then it did not have adequate access to the archives of the Department of Police, and had to depend mainly on information from the Allies, which, to compound the problem, was not always reliable.⁷² For example, the Allies suspected Lev Trotsky (Bronshtein) of having contacts with the Germans. As early as 1916 he was accused of conducting pro-German propaganda and deported from France. In April of the following year he was detained for a month by British authorities in Halifax, while en route from the United States to Russia. Apparently based on this suspicion, Russian counterintelligence selected two telegrams containing Trotsky's name. Yet the documents show how little it really knew about him. For if the first was actually sent by Lev Trotsky from Christiania to his relative in Petrograd on 13 May (New-Style):

Абраму ЖИВАТОВСКОМУ⁷³ Конногвардейский [проспект]
Петроград. После месячного плена у англичан приезжаю
Петроград семьёй 18-го мая.⁷⁴ ТРОЦКИЙ (*Abram Zhivatovskii.*
Konnogvardeiskii [prospekt] Petrograd. After a month in British captivity
arriving in Petrograd with family on 18 May. Trotskii.)

the author of the second telegram, sent from Copenhagen on 20 June (New-Style) to the editorial board of the Petrograd pacifist journal *Internatsional*, was Il'ia M. Trotskii—whose only offense seems to have been having the famous revolutionary's last name:

Петроград. Редакция Интернационала.⁷⁵ ГОРДОНУ.⁷⁶ Убедительно прошу не посылать оплаченных 500 слов, мне их некуда употребить. Привет. ТРОЦКИЙ.⁷⁷ (*Petrograd. "International" editorial board. [To] Gordon. Earnestly request [that you] not send prepaid 500 words, I have nowhere to use them. Greetings. Trotskii*)

A similar mistake was made with the name Balabanov. It is obvious that Counterintelligence was interested in the well known socialist Angelica Balabanova, who crossed through Germany with Martov's group in May. But in addition to telegrams to and from her, Counterintelligence selected telegraphic exchanges between two of her namesakes, Evgenii Balabanov (an employee at one of the Russian consulates in Norway) and his mother, Ol'ga Balabanova.⁷⁸

Another group of telegrams sent from Stockholm was addressed to the well known Russian journalist, playwright and entrepreneur Iosif I. Kolyshko.⁷⁹ By the time Counterintelligence obtained these telegrams, Kolyshko had already spent a month in a Petrograd jail, having been accused of conducting propaganda for a separate peace with Germany, and of receiving money from the Germans to establish a pro-German newspaper in Russia.⁸⁰ Evidently, Counterintelligence had hoped to gain additional evidence of his German links. Yet sources discussing the investigation of his case show that the information contained in these telegrams was not used.⁸¹ It may therefore be assumed that in the case of these and the other telegrams preserved in the archive of the military attaché, the primary criterion for selection was not their content, but the mere mention of persons suspected of having ties with the Germans.

This same "by-name" selection process was apparently used to separate out the 66 telegrams for the accusation of the Bolsheviks. The main task of Counterintelligence was to prove the existence of links between the Bolshevik leaders and their agents in Stockholm suspected of having contacts with the Germans. Of all of these individuals, Counterintelligence had the most definite information about Fürstenberg-Hanecki.⁸² First, it knew that he worked in Parvus' trade firm and was involved in smuggling German goods to Russia and Scandinavia. Second, it learned from the telegrams obtained from French intelligence that he was Lenin's main representative in Stockholm, and that he and the Polish Social-Democrat internationalist Hanecki were one and the same person.⁸³ Finally, even a cursory look reveals that the 66 telegrams were compiled primarily with reference to Fürstenberg-Hanecki: in a majority of them (47) he is either the sender or the addressee. Moreover, the senders and addressees of the remaining ones were either correspondents of Fürstenburg-Hanecki, or correspondents of his correspondents. Some were communications between his various business associates,⁸⁴ while others were of a more personal nature.⁸⁵

The Telegrams: Texts and Commentary

The 66 telegrams published below were reproduced by Counterintelligence from telegraphic tape kept in special boxes at the Telegraph Office.⁸⁶ All of the obtained texts were in Russian. It must be assumed, however, that those telegrams sent from abroad were sent either in a foreign language⁸⁷ or, if the original was Russian, transliterated into Latin letters.⁸⁸ Russian, however, was the original language for the majority of the texts. These underwent two transliterations during transmission: they were converted into the Latin alphabet at the sending end, and then back into Russian when they were received. This process was bound to distort the original content of the texts.⁸⁹ The name of one of Fürstenberg's business associates, for example, appeared as "Krereshkovskiy" (Крѣрешковскій), although the correct spelling was "Krzeczeckowski."⁹⁰ Such factors may very well have led Counterintelligence to misidentify some of the individuals involved, and subsequently misinterpret some of the telegrams' contents.⁹¹

The problem of calendars also figures into the proper interpretation of the chronology of the telegrams and the events described in them. Counterintelligence apparently assumed that, since they were exchanged between Petrograd and Scandinavia, all of the telegrams were dated according to the Gregorian calendar ("New-Style"); in several instances it mistakenly placed telegrams actually dated according to the Old-Style in chronological order based on their New-Style equivalent.⁹² In fact, however, only those telegrams originating in Scandinavia can be confidently dated according to the Gregorian calendar, as well as those sent from Russia dated in July.⁹³

The 66 telegrams are listed here in the same order and form in which they appear in the archive of the military attaché. Three telegrams⁹⁴ from the same archive have been added to the set, as they seem to correspond to it in both date and subject matter. The Old Russian orthography has been modernized for the present

publication. Mistakes and typographical errors have been corrected and included, together with some word endings, in brackets.

To ease comprehension, the texts of the telegrams have been translated into English, although many nuances are more apparent in the Russian version. The first line of the telegram contains the point of transmission, followed by the telegram number.⁹⁵ The figure following this indicates the number of words in the telegram,⁹⁶ followed by the date (day and month)⁹⁷ and the time of transmission, given according to the 24-hour clock. The next line lists the addressee⁹⁸ and his or her address. Below this is the text of the telegram, which ends with the name of the sender.⁹⁹

The telegraph texts and translations in this section are presented on the right-facing pages, with parallel commentary on the left-facing pages, beginning here. The telegrams are sometimes repeated on subsequent pages to maintain parallel placement with the discussion of their contents. The annotations to the telegrams are numbered separately from the paper's other references (which appear as notes on p. 105).

1. This date is given according to the Julian (Old-Style) Calendar, which in the twentieth century is thirteen days behind the Gregorian (New-Style) Calendar. Dates on the telegrams, unless otherwise stated, are given according to the Gregorian Calendar. In these annotations to the telegrams, dates relating to events in Russia are given according to the Julian (Old-Style) calendar or both, whereas events occurring outside Russia are given solely according to the Gregorian Calendar.

2. Evgeniia Mavrikiievna Sumenson (née Rundo) [1880-?], also known as Simonson or Simmons. A Russian subject from a Warsaw *meshchanstvo* family. In early 1915 she moved to Petrograd where she acted as the local agent for the intermediary firm of the Warsaw businessman Fabian Klingsland. She also managed the financial transactions for the Copenhagen-based *Handels og-Eksportkompagniet* (Trading and Export Company), whose managing director was the social democrat Jakub S. Fürstenberg-Hanecki (see note 6 in this section). From April 1916, Klingsland's firm was authorized by an agreement with the Trading and Export Company to sell medical supplies from the latter in Russia. Sumenson was to deposit the profits "in a special account at a Petrograd bank" and to ensure that the money would be transferred to the company's account at Stockholm's *Nya Banken* (New Bank). During this time she resided in the center of Petrograd on Nadezhdinskaia ulitsa (Street), 36 (see next note), where she rented three rooms in a big five-bedroom apartment. By the end of June 1917, on the basis of telegraphic correspondence, Allied counterintelligence had established a link between Sumenson and her Scandinavian associates, and on July 5/18 she was arrested on charges of German espionage. She was released on bail on September 20, and her name then disappears from the historical record.

Телеграфный контроль. Петроград. 28.VI.17¹

Telegraph inspection. Petrograd. 28.VI.17

Telegram 1

Сальтшэбаден, 389/4 18 4/5 16 25.

СУМЕНСОН,² Надеждинская 36³ Петроград.
Номер 127⁴[.] больше месяца без сведений[.] деньги крайне нужны[.]
новый телеграфный адрес Сальтшэбаден⁵
ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ.⁶

Saltsjobaden, 389/4 18 4/5 16 25.

SUMENSON, Nadezhdinskaia 36 Petrograd.

*Number 127[.] more than month without information[.] money extremely necessary[.]
new telegraph address Saltsjobaden FÜRSTENBERG.*

Commentary

(Nikitin, *Rokovye gody*, pp. 112-116; *ZhS*, 7 July 1917, p. 2; Bjorkegren, *Ryska Posten*, p. 378; Incoming no. 4903, 29 June 1917, File 9435 RMP. FSA; Zeman and Scharlau, *The Merchant of Revolution*, pp. 197-198; Georges Bonnin, *Revue Historique*, p. 114; *Russkaia volia*, 8 July 1917, p. 4; Mel'gunov, *Zolotoi nemetskii kliuch bolshevikov*, p. 145; GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d. 16, l. 321; d. 18, ll. 135-142).

3. Nadezhdinskaia Street (presently Maiakovskii Street) ran from Nevskii Prospect, near Znamenskaia Square (presently Vosstaniia Square), to Kirochnaia Street (presently Saltykov-Shchedrin Street). Number 36 was a large five-story building, divided by an archway into two parts, each of which had a separate number; thus, 36 Nadezhdinskaia Street also bore the number 38. There was also access to Baskov *pereulok* (lane) from the courtyard of this building (see notes 112, 149). In 1917, the building housed the well-to-do: bankers, merchants, landlords (see Ves' Petrograd na 1917 g.; A. Dubinin, "Politse Maiakovskogo" *Vechernii Leningrad*, 16 April 1990, p. 4).

4. In order to keep track of the telegrams, Sumenson and Fürstenberg assigned numbers to them (see Sumenson's telegram 12).

5. The full telegraphic address should read "Saltsjobaden, Neglinge bei Stockholm. Stockholm. Neglinge". Saltsjobaden was a seaside resort near Stockholm. On May 1, 1917 Fürstenberg moved from Stockholm to the suburb of Neglinge. The closest telegraphic office was located in neighboring Saltsjobaden. The Polish Social Democrat Karl B. Radek (Sobelson) (1885-1939), who had recently arrived from Switzerland with Lenin, and Radek's wife, Roza M. Sobelson-Radek (néé Aronson) (1885/6-1939), moved in with the Fürstenberg family at their new apartment. See Report V.P.M. no. 781, 2 March 1918. SPR. SNA; *Ksiega Polakow Uczestnikow Rewolucji Pazdziernikowej. 1917-1920. Biografie* (Warsaw, 1967), pp. 705-706; *Leninskii sbornik*, XXI (Moscow, 1933), p. 87; also see Cadres file no. 8725, "Radek Roza Mavrikievna," in RTsKhIDNI.

6. Jakub S. Fürstenberg (1879-1937); also known as Kuba Hanecki. A prominent Social Democrat from a Warsaw *meshchanstvo* family. He participated in Warsaw revolutionary circles starting in the 1890s. In 1901 he joined the Social Democratic Party of [the Kingdom of] Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL). He first met Lenin at the Second Congress of the RSDRP (1903), in which he participated as a representative of the Polish party. From 1907 to 1910 he was a member of the Bolshevik Party Central Committee and of the Russian Bureau of the Party. After the SDKPiL split in 1912 he became one of the leaders (along with A. M. Malecki-Rubinstein) of the *rozlamowcy* faction, which was aligned with the Bolsheviks. In summer 1912 Fürstenberg-Hanecki organized Lenin's relocation to Cracow from Paris, and from that time on became one of his closest and most trusted collaborators. In August 1914 he played a major role in the release of Lenin and other Bolsheviks who had been arrested near Cracow by the Austrian authorities. In February 1915 he went from Vienna to Zurich, and in June moved to Copenhagen, where he became managing director of the Trading and Export Company. The

Telegram 1

Сальтшэбаден, 389/4 18 4/5 16 25.

СУМЕНСОН,² Надеждинская 36³ Петроград.
Номер 127⁴[.] больше месяца без сведений[.] деньги крайне нужны[.]
новый телеграфный адрес Сальтшэбаден⁵
ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ.⁶

Saltsjobaden, 389/4 18 4/5 16 25.

SUMENSON, Nadezhdinskaia 36 Petrograd.

Number 127[.] more than month without information[.] money extremely necessary[.] new telegraph address Saltsjobaden FÜRSTENBERG.

firm was established in the early summer of 1915 by Alexander Israel Helphand (Parvus), a German Social Democrat of Russian-Jewish origins who during the war became an outspoken supporter and paid agent of the German government. From April 1916 on, the firm was jointly owned by Parvus and Georg Sklarz, who worked for the German Admiralty and Military intelligence. At the end of January 1917, Fürstenberg moved to Stockholm. In March and April he was the principal organizer of Lenin's return to Russia. He became a member of the Bolshevik Foreign Bureau (FB) in Stockholm in April, along with Radek and his business associate, the Old Bolshevik Waclaw Worowski (see note 74 in this section). He returned to Russia several days after the Bolshevik takeover in October. He later occupied important positions in the People's Commissariats of Finance, Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade. From 1932 to 1935 he was in charge of the State Administration of Music and Entertainment. In 1935-1936, he headed the Administration of Circuses and Amusement Parks of the *Moskontsert*, and from April 25, 1935 Hanecki was director of the Central State Museum of the Revolution in Moscow. He was arrested on 26 November 1937 and subsequently shot. See *Ksiega Polakow*, pp. 303-304; Willi Gautschi, *Lenin als Emigrant in der Schweiz*, (Zurich, 1973), p. 327; Futrell, *Northern Underground*, pp. 178-193; Zeman, Scharlau, *op.cit.*, pp. 196-197, 238-240; *Teatral'naia Moskva* (Moscow) 1935, 1936. Also see Outgoing no. 23, 5/18 November, 1917, file S. 11, folder 41b. RMO. FSA; Cadres files no. 133709, "Ganetskii [Hanecki] Iakov Stanislavovich," in RTsKhIDNI.

7. The number of the telegram Fürstenberg received from Sumenson (see note 4 in this section).
8. That is, a total gross of thermometers. (See Futrell, *Northern Underground*, p. 188).
9. This should be in the past tense ("*prodali*").
10. Shirokaia Street was located on the Petrograd side of the city between Sytinskaia and Gazovaia streets. A huge, sharp-cornered building, which resembled the prow of a ship, 48 Shirokaia Street stood on the corner, and also bore the address 9 Gazovaia Street. From summer 1915, Lenin's older sister, Anna I. Elizarova (Ul'ianova), lived in apartment no. 24 of this building with her husband, the Old Bolshevik Mark T. Elizarov. In 1916 Lenin's younger sister, Mariia (Maniasha) I. Ul'ianova, came to live with them from Moscow. In 1917 Lenin and Nadezhda K. Krupskaia lived in the Elizarovs' apartment from April 4/17 to July 5/18. Although they had arrived from abroad, they also registered as having come from Moscow. The telegram is addressed to M. I. Ul'ianova. See T. P. Bondarevskaia, et al., *Lenin v Peterburge-Petrograde. Mesta zhizni i deiatel'nosti v gorode i okrestnostiakh 1890-1920* (Leningrad, 1980), pp. 267-268; G. Petrov, "Dom na Shirokoi," *Belye nochii: Ocherki, zarisovki, dokumenty, vospominaniia* (Leningrad, 1975), p. 157.
11. After her return from emigration in March 1917, the well known Russian Social Democrat Aleksandra M. Kollontai (see note 22 in this section) temporarily stayed with her friend, the writer

Telegram 2

Сальтшэбаден, 438/7 28 7/5 10.

СУМЕНСОН, Надеждинская 36. Петроград.
Номер 128[.] получил 84/85⁷[.] телеграфируйте какое количество термогрос⁸ какой цене продать⁹ тогда ответу сколько еще осталось[.] отчетности давно нет[.] телеграфируйте всегда уплоченным ответом.

Saltsjobaden, 438/7 28 7/5 10.

SUMENSON, Nadezhdinskaia 36. Petrograd.

Number 128[.] received 84/85[.] wire quantity of termogross at what price to sell then will answer how much left[.] no records for long time[.] always wire with paid reply.

Telegram 3

Сальтшэбаден, 388/4 9 4/5 16 25.

УЛЪЯНОВОЙ, Широкая 48/9¹⁰ Петроград. Новый телеграфный адрес
Сальтшэбаден ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ

Saltsjobaden, 388/4 9 4/5 16 25.

Ul'anovoi, Shirokaia 48/9 Petrograd.

New telegraph address Saltsjobaden Fürstenberg

Tat'iana L'vovna Shchepkina-Kupernik (1874-1952), whose apartment was registered under the name of her husband, the liberal attorney Nikolai Borisovich Polynov (1883-1939). Polynov's apartment was located at 12 Kirochnaia Street, which ran out of Liteinyi Prospect, and with Nevskii Prospect joined with Nadezhdinskaia and Znamenskaia (presently Vosstaniia) streets. See *Lenin v Peterburge-Petrograde*, p. 315. Also see *Ves' Petrograd na 1917g.*; A.M. Kollontai, *Gody i liudi. Iz moei zhizni i raboty. Vospominaniia i dnevniki* (Moscow, 1974), p. 251; Dubinin, *Vechernii Leningrad*, p. 4. "Knizhka adresov. [Aprel'-iiun' 1917g.]", *Leninskii sbornik* (Moscow, 1933) vol. XXI, p. 86.

12. Mieczyslaw J. Kozlowski (1876-1927) was a Polish Social Democrat and lawyer who had participated in revolutionary circles in Vilnius as early as 1893-1894, and become a member of the SDKPiL in 1900. In 1901 he worked with the "Iskra" group. He lived in emigration in Paris from 1906 to 1909. He represented the Polish Social Democrats, along with Bronislaw Wesolowski and Joseph Unszlicht (see notes 97, 111 of this section), at the Fifth Congress of the RSDRP in London. In 1909 he moved to Petersburg, where he was in close contact with the local SDKPiL group and the Petersburg Bolshevik committee [PK]. From summer 1915, Kozlowski served as legal consultant to Parvus-Fürstenberg's firm and was its chief representative in Russia. He often traveled to Copenhagen and Stockholm on business. After the February Revolution he became a member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet and the chairman of the Bolshevik-controlled Vyborg district Duma. On July 6 he was arrested by the Provisional Government on charges of being the primary recipient of German funds for the Bolsheviks in Petrograd. He was released on bail two weeks before the Bolshevik takeover in October. He later worked in the Commissariat of Justice and the *VChK*. From 1918 to 1920 he headed the *Malyi Sovnarkom*; his status declined sharply thereafter. In 1922-1923 he served as the Consul General in Austria. By the mid-1920s he was purged from the party and spent the last years of his life as the chief legal consultant for the Commissariat of Railways. He died of a heart attack on a Moscow street. See *Ksiega polakow*, p. 449; Z. S. Sheinis, *Soldaty revoliutsii (deviat' portretov)* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 197-198; *Leninskii sbornik*, vol. XXI, pp. 114-115; V. I. Lenin. *Sochineniia*, second ed., (Moscow-Leningrad, 1931), vol. XXI, p. 556; *Rech'*, 7 July 1917, p. 2; Zeman, Scharlau, *The Merchant of Revolution*, pp. 163-164, 225-226.

13. Sergievskii Street (presently Chaikovskii Street) ran from the embankment of the Fontanka river to the Tauride Palace, where the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies was located in 1917. Kozlowski had his law office at 81 Sergievskii Street, which he shared with the well known Petrograd attorney, the Social Democrat Nikolai D. Sokolov (1870-1928), who was one of the leaders of the Petrograd Soviet during the February Revolution. In May and June Sokolov was almost never in his office. He was initially busy speaking to the demoralized soldiers on the front, and was subsequently hospitalized after a beating by one of his audiences. (N. Zubov, *Predsedatel' malogo sovnarkoma* [Moscow, 1975], p. 51; *Ves' Petrograd*, 1915, 1916, 1917. Also see N. D. Sokolov to Ekaterina I. Murav'eva. 9 May, 30 June 1917. Collection E. I. Murav'eva, box 5, folder 10. HA). During World War I, Kozlowski used his office address for all business correspondence with the

Telegram 4

Сальтшэбаден 390/4 4/5 10 16 25

ПОЛЫНОВОЙ-КОЛЛОНТАЙ¹¹ Кирочная 12 Петроград.
Новый телеграфный адрес Сальтшэбаден ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ

Saltsjobaden 390/4 4/5 10 16 25
POLYNOVA-KOLLONTAI Kirochnaia 12 Petrograd.
New telegraph address Saltsjobaden Fürstenberg

Telegram 5

Сальтшэбаден 341/4 9 4/5 16 25

КОЗЛОВСКОМУ¹², Сергиевская 81¹³ Петроград Новый телеграфный адрес
Сальтшэбаден ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ.

Saltsjobaden 341/4 9 4/5 16 25
KOZLOVSKII, Sergievskaia 81 Petrograd.
New telegraph address Saltsjobaden Fürstenberg

Fürstenberg firm, while for contacts with the Bolshevik Petersburg Committee (PK) he used his home address at 32 Preobrazhenskaia Street (presently Radishchev Street), located between Kirochnaia and Zhukovskii streets. Building number 32 on Rozhdestvenskaia Street stood on the corner of Sapernyi *pereulok* (lane), where it bore the number 23. Sapernyi *pereulok* connected Rozhdestvenskaia and Nadezhdinskaia streets. It appears that for conspiratorial reasons Kozlowski gave the city directory only the address on Preobrazhenskaia Street, while his second wife, Sofiia B. Vakhtangova (the sister of the well known Moscow theater director), gave only the number of the house on Sapernyi *pereulok*.

14. The reference here is probably to Iulii V. Rozenblat (or Rozenblitt), who was a Moscow business associate of Fürstenberg and Kozlowski in the sale of pencils and pharmaceuticals obtained in Stockholm. It seems that Rozenblat's connection with Sumenson was limited to depositing the profits due Fürstenberg into one of her bank accounts (see telegrams 8, 17). Two of Rozenblat's brothers lived in Copenhagen during the war and were also engaged in commercial activities with Russia. In the 1920s Rozenblat lived in Moscow and worked in the editorial offices of the newspaper *Ekonomicheskaiia zhizn'*. See *Vsia Moskva*, 1917-1927; *Kraks Vejviser Danmarks Handelsspejl 1917, part 4 (Personen-Register gor Kjobenhavn)*; *Ksiega Polakow*, p. 114. Also see GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d. 14, l. 13 ob.

15. The Petrovka was a street of fashionable shops in the central Moscow business district. The building on Petrovka (no. 17) indicated in the telegram consisted in fact of two buildings and had the dual number 17-19 (see *Vsia Moskva na 1917 g.*).

16. Before World War I, pencils were mostly exported into Russia from Germany. With the start of the war Russia found herself virtually without pencils because as a German product they were prohibited from being imported into the country; pencils consequently became very expensive and an object of speculation. Beginning in 1916 Fürstenberg-Parvus-Sklarz's company also was involved with the illegal importing of German pencils, which were sent from Stockholm through Finnish territory and then by rail to Moscow. (Futrell, *op. cit.*, p. 183; A. G. Shliapnikov, *Nakanune 1917 goda. Vospominaniia i dokumenty o rabochem dvizhenii i revoliutsionnom podpol'e za 1914-1917*, first ed. [Moscow, 1920], pp. 201-202. Also see Circular of the Russian Foreign Ministry no. 215, 30 May 1917 and Report no. 10668, 1917, Collection Russia. Missiia Norway. General Consulate, folder: Commerce. Government Policies During WWI. HA).

17. The reference here is to the Prince Iu. Gagarin & Co. trading house in Odessa, which had dealings with Fürstenberg. Like Fürstenberg's firm, Prince Iu. Gagarin & Co. dealt in a wide variety of goods, from stockings and contraceptives to raw materials, flour, construction materials and machinery. Princess Ol'ga M. Gagarina was the owner of the company, and its managing director was the Polish nobleman Kazimir A. Krzeczekowski, who during World War I often traveled on business to Scandinavia. Krzeczekowski deposited payment for goods received from Fürstenberg in Sumenson's account, See *Adres-Kalendar' Odesskogo Gradonachal'stva na 1915 god* (Odessa, 1915); *Vsia Odessa*.

Telegram 6

Сальтшэбаден 439/7 21 7/5 10

РОЗЕНБЛИТТ¹⁴ Петровка 17¹⁵ Москва.

Телеграфируйте немедленно какое количество получили оригинала карандашей¹⁶ какое продал[.] точную отчетность пришлите письменно телеграфный адрес Сальтшэбаден ФÜRSTENBERG.

Saltsjobaden 439/7 21 7/5 10

Rozenblitt Petrovka 17 Moskva.

Wire immediately quantity received of original pencils [and] quantity sold[.] exact account send in writing[.] telegraph address Saltsjobaden FÜRSTENBERG.

Telegram 7

Сальтшэбаден 427/7 17 17/5 10

ГАГАРИНУ¹⁷ Одесса.

Своевременно 14 15000 получил[.] письма нет[.] телеграфируйте что остальными деньгами или грузом[.] телеграфный адрес Сальтшэбаден ФÜRSTENBERG.

Saltsjobaden 427/7 17 17/5 10

GAGARIN Odessa.

Opportunely received 14 15000[.] no letter[.] wire what's [with] remaining money or freight[.] telegraph address Saltsjobaden FÜRSTENBERG.

Adresnaia i spravochnaia kniga vsei Odessy s odelom Odesskii uezd na 1914 g., (Odessa, 1914); *Vsia Rossiia na 1911-1912 gg.* (Kiev, 1912); Box 368, f. 1 (incoming correspondence, 1916), Collection Russia. Posol'stvo US. Russian Supply Committee, Office File. Military agent. HA; File S. 8, f. 11, RMP. FSA. Also see telegram 56 and GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d. 20, ll. 294-5, 303.

18. The telegram referred to by Fürstenberg is missing (see telegram 17).

19. This telegram was addressed to Lenin, with a duplicate to be sent to Kozlowski's address. The authors of the telegram were most likely Fürstenberg-Hanecki and Radek, the only members of the Bolshevik FB present in Sweden at that time (see note 74 in the section). Part of the text (beginning with the word "GAAZE" and ending with "otkazal") was reproduced in *Pravda* on April 29/May 12, 1917 (Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 31, p. 467; *Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaia khronika*, vol. 4, Mart-Oktiabr', 1917 [Moscow, 1973], pp. 127-128). The authors of the telegram ask the Bolshevik Central Committee's opinion on participation by party representatives in the so-called Third Zimmerwald Conference. There the leaders of the pacifist minorities of the European socialist parties were to meet in Stockholm to discuss the position to be taken at the coming All-Socialist Peace Conference (see telegram 38 for the Bolshevik response to this inquiry. Also see Hildamarie Meynell, "The Stockholm Conference of 1917," *International Review of Social History*, vol. V, part 2, 1960, pp. 18, 221; Rex A. Wade, *The Russian Search for Peace. February-October 1917* (Stanford, 1969), pp. 52-54).

20. While the leaders of the pacifist minorities of the German and French socialist parties, Hugo Haase (1863-1919) and Jean Longuet (1876-1938), announced their participation in the upcoming peace conference, the Spartacus League, a group of German revolutionary Marxists, announced their refusal to attend.

21. The reference is to the upcoming congress of the Swedish Left Social-Democratic Party, which was to open in Stockholm on May 13. Both Fürstenberg-Hanecki and Radek would take part in this congress as representatives of the SDKPiL and the Bolsheviks (Futrell, *Northern Underground*, pp. 156-157).

22. The Tauride Palace, built at the end of the 18th century, got its name from its first owner, Count Grigorii A. Potemkin-*Tavrisheskii*. From 1906 on, the sessions of the Russian State Duma were held there, and after the February Revolution, it housed the Petrograd Soviet. As a member of the Soviet Executive Committee, Kollontai had unrestricted access to the telegraphic office belonging to the Soviet, which was located inside the Tauride Palace (see Outgoing no. 283. 5/18 July, 1917, Coll. Russia. Missiia Norway. Correspondence MID. Box 9, f. 4. HA; Nikitin, *Rokovye gody*, p. 59). Aleksandra Mikhailovna Kollontai (née Domontovich) (1872-1952) participated actively in the revolutionary movement starting in the 1890s. Following the split in 1903 between the Mensheviks and the

Telegram 8

Сальтшэбаден 434/7 33/32 7/5 10 7

КОЗЛОВСКОМУ Сергиевская 81 Петроград.
Телеграмма неудовлетворительна[.]¹⁸ должен знать сколько РОЗЕНБЛИТТ получил оригинала карандашей какое количество продал[.] безобразие не присылает никакого отчета куда перевел деньги[.] приехал бы на 2/3 недели[.] можно ли[.] телеграфируйте всегда уплоченным ответом.

Saltsjobaden 434/7 17 17/5 10

KOZLOVSKII Sergievskaia 81 Petrograd.

Telegram unsatisfactory [.] must know how much ROZENBLITT received of original pencils quantity sold [.] disgraceful doesn't send any account where transferred money[.] could I come for 2/3 weeks[.] [is it] possible[?][.] always wire paid reply.

Telegram 9

1905 Стокгольм 235/9 29 8/5 15 50

УЛЪЯНОВОЙ Широкая 48/9
КОЗЛОВСКОМУ Сергиевская 81 Петроград.
ЛЕНИНУ[.]¹⁹ ГААЗЕ ЛОНГЭ участвуют конференции СПАРТАКУС отказал точка²⁰ здешние молодые приглашают Ц.[ентральный] К.[омитет] конгресс тринадцатого²¹[.] строчите что делать имени Ц.К. обоих случаях.

1905 Stockholm 235/9 29 8/5 15 50

UL'YANOVOI Shirokaia 48/9

[To] KOZLOVSKII Sergievskaia 81 Petrograd.

[To] LENIN[.] GAAZE LONGE participate conference SPARTAKUS refused period local youth invite C.[entral]C.[ommittee] congress on thirteenth[.] wire what to do in name of C.C. both cases.

Bolsheviks she initially aligned herself with the Bolsheviks (until 1906), but later worked actively with the Mensheviks until shortly after the start of the world war. After 1908 she lived in emigration. During the First World War she most often resided in Scandinavia where, having used her extensive personal connections, she and Aleksandr Shliapnikov (see note 40 in this section) were responsible for communications between Lenin and the Petrograd Bolsheviks. She returned to Petrograd in March 1917 and became a member of the Soviet Executive Committee. She also became a member of the Bolshevik Central Committee. In July Kollontai was arrested by the Provisional Government and accused of maintaining contacts between the Bolsheviks and agents of the German government. She was released on bail at the end of August after the intercession of Aleksei M. Gor'kii and Leonid B. Krasin and was held under house arrest for another month. In October she joined the first Bolshevik government as People's Commissar for Social Welfare. She later worked in the Comintern and for many years served as a diplomatic representative in Norway, Mexico and Sweden. See Barbara van Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist. The Life of Aleksandra Kollontai* (Bloomington, 1979), pp. 82, 91; Nikitin, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-110; *Rech'*, 10 September 1917, p. 3.

23. Mariia Ivanovna (Stefanovna) Steckiewicz, also known as Vygovskaia, was a Russian-Polish socialist and an old friend of Fürstenberg-Hanecki and Mariia I. Ul'ianova. During the war she lived in Petrograd at various addresses and under various names. In 1916, for example, she lived with a longtime business associate of Fürstenberg, the Polish commercial agent Victor D. Moraciewicz, and sometimes used his name. During this time Steckiewicz traveled to Scandinavia on several occasions as a courier for the Bolshevik organization. In March 1917 she made a special trip to Stockholm to arrange Lenin's return to Russia. Later, she continued her trips to Stockholm as a contact between Lenin and the Bolshevik FB. In 1918 she moved to Moscow, where she maintained close relations with Lenin's family, and from 1920 she lived with the Fürstenbergs in their Kremlin apartment. See Incoming no. 304, 1910, Coll. Okhrana. HA; Pototskii to Ogenkvar Fedorov, 9 August 1917. Coll. Pototskii, box 7, f. 24. HA. Also see Incoming no. 26061, 12 September 1917 and Incoming no. 9850, 28 September 1917, file 3059, Incoming no. 2532, 27 January 1917, delo 9, file 3337. RMP. FSA; *Ves' Peterburg*, 1912, 1913; *Ves' Petrograd*, 1915-1917; Ia. Ganetskii, *O Lenine. Otryvki iz vospominanii* (Moscow, 1933), pp. 58-60; *Lenin. Biograficheskaia khronika*, vol. 8, p. 464; M. I. Ul'ianova, *O V.I. Lenine i sem'e Ul'ianovykh. Vospominaniia. Pis'ma. Ocherki* (Moscow, 1978), p. 139; Shliapnikov, *Nakanune*, p. 184; Iu. Dashkov, *Po Leninskim mestam Skandinavii. Zhurnalistskii poisk*. (Moscow, 1971), p. 191; idem, *U istokov dobrososedstva. Iz istorii Rossiisko-Finliandskikh revoliutsionnykh sviazei* (Moscow, 1980), p. 15; Karl H. Wiiks' diary, 1917-1918, Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv. Stockgolm. Arkivfragment Wiik Karl H. Dagboksanteckningar, p. 35; GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d. 20, ll. 331-331 ob.

24. On May 6/19, while crossing the Swedish border during one of her trips to Stockholm, Steckiewicz was detained by Russian Counterintelligence at the Finnish border town of Tornio. A search

Telegram 9

1905 Стокгольм 235/9 29 8/5 15 50

УЛЪЯНОВОЙ Широкая 48/9
КОЗЛОВСКОМУ Сергиевская 81 Петроград.
ЛЕНИНУ[.]¹⁹ ГААЗЕ ЛОНГЭ участвуют конференции СПАРТАКУС отказал
точка²⁰ здешние молодые приглашают Ц.[ентральный] К.[омитет] конгресс
тринадцатого²¹[.] строчите что делать имени Ц.К. обоих случаях.

1905 Stockholm 235/9 29 8/5 15 50

UL'LANOVOI Shirokaia 48/9

[To] KOZLOVSKII Sergievskaiia 81 Petrograd.

*[To] LENIN[.] GAAZE LONGE participate conference SPARTAKUS refused period local
youth invite C.[entral]C.[ommittee] congress on thirteenth[.] wire what to do in name of
C.C. both cases.*

Telegram 10

1874 Стокгольм 256/10 43 9/5 19 30

КОЛЛОНТАЙ Исполнительный Комитет Таврический,²²
КОЗЛОВСКОМУ Сергиевская 81[.] Редакция Правды Петроград.
СТЕЦКЕВИЧ²³ отобрали Торнео все сделали личный обыск[.] протестуйте
требуйте немедленной высылки нам отобранных вещей[.]²⁴ не получили ни
одного письма[.] пусть Володя²⁵ телеграфирует прислать ли каком
размере телеграммы для Правды[.]²⁶ ГАНЕЦКИЙ.

Stockholm 256/10 43 9/5 19 30

KOLLONTAI Ispolnitel'nyi Komitet Tavricheskii,

KOZLOVSKII Sergievskaiia 81[.] Redaktsiia Pravdy [.]Petrograd.

*Stetskevich searched everything confiscated Tornio[.] protest insist immediate forwarding
to us of the confiscated items[.] received [we] not a single letter[.] have Volodia wire [us]
whether [we] should send telegrams for Pravda and what should be their length[.]
GANETSKII.*

of Steckiewicz led to the discovery of a April 21/May 4 letter from Lenin to Hanecki and other correspondence, which was forwarded for examination by the military censors. Protests over this incident were published in the Swedish Social-Democratic newspaper *Politiken* and in *Pravda*; the first 19 words of the telegram and a letter of protest from Steckiewicz were published in the latter. See *Pravda*, 2/15 May, 1917, p. 1 and 5/18 May, 1917, p. 3. Also see Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, pp. 438-439 and vol. 32, pp. 103-104; *Leninskii sbornik*, vol. II, p. 450. For the Russian Counterintelligence account of this episode, see File 9434, RMP. FSA.

25. Volodia was the diminutive for Vladimir Il'ich Lenin (Ul'ianov). Fürstenberg-Hanecki wanted to avoid using Lenin's full name except when it was absolutely necessary. Only a handful in the party from the Old Bolshevik group would have referred to Lenin as Volodia.

26. In his memoirs, Boris V. Nikitin, the chief of Petrograd counterintelligence in 1917, came to the hasty conclusion that the phrase about the length of the telegram was actually an encoded inquiry about the amount of German funds to be sent to the Bolsheviks in Petrograd (Nikitin, *op. cit.*, p. 114; also see Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, pp. 410-412). Instead, it appears that Hanecki was referring to the number of words appropriate for a short news item in the information section of *Pravda*. It should also be noted that, probably in order to avoid confusion in the dating of telegraphic reports from its correspondents in Stockholm, beginning with issue 35 (May 1/April 18, 1917) *Pravda* began to carry both the Old- and New-Style dates. But in contrast to the majority of Russian newspapers, *Pravda* placed the New-Style date before the Old-Style one.

27. Although the telegram is not dated, there is reason to believe it was sent before May 16/29 (see telegrams 11a, 19).

28. Zoia Leonidovna Shadurskaia (1873-1939) was a Russian socialist and a lifelong friend of Kollontai. In the telegrams her name was probably mistakenly given in the masculine form as a result of retranslation from the French. Like Kollontai, she began her revolutionary activity in the 1890s and was also active in the feminist movement. During the Revolution of 1905 she cooperated actively with the Bolsheviks. In 1911 she emigrated from Russia. During World War I she lived in Paris and, like Kollontai, adhered to the Zimmerwald program. In the very beginning of May 1917, she left Paris for Christiania (Oslo) and then returned to Russia in July, whereupon she became a Bolshevik. In 1921, together with Kollontai and Shliapnikov she joined the Workers' Opposition. Later, with the help of Kollontai, she was appointed to Soviet trade delegations in Paris, Berlin and Stockholm. She escaped the Purges, and died in Leningrad after a long illness. See Incoming no. 23, 1903. Index XIIIc(1) F.1c, Coll. Okhrana. HA; Kollontai, *Izbrannye stat'i i rechi*, pp. 411-412; idem., *Vstrechi s proshlym. Sbornik neopublikovannykh materialov Tsentral'nogo gosudarstvennogo arkhiva literatury i iskusstva*, first ed. (Moscow, 1970), p. 153, 171; G. A. Aleksinskii to M. D. Orekhov, June 1916. Ms. Coll.,

Telegram 10

1874 Стокгольм 256/10 43 9/5 19 30

КОЛЛОНТАЙ Исполнительный Комитет Таврический,²²
КОЗЛОВСКОМУ Сергиевская 81[.] Редакция Правды Петроград.
СТЕЦКЕВИЧ²³ отобрали Торнео все сделали личный обыск[.] протестуйте
требуйте немедленной высылки нам отобранных вещей[.]²⁴ не получили ни
одного письма[.] пусть Володя²⁵ телеграфирует прислать
ли каком размере телеграммы для Правды[.]²⁶ ГАНЕЦКИЙ.

Stockholm 256/10 43 9/5 19 30

KOLLONTAI Ispolnitel'nyi Komitet Tavricheskii,

KOZLOVSKII Sergievskaiia 81[.] Redaktsiia Pravdy [.]Petrograd.

Stetskevich searched everything confiscated Tornio[.] protest insist immediate forwarding

to us of the confiscated items[.] received [we] not a single letter[.] have Volodia wire [us]

whether [we] should send telegrams for Pravda and what should be their length[.]

GANETSKII.

Telegram 11

Петроград Госуд.[арственная] Дума 138660 13 4 15²⁷

ШАДУРСКОМУ²⁸ Лалис 74 Бульвар Шарон²⁹ Париж.

Все благополучно[.] беспокоюсь адресуй письмо Тане.³⁰

КОЛЛОНТАЙ.

Petrograd Gosud.[arstvennaia] Duma 138660 13 4 15

SHADURSKII Lalis 74 Bul'var Sharon Paris.

Everything is fine[.] [I] worry [.] address letter [to] Tania. KOLLONTAI.

Commentary

G.A. Aleksinskii. Box 2, folder: Correspondence. May-June, 1916, CUBA; *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* (Moscow) no. 10, 1989, p. 63.

29. Boulevard de Charonne. Shadurskaia's address in Paris. It was located in the 20th district, in the eastern part of the city, where many Russian political émigrés then lived.

30. Tat'iana (Tania) Shchepkina-Kupernik (see note 11 in this section).

31. Erika H. Rotheim, a friend of both Kollontai and Shadurskaia, was a German living in Christiania (Oslo). Shadurskaia lived in her apartment in May-July 1917. During 1914-1917 Rotheim's address was used by Lenin and Fürstenberg-Hanecki for correspondence with Russia. (Kollontai, *Iz moei zhizni i raboty*, p. 175; Bjorkegren, *Ryska Posten*, p. 359. Also see Outgoing no. 1687. 10/23 December, 1914. XIIIb(1), Coll. Okhrana. HA.)

32. Vera Leonidovna Shadurskaia (stage name: Iureneva) (1876-1949), Zoia Shadurskaia's sister and a well-known dramatic actress. In 1917 she lived in Petrograd with her mother (E. A. Shadurskaia) at 4 Kovenskii *pereulok* and maintained contact with Kollontai.

33. Kovenskii *pereulok* joined Nadezhdinskaia Street with Ligovskii Prospect, crossing Znamenskaia and Preobrazhenskaia Streets along the way.

34. Zoia Shadurskaia.

35. Should read Erika, that is, Erika Rotheim.

36. See telegram 1 (note 4 in this section).

37. This probably refers to 70,000 rubles which Sumenson deposited in her account at the Russo-Asiatic Bank (see note 124 in this section). The trading associates of Fürstenberg and Klingsland in Russia were supposed to deposit the profits from the sale of goods they received from Stockholm into Sumenson's account at the Petrograd branch of the Azov-Don Commercial Bank. Sumenson would then transfer some of this money into another one of her accounts at the Russo-Asiatic or Siberian Banks. It appears that as soon as the total reached 100,000, Sumenson would transfer it to Fürstenberg's account at the Nya Banken. See telegrams 7, 56, 51, 64. Also see *Russkaia volia*, 8 July, 1917, p. 4; Zeman, Scharlau, *The Merchant of Revolution*, pp. 197-198.

Telegram 11a

10-го мая 1917 г.

Кирочная 12 Петроград ПОЛЫНОВОЙ-КОЛЛОНТАЙ.

Христиания 385 10 19 10/5 13 55.

Останься Христиании у Эрики³¹ Счастлива Сообщи Вере³²

Ковенский³³ 4 маме[.] пиши обнимаем. Зоя,³⁴ Эрик.³⁵

May 10, 1917

Kirochnaia 12 Petrograd POLYNOVA-KOLLONTAI.

Christiania 385 10 19 10/5 13 55.

Remaining in Christiania at Erika's[.] Happy[.] Inform Vera Kovenskii 4 [and] mama[.] write[.] [we] hug. Zoia, Erik.

Telegram 12

Петроград. 374201 20 10/5 13 35.

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Стокгольм Сальтшэбаден.

Номер 86[.] получила Вашу телеграмму 127[.]³⁶ ссылаюсь мою

телеграмму 84/85[.] сегодня опять внесла двадцать тысяч вместе
семьдесят.³⁷ СУМЕНСОН.

Petrograd. 374201 20 10/5 13 35.

Fürstenberg Stockholm Saltsjobaden.

Number 86[.] received your telegram 127[.] refer my telegram 84/85 [.] today [I] deposited again twenty thousand together seventy. SUMENSON.

Commentary

38. The reference here is probably to Iakov Ioselevich Melamed (b. 1886), who was from a *meshchanstvo* family in Elizavetgrad. In 1907 he emigrated to France. There he became acquainted with Shliapnikov (see note 40 in this section). He came back to Russia as a political returnee in June 1917, after having spent some time in Stockholm (see Questionnaire [*oprosnoi list*] no. 74, 16/29 June, 1917, File 9074, RMP. FSA).

39. That is, Maria Steckiewicz (Vygovskaia).

40. Party pseudonym of Aleksandr Gavrilovich Shliapnikov (1885-1937), a longtime Bolshevik and metalworker. In 1908-1914 he lived in France, where he was active both among the Russian socialists in exile and in the French labor movement. From 1914 to 1916 he was the key figure in establishing and maintaining channels of communication between Lenin in Switzerland and the Bolshevik Russian Bureau in Petrograd, often travelling to Scandinavia and England. Shliapnikov was aware of and apparently suspicious of the commercial activity of Fürstenberg-Hanecki, Kozlowski and Worowski, yet this did not prevent him from working closely with them in party matters. After the February Revolution he became a member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. This position enabled him to secure the entry of Lenin and other Bolsheviks into Russia. In the first Bolshevik government Shliapnikov held the post of People's Commissar for Labor. In 1921 he was one of the founders of the Workers' Opposition. During the 1920s and 1930s he was alternately purged from and readmitted to the party. He was arrested in 1936 but despite his ordeal in prison, he refused to cooperate with his NKVD interrogators, and was shot 3 September 1937. See A. G. Shliapnikov, "Avtobiografiia," *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' Granat*, vol. 41, part III, p. 244; Incoming no. 489, 1915 and Outgoing no. 221, 2/15 March, 1916, Incoming no. 281, 1 June, 1916. Coll. Okhrana, HA; Incoming no. 15 March 1917, File 9435, RMP. FSA; *Izvestiia TsK KPSS*, no. 10, 1989, p. 68; *Znanie-Sila*, April, 1989, p. 58. Also see telegram from Belenin (Shliapnikov) to Tornio, Incoming no. 249, 15 March 1917, File 9435, RMP. FSA; Z. I. Sheinis, *Put' k vershine* second ed. (Moscow, 1987), p. 41.

41. This refers to the International Peace Socialist Conference (also known as the Stockholm Peace Conference), at which the leaders of the socialist parties of the belligerent countries were to discuss possible peace terms with representatives of the neutral countries sometime in the summer of 1917. Lenin strongly opposed participation in any gathering sponsored by "patriotic" socialists, and his position was adopted by the Bolshevik Central Committee (see Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, p. 438; Meynell, *The Stockholm Conference*, part 1, pp. 1, 18-19).

Telegram 13

Петроград 170560 11 10/5 18 52

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден Стокгольм.
Мой багаж у МЕЛАМЕДА[.]³⁸ пришлите с Марией.³⁹ БЕЛЕНИН.⁴⁰

Petrograd 170560 11 10/5 18 52

FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden Stockholm.

My baggage [left with] MELAMED[.] send [it] with Mariia. BELENIN.

Telegram 14

Копенгаген 105/11 30 11/5 15 6.

Отв.[ет] Упл.[ачен] 100 Ленину главе социалистической партии
Петроград.

"Политикен" радикальная газета Дании просит Вас телеграфировать ваше
мнение о предстоящем конгрессе международном социалистическом в
Стокгольме⁴¹ и русские условия окончательного мира. Политикен.

Copenhagen 105/11 30 11/5 6

Rep[ly] pd 100 [words] [.] [To] Lenin head socialist party Petrograd.

*Denmark radical newspaper "Politiken" requests you wire your opinion about the
upcoming congress international socialist in Stockholm and Russian conditions [for] final
peace. Politiken.*

Commentary

42. The Third Zimmerwald Conference was scheduled to meet in Stockholm on 31 May 1917. After several postponements, however, the Conference met 5-12 September 1917 (see Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 31, pp. 546-7; Meynell, *op. cit.*, part 1, p. 14).

Telegram 15

Петроград. 183560 13 12/5 10 30

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден Стокгольм
Пришли брошюру польскую хронику заграничную статью
польскую бюллетень международный. КОЗЛОВСКИЙ.

Petrograd. 183560 13 12/5 10 30

FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden Stockholm

Send Polish brochure[,] foreign chronicle[,] Polish article[,] international bulletin.

KOZLOVSKII.

Telegram 16

Петроград 3160 12 14/5 16 48

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден Швеция.
Какой день ЦИММЕРВАЛЬДОВСКАЯ конференция телеграфируйте члену
исполнительного комитета КОЛЛОНТАЙ.⁴²

Petrograd 3160 12 14/5 16 48

FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden Sweden.

Which day ZIMMERWALD conference wire member executive committee KOLLONTAI.

Commentary

43. See telegrams 6, 8.

44. The author of the telegram was Jakub Fürstenberg-Hanecki, who arrived as a political returnee on May 14/27, 1917 at Beloostrov (the railway frontier station between Russia and Finland about 15 miles north of Petrograd). Therefore, the date of this telegram — 15 May — is given according to the Old-Style Calendar. Fürstenberg remained in Russia until June 9/22. See Outgoing nos. 300, 301, 13 May 1917 and Incoming no. 417, 1917, delo no. 16, File 13690. RMP. FSA. Also see Vorobtsova, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 35.

45. That is, Mieczyslaw Kozlowski.

46. The reference here is to Fürstenberg's younger sister Francheska (Frانيا) Landau-Fürstenberg. She resided with her family in Petrograd, and together with her husband took part in her brothers' import-export business. See note 105 in this section; Files 2946, 2952, RMP. FSA; Coll. Russia, Missiia Norway. General Correspondence, HA; *Ves' Petrograd na 1917 g.* Also see GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d.14, l. 94.

47. This probably refers to telegrams in which Kozlowski expressed concerns about Fürstenberg-Hanecki's safety in Petrograd because of his close association with Parvus, who had been widely regarded as an agent of the German government. Kozlowski was also aware (for instance, from the incident with Steckiewicz at Tornio) that Counterintelligence already had Fürstenberg under surveillance (see telegrams 24 and 24a in this section).

Telegram 17

Сальтшэбаден из Москвы 528, 25 14/5 12 7

Срочная Якову ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ. Сальтшэбаден
Получил оригинал тысяча девятьсот семьдесят грамм[.] продал двести
пятьдесят карандашей тридцать семь ящиков и фрахт на двадцать шесть
все продал.⁴³ РОЗЕНБЛИТТ.

Saltsjobaden from Moscow 528, 25 14/5 12 7

Urgent Iakov FÜRSTENBERG. Saltsjobaden

*Received original thousand nine hundred seventy grams[.] sold two hundred fifty pencils
thirty seven boxes and freight for twenty six sold everything. ROZENBLITT.*

Telegram 18

Петроград, 310640 14 15/5 1 5 Отв.[ет] упл.[ачен] 80

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ, Сальтшэбаден. Приехал благополучно⁴⁴[.] Белоострове
ожидали Мечислав⁴⁵ Франя⁴⁶ семьями[.] телеграммы КОЗЛОВСКОГО
совсем неосновательны.⁴⁷

Petrograd, 310640 14 15/5 1 5 Otv.[et] upl.[achen] 80

FÜRSTENBERG, Saltsjobaden.

*Arrived safely[.] [In] Beloostrov [was] met [by] Mechislav Frania [with] families[.]
KOZLOVSKI'S telegrams entirely groundless.*

Commentary

48. References are to Z. Shadurskaia and E. Rotheim.

49. 19 Skjalgsonsgaten, Christiania was Rotheim's home address (see *Telefon katalog*, Kristiania, 1917).

50. That is, *sovet deputatov* (the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies).

51. This refers to the Third Zimmerwald Conference.

52. This is a reference to Fürstenberg-Hanecki's trip to Russia.

53. This refers to the departure from Stockholm to Russia of a group of 257 Russian political émigrés and their families. The group came to Stockholm from Zurich on 15 May 1917 and included the well known Russian socialists Pavel B. Akselrod, Lunacharskii, Martov, Aleksandr S. Martynov and Natanson. A day before, at the Swedish port of Malmo, the group was met by the secretary of the Stockholm Committee for the Return of Political Émigrés to Russia, Joshua Heller (b. 1884), who was a Bund sympathizer and an acquaintance of Fürstenberg-Hanecki. On 18 May, roughly the same group left Stockholm for Russia, and arrived in Petrograd on May 22/June 4. See *Biuletën' ispolnitel'noi komissii Tsentral'nogo Shveitsarskogo Komiteta dlia vozvrashcheniiapoliticheskikh emigrantov v Rossiiu* (Zurich), no. 6, 30 May 1917 and no. 7, 30 June 1917. Also see Report V.P.M. no. 510, 16 May 1917. SPR. SNA; Spisok no. 191, 4/17 May 1917, delo no.16, File 2874, RMP. FSA.

54. "Grisha" was the party pseudonym of Grigorii Mikhailovich (Mot'kovich) Sokolinskii, a longtime Bolshevik who lived in Geneva during World War I and was in close contact with Lenin. Sokolinskii came to Stockholm with his wife, Gitlia Leibovna Sokolinskaia, with the group of 257 émigrés from Zurich (see Index XVIIb (6) F.2, 1915 Coll. Okhrana, HA; Spisok no. 191. 4/17 May 1917, delo no. 16, file 2874. RMP. FSA). Those referred to by Fürstenberg-Hanecki in the telegram as "Tania" and "Adol'f" were not in the list of 257 émigrés. So they either traveled from Zurich to Stockholm under different names, or came to Stockholm from another location. Nevertheless, Hanecki, as a member of the Stockholm émigré committee, could have included them on the train to Russia with the 250 "Swiss" in order to avoid unnecessary questioning at the Russian border (see, for example, Outgoing no. 548, 1 April 1917, file 13690, delo no. 16, 1917, file 2874, RMP. FSA; Dashkov, *U istokov dobrososedstva*, pp. 147-148).

Telegram 19

Из Петрограда 17660 17 16/5 16 58

ШАДУРСКОМУ Ротейм⁴⁸ 19, Эрлинг Скьяльгсонсгате⁴⁹ Христиания.
Жди меня в Христиании приеду [п]о делам 24 мая[.] целую КОЛЛОНТАЙ.

From Petrograd 17660 17 16/5 16 58

[To] SHADURSKII Rotheim 19, Erling Skjalgsonsgaten Christiania.

Wait for me in Christiania [I] arrive [on] business 24 May [.] kisses KOLLONTAI.

Telegram 20

Из Стокгольма 308/18 21 18/5 10 25

КОЛЛОНТАЙ Совдеп⁵⁰ Петроград.
Конференция⁵¹ отложена половину июня[.] на днях еду⁵² Петроград[.]
250 швейцарцев сегодня отсюда уезжает⁵³ между ними Гриша⁵⁴ Таня
Адольф[.] ГАНЕЦКИЙ.

From Stockholm 308/18 21 18/5 10 25

KOLLONTAI Sovdep Petrograd.

Conference postponed [until] middle [of] June[.] any day now coming to Petrograd[.] 250

Swiss leave from here today among them Grisha Tania Adol'f[.] GANETSKII.

55. Party pseudonym of Fürstenberg-Hanecki.

56. Degtiarnaia Street ran from Nevskii Prospect to Bol'shaia Bolotnaia Street which ended at the Sinopskaia embankment of the Neva river. In May Kollontai moved to 25 Degtiarnaia and Shliapnikov also used this as his address until she left in early July. The apartment belonged to V.A. Gol'dberg, an employee of the Petrograd branch of the Warsaw Mavrii Nelken bank. It may be that Kollontai was connected to Gol'dberg through the large Nel'kin (Nelken) family, many of whose members took part in the Russian-Polish revolutionary movement. Moreover, in 1915-1916 Parvus-Fürstenberg's firm were business partners of the director of the "Mavrii Nelken" Bank, Felix Nelken (see Telegram 50; *Ves' Petrograd*, 1915-1917; *Vsia Rossiia na 1912 g.*, p. 233. Also see Incoming no. 694, 5 June 1917 and Outgoing no. 699, 21 June 1917, Coll. Rossiia. Missiia Norway. Consulate in Bergen. Correspondence. HA; Incoming no. 521, 17 April 1917, file 13690, RMP. FSA; Outgoing no. 1657, 7/20 December 1914. Index XVIb(7), f. 2, Coll. Okhrana, HA).

Telegram 21

Стокгольм, 447/18 14 18/5 14 30

КОЗЛОВСКОМУ Сергиевская 81
СУМЕНСОН Надеждинская 36 Петроград На днях еду Петроград
день сообщу КУБА.⁵⁵

Stockholm, 447/18 14 18/5 14 30
[To] KOZLOVSKII Sergievskaia 81
SUMENSON Nadezhdinskaia 36 Petrograd
Any day now going to Petrograd[.] will inform [which] day [.] KUBA.

Telegram 22

Из Петрограда 098570 12 21/5 12 16

ШАДУРСКОМУ Ротгейм 19 Скьяльгсонсгате Христиания
Моя поездка опять отложена[.] когда ты приедешь[.]
КОЛЛОНТАЙ Дегтярная⁵⁶ 25 кв. 5.

From Petrograd 098570 12 21/5 12 16
[To] SHARDURSKII Rotheim 19 Skjalgsonsgaten Christiania
My trip again postponed[.] when are you coming[.]
KOLLONTAI Degtiarnaia 25 apt. 5.

57. The reference is to the Third Zimmerwald conference. The author of the telegram was Lenin, which is confirmed in his Biographical Chronicle (*Lenin. Biograficheskaia khronika*, vol. 4, p. 163).

58. Two delegates were to have represented the Bolsheviks at the Third Zimmerwald Conference: Worowski, who was in Stockholm, would have been the representative of the FB, and another delegate was to have been sent from Petrograd. As reflected in the telegrams, Kollontai was to have acted as the second delegate (see telegrams 16, 19, 22, 27). According to the Soviet historian Iuliia Vorobtsova however, Nikolai A. Semashko (Aleksandrov), the future People's Commissar of Public Health, was to have served as the delegate from Petrograd (Vorobtsova, *Deiatel'nost' zagranichnogo biuro TsK*, pp. 128-131). While it is true that Semashko participated in the September conference (see note 42 in this section), in May 1917 he was still in emigration in Bulgaria and could not have been named as the Petrograd delegate. (See Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 31, p. 546. Also see file 9071. RMP. FSA; V. V. Anikiev, "Zhurnal iskhodiashchikh dokumentov TsK RSDRP(b) za 1917 g." *Istochnikovedenie istorii sovetskogo obshchestva. Vypusk II* (Moscow, 1968), p. 98). Upon his return from Stockholm at the end of September, Semashko conveyed to the Central Committee the offer of Karl V. Moor, a Swiss Social Democrat and an agent of the German and Austrian governments, to provide funds to the Bolsheviks. See H. Schurer, "Karl Moor - German Agent and Friend of Lenin", *The Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. V (April 1970), pp. 131-152; Leonhard Haas, *Carl Vital Moor. Ein Leben für Marx und Lenin* (Zurich, 1970), p. 169; *Leninskii sbornik* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1930), vol. XIII, pp. 281-282. Also see B. Nikolaevskii, "Na zare Kominterna: Rasskaz 'tovarishcha Tomasa,'" *Sotsialisticheskii vestnik* (New York), no. 1, April, 1964, pp. 128, 140.

59. That is, the credit paid by the sender in Petrograd for a responding telegram limited to 10 words. This indicates that this sum was drawn from profits of the firm in Petrograd. Evidently, Lenin always sent his telegrams to Fürstenberg-Hanecki in the same way ("*uplachennym otvetom*"). See, for example, Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, p. 412.

60. The reference is to M. Kozlowski, who served as the legal consultant of the Parvus-Fürstenberg's Export firm.

Telegram 23

Из Петрограда 48160 21 21/5 16 10.

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден Стокгольм.

Созовите как можно больше левых на предстоящую конференцию⁵⁷ мы посылаем особого делегата[.]⁵⁸ телеграммы получены спасибо продолжайте
УЛЪЯНОВ ЗИНОВЬЕВ

From Petrograd 48160 21 21/5 16 10.

FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden Stockholm.

Summon as many possible leftists for upcoming conference we're sending special delegate[.] telegrams received thank you [.] continue UL'LANOV ZINOVIEV

Telegram 24

Из Петрограда 113401 18 22/5 15 2

Отв.[ет] Упл.[ачен] 10⁵⁹ Срочная ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Стокгольм Сальтшэбаден.

Номер 89[.] Юрисконсулт⁶⁰ просит ни под каким видом не приезжать[.] ждите письма[.] СУМЕНСОН.
СУМЕНСОН Надеждинская 36.

From Petrograd 113401 18 22/5 15 2

Rep.[ty] Pd. 10 Urgent FÜRSTENBERG Stockholm Saltsjobaden.

Number 89[.] Legal consultant requests on no account come[.] await letter[.] SUMENSON. SUMENSON Nadezhdinskaia 36.

Commentary

61. This should read *posle* (after). The reference here is to Fürstenberg-Hanecki's departure from Saltsjobaden for Petrograd. On May 23 he was still in Stockholm (see telegram 26) but on May 13/26 he crossed the Swedish-Finnish border.

62. Haparanda is a Swedish town on the border with Finland. It was a crossing point between Sweden and Finland.

63. The reference is probably to a telegram from Sumenson (no. 24), and also to Kozłowski's telegrams, which are mentioned in telegram 18. Giza Fürstenberg is the author of this telegram. Fürstenberg waited at the Swedish-Finnish border, and then crossed it with the engineer Solomon Krol', another member of the Stockholm émigré committee. It may be that Giza Fürstenberg gave the telegrams from Sumenson and Kozłowski to Krol' to pass on to her husband (see Outgoing nos. 300, 301, 13 May 1917 and Incoming no. 417, 1917, delo 16, file 13690, RMP. FSA; also see Report no. B. 229, 2 February 1918. SPR. SNA).

64. That is, the *sovet deputatov*.

65. Friedrich W. Adler (1879-1960) was a leading figure in the Austrian Social Democratic Party (*Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei in Österreich*), and served as its secretary in 1911-1914 and again in 1918-1923. He became a symbol of the anti-war movement when he shot and killed Karl von Sturgkh, the Austrian prime minister, in 1916. He was initially given a death sentence (in May 1917), which was later reduced to life imprisonment. However, at the outbreak of the Austrian revolution a year later he was released from prison.

66. On the day this telegram was dispatched Hanecki sent another telegram to *Pravda* that contained the full text of Adler's speech at his trial. Excerpts of this speech were published in *Pravda* a week later (see Coll. Pototskii. Box 28, file 20, p. 44. HA. Vorobtsova, *Deiatel'nost' zagranichnogo biuro TsK*, p. 40). In Petrograd, the Bolsheviks organized protest meetings in response to Adler's death sentence; Lenin and Zinov'ev spoke at one of these meetings (see *Pravda*, 25/12 May, 1917, p. 1).

Telegram 24a

25-го мая 1917г.

СУМЕНСОН Надеждинская 36.

КОЗЛОВСКОМУ Сергиевская 81, Петроград.

Сальтшэбаден 2108/25 24 25/5 13 5

Телеграммы пришли если⁶¹ выезда[.] будет субботу утром
Хапаранда[.]⁶² передала ему ваши телеграммы⁶³[.] прервать
путешествия не может.

May 25, 1917

SUMENSON Nadezhdinskaia 36.

[To] KOZLOVSKII Sergievskaiia 81, Petrograd.

Saltsjobaden 2108/25 24 25/5 13 5

*Telegrams arrived if [his] departure[.] [He] Will be Saturday morning [in] Haparanda[.]
gave him your telegrams[.] cannot interrupt trip.*

Telegram 25

Стокгольм 72/23 23 22/5 20 45

Совдеп[утатов]⁶⁴ КОЛЛОНТАЙ Петроград.

АДЛЕР⁶⁵ произнес блестящую речь приговорен смерти высылаем Правде
подробную телеграмму[.]⁶⁶ пусть совдеп. . . другие присылают мой адрес
протесты поздравления. ГАНЕЦКИЙ.

Stockholm 72/23 23 22/5 20 45

Sovdep[uties] KOLLONTAI Petrograd.

*ADLER gave spectacular speech sentenced death [we're] sending Pravda detailed telegram
[.] have sovdep...others send my address protests congratulations. GANETSKII.*

Commentary

67. On Sunday, May 14/27 Fürstenberg crossed the Finnish-Russian border at Beloostrov (see telegrams 37, 53).

68. The reference here is probably to agreement between the Bolsheviks and the SDKPiL on their participation in the Third Zimmerwald Conference. It was agreed that Hanecki and Radek would represent the SDKPiL (see notes 37, 53).

69. This is probably a reference to the trip made by Fürstenberg-Hanecki ("Kuba") to Petrograd. The author of the telegram in all probability was Radek, who remained in Sweden and could not use his own name in the telegram since he was a subject of Austria-Hungary, which was then at war with Russia. See Fritz Platten, *Lenin. Iz emigratsii v Rossiiu*, (Moscow, 1991), p. 184; Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, p. 438.

70. This is a reference to permission granted to Kollontai to come to Stockholm. At the end of 1914, Kollontai was expelled from Sweden on charges of violating Swedish neutrality by publishing anti-war articles in the Swedish socialist press. Thereafter, she had to request special authorization from the Swedish authorities every time she wished to reenter Swedish territory. In this instance, permission was granted with the assistance of the mayor of Stockholm, Karl Lindhagen (1860-1946). A Social Democrat himself, Lindhagen at that time was on friendly terms with members of the Bolshevik Foreign Bureau. (Kollontai, *Iz moei zhizni i raboty*, p. 275; idem., *V tiur'me Kerenskogo*, (Moscow, 1928), p. 6; Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, p. 431. Also see Outgoing no.1687, 10/23 December, 1914. Index XIIIb(1), Coll. Okhrana, HA).

71. Karl Lindhagen.

Telegram 26

220 Стокгольм, 10 23/5 12 50.

КОЗЛОВСКОМУ Сергиевская 81 Петроград.
Всетаки воскресенье приеду⁶⁷ тогда урегулируем МАНДАТ.⁶⁸

220 Stockholm, 10 23/5 12 50.

[To] KOZLOVSKII Sergievskaiia 81 Petrograd.

All the same arriving Sunday then [we'll] settle MANDATE.

Telegram 26a

25-го мая 1917г.
Правда, Петроград.

Сальтшэбаден 2109/25 10 25/5 10 5.

Пусть Ленин сейчас поговорит КОЗЛОВСКИМ делу КУБЫ.⁶⁹

May 25, 1917
Pravda, Petrograd

Saltsjobaden 2109/25 9 25/5 16 50

Have Lenin now talk [to] KOZLOVSKII [about the] KUBA question.

Telegram 27

Стокгольм 302/25 9 25/5 16 50

Александрe КОЛЛОНТАЙ Комитет рабочих и солдат Петроград.
Разрешение⁷⁰ получено[.] ЛИНДГАГЕН.⁷¹

Stockholm 302/25 9 25/5 16 50

Aleksandra KOLLONTAI Committee of workers and soldiers Petrograd.

Permission received[.] LINDGAGEN.

Commentary

72. This date is given according to the Old-Style Calendar (see note 74 in this section).

73. This probably refers to the Bolshevik Central Committee's agreement with the FB on Worowski's participation as a delegate in the Third Zimmerwald Conference.

74. Waclaw W. Worowski (1871-1923), an Old Bolshevik. Also known as Orłowski and Borowski which, according to Russian police records, was his real name. From the end of 1915, Worowski lived in Stockholm, where he worked as a commercial representative for the Petrograd branch of the Siemens-Schuckert Company. This branch was headed by another Old Bolshevik, Krasin. Until the end of January, 1917 Worowski also served as the main business representative of the Parvus-Fürstenberg-Kozłowski firm in Stockholm. The families of Fürstenberg, Worowski and Kozłowski also had political and personal ties (Worowski's daughter later married Kozłowski's son). On April 21/May 4, 1917 Worowski came to Petrograd, where he met with Lenin and returned to Stockholm on May 29/June 11. (Soviet historian Vorobtsova mistakenly dates Worowski's departure from Petrograd as May 29 in the New-Style Calendar. See her *Deiatel'nost' zagranichnogo predstavitel'stva TsK*, pp. 32-33). This telegram (that is, no. 28) was sent the day of Worowski's departure and was intended for Radek, the only member of the Bolshevik Foreign Bureau in Sweden at that time. See files 9073, 9080, RMP. FNA; *Bol'sheviki. Dokumenty po istorii bol'shevizma s 1903 po 1916 god byvshego Moskovskogo Okhrannogo Otdeleniia*, third ed. (Moscow, 1990), p. 276; N. Piiashev, *Vorovskii*, (Moscow, 1959), p. 184; N. E. Krasnopol'skaia, *Vo imia liubvi k chelovechestvu... Dokumental'naia povest' o Vorovskom* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 142, 183; "Knizhka adresov /aprel'-iun' 1917 g./," *Leninskii sbornik*, vol. XXI, p. 84; Futrell, *op. cit.*, pp.174-192; RTsKhIDNI, f. 92 [V. V. Vorovskii]. op. 1, dd. 31, 45.

75. Lelua/Lelia is the diminutive for Elena Georgievna Danielsen (née Vitovskaia), an old friend of Kollontai and Shadurskaia. Prior to World War I she married a Norwegian (Wilhelm Danielsen) and went to live in Christiania. From 1915 to 1917 Lenin used Danielsen's address for correspondence with Kollontai and Fürstenberg-Hanecki. In spring and summer 1917 the Bolshevik FB continued to use her for contacts with Petrograd. See Kollontai, *Iz moei zhizni i raboty*, p. 183; *Leninskii sbornik*, vol. 2, pp. 292-293; "Adresnye knigi TsK RSDRP (1912-1917 gg.)," *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, no. 3, 1959, pp. 39, 41; Björkegren, *Ryska Posten*, p. 359. Also see telegram 33.

Telegram 28

Сальтшэбаден из Петрограда Гос. Дума 88460 29/5⁷²

Отв.[ет] упл.[ачен] 10 ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден.
Мы вполне согласны⁷³[.] Васлав⁷⁴ уехал[.] КОЗЛОВСКИЙ.

Saltsjobaden from Petrograd St.[ate] Duma 88460 29/5
Rep.[ly] pd 10 FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden.
We agree[.] Vaslav left[.] KOZLOVSKII

Telegram 29

Христиания Петроград 103260 14 31 5 17 4

ШАДУРСКОМУ Ротгейм Скьяльсонсгате 19 Христиания.
Лелуа /Леля/⁷⁵ приезжает[.] когда ты приедешь[.] обоим привет
КОЛЛОНТАЙ.

Christiania Petrograd 103260 14 31 5 17 4
SHADURSKII Rotheim Skjalgsonsgaten 19 Christiania.
Lelua /Lelia/ is coming[.] when you arrive[.] regards to both KOLLONTAI.

Commentary

76. This is probably a reference to the family of Gustaf Magnus Solomon Melli, who owned a shipping agency in the Finnish port city of Turku (about ninety miles west of Helsinki). Melli's firm transported some commercial goods across Finnish territory for the Fabian Klingsland firm (see delo 12, chast' II, File S.11, RMP. FSA; also see note 2).

77. The author of this telegram was Fürstenberg's wife, who took care of her husband's business while he was away (see Futrell, *op. cit.*, p. 183 and telegram 34). Giza Adol'fovna Fürstenberg-Hanecki (néé Adler) (1889-1937) was a Polish socialist, and a member of the SDKPiL from 1910. She was related to Victor Adler, a leader of the Austrian Social Democrats. Shortly before the war she graduated from the Commercial Institute in Cracow, and from 1915 worked as the bookkeeper for her husband's firm. In 1917 she participated in the work of the Bolshevik FB. In the 1920s she worked in the Moscow party committee, Polish communist organizations, the People's Commissariat of Trade, and the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. In 1937 she was arrested and shot. Her son (Stanislav, Stas) was also shot and her daughter (Khana, Khanka) was sent to the camps but survived and returned to Moscow after Stalin's death. (*Ksiega polakow*, p. 303; Cadres file no. 13717 [Ganetskaia G. A.], in RTsKhIDNI).

78. Members of the Bolshevik FB were regularly sent issues of *Pravda* from Petrograd. However, because of frequent inspections by the military censors, the newspaper often arrived late and irregularly in Stockholm (see, for example, Vorobtsova, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-40; Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, pp. 438-439).

79. Vevey is a small spa on Lake Geneva. The well known Henri Néstlé food-processing plant was located there. For many years the Néstlé representative in Petrograd was Iurii L. Fridliand, a longtime business associate of Victor Moraciewicz (see note 23 in this section). In 1917 Néstlé began to sell flour and foodstuffs in Petrograd through the Fabian Klingsland firm. (*Vsia Rossiia na 1911-1912 gg.*; *Ves' Peterburg*, 1912-1914; *Ves' Petrograd*, 1915-1917; Pototskii to Ogenkvar Fedorov, 9 August, 1917. Coll. Pototskii. Box 7, f. 24. HA; GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d. 18, ll. 135-142). Many Russian Social Democrats lived in Vevey during the First World War. See A. S. Kudriavtsev et al., *Lenin v Zheneve. Pamiatnye mesta*, second ed. (Moscow, 1985), p. 329; *Literaturnoe nasledstvo. V.I. Lenin i A.V. Lunacharskii. Peregiska. Doklady. Dokumenty* (Moscow, 1971), vol. 80, pp. 643, 645. Also see Incoming no. 994, 1916. Coll. Okhrana, HA.

80. This refers to a telegram from a representative of the Néstlé factory in Vevey, with whom Sumenson communicated regarding delivery of its products to Russia. She also carried out a telegraphic correspondence with Fürstenberg regarding the sale of these products in Petrograd (see telegrams 60, 62; also see telegram 65).

Telegram 30

2038 Сальтшэбаден 290/21 1431/5 11 25

КОЗЛОВСКОМУ Сергиевская 81 Петроград.

Семья Мели⁷⁶ требует несколько тысяч[.] что делать[.]⁷⁷ газет не получаем.⁷⁸

2038 Saltsjobaden 290/21 14 31/5 11 25

KOZLOVSKII Serгиеvskaja 81 Petrograd.

Meli's family demanding several thousand[.] what to do[.] [we] aren't receiving newspapers.

Telegram 31

Из Петрограда 245714 13 1/6 2 25

НЕСТЛЕ Фабрика Вевэ.⁷⁹

Что Вы хотите сказать вашей телеграммой двадцать девять[.]⁸⁰
СУМЕНСОН Надеждинская 36.

From Petrograd 245714 13 1/6 25

NESTLE Factory Vevey.

What do you want to say [in] your telegram twenty nine[.] SUMENSON Nadezhdinskaia 36.

Commentary

81. With the exception of the date of transmission (3 June), this telegram is identical to telegram 29 of 31 May. Thus, the actual date of transmission is uncertain.
82. Vera Shadurskaia (Iureneva).
83. Elena Danielsen, who was in Petrograd at the time.
84. Erika Rotheim.
85. Zoia Shadurskaia.

Telegram 32

Христиания Петроград 103260 14 3/6⁸¹ 17 4

ШАДУРСКОМУ Ротгейм Скьяльсонгсгате 19 Христиания
Лелуа/Леля/ приезжает когда ты приедешь обоим привет КОЛЛОНТАЙ.

Christiania Petrograd 103260 14 3/6 17 4

SHADURSKII Rotheim Skjalsonsgaten 19 Christiania

Lelua/Lelia/ is coming[.] when you arrive [.] regards to both KOLLONTAI.

Telegram 33

Из Христиании 70 35 4/6 2 30

ПОЛЫНОВОЙ КОЛЛОНТАЙ Кирочная 12 Петроград.
Должна еще отдохнуть лечить зубы[.] почему Вера⁸² ничего не отвечает
мои телеграммы просила известий [о] маме 200 крон приглашала
приехать[.] целую всех[.] пишите[.] прошу Лелю⁸³ вспомнить бедную
Адрианова[.] Эрика⁸⁴ целует[.] Зоя.⁸⁵

From Christiania 70 35 4/6 2 30

POLYNOVA, KOLLONTAI Kirochnaia 12 Petrograd.

*Must rest more [.] take care of teeth[.] why Vera doesn't answer my telegrams [I] asked
news [about] mama 200 crowns invited [to] visit.[.] kisses [to] all[.] write[.] [I] ask Lelia
[to] remember poor Adrianova[.] Erika [sends] kisses[.] Zoia.*

Commentary

86. See telegram 17.

87. That is, the Nya Banken, a Stockholm commercial bank through which the Fürstenberg firm carried out some of its financial transactions. The director of Nya Banken was Olof Aschberg (1877-1960), a socialist sympathizer who maintained close personal and business ties with Fürstenberg-Hanecki and Krasin. In 1917-1919, Aschberg helped the Bolshevik government with the illegal purchase of foreign currency and stored Bolshevik funds in his bank. During the New Economic Policy he was director of a so-called Russian commercial bank. See Futrell, *Northern Underground*, pp. 166, 224; Pototskii to Kandaurov, 3 June 1919, Collection N. Iudenich, box 4, file 19, p. 22, HA. Also see Report V.P.M. no. 968, 12 October, 1918, SPR. SNA.

88. Kozlowski sent this telegram from the telegraphic office of the Soviet but its author, judging from the business information it contains and the intimate character of the final phrase, must have been Fürstenberg (see responding telegram 37).

89. According to Nikitin (see his *Rokovye gody*, p. 117), Sumenson's responsibilities did not go beyond financial transactions for the Fürstenberg firm. However, this telegram and several others (57, 60) proves that she was also responsible for the receipt and sale of various shipments.

Telegram 34

Сальтшэбаден Из Петрограда Гос.[ударственная] Дума 117670 32 5 18 30

Отв.[ет] упл.[ачен] 15 Гиза ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден.
Финансы весьма затруднительны[.] абсолютно невозможно дать[.]
крайнем случае пятьсот как последний раз[.] карандашах громадные
убытки[.] оригинал безнадежен[.]⁸⁶ пусть Ньюбанкен⁸⁷ телеграфирует
относительно новых сто тысяч СУМЕНСОН. Сердечно тоскую целую[.]
КОЗЛОВСКИЙ.⁸⁸

Saltsjobaden From Petrograd State Duma 117670 32 5 18 30

Rep. pd. 15 Giza FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden.

*Finances extremely problematic[.] absolutely impossible [to] give[.] [In] emergency five
hundred as last time[.] enormous losses [on] pencils[.] original is hopeless[.] have
Niubanken wire regarding new hundred thousand [to] SUMENSON. Miss [you] deeply
kisses[.] KOZLOVSKII.*

Telegram 35

1902 Вевэ 154/9 18 7/6 13

Евгении СУМЕНСОН 36 Надеждинская Петроград.
Невозможно получить разрешение ввоз в Нью-Йорк[.] не можем
поставить в настоящее время.⁸⁹ НЕСТЛЕ.

1902 Vevey 154/9 18 7/6 13

Evgenii SUMENSON 36 Nadezhdinskaia Petrograd.

*Impossible [to] get permission [for] import to New York[.] [we are] unable [to] supply at
present time. NESTLE.*

Commentary

90. The Shadurskiis had close relatives in Kiev whom they often visited (see Vera Iureneva, *Zapiski aktrisy* (Moscow, 1946), pp. 150-153).

91. The reference is to 200 crowns that Shadurskaia requested from Kollontai in a telegram of June 4 (telegram 33). Also see telegrams 40, 50.

92. This probably refers to the first letters Fürstenberg sent back to Stockholm after his arrival in Petrograd. Giza Fürstenberg is the most likely author of the telegram.

93. This is a reference to the receipt of 100,000 rubles by the Nya Banken from Sumenson's account at the Russo-Asiatic Bank. (See telegram 34.)

94. This is probably a reference to Giza Fürstenberg's request for the names (*kto*) of those individuals who had deposited the 100,000 rubles into Sumenson's account. Rather than listing the types and quantity of goods sold in Russia, these names would tell Giza Fürstenberg which goods had been sold (see, for example, telegram 56).

95. Georgii Aleksandrovich Solomon (sometimes Salomon; party pseudonym Isetskii) (1869 - 1934), an Old Bolshevik and professional man of letters who had long known Lenin's family; he was particularly close to Lenin's brother-in-law Mark Elizarov (see note 10 in this section). Solomon lived in Brussels for several years after the 1905 Revolution and then returned to Petrograd. He worked in a large bank there, *Russkii dlia Vneshnei Torgovli*. He was an old friend and business associate of Leonid Krasin. After the February Revolution Solomon became a member of the Petrograd Soviet and worked in the editorial offices of *Izvestiia*. He also maintained contacts with Lenin and the leaders of the Petrograd group of the SDKPiL. In May 1917 he left for Stockholm, where he was in close touch with Fürstenberg, Worowski and the Swedish Left Social Democrats. He returned to Petrograd only after the October Revolution, because he had been a subject in the Provisional Government's investigation of alleged Bolshevik-German ties. In summer 1918 he served as Soviet consul in Hamburg. That fall, together with Krasin, Parvus and the German industrialist Hugo Stinnes, he organized a large shipment of German coal for Petrograd. He was a member of various Soviet trade delegations. In 1922 he left Soviet service and settled in Belgium. See G. A. Solomon, *Lenin i ego sem'ia (Ul'ianovy)*, (Paris, 1931), pp. 7, 8, 76-79, 85; idem, *Sredi krasnykh vozhdai. Lichno perezhitoe i vidennoe na sovetskoi sluzhbe*, vol. I, pp. 1-13, 18-21; Lenin, *Biograficheskaia khronika*, vol. 5, p. 88. Also see Report V.P.M. no. 1553, 12 April, 1920, file: 1052-2548, folder E 3:4 and Report B.223, 30 November 1918, file B.1-225, folder E 2:1, Polisbyro, SPR. SNA; GARF, f. 5881, op. 2, d. 658.

Telegram 36

Из Петрограда Гос.[ударственная] Дума 129460 13 8/6 18 11

ШАДУРСКОМУ Ротгейм 19 Скьяльсонсгате Христиания
Вера уехала Киев[.]⁹⁰ пошлю деньги⁹¹ завтра обнимаю КОЛЛОНТАЙ.

From Petrograd St.[ate] Duma 129460 13 8/6 18 11
SHADURSKII Rotheim 19 Skjalsonsgaten Christiania
Vera left [for] Kiev[.] will sent money tomorrow hugs KOLLONTAI.

Telegram 37

Сальтшэбаден 24/9 21 8/6 17 16

КОЗЛОВСКОМУ Сергиевская 81 Петроград.
Первые письма⁹² получили[.] Нью-Банкен телеграфировал[.]⁹³
телеграфируйте кто[.]⁹⁴ Саломон⁹⁵ предлагает совместное телеграфное
агенство⁹⁶ ссылается Бронек⁹⁷ САВЕЛЬЕВА.⁹⁸ АВИЛОВА.⁹⁹

Saltsjobaden 24/9 21 8/6 17 16
KOZLOVSKII Sergievskaja 81 Petrograd.
Received first letters[.] Niu-Banken wired [.] wire whof[.] Salomon proposes joint telegraph
agency referred to Bronек SAVEL'EV. AVILOV.

96. The reference is probably to a proposed telegraphic agency (*sovместное телеграфное агенство*) which was to involve leading party publicists from the three Petrograd Social Democratic newspapers of an internationalist bent: Bronislaw Wesolowski of the Polish *Trybuna*, Maksimilian A. Savel'ev of *Pravda* and Boris V. Avilov of Gorky's *Novaia zhizn'*. The establishment of such a telegraphic agency in Stockholm was apparently motivated by the need to provide a quicker and more reliable exchange of information between the Russian and Scandinavian leftist press. At this time, telegraphic correspondence had to be sent through the Petrograd Telegraphic Agency (PTA) in order to insure on-time delivery and to expedite passage through Russian military censorship.

97. Bronislaw (Broniek) A. Wesolowski (1870-1919), an old Polish revolutionary and one of the founders of the SDKPiL. In 1917 Wesolowski was a member of the Petrograd Soviet and the Bolshevik PK, and later became a member of the Petrograd Military-Revolutionary Committee and the Central Executive Committee of Soviets (VTsIK). Wesolowski also represented the SDKPiL in the Bolshevik Central Committee and was on the editorial staff of both *Pravda* and *Trybuna*. In spring and summer 1917 he was suspected by Petrograd counterintelligence of being a contact between Lenin and Parvus. In July in his testimony to the Provisional Government's commission investigating the Bolshevik-German connection, Wesolowski denied that Fürstenberg-Hanecki had any connection with Parvus, or that Kozlowski participated in any commercial activity. See *Ksiega polakow*, pp. 902-903; V. A. D'iakova et al., *Ocherki revoliutsionnykh sviazei narodov Rossii i Pol'shi 1915-1917* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 531, 543, 555; *Leninskii sbornik*, vol. XXI, p. 85; Nikitin, *Rokovye gody*, pp. 59, 114; Sovokin, *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, no. 4, 1991, p. 74.

98. Maksimilian (Maks) Aleksandrovich Savel'ev (1884-1939), an Old Bolshevik and one of the party's main publicists. Before the war he was Lenin's so-called trusted person (*doverennoe litso*) in Petersburg, where he worked in the Volga-Kama Commercial Bank. He was also the editor of *Pravda* and the Bolshevik monthly *Prosveshchenie*. In 1917 he worked in the editorial offices of *Pravda*; after October he continued to work in the party press and was one of the editors of the party-historical journal *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*. From 1928 to 1930 he was the director of the Lenin Institute, and edited the first and second editions of Lenin's works. He was arrested in 1938 and died in prison a year later.

99. Boris Vasil'evich Avilov (1874-1938), an Old Bolshevik, statistician, publicist and lawyer. In 1915, together with Worowski and Elizarova (Ul'ianova), he was a chief editor of *Prosveshchenie* in Petrograd. In 1917 he was a member of the Petrograd Soviet and the PK. (*PR*, no. 5 [17], 1923, pp. 381-383; nos. 2-3 [61-62], 1927, p. 321; nos. 7-8, 1930, p. 178; Kollontai, *Iz moei zhizni i bor'by*, p. 97; Larin to Martov, 19 August 1916, Coll. Nicolaevskii, box 51, f. 26, HA). From March to April Avilov worked on the editorial boards of *Izvestiia* and *Pravda*, and then with *Novaia zhizn'*. In the summer, Avilov traveled to Stockholm, apparently to discuss the organization of Solomon's proposed telegraphic agency (see delo 7, File 13689, RMP. FNA). In August 1917, Avilov became one of the

Telegram 37

Сальтшэбаден 24/9 21 8/6 17 16

КОЗЛОВСКОМУ Сергиевская 81 Петроград.
Первые письма⁹² получили[.] Нью-Банкен телеграфировал[.]⁹³
телеграфируйте кто[.]⁹⁴ Саломон⁹⁵ предлагает совместное телеграфное
агенство⁹⁶ ссылается Бронек⁹⁷ САВЕЛЬЕВА.⁹⁸ АВИЛОВА.⁹⁹

Saltsjobaden 24/9 21 8/6 17 16

KOZLOVSKII Sergievskaia 81 Petrograd.

*Received first letters[.] Niu-Banken wired [.] wire who[.] Salomon proposes joint telegraph
agency referred to Bronnek SAVEL'EV. AVILOV.*

Telegram 38

Из Петрограда 335629 16 11/6 19

Отв.[ет] упл.[ачен] 75 ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден.
Тр. . . . [ебуем] подтверждения[.]¹⁰⁰ девять десять Ц.К. безусловно просит
участия Стокгольмской конференции[.] напечатан 55 Правде.¹⁰¹

From Petrograd 335629 16 11/6 19

Ans.[wer] pd. 75 FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden.

*[We] req....[uire] confirmation[.] nine ten[th] [of] C.C. definitely requests participation
[in] Stockholm conference[.] Printed [in] 55 [of] Pravda.*

Commentary

organizers of the group "Social Democratic Internationalists." In 1918 he withdrew from politics, and until his arrest in 1938 worked as a legal consultant for various state organizations (see *Slovar' sotsial-demokratov*, vol. 5, pp. 15-18 and *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, no. 11, 1989, p. 91).

100. That is, to confirm that the telegram had been received. The telegram was a response to telegram 9.

101. In early May the Bolshevik Central Committee voted nine to one against Lenin's proposal to break with the Zimmerwald movement and approved the sending of a delegation to the Third Zimmerwald Conference. This decision was reflected in the resolution published in issue 55 of *Pravda*. See *Pravda*, 12/25 May, 1917, p. 2; Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, p. 55 and vol. 31, pp. 184-186, 441-442; *Sed'maia (Aprel'skaia) Vserossiiskaia konferentsiia RSDRP(b). Aprel' 1917 goda* (Moscow, 1958), pp. 228-234. It may be argued that Lenin was the author of this telegram and that it was intended for Radek. On the day the telegram was dispatched, Lenin gave a letter for Radek to Worowski, who was returning to Stockholm, in which he refers to the issue of Bolshevik participation in the conference and his dissension with the majority opinion of the Central Committee. (Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, pp. 440-441; also see telegrams 9, 28 and RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 1a, ed. khr. 122).

102. This is probably a reference to the fall in the value of the ruble on the Scandinavian exchange. The telegram, intended for Fürstenberg-Hanecki, was probably written by Giza Fürstenberg (see telegram 34).

Telegram 38

Из Петрограда 335629 16 11/6 19

Отв.[ет] упл.[ачен] 75 ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден.
Тр. . . . [ебуем] подтверждения[.]¹⁰⁰ девять десять Ц.К. безусловно просит
участия Стокгольмской конференции[.] напечатан 55 Правде.¹⁰¹

From Petrograd 335629 16 11/6 19

Ans.[wer] pd. 75 FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden.

*[We] req....[uire] confirmation[.] nine ten[th] [of] C.C. definitely requests participation
[in] Stockholm conference[.] Printed [in] 55 [of] Pravda.*

Telegram 39

Сальтшэбаден 77/16 14 15/6 17 15

КОЗЛОВСКОМУ Сергиевская 81 Петроград.
Нью-Банкен требует доплаты 15.300 крон дифференции залога[.]
причина упадок курса.¹⁰²

Saltsjobaden 77/16 14 15/6 17 15

KOZLOVSKII Sergievskaiia 81 Petrograd.

*Niu-Banken requires additional payment 15,300 crowns as security deposit[.] reason fall
[of exchange] rate.*

Commentary

103. The transfer of 200 crowns to Z. Shadurskaia (see telegrams 33, 36) was carried out by Kozlowski. In April 1917, 2000 rubles to Lenin and 800 rubles to Zinov'ev were also transferred through Kozlowski from Fürstenberg's account in Stockholm. Although transactions of such insignificant sums were exaggerated by the Provisional Government, which believed these sums were just a cover for larger German subsidies to the Bolsheviks, neither the Bolshevik leaders in 1917 nor Soviet historians thereafter have been able adequately to explain why these presumably personal exchanges required use of the financial channels of Fürstenberg-Parvus' firm. See *PR*, no. 5 (17), 1923, p. 282; no. 9 (21), 1923, p. 231; Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, p. 438; Zinov'ev, *God revoliutsii*, p. 198.

104. Porembskij was a Polish socialist and a Stockholm business contact of Fürstenberg and Krzeczewski (see note 17). Evidently, as a result of Porembskij's urgent request, Fürstenberg cut short his visit to Petrograd and left for Stockholm on June 8/21.

Telegram 40

Христиания из Петрограда 09128 14 15/6 14 10

ШАДУРСКОМУ Ротгейм 19 Скьяльсонсгате
Христиания Двести крон послано[.] отправитель КОЗЛОВСКИЙ[.]¹⁰³ устала
обнимаю[.] КОЛЛОНТАЙ.

Christiania from Petrograd 09128 14 15/6 14 10
SHADURSKII Rotheim 19 Skjalsonsgaten Christiania
Two hundred crowns sent[.] sender KOZLOVSKII[.] [am] tired hugs[.] KOLLONTAI.

Telegram 41

Сальтшэбаден 2258/19 10 19/6 21

КОЗЛОВСКОМУ Сергиевская 81 Петроград.
Требую немедленного приезда КУБЫ. ПОРЕМБСКИЙ.¹⁰⁴

Saltsjobaden 2258/19 10 19/6 21
[To] KOZLOVSKII Sergievskaja 81 Petrograd.
Demand immediate arrival [of] Kuba. POREMBSKII.

Telegram 42

Сальтшэбаден 2258/19 10 19/6 21

КОЗЛОВСКОМУ Сергиевская 81 Петроград.
Требую немедленного приезда КУБЫ. ПОРЕМБСКИЙ.

Saltsjobaden 2258/19 10 19/6 21
[To] KOZLOVSKII Sergievskaja 81 Petrograd.
Demand immediate arrival [of] Kuba. POREMBSKII.

Commentary

105. That is, *Genrikh* (Henri) Fürstenberg, Hanecki's elder brother and a close business associate of Fabian Klingsland. Fürstenberg-Hanecki was most likely the author of this telegram, the contents of which relate to telegram 53.

106. Pavlovsk is a suburb of Petrograd, located about 10 miles southeast of the city, where many Petrograd residents would have their summer dachas.

107. This date probably accords with the Old-Style Calendar. An agent of Petrograd counterintelligence who shadowed Sumenson reported that she moved to the dacha in Pavlovsk not earlier than the third week in June (Old-Style). Still, she continued to use the address on Nadezhdinskaia Street and sometimes made trips back to Petrograd. She was arrested in Pavlovsk by counterintelligence agents on July 5/18. (See note 3; Nikitin, *Rokovye gody*, p. 116, 151; P. A. Polovtsov, *Dni zatmenii*, (Paris., n. d.), p. 150.)

108. That is, with Mieczyslaw Kozlowski. Fürstenberg-Hanecki most likely could not have written this telegram. On June 24 he was still en route to Stockholm — a trip which took at least four days. It appears that the author of the telegram was Radek, who was an old friend of Tat'iana Iakovlevna (see next note).

109. Tat'iana (Tereza) Iakovlevna Rubinstein (née Mark) [1887-1955], a Russian Social-Democrat from a Jewish family in Latvia. In 1906 she emigrated to Switzerland, but soon moved to Berlin where her first husband, the prominent Aleksandr N. Stein (Rubinstein) [1881-1948], worked as an editor for the Social Democratic *Vorwärts*. At the end of August 1914, along with Kollontai, Larin, Vladimir N. Rozanov, and Moisei S. Uritskii, she was allowed to leave Germany with the help of the German Social Democrats and went to Copenhagen. She lived there until 1917 with a daughter from her first marriage (Nina A. Rubinstein, b. 1908) and her common-law husband, the well-known Menshevik internationalist Vladimir (Volik) Nikolaevich Rozanov (1876-1939). After the February Revolution, she was one of the first (along with Parvus' common-law wife and assistant Ekaterina P. Groman and their son Lev) to return to Russia. She worked in the International Relations Department of the Petrograd Soviet. In August 1918, with the help of Uritskii, the head of the Petrograd *VChK*, she was given permission to leave Russia. She lived in Berlin until 1933 and then in France until 1940. She spent the last fifteen years of her life in New York. (Author's interviews with Nina A. Rubinstein on 29 April and 20 June 1989, New York City; B. I. Nicolaevskii to B. K. Souvarine. 22 June 1955, Archives of Boris Souvarine, file: Correspondence, V. N. Rozanov (Sazonov) to P. B. Aksel'rod. 27 July 1914, Aksel'rod Archives. A. Letters. no. 40. XIII, International Institute of Social History (hereafter IISH) Amsterdam; File 2874. RMP. FSA; Stefan T. Possony, *Lenin: The Compulsive Revolutionary* (Chicago, 1964), p. 176.)

Telegram 43

Сальтшэбаден 2232/21 11 21/6 11 10

Срочная. СУМЕНСОН Надеждинская 36 Петрогр.[ад]
Строчите могу ли сейчас приехать Генрих¹⁰⁵ ждет.

Saltsjobaden 2232/21 11 21/6 11 10
Urgent. SUMENSON Nadezhdinskaia 36 Petrogr.[ad]
Wire whether [I] can come now Genrikh's waiting.

Telegram 44

Сальтшэбаден Павловска¹⁰⁶ 220 10 25/6¹⁰⁷ 10 20

Срочная ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден
Смогу ответить только конце недели. СУМЕНСОН.

Saltsjobaden Pavlovsk 220 10 25/6 10 20
Urgent FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden
[Will be] able to reply only [at] end of week. SUMENSON.

Telegram 45

Сальтшэбаден 2074 11 24/6 16 30

СУМЕНСОН Надеждинская 36 Петроград. Обратитесь [с] Месиславом¹⁰⁸
Татьяне Яковлевне¹⁰⁹ уверен поможет.¹¹⁰

Saltsjobaden 2074 11 24/6 16 30
SUMENSON Nadezhdinskaia 36 Petrograd.
Go see Tat'iana Iakovlevna [with] Mesislav [.] [I'm] sure she'll help.

110. This probably refers to Tat'iana Rubinstein's assistance in sending business letters from Sumenson in Stockholm via the diplomatic pouch (which was not examined by the military censors). There are grounds to believe that Rubinstein helped to send correspondence to the members of the FB through Rozanov who, as de facto head of the Soviet's International Relations Department, had unlimited privileges to use the diplomatic pouch (see Ganetskii, *O Lenine*, p. 67; Vorobtsova, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 27, 30, 34-35. *Russkaia volia*, 9 July 1917, p. 5; GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d. 14, ll. 16, 18). It was also Rubinstein who apparently obtained a diplomatic passport for Fürstenberg to ensure his safe return from Russia (see delo 16, file 13690, RMP. FSA).

111. This should read "*Unshlikhtu*". Josef S. Unszlicht (1879-1937) was a well known Polish socialist and a member of the SDKPiL from 1900. After the party split in 1912 he sided with Hanecki's "*rozlamowcy*" faction. In 1917 he worked with the Petrograd group of the SDKPiL and the editorial board of *Trybuna*. He also was a member of the Bolshevik Military Organization and the PK. On the evening of July 6/19 he was arrested with Kozlowski at the latter's apartment, but was soon released. He later became deputy chief of the ominous Cheka-OGPU. In 1937 he was arrested and executed (*Ksiega polakow*, p. 880; *RV*, 8 July, 1917, p. 4).

112. Znamenskaia Street ran between Nevskii Prospect and Kirochnaia Street, which joined Znamenskaia with the parallel streets of Nadezhdinskaia and Preobrazhenskaia. It also joined with Nadezhdinskaia and Preobrazhenskaia by Sapernyi, Baskov and Kovenskii *pereuloks*. 37 Znamenskaia Street stood on the corner of Baskov *pereulok*, where it bore the number 22. In 1917, Kozlowski's first wife, Maria E. Kozlowska was registered at 22 Baskov and this address was used by Lenin to contact Kozlowski and Mieczslaw Bronski-Warszawski. Curiously, in Petrograd city directories for the war years, Kozlowska alternately listed her address as 22 Baskov and 37 Znamenskaia. This was apparently done to confuse the military censorship monitoring correspondence. Across the street from this building, also on the corner, stood Znamenskaia 41/Baskov 21, where Unszlicht lived, and only three short blocks away was Mieczslaw Kozlowski's apartment (see *Ves' Peterburg*, 1913, 1914; *Ves' Petrograd*, 1915-1917; *Leninskii sbornik*, vol. XXI, p. 85; Zinov'ev, *God revoliutsii*, pp. 85-86; GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d. 14, ll. 6-15; also see Telegram 63 and *Novaia zhizn'*, 24 September/7 October, 1917, p. 3).

113. That is, Vladimir (Volodia) Lenin. In early June, the Petrograd socialist defensist newspaper *Den'* published an article by one of the Bund leaders, David I. Zaslavskii, in which Fürstenberg-Hanecki was accused of contraband trade and close business ties with Parvus. (D. Zaslavskii, "Nechestnye i naivnye", *Den'*, 6/18 June, 1917, p. 1). This telegram refers to the list of signatures to be collected by leaders of the SDKPiL in Petrograd in order to refute Zaslavskii's "slandorous" accusations against their party comrade. Radek probably wrote this telegram. During summer and fall

Telegram 46

Сальтшэбаден 2073 20 24/6 16 30

КОЗЛОВСКОМУ Утлихту¹¹¹ Знаменская 37¹¹² Петроград.
Непременно соберите подписи[.] решите публикации оставляем вам
советуйтесь Володей[.]¹¹³ здесь публично никто не выступал.¹¹⁴

Saltsjobaden 2073 20 24/6 16 30

KOZLOVSKII Utlikhtu Znamenskaia 37 Petrograd.

*Be sure to get signatures [.] decision [on] publications [we] leave [to] you to confer [with]
Volodia[.] no one here has made public statement.*

Commentary

1917 he handled most of the responses on behalf of the Bolshevik FB to allegations about Bolshevik ties with the German government. The text of such refutations was usually carefully coordinated with Lenin before it went to press. (See Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, pp. 445-447, Katkov, *The February Revolution*, pp. 113-114, 193; Zeman, Scharlau, *The Merchant of Revolution*, p. 227; RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 1a, ed. khr. 122).

114. Only in July, after Fürstenberg-Hanecki was officially charged by the Provisional Government, did Russian correspondents of the major newspapers in Scandinavia come out openly against him. They published a signed declaration in the Stockholm press accusing Hanecki of having commercial ties with Parvus and the Germans (See *RV*, 19 July 1917, p. 5; *BLS*, no. 3, 27 July, 1917, p. 7. Also see Zeman, *Germany and the Bolshevik Revolution*, p. 69; *Dagens Nyheter*, 22 July 1917.) Ironically, some of these journalists were acquaintances of both Fürstenberg-Hanecki and Parvus, and while remaining in Scandinavia, they actively cooperated with the Bolshevik government. (See Parvus, *Pravda glaza kolek! Lichnoe raz'iasnenie PARVUSA* (Stockholm, 1918), p. 32; I.[l'ia] Trotskii, "Ganetskii i Radek v Skandinavii (iz vospominanii zhurnalista)," *Dni*, 12 May 1928, p. 3. Also see Incoming no. 98, November 24, 1919. Collection Russia. Posol'stvo France. Correspondence. Box 7, dossier 24. HA). It appears that in his accusations against Hanecki, Zaslavskii relied heavily (and often uncritically) on information coming from the Russian correspondents in Scandinavia.

115. See Coll. Pototskii. Box 28, delo 20, p. 63. HA; *RV*, 12 July, 1917, p. 4. *BLS*, no. 1, 11 July 1917, p. 3.

116. Pseudonym of Fürstenberg-Hanecki. This telegram followed the publication of a second article by Zaslavskii which appeared in *Den'* on June 10/23. In addition to his initial accusations against Fürstenberg-Hanecki, Zaslavskii also suggested that there was political cooperation between Fürstenberg-Hanecki and Parvus (*Den'*, 10/23 June, p. 1. Also see *BLS*, no. 2, p. 6.) After this telegram was received in Saltsjobaden, the members of the FB and the Polish Social Democrat M. Warszawski-Bronski (who was staying in Stockholm at the time while on his way to Russia) gathered in Fürstenberg's apartment in Neglinge to discuss their response to Zaslavskii's charges. Shortly after this meeting two telegrams were sent to *Pravda*: one, signed by Hanecki, contained a denial of the charges of contraband trade and political ties with Parvus; the second, signed with the pseudonyms of the internationally known socialists Bronski, Radek and Orlovski (Worowski) maintained the innocence of their party comrade. See Report V.P.M. no. 781, 2 March 1918. SPR. SNA; *Pravda*, 5 July/22 June, 1917, p. 1; Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, p. 561. Also see RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 1a, dd. 29, 41, 42, 59, 358.

117. Smutnyi was the party pseudonym of Bronislaw Wesolowski. In addition to the accusations in Zaslavskii's second article, the urgency of Wesolowski's request may be explained by the fact that a declaration from the Executive Committee of the SDKPiL groups in Russia had been submitted to the

Telegram 47

Из Петрограда 30160 11 25/6 12 40.

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден.

Немедленно телеграфно с подд. . . . [писями]¹¹⁵ документ оправдывающий
КУБУ¹¹⁶ Смутный.¹¹⁷

From Petrograd 30160 11 25/6 12 40.

FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden.

Immediately wire with sig....[natures] document vindicating KUBA. Smutnyi.

Telegram 48

Петроград 260381 7 28/6 11 28

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден.

Надеюсь получить ждите.¹¹⁸ СУМЕНСОН. СУМЕНСОН Надеждинская 36.

Petrograd 260381 7 28/6 11 28

FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden.

Hope to receive wait. SUMENSON.

SUMENSON Nadezhdinskaia 36.

Commentary

Bolshevik Central Committee Juridical Commission. They demanded that Fürstenberg-Hanecki respond to the accusations appearing in *Den*'. Lenin subsequently sent a letter to the Juridical Commission on June 13/26, defending his trusted aide. He also managed to exclude the point in the SDKPiL declaration demanding an explanation from Fürstenberg-Hanecki. See Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, pp. 441-442, 560; "Delo Ganetskogo i Kozlovskogo [Iz protokolov zasedanii TsK RSDRP(b) v iiune-noiabre 1917 g.]"; *Kentavr* (Moscow), nos. 1-2, 3-4, 1992.

118. This probably refers to the delay in Sumenson receiving payments from some of the dealers. Also see telegrams 54, 57, 58.

119. This refers to the anti-government demonstration held on Sunday, June 18/July 1 in Petrograd, which was organized by the Soviet.

120. The author of this telegram was Lenin, but it was sent by Wesolowski through the Petrograd Soviet's telegraphic office (see Vorobtsova, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Nikitin, *op. cit.*, p. 58; *Novoe vremia*, 8 July 1917, p. 2). The text of the telegram was first published in *Ruskaia volia* in July 1917, where the date of the telegram was mistakenly identified according to the Old-Style Calendar. It thus would appear that the telegram relates to the upcoming July Uprising (July 3-5). The newspaper also reported that Fürstenberg then immediately transmitted the telegram to the German newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt*. Accordingly, Fürstenberg's actions were interpreted as informing the Germans prior to the uprising and thus said to support the charges of state treason brought against him (*RV*, 12 July 1917, p. 4; *NV*, 8 July 1917, p. 2; Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, pp. 442-443).

Telegram 48

Петроград 260381 7 28/6 11 28

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден.
Надеюсь получить ждите.¹¹⁸ СУМЕНСОН. СУМЕНСОН Надеждинская 36.

Petrograd 260381 7 28/6 11 28
FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden.
Hope to receive wait. SUMENSON.
SUMENSON Nadezhdinskaia 36.

Telegram 49

Петроград. 40660 57 29/6 13 3.

Отв.[ет] упл.[ачен] 80 ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден.
Воскресенье манифестация¹¹⁹ всей революции наши лозунги долой контр-революцию четвёртую Думу Государственный Совет империалистов организующих контр-революцию вся власть советам да здравствует контроль рабочих над производствами вооружение всего народа ни сепаратный мир с Вильгельмом ни тайных договоров с французским и английским правительством немедленное опубликование советом действительно справедливых условий мира. против политики наступлений, хлеба мира свободы.¹²⁰

Petrograd. 40660 57 29/6 13 3.
Ans.[wer] pd. 80 FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden.
Sunday a manifestation of entire revolution our slogans [are] down with counter-revolution[ary] fourth Duma State Council [with] imperialists organizing counter-revolution all power to the soviets long live workers' control of production [the] armament of all the people no separate peace with Willhelm no secret agreements with the French and English governments the immediate publication by the Soviet of the truly fair conditions for peace. against the policy of [military] offensives, bread peace freedom.

Commentary

121. This should be in the feminine as *poluchila*. The sum of 167 crowns is most probably what remained of the 200 crowns transferred to Shadurskaia due to fluctuation in the value of the ruble (see telegram 40).

122. This refers to Shadurskaia's departure for Russia.

123. This is the first known telegram from Sumenson to Fürstenberg after his return to Sweden from Petrograd (see telegram 24).

124. That is, the Russo-Asiatic Commercial Bank, one of the largest Russian banks, with its main branch in Petrograd. Krasin, an Old Bolshevik and a business associate of Worowski and Aschberg, had served on the bank's board of directors (see *Ves' Petrograd*, 1916, 1917; Futrell, *op. cit.*, p. 170).

125. On June 26/July 9 Kollontai went to Stockholm for the meeting of the International Socialist Committee (ISC), the executive organ created at the 1915 Zimmerwald Conference, responsible for organizing the Third Zimmerwald Conference. She then traveled to Christiania, where she joined up with Shadurskaia before returning to Russia. On July 12/25 they were both arrested by Russian counterintelligence in Tornio. While Kollontai had long been suspected of maintaining contact with Fürstenberg and Parvus, Shadurskaia was arrested only because her name was mentioned in telegrams to Kollontai (see telegrams 11, 19, 22, 29, 32, 36, 40). Because her name appeared in the telegrams only in the masculine form (Shadurskii), she managed to convince the confused counterintelligence agents that her arrest was mistaken, and she was released while still in Tornio (see Lenin, *Biograficheskaia khronika*, vol. 4, p. 262; Meynell, *op. cit.*, part 2, p. 219; Kollontai, *Iz moei zhizni*, pp. 286, 294, 296, 297; idem, *V tiur'me Kerenskogo*, pp. 31, 34-35; also see Outgoing no. 12 July, 1917, delo 19, File 9434 and File 13577, RMP. FSA).

Telegram 50

Христиания 79/3 11 23 45 2/7

Петроград Дегтярная 25 КОЛЛОНТАЙ.
167 крон получил¹²¹ уезжаю на будущей неделе[.]¹²² ШАДУРСКИЙ.

Christiania 79/3 11 23 45 2/7

Petrograd Degtiarnaia 25 KOLLONTAI.

167 crowns received will leave next week[.] SHADURSKII.

Telegram 51

Из Павловска Петроград 365 10 2/7 18 56

Сальтшэбаден ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ.
Номер Девяносто[.]¹²³ внесла русско-азиатский¹²⁴ сто тысяч.
СУМЕНСОН.

From Pavlovsk Petrograd 365 10 2/7 18 56

Saltsjobaden FÜRSTENBERG.

Number Ninety[.] deposited [into] Russian-Asiatic one hundred thousand. SUMENSON.

Telegram 52

Петроград. Гос.[ударственная] Дума 45860 15 2/7 15 37

ШАДУРСКОМУ Ротгейм 19 Скьяльсонсгате Христиания.
Жди меня Христиании я выезжаю субботу в Стокгольм. КОЛЛОНТАЙ.¹²⁵

Petrograd. State] Duma 45860 15 2/7 15 37

SHADURSKII Rotheim 19 Skjalsonsgaten Christiania.

Wait for me [in] Christiania I leave Saturday for Stockholm. KOLLONTAI.

Commentary

126. The Grand Hotel was a fashionable hotel in the center of Stockholm and a well known meeting place for wartime profiteers (Report P.M. no. B.28, 15 May 1918. Polysburo, file: 1915-1919, folder E2:1, SPR. SNA; *Segodnia* [Riga] 20 January 1929, p. 3). Soon after his return from Russia, Fürstenberg stayed temporarily at the Grand Hotel, from where he carried out communications with Petrograd (see telegrams 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 66).

127. See telegrams 48, 43.

128. The reference is probably to a proposed second trip by Fürstenberg-Hanecki to Russia in order for him to settle difficulties with the delivery and sale of goods from there (see telegrams 57-59, 60, 62; also see GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d. 20, ll. 175-176 ob.).

129. The reference is probably to telegram 46.

130. This refers to the campaign against Fürstenberg-Hanecki which began in *Den'* in early June (see telegrams 46, 47).

131. David Iosifovich Zaslavskii (1880-1965) was a Russian Social Democrat and a journalist. He began his revolutionary career in 1900 in Social Democratic circles in Vilnius; he joined the Bund in 1903. In 1910 Zaslavskii graduated from the law faculty of Kiev University, where he became close friends with Andrei Ia. Vyshinskii, who later gained notoriety as Stalin's chief Prosecutor. In 1917 Zaslavskii became a member of the Bund Central Committee and was one of the bitter opponents of the Bolsheviks. In 1919 he was expelled from the Bund for working in Kievan newspapers under Denikin, and subsequently served the Bolsheviks, his new masters. In the 1920s, Zaslavskii often contributed to *Pravda* and *Izvestiia*. He joined the Communist Party in 1934 and until the 1950s he was one of the most renowned Soviet journalists. See *Kratkaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Jerusalem, 1982), vol. 2, p. 541; Incoming no. 1160, 1 August 1911, Coll. Okhrana. HA; S.M. Shwarts to G.M. Aronson. 21 March, 1959, S.M. Shwarts Archive, Correspondence, f. 22, Centre for Russian and East European Jewry, The Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

132. Although Zaslavskii did not seem to possess any documentary proof of Fürstenberg-Hanecki's political cooperation with Parvus, neither Fürstenberg-Hanecki nor the Bolshevik FB attempted to have him brought to court on charges of slander. They also did not request that the Soviet Executive Committee create a special commission to look into these charges. It was only after the party leadership was accused of collaboration with the Germans in July that such an investigative commission was requested. The commission was established by the Executive Committee on July 6/19, but it never seriously looked into the matter, and was soon dissolved. (See *Rech'*, 7 July 1917, p. 2 and 11 July 1917, p. 4; *RV*, 7 July 1917, p. 1. Also see *NZh*, 11 July 1917, p. 3; *BLS*, no. 1, 11 July 1917, p. 4; GARF, f. 6978, op. 1, d. 159, l. 2; d. 250.)

Telegram 53

Из Петрограда 470640 23 5/7 14 17

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Гранд Отель¹²⁶ Стокгольм.
Увы пока мало шансов телеграфируйте можете ли долго ждать¹²⁷ или предпочитаете приехать второй раз мой вызов пишите.¹²⁸ СУМЕНСОН Надеждинская 36.

From Petrograd 470640 23 5/7 14 17

FÜRSTENBERG Grand Hotel Stockholm.

Alas as of yet few chances[.] wire whether [you] can wait longer or prefer to come a second time [upon] my request write SUMENSON Nadezhdinskaia 36.

Telegram 54

Из Петрограда 58360 20 5/7 12 46.

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден.
Вашу получили[.]¹²⁹ кампания продолжается[.]¹³⁰ потребуйте немедленно образования формальной комиссии для расследования дела желательно привлечь ЗАСЛАВСКОГО¹³¹ официальному суду.¹³² КОЗЛОВСКИЙ.

From Petrograd 58360 20 5/7 12 46.

FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden.

Yours received[.] campaign continues[.] demand immediate formation of formal commission for investigation of affair[.] preferable to bring ZASLAVSKII to official court. KOZLOVSKII.

Commentary

133. This probably refers to telegram 53. After Fürstenberg-Hanecki's return to Sweden a new numeration was started for telegrams Sumenson sent to him at the Stockholm Grand Hotel (see telegrams 55, 66). Telegrams addressed to Saltsjobaden continued to be numbered according to the order established prior to Fürstenberg-Hanecki's trip to Petrograd (see, for example, telegrams 24, 51, 64). It would appear that the existence of two parallel series of telegrams reflects that Sumenson had to report separately on business at Fürstenberg's firm and those dealings carried out by the Fabian Klingsland firm. The complexity of this system is also indicated by the fact that accounts in Sumenson's name were opened in several Petrograd banks (Azov-Don, Russo-Asiatic, Siberian Commercial and others) for profits made by both firms (see telegrams 8, 62 and *RV*, 11 July 1917, p. 5).

134. This telegram was written by Fürstenberg (see telegrams 43, 53).

135. This should read Krzeczecowski (or Krzeczowski), that is Kazimir Krzeczecowski, who was managing director of the Odessa trading house Prince Iu. Gagarin & Co. (see note 17 in this section). This telegram was sent in response to Fürstenberg's telegram of 17 May (telegram 7). The return address on Krzeczecowski's telegram was the Petrograd Grand Hotel, located at 11 Gogol Street which ran between Nevskii and Voznesenskii prospects.

Telegram 55

Из Стокгольма 2097/6 6/7 0 20

СУМЕНСОН Надеждинская 36 Петроград.
Последняя ваша телеграмма 28[.]¹³³ дайте окончательный ответ дольше
ждать не могу.¹³⁴

*From Stockholm 2097/6 6/7 0 20
SUMENSON Nadezhdinskaia 36 Petrograd
Your last telegram 28[.] give final answer can't wait longer.*

Telegram 56

Петроград Сальтшэбаден X/5788 10 6/6 21 20

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден.
Счет письмо выслал[.] 5905 рублей внес СУМЕНСОН[.]
КРЭРЕШКОВСКИЙ¹³⁵ Гранд Отель улица Гоголя.

*Petrograd Saltsjobaden X/5788 10 6/6 21 20
FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden.
Account letter dispatched[.] deposited 5905 roubles [into] SUMENSON[']s account.]
KRERESHKOVSKII Grand Hotel Gogol street.*

Commentary

136. See telegram 35.

137. Gertrud E. Jungbeck was a business associate of Fabian Klingsland and Genrikh Fürstenberg in Malmo, a port city in southern Sweden. In 1915-1917 she often traveled between Petrograd and Malmo (her address in Malmo was Pilbanksvagen 12; see telegram 59). She worked for the Swedish Red Cross and the Malmo-based shipping agency of S. M. Hallbaeck & Soner. This agency was responsible for transporting German goods through Sweden for the Klingsland firm. The Melli firm (see note 76 in this section) was then responsible for shipping these goods across Finland to the Russian border, where they were taken over by the Alperovich's shipping agency and Sumenson. See Incoming no. 1548, 3 July 1917 and Outgoing no. 1979, 10 July 1917, delo 18, file 7235, RMP. FSA. Also see Maximilian Harden, "Mit eisener Schaufel. Die Mordegrube," *Die Zukunft* (Berlin), 20/27 December 1919, p. 386; *Abonnenter a Rikstelefon. Januari 1917. Rikstelefonkatalog N:o 29 Del I Omfattande Skane, Blekinge m.m.* (Göteborg, 1917).

Telegram 57

Стокгольм. из Петрограда 470340 10 5/7 14 11

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Гранд Отель Стокгольм.
НЕСТЛЕ не присылает муки[.]¹³⁶ хлопчите[.] СУМЕНСОН.
Е.М. СУМЕНСОН Надеждинская 36.

Stockholm. from Petrograd 470340 10 5/7 14 11
FÜRSTENBERG Grand Hotel Stockholm.
NESTLE sends no flour[.] request[.] SUMENSON. E.M. SUMENSON Nadezhdinskaia 36.

Telegram 58

Стокгольм Петрограда 470440 16 5/7 14 14

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Гранд Отель Стокгольм.
Мадемуазель ЮНГБЕКК¹³⁷ вернется на днях Мальмэ из Петрограда
попытайтесь поговорить с нею. [в] Стокгольме Суменсон.

Stockholm Petrograd 470440 16 5/7 14 14
FÜRSTENBERG Grand Hotel Stockholm.
Mademoiselle Jungbeck returns any day [to] Malmo from Petrograd try to talk with her
[in] Stockholm Sumenson.

Commentary

138. That is, Malmo.

139. This probably should read Zverinskaia Street, since there was no Zverinitskaia Street in Petrograd. Zverinskaia Street was situated on the Petrograd side and ran between Bol'shoi and Kronverkskii Prospects. Kshesinskaia's villa, the Bolshevik headquarters from March to July 1917, stood at the beginning of Kronverkskii. This telegram was also reproduced in two other sources (Nikitin, *op. cit.*, p. 113., *BLS*, no. 3, 1917, p. 2), which provided different return addresses: Zverinskaia 38 and Nadezhdinskaia 36.

140. The incorrectly placed period here could lead one to the mistaken conclusion that Nestlé was the author of this telegram. Instead, the most likely author of the telegram was Fürstenberg, who was asking Sumenson about the sum of money due to the Néstlé firm.

141. This refers to the brochure written in Polish by Bronski, "The Socialist Propagandist," which he had left with the FB in Stockholm while on his way to Petrograd in late June 1917. The brochure was published in Petrograd in July. (A. Ia. Manusevich, *Pol'skie internatsionalisty v bor'be za pobedu Sovetskoi vlasti v Rossii. Fevral'-Oktiabr' 1917g.* [Moscow, 1965], p. 265). Mieczyslaw Bronski (real name Warszawski) (1882-1941) was a Polish Social Democrat, publicist and economist. During World War I, Bronski lived in Switzerland and worked closely with Lenin. He represented the SDKPiL in the Zimmerwald Left. In March 1917 Bronski had tried to arrange Lenin's trip through Germany in discussions with Parvus' close associate, Georg Sklarz. After returning to Petrograd, Bronski settled in the apartment of Kozlowski's first wife and began to work for the Polish *Trybuna*. He was arrested by the Provisional Government in the wake of the July Days (July 6/19), but was released a week later. After the Bolshevik revolution, he became People's Commissar of Trade; he also worked with Fürstenberg-Hanecki in the Petrograd State Bank, and later in the Comintern. He was arrested in 1938 during the Stalinist purge of the Polish Communists and died in prison. See *Slownik Biograficzny Dzialaczy Polskiego Ruchu Robotniczego*. vol. 1, A-D. (Warsaw, 1978), pp. 243-244; Gautschi, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Alfred Erich Senn, "New Documents on Lenin's Departure From Switzerland, 1917," *IRSH*, vol. XIX, 1974, pp. 250-251; *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, no. 3, 1959, pp. 32, 50.

Telegram 59

Мальмэ¹³⁸ Петроград 470540 15 5/7 14 15

Гертруд ЮНГБЕКК Пильдамсвеген 12 Мальмэ.
Пожалуйста повидайтесь ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГОМ [п]о вашем возвращении
Стокгольме Гранд Отеле[.] СУМЕНСОН.
Е.М. СУМЕНСОН Звериницкая 30.¹³⁹

Malmo Petrograd 470540 15 5/7 14 15

Gertrud JUNGBECK Pildamsvegen [Pilbanksvagen] 12 Malmo.

*Please see FÜRSTENBERG [up]on your return [to] Stockholm [at] the Grand Hotel[.]
SUMENSON [.] E.M. SUMENSON Zverinitskaia 30.*

Telegram 60

Из Стокгольма 2093 10 6/7 23 15

СУМЕНСОН Надеждинская 36 Петроград.
Телеграфируйте сколько имеете денег.¹⁴⁰ НЕСТЛЕ.

From Stockholm 2093 10 6/7 23 15

SUMENSON Nadezhdinskaia 36 Petrograd.

Wire how much money [you] have. NESTLE.

Commentary

142. The reference is most probably to Arshak Gerasimovich ZURABOV (1873-1919), a former SD deputy to the Second Duma who in 1914-1917 lived in Copenhagen. In January 1917, Fürstenberg had been arrested in Copenhagen for exporting thermometers and other medical goods without a license. His commercial activities subsequently became a subject of investigation by the Ministry of Justice's commission against contraband trade. Yet, the investigation did not yield sufficient evidence to convict Fürstenberg of violating Danish export regulations, nor did it uncover any information linking his business with any political activity. To be sure, Fürstenberg and his associates did not want the investigation to go any further, exposing additional damaging information about the firm's illegal dealings and its ties with the German government. Fürstenberg's attorney managed to settle the case with the Danish authorities by having Fürstenberg leave Danish territory and pay a nominal fine. A group of Russian Social Democratic Internationalists in Copenhagen, headed by Zurabov, expressed outrage at the commission's decision to expel Fürstenberg-Hanecki. They adopted a resolution maintaining the innocence of their fellow socialist. Thus, the so-called *postanovlenie TURABA* could have been used in Petrograd to refute accusations made by Zaslavskii in *Den'*. (Futrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-187; I. Trotskii, "Ganetskii i Radek v Skandinavii", *Dni*, 12 May 1928, p. 3. Also see *Outgoing* no. 411, 28 March 1917, delo 8, file 13690, RMP. FSA; *Outgoing* no. 96, 30 March 1917, Coll. Pototskii, box 7, f. 24, HA; B. Mehr to P.B. Aksel'rod, 2 April 1917, Aksel'rod Archives, A. Letters, f. 23, IISH.)

143. That is, *Vasiliev Island*, Line 6, Building 47, Apartment 8. This was the address of Georgii Solomon, who was living in Stockholm at the time (see note 95 in this section).

144. This refers to Fürstenberg's decision not to come to Petrograd again and risk arrest, as he apparently became aware of the investigation of his ties to Parvus and the Germans. (Nikitin, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 118; delo 16, file 13690, RMP. FSA; RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 1a, ed. khr. 122). This telegram, along with telegrams 53, 55, 64 and 66, indicates that Fürstenberg-Hanecki changed his plans for another trip to Petrograd at least a week before the July Uprising. This seems to undermine Aleksandr Kerenskii's repeated statements that Minister of Justice Pereverzev's premature release (on July 4/17) of evidence alleging German-Bolshevik collaboration was the prevailing factor in Fürstenberg-Hanecki's decision. See, for example, *The Russian Provisional Government*, vol. III, p. 1332; A. F. Kerensky, *Izdaleka. Sbornik statei* (Paris, 1922), pp. 169-173; A. Kerensky, "Letter to the Editor," *International Affairs* (London), vol. 32, no. 4, October 1956, p. 538.

145. The reference is most likely to Mieczyslaw Kozlowski's younger brother Sigizmund, who was also involved in the import-export operations, traveling often between Scandinavia and Poland (GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d. 14, l. 14).

146. That is, to wire the funds.

Telegram 61

Из Петрограда 357928 21/20 8/7 12 21

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден.

Вышлите немедленно рукописи о Польше и брошюру о литературе социалистической БРОНСКОГО¹⁴¹ и копию постановления ТУРАБА¹⁴² КОЗЛОВСКОМУ. ВЕСЕЛОВСКИЙ. Бронислав ВЕСЕЛОВСКИЙ 6 л. 47 кв. 8.¹⁴³

From Petrograd 357928 21/20 8/7 12 21

FÜRSTENBERG Saltsobaden.

Send immediately to KOZLOVSKII manuscripts on Poland and BRONSKII'S brochure about socialist literature and [a] copy [of] TURAB's resolution. VESELOVSKII. Bronislav VESELOVSKII 6 [line]. 47 apt. 8.

Telegram 62

Стокгольм 106/9 21 9/7 12 30

СУМЕНСОН Надеждинская 36 Петроград.

Невозможно приехать второй раз[.]¹⁴⁴ уезжает Сигизмунд[.]¹⁴⁵ телеграфируйте¹⁴⁶ туда остатки банках и если возможно уплатите по счету НЕСТЛЕ.

Stockholm 106/9 21 9/7 12 30

SUMENSON Nadezhdinskaia 36 Petrograd.

Impossible to come second time[.] Sigizmundt leaving[.] wire there remaining [funds in] banks and if possible pay NESTLE according to account.

Commentary

147. Helena Warszawski-Brodowski (née Tannenbaum) (1888-1937?), a Polish socialist and a member of the SDKPiL. Starting in 1905 she lived in Switzerland, where she married Bronski-Warszawski. After graduating from the chemistry faculty of Zurich University in 1913 she worked in the AARGAU chemical laboratory in the small city of Menziken, about 20 miles south of Zurich. She later worked as a Comintern agent in Germany and Poland. She moved to the USSR in 1928 together with her second husband, the Polish Communist Stefan Bratman-Brodowski (1880-1937). She worked for the Supreme Economic Council (VSNKh) and at several chemical factories in the Urals. She was arrested in May 1937. (*Slownik*, vol. 1, p. 239; *Spisok russkikh poddannyykh, zastignutykh voinoiu za granitsej. Vypusk 4, [s 13 po 30 sentiabria 1914 goda]*, Petrograd, 1914, pp. 37-38; Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, p. 433; S. S. Dzerzhinskaia, *V gody velikikh boev*. second ed. (Moscow, 1975), pp. 242-245, 270, 484.)

148. This should have a singular, masculine ending and be in the past tense ("*doekhal*"). In this telegram Bronski-Warszawski was asking to inform his wife Helena Warszawska at her business address in Menziken of his arrival in Petrograd on June 21/July 3. (See File 13690, RMP. FSA. Also see handwritten minutes, "Protokoll der Untersuchungskommission über die Umstände der Ausreise Lenins und Genossen aus der Schweiz und Deutschland im Frühling 1917," pp. 62-63, IISH.)

149. This should read Kozlowski. In Petrograd, Bronski-Warszawski stayed at Maria Kozłowska's apartment (no. 8) at 22 Baskov *pereulok* (see note 112).

150. The previous telegram from Sumenson was numbered 90 (see telegram 51); telegram 91 is missing.

151. This probably refers to the 100,000 rubles which Sumenson transferred to the Nya Banken (see telegram 51). This transaction, however, could not be completed, apparently as a result of the Provisional Government's decree prohibiting money transfers to foreign banks ("*Vospreshchenie denezhnykh perevodov iz Rossii za granitsu*," *Skandinavskii listok* (Stockholm), 4 July 1917, p. 3; *Sobranie Uzakonenii i Rasporiazhenii Pravitel'stva* [Petrograd, 1917], no. 138, 16 June 1917).

152. By the time this telegram was sent, Sumenson was already under close surveillance by Petrograd counterintelligence and may have been expecting imminent arrest. (See Incoming no. 4903, 29 June/12 July 1917, File 9435. RMP. FSA; Nikitin, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-117. Also see telegram 62.)

153. On July 3 Tat'iana Rubinstein arrived in Stockholm with Rozanov, who had gone there as a member of the Soviet delegation to negotiate the convening of the Socialist Peace Conference (see newspaper clippings in possession of Nina A. Rubinstein shown to this author on 20 June 1989 in New York City). Also see *Rech'*, 21 July 1917, p. 3; N.S. Rusanov, "1917 g. K istorii Mirnoi kampanii

Telegram 63

Сальтшэбаден Петроград 65660 15 9[7] 13 45.

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден.

Телеграфируйте Менцикен ААРГАУ ВАРШАВСКАЯ[.]¹⁴⁷ хорошо
доехала[.]¹⁴⁸ адрес Костовский,¹⁴⁹ Басков переулк 22 кв. 8.

Saltsjobaden Petrograd 64660 15 9[7] 13 45.

FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden.

*Wire Mentsiken AARGAU VARSHAVSKAIA[.] arrived safely[.] [My] address Kostovskii,
Baskov pereulok 22 apt. 8.*

Telegram 64

Петроград 220001 23 9/7 17 8

ФЮРСТЕНБЕРГ Сальтшэбаден Стокгольм.

Номер 92[.]¹⁵⁰ банк вернул взнос ста тысяч¹⁵¹ точка приехать теперь
невозможно[.]¹⁵² попросите Татьяну Яковлевну
вернувшись помочь мне она там.¹⁵³ СУМЕНСОН.

Petrograd 220001 23 9/7 17 8

FÜRSTENBERG Saltsjobaden Stockholm.

*Number 92[.] bank returned deposit of one hundred thousand period impossible to come
now[.] ask Tatiana Iakovlevna upon return to help me she's there. SUMENSON.*

Commentary

Sovetskoi demokratii sredi evropeiskikh sotsialisticheskikh partii. Aronavty mira (kak my podgotavlivali Stokgol'mskuiu konferentsiiu). Vospominaniia chlena Stokgol'mskoi delegatsii N.S. Rusanova," typescript, pp. 6, 17, 30, 130. CUBA.

154. See telegrams 35, 31.

155. See telegrams 55, 53.

156. The reference is probably to telegrams 57 and 58. Also see note 142 in this section.

Telegram 65

Петроград 219901 13 9/7 17 10.

НЕСТЛЕ Фабрика Вевэ.

Десять последних слов вашей телеграммы тридцать¹⁵⁴
неразборчивы прошу повторить. СУМЕНСОН.

Е.М. СУМЕНСОН Надеждинская 36.

Petrograd 219901 13 9/7 17 10.

NESTLE Factory Vevey.

Last ten words of your telegram thirty illegible request repeat. SUMENSON.

E.M. SUMENSON Nadezhdinskaja 36.

Telegram 66

Петроград 220101 31 9/7 17

ФÜRSTENBERГ Гранд Отель Стокгольм.

Кроме 28¹⁵⁵ посланы три телеграммы[.]¹⁵⁶ поездка теперь
невозможна[.] послала письмо нарочным[.] когда смогу приглашу вас
приехать[.] напишите[.] не откажите платить моему тестю двести рублей
привет. СУМЕНСОН Надеждинская 36.

Petrograd 220101 31 9/7 17

FÜRSTENBERG Grand Hotel Stockholm.

*Besides 28 three telegrams sent[,] trip now impossible[,] letter sent by courier[,] when [I]
can will invite you to come[,] write[,] please pay my father-in-law two hundred roubles
greetings. SUMENSON Nadezhdinskaja 36.*

Interpretation and Implications of the Telegrams

By the end of September 1917, the judicial investigation of the Bolshevik leaders and their alleged receipt of German financial support was essentially complete. A majority of the imprisoned Bolsheviks had been released after having been shown the material from the investigation, and awaited the impending trial.¹⁰⁰ Some of them, such as the Petrograd party operatives Samuil M. Zaks-Gladnev, Josef S. Unszlicht and Mieszyslaw Bronski-Warszawski, who had been arrested during the July Days, were freed within a week, probably due to the absence of evidence of their immediate involvement in the transfer of German money to Lenin. Other more well-known party leaders, such as Kollontai, Lunacharskii and Trotskii, regained their freedom later, at the end of August, when the Kerenskii government desperately sought support from the Left in its confrontation with General Kornilov and his followers.¹⁰¹ Evgeniia Sumenson and her business associate, the Bolshevik Mieszyslaw Kozlowski, who were accused of being the main recipients of German money on behalf of the party, were released under heavy bail on September 20 and October 9 respectively.¹⁰² After that, the Procurator of the Petrograd Judiciary Chamber announced the appointment of representatives for the prosecution and defense. The court hearings were to have begun at the end of October in the Petrograd district court.¹⁰³ The Bolshevik takeover, however, prevented the prosecution from presenting its case before the jury.

The main evidence against the Bolsheviks was the telegraphic communications that had been exchanged during May-July 1917 (Old-Style) between the party leaders in Petrograd and their associates in Scandinavia. The Provisional Government claimed that the telegrams to and from Fürstenberg-Hanecki, Kollontai, Kozlowski and Sumenson—ostensibly business communications—contained coded messages about the transfer of German funds to the Bolsheviks, and that Parvus' Stockholm-based firm acted as the intermediary.¹⁰⁴ This same interpretation has remained basically unchallenged to the present day.

While the majority of historians today seem prone to accept the 1917 allegation that finances were conveyed from Berlin to Petrograd by way of Stockholm through the mediation of Parvus' trade firm, there is disagreement among them concerning both the origin of the transferred money and the nature of the Stockholm firm's activities. According to one view, the trade firm was set up specifically to oversee the distribution of subsidies allocated by the German government to promote the revolutionary movement in Russia.¹⁰⁵ Another more judicious opinion holds that the business was real and even quite profitable, but that, in addition to commercial activity, it "provided a channel for money through which German subsidies for the Bolsheviks could be pumped."¹⁰⁶ Finally, a third opinion claims that the money for "Leninist propaganda" came from commercial profits of the Parvus-Fürstenberg trading business, which operated under German protection.¹⁰⁷ The problem with all of these views, however, is that they see the Stockholm firm as the key player in the financial transactions to the Bolsheviks—an assumption that rests on the telegrams used as evidence against them in July 1917.

The present work provides an analysis of each individual telegram as well as of the entire group of 66, and finds no support in them for the July accusations. In fact, the telegrams contain no evidence that there were any funds transferred from Stockholm to Petrograd, let alone funds that wound up in Bolshevik coffers. It is true that the transfer of huge sums of money, at times up to 100,000 roubles, occupied a prominent place in the telegraphic correspondence. *But these sums represent payments for goods exported by the Parvus-Fürstenberg firm from Scandinavia to Petrograd. Goods were sent to Petrograd, and payments traveled back to Stockholm—but never in the opposite direction. Although Sumenson managed these financial transactions, she was the sender, not the recipient, as was claimed by the Provisional Government.*¹⁰⁸ This conclusion, incidentally, finds additional support in the newly released records of the July investigation. Notwithstanding a persistent search for proof that the Bolsheviks received German funds through the Parvus-Fürstenberg-Kozlowski-Sumenson network (the Provisional Government thoroughly examined not only the records of Sumenson's commercial activities but also all

foreign monetary transactions into Russia between late 1914 and July 1917), the investigation concluded that there was no evidence of the "German connection."¹⁰⁹

There is likewise no evidence that the telegraphic correspondence maintained between Petrograd and Stockholm was coded. While the telegrams represent a rather confusing collection—some of them refer to commercial activities, others deal with political issues, and both refer to the Bolshevik leaders—their content can be explained when viewed against the background of the commercial-cum-political activities of their senders and addressees. For example, the business telegrams, accounting for the majority of the communications, appear not to carry any hidden meaning. The events mentioned in them can be explained rather easily when they are considered impartially in the context of what is known about the business operations of the Parvus-Fürstenberg firm. It has been suggested, for instance, that the telegram from Sumenson to Fürstenberg in Stockholm—which read "Nestle sends no flour. Request. Sumenson"—contained a coded request for money (in the guise of flour or, as it has been insinuated on a different occasion, in the guise of "mythic pencils") for the Bolsheviks in Petrograd.¹¹⁰ More careful research, however, leads to an entirely different interpretation. The Parvus-Fürstenberg firm acted as an intermediary for Nestlé, the well known Swiss food-processing plant that imported flour and other foodstuffs to Russia.¹¹¹ These goods were shipped through Stockholm to Petrograd, where Sumenson was responsible for their receipt. The sale of the imports was conducted by Sumenson's Odessa and Moscow associates, who would deposit money for them into one of her accounts in Petrograd. Sumenson would then send the final payment to Nestlé. Her request for flour, in other words, corresponds completely to what is known about her business activities, and has nothing at all to do with "German money." In fact, the records of the official investigation, which looked specifically into Sumenson's financial transactions on behalf of Fürstenberg's business, conclude that they actually were "of a purely commercial nature" (*chisto kommercheskogo kharaktera*).¹¹²

The telegrams dealing with political matters also contained no double meaning. For instance, the one from Radek and Fürstenberg-Hanecki in Stockholm

addressed to Kozłowski and Kollontai in Petrograd ("have Volodia [Lenin—S.L.] wire [us] whether [we] should send telegrams for *Pravda* and what should be their size") was interpreted as an encoded inquiry about the amount of German funds to be sent to Lenin.¹¹³ Actually, as members of the Bolshevik Foreign Bureau and regular contributors to the Bolshevik press, Hanecki and Radek were referring to the number of words appropriate for a short news item in the information section of *Pravda*. In accordance with the interpretations offered by the present study, then, it can be concluded that the charges that the Bolsheviks received German subsidies for which the exchange of coded telegrams between Petrograd and Scandinavia served as a cover do not stand up under careful scrutiny; and in light of this conclusion, the entire case against the Bolsheviks lacks validity.

It would seem that such poorly prepared charges could have been refuted by the Bolshevik leaders themselves, by merely presenting their own detailed explanation of the telegrams. But this was done neither in 1917 nor any time later. Lenin and Zinoviev went no further than ridiculing the claims that they were receiving German money and denying the existence of any contacts with Parvus and the other socialists suspected of having links with the German government.¹¹⁴ Soviet historians have also been remarkably silent about the telegrams. And, as this study demonstrates, they have had good reason to be.

Although the telegrams do not show that the Bolshevik Party was drawing on German subsidies during the summer of 1917, they do reveal the existence of close contacts between prominent party figures from Lenin's immediate circle and German agents in Scandinavia. It is quite certain that these ties were close enough to prevent the Bolsheviks from openly acknowledging them. They can be traced through the business activity of the Parvus-Fürstenberg firm and its many associates in Germany, Russia and Scandinavia, some of which are reflected in the July telegrams.

The outbreak of the First World War brought ruin to a large part of trade between Russia and Germany, and the belligerents soon found themselves in short supply of many imported goods. The situation continued to worsen with the

introduction of a series of bilateral sanctions and restrictions on the import and export of urgently needed items. Russia, for example, experienced an acute shortage of many brands of pharmaceuticals, contraceptives and other medical goods. If before the war these goods were obtained directly from Germany, after it started numerous intermediaries were required to smuggle the goods through neutral countries. In this manner, Scandinavia gradually became a major route by which supplies from Germany and Central Europe reached Russia. Medical goods were usually imported from Germany to Denmark under the condition that there be no re-export. In Denmark, the goods would be re-sold among local middlemen, requiring with each exchange the preparation of new documents for the goods. As a result, the traces of their German origin were gradually erased. Only then would the goods be sent to Russia, as *Scandinavian* exports, where they would again pass through the hands of several middlemen before finally reaching the consumer. Naturally, the prospects of high commissions attracted many smart dealers at every step of the long route. By the end of the first year of the war, a sizable community of Russian, German and Polish profiteers had emerged in Scandinavia.¹¹⁵

The export-import firm *Labor* was one of the first to enter the promising Russian market of medical supplies. From autumn 1914, Grigorii M. Waldman, an engineer and member of the Jewish Bund, served as the firm's representative in Stockholm. His partner in Petrograd was the Bolshevik Samuil Markovich Zaks-Gladnev. Although Zaks served on the board of *Labor*, and was even one of its biggest shareholders, all imports of medical supplies were transacted through the firm of his father, Markus I. Zaks. The elder Zaks was a rather well known Petrograd producer and distributor of medical goods and equipment.¹¹⁶ His well established business provided Zaks junior with the necessary contacts and a convenient cover for his rather dubious commercial dealings. Moreover, in order to earn greater profits, Zaks junior set up an underground trade exchange in Petrograd, where illegal German medical imports were sold at exceedingly inflated rates.¹¹⁷

His intensive business activity apparently did not hamper Zaks from participating actively in party work. Throughout the war years, Zaks was, along with

Kozlowski and Lenin's older sister Anna I. Elizarova, one of the key Bolsheviks in Petrograd entrusted with maintaining communications with the Central Committee abroad.¹¹⁸ Although this privileged position was in part due to the fact that he was Zinoviev's brother-in-law,¹¹⁹ his outstanding organizational skills and experience in conspiratorial work also made him equal to the task. Upon his return from Germany in 1910, Zaks became one of Lenin's most trusted contacts in Petrograd, operating under the pseudonym Ivan Ivanovich Gladnev. Approximately at this time, he was also put in charge of the finances of all Bolshevik publications in the capital.¹²⁰

This experience proved useful when Zaks began importing German medical supplies. He used his extensive connections in the socialist world to pursue business interests, while at the same time placing his business contacts at the disposal of the revolution. His business association with Waldman, for example, arose from their previous acquaintance in the Petrograd Social-Democratic community. In February 1915, the Swedish socialist Gustav Moller delivered to Zaks party correspondence from Stockholm, and brought back to Waldman an order for several hundred thousand contraceptives of various brands.¹²¹ Another channel by which Zaks could convey business and political messages between Petrograd and Stockholm was Waldman's wife, Elenora Solomonovna. In 1914-15, she often traveled to Stockholm for her husband's business. On some of these trips she was accompanied by the Finnish Social Democrat Karl Wiik, who is known to have helped the Bolsheviks with underground communications. Wiik also served as the main link between Lenin, in hiding after the July Days, and Fürstenberg-Hanecki in Stockholm.¹²²

Thus, when Parvus and Fürstenberg moved to Copenhagen in June 1915 to pursue their commercial-cum-political undertakings, informal channels of communication with Russia were already in operation. Wasting no time, they secured with the help of Kozlowski (who beginning in autumn of 1914 traveled on business between Russia and Scandinavia) an agreement with Zaks to collaborate on the distribution and sale of German imports.¹²³ At first they conducted their dealings under the guise of an advertising business: Parvus obtained a license for a poster company in Copenhagen, while Zaks joined the board of a similar office in

Petrograd. Later in the summer, Parvus founded the *Handels og-Eksportkompagniet* (Trading and Export Company), investing in it part of the fortune he had made through commercial operations in Turkey before the war. Fürstenberg became the company's managing director, and Kozlowski served as its legal consultant.¹²⁴ Zaks, though not formally a member of the board, became the company's key representative in Russia, responsible for the distribution and sale of medical goods. Financial operations were carried out by the Warsaw banking family of Mavrikii Nelken through its branches in Petrograd and Copenhagen. The trade representatives were for the most part from the Polish and Lithuanian provinces who, after these areas had fallen to the German armies, moved their businesses into Russia. And to varying degrees, almost all of them had a revolutionary background.¹²⁵

In late autumn 1915 two prominent Bolsheviks, Waclaw Worowski and Leonid B. Krasin, became partners of Parvus and his associates. Krasin served as managing director of the Petrograd branch of the Siemens-Schuckert Company and was a senior member of the board of the Russo-Asiatic Bank. Worowski headed the purchasing department in the same firm.¹²⁶ In November, Worowski went to Stockholm to open an export-import office for Siemens-Schuckert. Less than two months later, he moved with his family to Stockholm to head the office himself.¹²⁷ At this time Worowski also became the chief Stockholm representative of the Trading and Export Company. He would receive consignments from Fürstenberg, who was buying them from international dealers in Copenhagen, and would then sell part of the goods to local representatives of the Russian Red Cross, which needed medical and other urgent supplies for the Russian Army.¹²⁸ The remaining goods Worowski would ship to Russia as imports of the Siemens-Schuckert firm.

In April 1916, a German profiteer, Georg Sklarz, joined the Trading and Export Company. According to their agreement, Parvus and Sklarz would jointly own the company, each providing half of its capital.¹²⁹ Another of Sklarz's important contributions to the business was the shipping agency that had earlier operated in Germany under the name *Internationale Verkehrs- und Transport-Gesellschaft*. It was headed by the Russian émigré Khaim Witkin, who, in accordance with the deal, was

elevated to the board of the Trading and Export Company.¹³⁰ It is curious that Sklarz was not officially counted among the company's board members (nor was Parvus, incidentally). This was probably due to the nature of his wartime activities. Since 1915 he had been known in the Copenhagen business community as the owner of a Berlin export company and one of the main international smugglers operating in Scandinavia. But there was another, less-known reason for his presence there: he was carrying out a secret mission in economic espionage on behalf of the military intelligence of the German General Staff. Furthermore, his two brothers, Waldemar and Heinrich, were running an intelligence agency in Copenhagen. All three specialized in collecting information about the economic conditions in the Allied countries.¹³¹

Sklarz's affiliation with the Germans has given rise to much speculation among historians that his business was financed by official sources. While it is true that the German government overlooked his violations of export rules, there is little evidence that his business dealings drew on government subsidies. Instead of paying Sklarz for his intelligence information, the General Staff helped him receive the entry permit for the German goods and their shipment across Scandinavia.¹³²

Besides his share of the capital, the shipping business, and his connections with German Intelligence, Sklarz also brought the Trading and Export Company his extensive contacts in the business world.¹³³ The range of the company's operations spread to Switzerland, the Netherlands and as far as the United States. From these countries it exported to Russia flour and other foodstuffs, chemicals and machinery, while continuing to import German chemicals, women's silk clothing and medical supplies on a much greater scale than before.¹³⁴ A separate distribution system was set up in Russia to deal specifically with these new imports. As soon as the goods crossed the border, they were taken over by the Petrograd intermediary firm Fabian Klingsland. Evgeniia Sumenson, who worked for both Klingsland and brothers Fürstenberg, distributed the goods among commercial agents and dealers, and then sent payment for them back to Scandinavia. It was she who maintained telegraphic communications with Fürstenberg.¹³⁵

The old commercial network of Zaks and his associates continued to operate concurrently to that of Sumenson. They, however, were dealing only with those goods that had been traded before Sklarz joined the company. Kozlowski provided general oversight for the smooth functioning of both networks.¹³⁶ In each case, financial transactions with Scandinavia were conducted through the Petrograd Russo-Asiatic Bank, where Krasin was a member of the board, and the Stockholm *Nya Banken* (New Bank), whose head, Olaf Aschberg, was a socialist sympathizer and a long-time business associate of Krasin.¹³⁷

While 1916 was for the most part a successful year for the Trading and Export Company, developments taking place at the end of that year and the beginning of the following one appear to have adversely affected its operations. First, the Russian government, worried by the steady rise in contraband trade, introduced strict import regulations which forced businessmen to complete more paperwork and pay higher duties, taxes and other fees. Both the number of countries from which goods could be imported, and the list of items permitted for import, were severely cut.¹³⁸ In January 1917 the firm suffered an additional setback when Danish authorities arrested Fürstenberg for exporting medical supplies without a license. After a short court hearing he was ordered to leave Copenhagen and denied permission to return. As a result, the Trading and Export Company transferred its hub to Stockholm, where from the beginning of February its operations were managed jointly by Fürstenberg and Worowski.¹³⁹ In April, Lenin chose both men to be the party's representatives in Stockholm. Together with Karl Radek, they formed the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee, which was to provide the Bolsheviks in Petrograd with links to the outside world. Aleksandra Kollontai, another of Lenin's trusted aides, worked with the Foreign Bureau to maintain contact with left-socialist parties in Europe.

By the end of April, an uninterrupted exchange of telegraphic communications concerning party activity had been established between Fürstenberg-Hanecki, on the one hand, and Lenin, Zinoviev, Kollontai and Kozlowski, on the other.¹⁴⁰ At the same time, Fürstenberg continued exchanging business-related

telegrams with his associates, most notably Kozlowski and Sumenson. It appears from these telegrams that the spring of 1917 brought increased delays in both the delivery of imports to Russia and the return of payments for them to Stockholm.¹⁴¹ This, coupled with the sharp fall of the rouble on the Scandinavian market had a disastrous effect on the trading company's profits. Worowski, and after him Fürstenberg, traveled to Russia to acquaint themselves with the situation first-hand, and try to get the business back on its feet. (On those same occasions they met with Lenin to discuss party matters.)

The trips, however, did not yield the desired results. In the middle of June, soon after his return to Stockholm, Fürstenberg began considering another journey to Russia. By this time, however, it was too risky. Petrograd Counterintelligence had already begun shadowing Sumenson, and the right-wing Menshevik newspaper *Den'* had accused Fürstenberg-Hanecki of cooperating with German agents. Sumenson was consequently able to talk her employer out of making a second trip.¹⁴² After this, the business's chances for survival decreased even more. At the end of June, Fürstenberg wired Sumenson to suspend trade operations and transfer abroad all remaining money from her accounts.¹⁴³ Some she did manage to transfer, while others were allegedly confiscated by authorities after her arrest.¹⁴⁴

When at the height of the July Uprising the Ministry of Justice obtained a full set of telegraphic communications between Petrograd and Scandinavia, it was confronted by a rather confusing picture. The telegrams were an odd mixture, some dealing with political issues, others concerned with monetary transactions, with references to Bolshevik leaders in both types. Some telegrams simultaneously addressed party and financial matters.¹⁴⁵ Sorting through all this conflicting and often misleading information would have required time and a great deal of motivation, both of which the authorities seemed to have lacked. As a result, the Ministry of Justice hastily accused the Bolshevik leaders of receiving German money through Parvus' business, and claimed that the telegrams were a cover for the transactions. These accusations, as the present work has demonstrated, were never substantiated.

This conclusion does not necessarily eliminate the possibility that Parvus may have supplied funds to the Bolsheviks by different channels. There is some probability, for instance, that funds reached the Bolsheviks through Parvus' intelligence agents. In 1915, after the Germans put at his disposal the first million rubles to promote revolution in Russia, Parvus set up a special organization in Copenhagen, which operated concurrent to both his "Institute for the Study of the Social Consequences of the War" and his import-export business. The organization had its network of agents who maintained contact with and apparently provided financial assistance to different revolutionary groups in Russia.¹⁴⁶ Another important function of these agents was to keep Parvus informed about political and economic conditions in Russia. Parvus evidently considered their information more reliable than that coming from the Bolshevik underground. After all, his agents were free from allegiances to any parties. Parvus' famous 1915 memorandum to the German Chancellor (the blueprint of his *Revolutionierungspolitik*), was written, for example, on the basis of secret reports from one of his most confidential agents, the Warsaw *meshchanin* Vladislav L. Shatenstein.¹⁴⁷ Shortly after the February Revolution, Shatenstein was sent again on a secret mission to Russia. Among other things, he would send information back to Copenhagen about the political situation in Petrograd, which Parvus would then share with a representative of the German intelligence network.¹⁴⁸ This may also indicate that Parvus used Shatenstein and other agents to finance the Bolsheviks, although so far no direct evidence has emerged to confirm such a supposition.

Of course, this is not to say that the Bolsheviks did not receive financial assistance from the German government. The documents of the German Foreign Ministry indicate that substantial funds were allocated to support Bolshevik anti-war activities in 1917. But since the present research disproves the generally accepted view of how the assistance reached the Bolshevik organization (that is, through Fürstenberg-Kozłowski-Sumenson's business), it appears more likely that the Germans used other intermediaries than the banking system. There is documentation of at least one occasion on which a significant sum of money was delivered to the

Bolsheviks through other channels. In August 1917, Carl Moor, the Swiss socialist and agent of the German (and before that, Austrian) government, approached the members of the Bolshevik Foreign Bureau in Stockholm with an offer of financial support to the party. Nikolai A. Semashko, the future People's Commissar of Public Health, who at the time was on his way back from emigration, reported the proposal to Petrograd. Party leaders immediately took it up for discussion and, according to the published Minutes of the Central Committee, officially declined the offer.¹⁴⁹ The recorded decision, however, did not entirely reflect what had actually taken place. Recently declassified records of the Central Committee reveal that in summer 1917 the Bolshevik Foreign Bureau in fact did receive from Moor a contribution in an amount then valued at 230,000 German marks.¹⁵⁰ Moor, it is worth adding, was working independently of Parvus.

At the same time, the new information also reveals that this money never reached the Bolshevik organization in Petrograd. Instead, it was used by the Foreign Bureau to finance the so-called Third Zimmerwald Conference of anti-war socialists (including German!), which met in Stockholm in September 1917.¹⁵¹ Thus far, this is the only documented proof that the Bolsheviks *received* German funds before coming to power.

By way of conclusion it should be noted that the present reassessment of the July 1917 accusations does not limit itself to demonstrating that the Provisional Government's case lacked validity. It represents the first major step towards the reinterpretation of the entire issue of German support to the Bolsheviks, thus bringing a new focus to the much-debated issue of foreign involvement in the Russian Revolution. Another and potentially more important implication of this study is that it raises previously unposed questions about the functioning of the Provisional Government, its justice apparatus, and its members' notions of legality. Exploration of these and other related issues promises new insights into largely overlooked realms of Russian legal, administrative and law-enforcement practices during the crucial period between the Tsarist and Bolshevik regimes.

Notes

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1. Pavel Nikolaevich Pereverzev (1871-1944) belonged to the Party of Popular (non-Marxist) Socialists. He was appointed Procurator of the Petrograd Judicial Chamber after the February revolution, and was Minister of Justice from May to July. He emigrated to Paris after the Bolshevik revolution.
2. Robert Paul Browder and Alexander F. Kerensky, editors, *The Russian Provisional Government 1917. Documents* (Stanford, 1961), Volume III, p. 1365 translated from *Zhivoe slovo*, 5 July, 1917.
3. *Ibid.*; *Rech'*, 7 July 1917, p. 4.
4. *Zhivoe slovo*, 5 July 1917, p. 2. *The Russian Provisional Government 1917*, Vol. III, p. 1365. Only fragments of Ermolenko's testimony were released and the least credible part at that. For further information on Ermolenko, who was himself later identified as a trained German agent, see George Katkov (with the assistance of Michael Futrell), "German Political Intervention in Russia During World War I," in Richard Pipes, ed., *Revolutionary Russia* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 72-4.
5. *Ruskaia volia*, 22 July 1917, p. 4. Also see GARF (The State Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow), fond 1826, opis' 1, d.1; d. 13, ll. 81-112; d. 14, ll.1-5; d. 15, ll. 92-160.
6. Some historians have adopted this view as well. See, for example, Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution. 1899-1919* (New York, 1990), p. 412). B. Nikitine, *The Fatal Years. Fresh Revelations on a Chapter of Underground History* (London, 1938), p. 56. Also see L. Liubimov, "Iiul'skoe vosstanie. P.N. Pereverzev otvechaet A.F. Kerenskomu," *Vozrozhdenie*, 17 April, 1929, pp. 2-3; "P.N. Pereverzev ob iul'skom vosstanii 1917 g. (pis'mo v redaktsiiu)," *Poslednie novosti*, 31 October, 1932, p. 2; O.F. Solov'ev, *Obrechennyi al'ians. Zagovor imperialistov protiv narodov Rossii. 1914-1917 gg.* (Moscow, 1986), pp. 219-220.
7. As translated in *The Russian Provisional Government*, vol. III, pp. 1375-6, from *Rech'*, July 22, 1917, p. 5. Also see *Ruskaia Volia*, 22 July, 1917, p. 4.

8. *Novaia zhizn'*, 11 July, 1917, p. 3; Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, p. 446; *The Russian Provisional Government*, 1917, vol. III, pp. 1377-1380; *Leninskii sbornik*, vol. XIII, (Moscow - Leningrad, 1930), pp. 280.
9. See, for example, *Trybuna*, 23 September/6 October, 1917, p. 4; *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia* (hereafter PR) no. 5 (17), 1923, p. 28; *The Russian Provisional Government*, 1917. Vol. III, pp. 1377, 1379.
10. "V.I. Lenin - Zagranichnomu Biuro Ts.K.", *Leninskii sbornik*, vol. XIII (Moscow - Leningrad, 1930), p. 276; Iu.I. Vorobtsova, *Deiatel'nost' predstavitel'stva TsK RSDRP(b) v Stokgol'me*, (Moscow, 1968), pp. 69-70; *Pervyi legal'nyi Peterburgskii komitet bol'shevikov v 1917 godu*, p. 282. Also see Politisches Archiv Auswärtiges Amts (Bonn), Weltkrieg Akten, Nr. 2 Geheime (hereafter AA, WK), Bd. 46, 47 July-August 1917; RTsKhIDNI (Russian Center for Preservation of the Documentation on Contemporary History, Moscow), Fond 299, opis' 1, dd. 19-20, 31, 44-46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53.
11. Dmitrii Volkogonov's very recent discussion of the Bolsheviks' "German money" represents the only noteworthy exception in the substantial body of Russian literature on the subject. Yet, despite his much-publicized "full access" to secret Soviet archives, Volkogonov's interpretation of the July telegrams rests primarily on secondary sources previously published in the West. (See Dmitrii Volkogonov, *Lenin: Politicheskii portret v dvukh knigakh* [Moscow, 1994], vol. 1, pp. 197-232; 443-446.) Moreover, his often uncritical and inadequately informed treatment of the pertinent sources undermines his overall discussion of the topic of German money. To cite just one example, Volkogonov treats as authentic and accepts at face value the content of some of the forgeries from the notorious "Sisson collection" of documents, known as *The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy*. (See Dmitrii Volkogonov, *Lenin*, vol. 1, p. 220 and *The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy* [War Information Series, no. 20, October 1918. U.S. Committee on Public Information], part 1, docs. 1-3.) Also see M. Pokrovskii, "Protivorechiia g. Miliukova," *Krasnaia nov'* (Moscow), no. 2, July-August 1921, pp. 284-300; V. Vladimirova, "Iiul'skie dni 1917 goda", *PR*, 5 (17), 1923, p. 3; O.A. Lidak, "Iiul'skie sobytiia 1917 goda," *Ocherki po istorii oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii*, ed. M. N. Pokrovskii (Moscow-Leningrad, 1927), vol. 2, p. 333; Ernest Henri (alias S.N. Rostovsky), *Professional'nyi antikommunizm. K istorii vozniknoveniia* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 52-53; N.N. Ansimov, *Bor'ba bol'shevikov protiv politicheskoi tainoi politsii samoderzhaviia (1903-1917)* [Sverdlovsk], 1989, p. 133; A.M. Sovokin, "Mif o nemetskikh millionakh", *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, no. 4, 1991.
12. See for example, Z.A.B. Zeman, *Germany and the Revolution in Russia 1915-1918. Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry* (London, 1958); Werner Hahlweg, *Lenins Rückkehr nach Russland 1917. Die deutschen Akten* (Leiden, 1957); Fritz Fischer, *Griff nach der Weltmacht. Die Kriegszielpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschlands 1914-1918* (Dusseldorf, 1961); Michael Futrell, *Northern Underground. Episodes of Russian Revolutionary Transport and Communications through Scandinavia and Finland, 1863-1917* (London, 1963); Stefan Possony, *Lenin: The Compulsive Revolutionary* (Chicago, 1964); Scharlau, W.B. and Zeman, Z.A.B., *Freibeuter der Revolution. Parvus-Helphand: eine politische Biographie* (Cologne, 1964); Georges Bonnin "Les Bolcheviques et l'argent

allemand pendant la première guerre mondiale," *Revue Historique* (Paris), no. 89, vol. CCXXXIII (1965), pp. 101-126; Leonhard Haas, *Carl Vital Moor. Ein Leben für Marx und Lenin* (Zurich, 1970); Alfred Erich Senn, *The Russian Revolution in Switzerland 1914-1917* (Madison, 1971); Willi Gautschi, *Lenin als Emigrant in der Schweiz* (Zurich, 1973); Hans Björkegren, *Ryska Posten, De ryska revolutionärerna i Norden 1906-1917* (Stockholm, 1985); Robert Service, *Lenin: A Political Life. Volume 2: Worlds in Collision* (Bloomington, 1991). See also Jerry H. Hoffman, "The Ukrainian Adventure of the Central Powers, 1914-1918," unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Pittsburgh, 1976) and Seppo Zetterberg, *Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands 1916-1918* (Helsinki, 1978).

13. See for example, Helga Grebing, "So macht man Revolution!", *Politische Studien*, Heft 91, November, 1957, pp. 221-234; Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, p. 412; Volkogonov, *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 208-211.

14. See, for example, Alexander Rabinowitch, *Prelude to Revolution. The Petrograd Bolsheviks and the July 1917 Uprising*. (Bloomington, 1968) pp. 191-192, 285-6; Helena M. Stone, "Another Look at the Sisson Forgeries and Their Background," *Soviet Studies*, vol. XXXVII, no. 1, January 1985, p. 91.

15. B.V. Nikitin, *Rokovye gody (novye pokazaniia uchastnika)* (Paris, 1937) pp. 111-114. Nikitin wrote most of his memoirs before 1929. Seven chapters, dedicated to the July uprising, first appeared in the Parisian *Poslednie novosti* (hereafter PN) to mark the fifteenth anniversary of that event (PN, 16 July, 1932, p.5; 23 July, 1932, p. 2, 25 July, pp. 2-3; 2 August, pp. 2-3, 8 August, pp. 2-3, 16 August, pp. 2-3, 22 August, pp. 2-3; 30 August, pp. 2-3; 16 September, p. 3; 23 September, pp. 2-3; 4 October, pp. 2-3. Also see PN, 17 July, 1932, p. 4). In 1937 the memoirs were published in full in book form. English edition of the book appeared a year later. (B.V. Nikitine, *The Fatal Years. Fresh Revelations on a Chapter of Underground History* (London, 1938). The typescript from parts of the text, with corrections by the author, were preserved in the archives of the newspaper *Poslednie novosti* in the B.I. Nicolaevskii collection. See "Office File of *Poslednie novosti*", Box 641, f. 32, Hoover Institution Archives (hereafter HA), Stanford University). In the present work, citations will refer to the book version of the memoirs.

16. See L. Liubimov, "Iul'skoe vosstanie bol'shevikov. Beseda s B.V. Nikitinym." *Vozrozhdenie*, 27 April, 1929, pp. 2-3; B. Nikitin, "Otvét zhurnalistu K. (pis'mo v redaktsiiu)", PN, 8 November, 1932, p. 4; Nikitin, *Rokovye gody*, pp. 186, 259; Solov'ev, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-220. Also see RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 1a, d. 379 ("Delo Petrogradskoi kontrrazvedki").

17. See, for example, telegram 10 on p. 31 of this paper and S.P. Mel'gunov, *Zolotoi nemetskii kliuch bol'shevikov* (Paris, 1940), p. 112. Compare, for instance, telegram 34 on p. 59 of this paper with the corresponding telegram in Nikitin's book (Nikitin, *Rokovye gody*, p. 113. Also see Mel'gunov, *op. cit.*, p. 106). Compare also telegrams 4, 9, 11, 19, 24, 26, 28, in Nikitin, *Rokovye gody*, pp. 112-114, with the corresponding telegrams 13, 30, 37, 56, 61, 63, 65 in this paper (pp. 37, 55, 61, 81, 87, 89, 91).

18. S.P. Mel'gunov, *Zolotoi nemetskii kliuch bol'shevikov* (Paris, 1940), pp. 104-116.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 110-112, 115.
20. As one historian has recently noted, "The case against the Bolsheviks rested on twenty-nine intercepted telegrams." (Stone, *Soviet Studies*, p. 90). Also see Rabinowitch, *Prelude to Revolution*, p. 192; Zeman and Scharlau, *The Merchant of Revolution*, p. 225.
21. G. Aleksinskii, "Moe svidetel'skoe pokazanie. K opublikovaniuu dannykh po delu Lenina i drugikh." *Bez lishnikh slov* (hereafter BLS) no. 3, 27 July, 1917, p. 8.
22. *BLS*, no. 1, July 11, 1917, pp. 3-4, no. 2, July, 19, p. 3.
23. Collection Pototskii, S.N., Office File, Russian Imperial Military Attaché. Copenhagen, 1903/1944. Box 28, file 20, pp. 40-64, HA. Besides the separate set of 66 telegrams in Pototskii's papers, there are copies of several dozens of telegrams in which individuals suspected by Central Counterintelligence of ties to the Germans are mentioned. Pototskii's copies, which were compared to those preserved in recently opened Russian State and former Party archives (see GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, dd. 14, 15; RTsKhIDNI, f. 4, op. 3, d. 39, ll. 119-126), will be used in the present work.
24. See, for example, Rabinowitch, *Prelude to Revolution*, pp. 192; Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, p. 412; George Katkov, *Russia 1917: The Kornilov Affair. Kerensky and the Break-up of the Russian Army* (London, 1980), pp. 33-34; Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 90-91.
25. S.V. Iakushev, "Tsentral'nyi partiinyi arkhiv v 30e gody," *Voprosy istorii*, nos. 4-5, 1991, p. 30; G.I. Zlokazov, "Pis'mo L.B. Kameneva N.S. Chkheidze (7 iulia 1917g.)," *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, no. 5, 1990, pp. 44-47; V.I. Startsev, "Russkoe politicheskoe masonstvo 1906-1918 gg. (Dokumenty iz arkhiva Guverovskogo instituta voiny, revoliutsii i mira)," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 1, 1990, p. 154.
26. See A.F. Kerensky, "Ot vosstaniia 3 iulia k generalu Kornilovu," typescript, [1932?] 13 pages. Ms. Coll. P.N. Miliukov, Columbia University, New York, Bakhmeteff Archives (hereafter CUBA); *Vozrozhdenie* (Paris), 11 June, 1932, p. 5; Alexander Kerensky, *Russia and History's Turning Point* (New York, 1965), pp. 315-316; Also see George Katkov, *The Kornilov Affair*, pp. 34-35; "Journal de russie d'Albert Thomas 22 avril - 19 Juin 1917," *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, nos. 1-2, Janvier - June 1973, Vol. XIV, pp. 86-204.
27. *Russkaia volia*, 7 July, 1917, p. 7; *The Russian Provisional Government*, vol. III, p. 1369; Ignat'ev, *Vneshniaia politika Vremennogo pravitel'stva*, p. 281; Solov'ev, *Obrechennyi al'ians*, pp. 219-220.
28. Nikitin, *Rokovye gody*, pp. 59-60, 92, 111; Pereverzev, *Vozrozhdenie*, 17 April, 1929, pp. 2-3.

29. Nikitin, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 115. A week later, Nikitin received copies of 15 more telegrams from Laurent.
30. "P.N. Perverzev ob iul'skom vosstanii 1917 g. (pis'mo v redaktsiiu," *PN*, 31 October, 1932, p. 2; Nikitin, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121.
31. A. Kerensky, "Lenin na sluzhbe u Kaizera," *Russkaia mysl'*, 14 June, 1956, p. 5. *The Russian Provisional Government*, vol. III, p. 1332.
32. Solov'ev, *Obrechennyi al'ians*, pp. 219-220; Nikitin, *op. cit.*, p. 60. Nekrasov, for instance, argued that the simple mention of the names of Bolshevik leaders proved nothing, and that the aesopian language of the contents further undermined the telegrams' credibility as evidence. (See Nikitin, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60, 120-123. *Novaia zhizn'*, 7 July 1917, p. 3; Perverzev, *PN*, 31 October, 1932, p. 2.) By this time the Provisional Government already had at its disposal the testimony of Ensign Ermolenko, which was also used by Perverzev in the July accusations.
33. Perverzev, for instance, defended the Bolshevik deputies to the Fourth Duma at their trial in 1915. (See *Den'*, 11 February, 1915, p. 3) He was also acquainted with many of the Petrograd Bolsheviks, including Kozlowski, who had practiced law there during World War I. (*Vozrozhdenie*, 27 April, 1929, p. 3).
34. V. Burtsev, *V pogone za provokatorami* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1928), p. 210; F. M. Lur'e, *Khraniteli proshlogo. Zhurnal "Byloe": istoriia, redaktory, izdateli* (Leningrad, 1990), pp. 107, 148-149; V. Burtsev, *Prestupleniia i nakazaniia bol'shevikov* (Paris, n.d.), pp. 33-34, 45; *Voенно-istoricheskii zhurnal*, no. 11, 1990, p. 5. Also see Aleksinskii's correspondence with the Bolshevik Duma deputy A.E. Badaev and the Bolsheviks M.S. Kedrov, V.R. Menzhinskii, and Aleksinskii's unpublished memoirs. (Ms. Coll. Aleksinskii. Box 1, 5. CUBA); Perverzev, *PN*, 31 October, 1932, p. 2; idem, *Vozrozhdenie*, 17 April 1929, pp. 2-3; Nikitin, *Vozrozhdenie*, 27 April 1929, pp. 2-3.
35. See Incoming inquiry no. 108, 8 April 1915; Outgoing dispatch no. 1234, 16/29 October, 1915, Index XVIIId and Outgoing no. 1331, 28 October / 9 November 1915 Index XIb. F. 3B-D, Coll. Okhrana, HA; Senn, *The Russian Revolution in Switzerland*, p. 108; Ms. Coll. Aleksinskii. Box 10, folder: "Delo Parvusa." CUBA.
36. *BLS*, no. 3, 27 July 1917, pp. 7-8. Also see GARF, f. 5802, op. 1, d. 71; op. 2, d. 486.
37. See Nikitin, *Rokovye gody*, pp. 12, 120-121; Coll. Russia. Posol'stvo USA. Military Agent Office File. Box 254, folders 16, 17. HA; D.I. Shindzhikashvili, *Sysknaia politisia tsarskoi Rossii v period imperializma* (Omsk, 1973), pp. 62-65.
38. See "K russkomu obshchestvu (istoriia opublikovaniia pis'ma G.A. Aleksinskogo i V.S. Pankratova)," *RV*, 9 July 1917, p. 7; *BLS*, no. 1, 11 July 1917, p. 5; A.Ia. Avrekh, *Masonry i*

revoliutsiia (Moscow, 1990) pp. 210-211. Bessarabov belonged to the party of Popular Socialists. He was Deputy Procurator of the Petrograd Judicial Chamber. Also see GARF, f. 533, op. 1, d. 283, l. 17.

39. See Coll. Pototskii, Box 28, f. 20, pp. 44-65, HA; RTsKhIDNI, f. 4, op. 3, d. 39. Nikitin writes about having first received 14 telegrams from Laurent at the end of June, and then 15 more a week later. These 29 telegrams correspond with those received by the Central Counterintelligence on 28 June in the following manner: nos. 1-14 (Nikitin, *Rokovye gody*, pp. 112-113) correspond to nos. 3, 10, 12, 13, 18, 21, 23, 26, 30, 34, 37, 43, 44, 51 (Coll. Pototskii, Box 28, delo 20, pp. 50-57). Nos. 15-29 (Nikitin, *Rokovye gody*, pp. 113-114) with telegram nos. 52-66 (Coll. Pototskii, 28-20, pp. 57-60). Nikitin received all 29 at his disposal from Captain Laurent. Given his tense relationship with Central Counterintelligence, Nikitin, it appears, could not even gain access to the other telegrams.

40. See Incoming no. 283, 1 July 1917, Delo 11, file 13748, Russian Military Papers. Finnish State Archives, Helsinki (hereafter RMP. FSA); *Russkaia volia*, 6 July 1917, p. 4; Coll. Pototskii, Box 28, delo 20. HA. Copies of the telegrams must have been sent for the same reason to the military attaché in Stockholm, colonel D.L. Kandaurov (see Incoming 7 August, no. 65128. Coll. Pototskii, Box 10, folder 27, "Incoming III. Agentura". HA; RTsKhIDNI, f. 4, op. 3, d. 39). Also see Pereverzev's handwritten statement of 31 January 1933 in Ms. Coll Aleksinskii. Box 5. CUBA and *BLS*, no. 3, 27 July 1917, p. 8.

41. See Incoming no. 283, 1 July 1917; Outgoing no. 1023, 2 July 1917, Delo 11, File 13748; Incoming no. 1537, 2 July 1917. Delo 18, part I, File 7235. RMP. FSA.

42. Rabinowitch, *Prelude to Revolution*, p.192; Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, pp. 426-433; Pereverzev, *Vozrozhdenie* (Paris), 17 April 1929, pp. 2-3; Polovtsov, *Dni zatmeniia*, p. 121.

43. One wonders whether Pereverzev would have recruited Aleksenskii to endorse the documents merely to create the impression of not violating the government's decision if the government was, in fact, on the verge of being overthrown.

44. *BLS*, no. 3, 27 July 1917, p. 8; T.I. Aleksinskaia, "1917 god. Zapisi," *Novyi zhurnal* (New York), no. 90, 1968, p. 140; Polovtsov, *Dni zatmeniia*, p. 121. Also see Pereverzev's handwritten statement of 31 January 1933 in Ms. Coll Aleksinskii. Box 5. CUBA; G. Aleksinskii, "Zabytaia stranitsa. Odnia iz zaslug A.I. Denikina," *Rodnaia zemlia*, 6 July 1925 in Coll. Nicolaevskii, Box 216, f. 10, HA.

45. "Istoriia opublikovaniia pis'ma piati," *BLS*, no. 2, 19 July 1917, p. 4; *RV*, 9 July 1917, p. 7; Also see *BLS*, no. 1, 11 July 1917, p. 5; N. Nelidov, "Iiul'skoe vosstanie bol'shevikov (Otryvok vospominanii)," *Vozrozhdenie*, no. 47, November 1955, p. 122.

46. *BLS*, no. 1, 11 July 1917, p. 5; *ibid.*, no. 3, 27 July 1917, p. 8; T. Aleksinskaia, *Novyi zhurnal*, no. 90, p. 142; Mel'gunov, *Zolotoi nemetskii kliuch bol'shevikov*, p. 117; Lur'e, *Khraniteli proshlogo*, pp. 148-9. Pankratov, Vasilii Semenovich (1864-1925) was a member of "Narodnaia volia." After the February Revolution he joined defensist Socialist Revolutionary group "Volia Naroda." In August of 1917 he was appointed Commissar of the special detachment assigned to guard the former Tsar in Tobolsk. At the end of 1919 (or 1920) he moved to Moscow. He died of a heart attack on 5 March 1925 in Moscow, reportedly after listening to the speech about the trial of a "Narodnaia volia" provocateur, Okladskii. (*Russkii Istoricheskii arkhiv. Sbornik pervyi* (Prague, 1929), p. 276; V.S. Pankratov, "S tsarem v Tobol'ske - iz vospominanii," *Byloe*, nos. 25, 26, 1924).

47. *RV*, 9 July 1917, p. 7; *Zhivoe slovo*, 5 July 1917, p. 2. Evgenii Petrovich Semenov (real name Kogan Solomon Moiseevich) (1861-1944) was active in the revolutionary movement starting in the 1880s, although he is better known for having passed on false documents to the American official Edgar Sisson in winter 1918. (George F. Kennan, "The Sisson Documents," *Journal of Modern History*, XXXVIII (June 1956), p. 148). In summer 1917, Semenov was the head of the editorial board of the "Democratic Publishing House," (*Demokraticheskoe izdatel'stvo*) created by A. Thomas to conduct militaristic anti-German propaganda. (E.P. Semenov, "Germanskie den'gi u Lenina. II. Istoriia kampanii dokumentov," *PN*, 6 April 1921, pp. 2-3); V. L. Burtsev, *Prestupleniia i nakazaniia bol'shevikov*, p. 51; Semenov, *PN*, 6 April 1921, pp. 2-3; *Zven'ia: Istoricheskii al'manakh*, Vypusk 2, (Moscow-St. Petersburg, 1992), p. 69, 154). In historical literature *Zhivoe slovo* is often referred to as a mass-circulation black-hundred monarchist newspaper (see, for example, Lidak, *op. cit.*; Rabinowitch, *op. cit.*; p. 191, Loginov, *Kommunist*, no. 5, 1991, p. 125; Teddy J. Uldricks, "Ganetskii, Yakov Stanislavovich," *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History* (Academic International Press, 1979), vol. 12, p. 79; Pipes, *op. cit.*, p. 432). In actuality, it was "the paper of non-party [non-Marxist - S.L.] socialists" of patriotic orientation. Over the course of the revolutionary months of 1917, the paper was closed several times by the Provisional Government, and then reappeared under different titles—*Slovo* and *Novoe slovo*. The old revolutionary Mikhail A. Umanskiï was the paper's editor (see "Iz prikazov i rasporyazhenii Petrogradskogo Voenno-revoliutsionnogo komiteta po voprosam pechati v dni Oktiabr'skogo vosstaniia," *Krasnyi arkhiv*, no. 5(84), 1937, p. 190; B.I. Kolonitskii, "Bor'ba s petrogradskoi burzhuaznoi pechat'iu v dni kornilovskogo miatezha," *Rabochii klass i ego soiuzniki v 1917g.* (Leningrad, 1989), pp. 297-298, 303. Also see B. I. Kolonitskii, "Antibourgeois Propaganda and Anti-'Burzhui' Consciousness in 1917," *The Russian Review*, vol. 53, no. 2, April 1994, pp. 183-196 and "Ot chernosotenstva k fashizmu. Pravoekstremistkie sily v marte-oktiabre 1917. (Na materialakh petrogradskoi pechati)," in *Natsional'naia pravaia prezhde i teper'.* *Istoriko-sotsiologicheskie ocherki*. Part 1 (St. Petersburg, 1992), pp. 111-124).

48. *ZhS*, 5 July 1917, p. 2; T. Aleksinskaia, *Novyi zhurnal*, no. 90, pp. 140. Two days later it was reproduced in *Rech'*, 7 July 1917, p. 2.

49. As translated in *The Russian Provisional Government*, vol. III, p. 1365.

50. *ZhS*, 5 July 1917, p. 2.

51. Among western historians, the view has gained currency that Lenin avoided arrest by being tipped off about it beforehand from Procurator Karinskii. (Rabinowitch, p. 203; Pipes, p. 421; George Katkov, *The Kornilov Affair*, p. 38. Also see Kerensky, *Russia and History's Turning Point*, pp. 316-317). The only source for this supposition are the memoirs of the Bolshevik V. D. Bonch-Bruевич, *Na boevykh postakh fevral'skoi i oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii* (Moscow, 1931), pp. 83-86 (first published in 1928). According to Bonch-Bruевич, Karinskii (b. 1873), a liberal lawyer from Kharkov, who replaced Pereverzev as Procurator in May, called him late on the afternoon of July 4 and warned him about Lenin's impending arrest. Karinskii, at that time in emigration, flatly denied these allegations. (N. Karinskii, "Sovetskii Khlestakov (Pis'mo v redaktsiiu," *Novoe Russkoe Slovo* (New York), 8 August 1928 in Coll. Nicolaevskii, Box 216, f. 10. Also see N. Karinskii, "Iz vospominanii byv.[shego] Prokurora petrogradskoi sudebnoi palaty," *Zelenyi zhurnal* (New York), no. 10, 1924, pp. 23-24). Although there is no other direct evidence corroborating one side or the other, there are sufficient reasons to question the veracity of Bonch-Bruевич's account. First, the planned arrest of Lenin was known about by 1 July: Karinskii, who was definitely in a position to know, would not have waited to warn Bonch-Bruевич. Moreover, Bonch-Bruевич has been known to have included spurious facts in his memoirs to enhance his own merit. See, for example, his *Vospominaniia o Lenine 1917-1924* (Moscow, 1963). Bonch-Bruевич's recollections of this episode were published after the death of possible witnesses—Lenin and Ia. M. Sverdlov—the two of whom spent the day of 4 July together. Karinskii was in emigration in the US and therefore unable to disprove Bonch-Bruевич effectively. Thus, Bonch-Bruевич depicted himself as the savior of the Bolshevik leader and—what might have been especially important during the internal party struggle at the end of the 1920's—as one who had always been a loyal and true Leninist. Second, and most important, Bonch-Bruевич himself gives reason to doubt his account when he writes that the Soviet government let Karinskii emigrate in token of gratitude for the assistance he had rendered Lenin. (Bonch-Bruевич, *Na boevykh postakh*, p. 86). Karinskii had no need whatsoever for permission from Soviet authorities to emigrate. During the Civil War he was in the South of Russia and evacuated to Turkey with the remainder of Wrangel's army. (From there he made his way to the United States, where he lived until his death in 1948.) Curiously enough, Bonch-Bruевич says nothing about Karinskii leaking any additional information to the Bolsheviks. After all, as Procurator and head of the investigation of the Bolsheviks he had unrestricted access to the material of the case. Bonch-Bruевич also states that when he told Lenin of his planned arrest he (Lenin) was already aware of it. It is possible that the Bolsheviks' informer was Major-General Nikolai Mikhailovich Potapov (1871-1946), who, according to a classmate and Bolshevik, M.S. Kedrov, "offered his services" to the Bolsheviks beginning in July 1917 (see *Ot Fevralia k Oktiabriu (Iz anket uchastnikov Velikoi Oktiabr'skoi Sotsialisticheskoi Revoliutsii)* (Moscow, 1957), p. 174). Potapov was the head of the Division of the General Quartermaster of the General Headquarters, a position that obligated him to know about the investigation of Lenin's case. According to his service record, he was removed from the high post in late July and appointed Military Attaché to Italy. (See Potapov to Pototskii, Telegram no. 28355, 21 July, 1917, Coll. Pototskii, Box 10, f. 27; Box 10, folder: Telegrams incoming 1916-1918; Box 7, f. 24. HA; *Voенно-istoricheskii zhurnal*, no. 10, 1989, pp. 75-78. On Karinskii see *Otchet Konstantinopol'skogo Soveta Prisiazhnykh Poverennykh za vremia s 17 aprelia 1921 g. po 17 aprelia 1922 g.* (Constantinople, 1922), p. 14; N. Karinskii, "Epizod iz evakuatsii Novorossiiska," *Arkhiv russkoi revoliutsii* (Berlin, 1923), vol. XII, pp. 149-156; idem., "Teni proshlogo," *Parus*, 1933, no.

16, pp. 49-50; B. Peres, "Partiinaia rabota v Orle (1902-1903 gg.) (Iz vospominanii)," *PR*, no. 5(17), 1923, pp. 262-268; N. Karabchevskii, *Chto glaza moi videli. Revoliutsiia i Rossiia* (Berlin, 1921) Part 2, p. 129; V.A. Obolenskii, *Moia zhizn'. Moi sovremenniki* (Paris, 1988), p. 231).

52. The Bolsheviks were also accused of organizing an armed uprising (*RV*, 22 July, 1917, p. 5). The Provisional Government hastily tried to join this accusation with that of receiving German money in order to show that the July uprising had been organized by the Bolsheviks upon instructions from the Germans and the receipt of money from them. The preliminary (pre-trial) investigation was conducted under the supervision of the prominent Petrograd jurist Pavel A. Aleksandrov (1866-1940). After the October revolution Aleksandrov lived in Moscow and was legal consultant for the Sugar Trust. Ostensibly for his role in the 1917 investigation, he was arrested twice by the Soviet secret police—in 1925 and 1939—and finally shot in prison in summer 1940.

53. T. Aleksinskaia, *Novyi zhurnal*, no. 90, pp. 140-141; Zlokazov, *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, no. 5, 1990, pp. 44-47; A.F. Kerenskii, *Rossiia na istoricheskom povorote. Memuary*. (Moscow, 1993), pp. 220-222.

54. See Ms. Coll. Aleksinskii, Box 10. Folder: World War I and Revolution. CUBA. Most likely Aleksinskii was helped by his long-time correspondent, leader of the Swedish SDs Karl H. Branting (1860-1925), who was known for his anti-Leninist sentiments. (See Ms. Coll. Aleksinskii, Box 10, Letter to J. Guesde, July 1916. CUBA; Index XIc. 1G, folder 1. Coll. Okhrana, HA; Kerensky, *Russia and History's Turning Point*, pp. 313-314; Marat Zubko, *Shvedskaia vertikal'* (Moscow, 1989), p. 90). In addition, the veracity of at least some of the telegrams was later indirectly confirmed by Soviet editions of Lenin's collected works. (See Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, pp. 445-451; *Leninskii sbornik*, vol. XIII, p. 280; Telegrams 3, 9, were referred to in "Obysk u Lenina. Protokol," *PR*, no. 5(17), 1923, p. 282; Part of the telegram 49 was reproduced in Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 49, pp. 442-443. Also see Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 31, pp. 466-467; *Lenin v 1917 g. Daty zhizni i deiatel'nosti. Mart-Oktiabr'*, (Moscow, 1957), p. 54; Vorobtsova, *Deiatel'nost' TsK*, p. 34; Kollontai, *Iz moei zhizni i raboty*, p. 296).

55. The office of *Bez lishnikh slov* was in Dobronravov's apartment in the center of Petrograd. Just like Aleksinskii, Dobronravov belonged to Plekhanov's Social-Democratic group *Edinstvo*. After its third issue (27 July), Plekhanov pressured Aleksinskii into stopping publication of the weekly, because he no longer wished to antagonize the Soviet leaders (see T. Aleksinskaia, *Novyi zhurnal*, no. 90, pp. 143-145; *RV*, 10 August, 1917, p. 1). The only copy of *Bez lishnikh slov* this author was able to locate in the West was one in the Aleksinskii archives (Ms. Coll. Aleksinskii, Box 17. CUBA). After the Bolshevik Revolution Leonid M. Dobronravov (1887-1926) lived in Bessarabia and the United States.

56. Tat'iana Ivanovna Aleksinskaia (née Evtikhieva) (1886-1968) took part in the Social-Democratic movement from 1904. She returned to Russia from France during World War I, and worked as a volunteer nurse in military hospitals. Beginning in May 1917 she worked in the Central Committee of the S-D group *Edinstvo*. From 1919 on, she lived in Paris. (G.A., "T.I. Aleksinskaia," *Novyi zhurnal*, no. 94, 1969, pp. 271-273).

57. *BLS*, no. 1, 11 July, 1917, pp. 3-4. The protocol of Ermolenko's interrogation, taken at the front's general headquarters on 16 May 1917, was also published in this issue. Also see *RV*, 11 July 1917, evening edition, p. 4 and *RV*, 12 July, p. 4.
58. A. Amfiteatrov, "Parvus." *Russkoe slovo*, 3/16 October 1915, p. 2. Also see Ms. Coll. Aleksinskii, Box 10, f. "Delo Parvusa." CUBA. Amfiteatrov, Aleksandr Valentinovich (1862-1938) was a liberal journalist and writer. Before World War I, he published the revolutionary monthly *Krasnoe znamia* in Paris. In 1914-1916 he lived in Italy, where he was a correspondent for the major liberal newspaper *Russkoe slovo*. He returned to Russia at the end of 1916 and became editor-in-chief of *Russkaia volia*. He emigrated in 1922 and lived in Prague, Berlin and Paris, before settling in Italy.
59. *BLS*, no. 2, 19 July 1917, p. 3.
60. Compare Coll. Pototskii, Box 28, delo 20, pp. 50-59 with *BLS*, no. 1, 11 July 1917, pp. 3-4 and *BLS*, no. 2, 19 July, p. 3.
61. For example, in telegrams 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 19, 28, 31, 32, 43, 47, 54.
62. Comparison of the two "Western" sets to those preserved in Russian archives confirms that all the telegrams come from the same source (see GARF, f. 1826, op. 1., dd. 14, 15; RTsKhIDNI, f. 4, op. 3, d. 39, ll. 119-126).
63. Coll. Pototskii, Box 28, file 20, pp. 44-45. HA. Also see "Delo #87 Tsentral'nogo Kontrazvedyvatel'nogo Otdeleniia GUGSH," in RTsKhIDNI, f. 4, op. 3, d. 39.
64. Incoming telegram, 1 December 1916, File S 12, delo no. 4, RMP. FSA. Also see *Helsingfors telefonkatalog utgiven 1 Januari 1917 AF Helsingfors Telefonforening* (Helsingfors 1916), p. 314.
65. See Questionnaire (*oprosnoi list*): Anna Rung. File 9071. RMP. FSA. Her dealings with German businessmen in Stockholm also drew the attention of the Swedish Federal Police. See Report B.124, 1 September, 1917, Riksarkivet (Swedish National Archives). Polisbyro File (Swedish Police Records): B. 1-255. 1915-1919 maj. E 2:1 (hereafter SNA. SPR).
66. Delo po opisi no. 2889. RMP. FSA; *Ves' Petrograd. Adresnaia i spravochnaia kniga* (Petrograd), 1916-1917.
67. Separate "black lists" (*chernye spiski*) were compiled by the Russian Ministry of Trade and Industry. See K. Gul'kevich to B.V. Shturmer, 15/28 August 1916. Russia. Missiia Norway, Box 7, folder 20; Outgoing no. 305, 2/15 September 1916. Missiia Norway, Box. 7, folder 21, HA; *Russkii chernyi spisok* (Petrograd, 1917).
68. Coll. Pototskii, Box 28-20, pp. 45-49, 60-62. HA. Also see RTsKhIDNI, f. 4, op. 3, d. 39.

69. In 1917 a total of three trainloads of émigrés crossed Germany, carrying a total of approximately 650 people (see Files 2952, 13690, RMP. FSA).
70. See, for example, Files 2952, 13690, RMP. FSA; Outgoing no. 96, 30 March 1917. Coll. Pototskii. Box 7, f. 24. HA; Outgoing no. 411, 28 March 1917; outgoing no. 453, 30 March 1917, delo no. 8, File 13690. RMP. FSA; RTsKhIDNI, f. 4, op. 3, d. 39, ll. 31, 114, 116.
71. Detailed information about political émigrés was periodically distributed by the Foreign Agency of the Department of Police in Paris (see Coll. Okhrana, Index VIIIb. F. 1A, HA).
72. The Allies also had an intelligence station on the Russian-Swedish border to monitor return of the political émigrés (see Files S. 7-12, 1915-1917. RMP. FSA); RTsKhIDNI, f. 4, op. 3, d. 39; f. DP, op. 17, ed. khr. (*edinitsa khraneniia*) 38644.
73. Abram L. Zhivatovskii (sometimes Zhivotovskii) was a relative of Lev Trotsky on his mother's side, and a prominent Petrograd banker. After the Bolshevik Revolution he emigrated to Paris, where in the 1920's he was on the board of directors of the Russian Bank for Industry and Trade. (See Incoming no. 1780, 1911, Incoming no. 275, 1910. Coll. Okhrana, HA; *Ves' Petrograd*, (1914-1917); F.F. Raskol'nikov, *Kronshtadt i Piter v 1917 godu*. Second ed. (Moscow, 1990) p. 52; E. Semenov, *Russkie banki zagranitse i bol'sheviki (iz ankety)* (Paris, 1926), pp. 61-62.
74. In actuality, Trotskii (Trotsky) returned to Petrograd on 3/16 May.
75. *Internatsional* was a small socialist journal published in Petrograd by Mikhail Iu. Larin (Moisei I. Lur'e). See D. Kin, "Bor'ba protiv "ob'edinitel'nogo ugara" v 1917 godu," *PR*, no. 6 (65), 1927, p. 3. A. I. Gordon (see next note) also worked on the editorial board.
76. A. I. Gordon (1884-1937?) (full name: Abe-Shael' Itskov-Iudelevich Gordon) was a member of the Jewish Bund. During the period 1914-1917 he first lived in Stockholm, and then in Copenhagen. On 15/28 April 1917 he returned to Russia and joined the Petrograd Bolshevik organization. He perished in the Stalinist purges. See Futrell, *Northern Underground*, pp. 119, 126-7, 135, 212-213, 226; *Istoricheskii Arkhiv*, 3, 1959, pp. 39,48; Bjorkegren, *Ryska Posten*, p. 36; *Deiateli SSSR i Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii. (Avtobiografii i biografii). Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar' Russkogo Bibliograficheskogo Instituta Granat* (Moscow, 1927), vol. 41, Part I, pp. 103-105; and File 13690. RMP. FNA.
77. Trotskii, Il'ia Markovich (1879-1969). Prior to World War I he was a Berlin correspondent for a Moscow liberal daily *Russkoe slovo*. During the war years he reported for the paper in Copenhagen. After the October Revolution he moved to Berlin, and then to New York. (See Ms. Coll. Trotskii. Bakhmeteff Archive, CUBA; *Novoe russkoe slovo*, 2 December 1962, pp. 3, 5; *ibid.*, 3 July 1967, p. 3).

78. Coll. Pototskii, Box 28-20, p. 60; Russian Consulates in Stavanger and Christiania. Correspondence. Coll. Russia. Missiia Norway. HA; There were also telegrams separated out which were sent by a namesake of Lev B. Rozenfel'd (party pseudonym Kamenev), see Coll. Pototskii, Box 28-20, p. 65.

79. Coll. Pototskii, Box 28-20, pp.47-48; Iosif Adam Iaroslav Iosifovich Kolyshko (1862-1938) was an adventurer of unsavory reputation without any particular political inclinations. In 1915-1917 he lived in Stockholm and Copenhagen, where he maintained regular contacts with German officials. He also had business ties with Parvus and was later suspected of being a go-between for Parvus and the Bolsheviks. Reportedly, he was to go on trial together with the Bolshevik leaders in October but was released on bail and disappeared. After 1921 he lived first in Berlin, and then in Nice (see Baian [Kolyshko - S.L.], "Velikii raspad. Nyne otpushchaeshche...", typescript (no date), chs. XXX-XXXVI, Collection B.I. Nicolaevskii, Box 193, folder 9. HA; *Russkie vedomosti*, 18 August 1917, p. 5; Kolyshko-Baian to V.L. Burtsev, 8 November, 1935. Coll. Nicolaevskii, Box 149, folder 7. HA; Klaus Epstein, *Mathias Erzberger and the Dilema of German Democracy* (Princeton, 1959), pp. 165, 175-178).

80. See Incoming telegram no. 1023, 20 May 1917, Delo 18, part 1, File 7235, Incoming telegram no. 3985, 4 December 1915. File 9057. RMP. FNA; *Russkaia volia*, 25 May 1917, p. 2; *Den'*, 26 May 1917, pp. 2-3; B. Nikitin, "V dni revoliutsii. Vospominaniia b.[yvshego] nach.[al'nika] kontrazvedki i gen.[erala] kvartirmeistera. Priamye uliki," *PN*, 25 July 1932, p. 2.

81. See, for example, Delo 18, part 1, File 7235. RMP. FSA; Nikitin, *PN*, 25 July 1932, p. 2; Baian [Kolyshko], *op. cit.*, Chapters XXIV-XXXV, Coll. Nicolaevskii, Box 193, folder 9; Kolyshko to Pavel N. Miliukov, 26 July and 11 November 1932. Coll. Nicolaevskii, Box 639, f. 22, HA.

82. Of the remaining individuals mentioned in this set of telegrams, counterintelligence either knew little (e.g. about Kozlowski, Kollontai), or became aware only from the telegrams (for example, K. Krzeczeskowski, Iu. Rozenblatt, M. Stieckewicz). Counterintelligence compiled the set of 66 telegrams in such a hurry that on two occasions it included duplicate copies of the same telegram (no. 31 repeats no. 29; no. 42 repeats no. 41).

83. See Coll. Pototskii, Box 7, HA and Delo no. 18, File 7235, RPM. FSA.

84. See, for example, telegrams 35, 41, 42, 60, 62.

85. The set contained, for example, several telegrams between Fürstenberg-Hanecki and Aleksandra M. Kollontai, as well as 7 of a personal nature between Kollontai (from Petrograd) and her friend, Zoia L. Shadurskaia, then located in Christiania (Oslo). See telegrams 4, 10, 11, 19, 20, 22, 29, 32, 36, 40, 52. But by far not all of the telegrams between Fürstenberg-Hanecki and Russia wound up at the Petrograd Telegraph Office, and thus could not have been included in the set of 66. For instance, several telegrams from him addressed to Lenin were discovered only after the July uprising, during a

search of Lenin's apartment and the Bolshevik headquarters at Matil'da F. Kshesinskaia's villa (see "Obysk u Lenina," *PR*, 5 (17), 1923, p. 282; *Rech'*, 22 July 1917, p. 5; Nikitin, *Rokovye gody*, p. 114). Moreover, the number of telegrams exchanged between Fürstenberg and his Petrograd aide Evgeniia Sumenson was much greater than those ultimately included in the 66. Sumenson alone sent over 92 telegrams to Fürstenberg in Sweden (see, for example, telegram 64). In addition, some of the telegrams he sent to the editorial board of *Pravda* were detained by the military censorship, while others never reached the Petrograd Telegraph Office due to technical failures (see Vorobtsova, *Deiatel'nost' zagranichnogo predstavitel'stva TsK*, p. 21; Telegrams 53, 55, 57, 58, 62, 66).

86. The order in which this information appeared on the telegram blank, and in which it reached the addressee, differed from the format in which it was recorded on the telegraphic tape (see, for example, *PR*, 5(17), 1923, p. 282; Lenin, *Biograficheskaia khronika*, vol. 4, p. 68; Coll. Russia. Missiia Norway. Consulate General in Christiania, file: Correspondence. Incoming 1917. HA). Several difficulties arise in the analysis of such complex sources as old telegraphic texts. The first is the specific nature of telegraphic language, characterized by short, often fragmentary phrases, a certain convention of abbreviations, and the absence of punctuation. Second are the language difficulties brought about by the exchange of telegrams between Russia and Scandinavia. Their interpretation is further complicated by the fact that they were insufficiently investigated by counterintelligence: there are many examples of inaccurate chronology, mistaken dates, misspelled names and places and omitted words. The simple fact that the July accusations were made on the basis of only partially decoded texts warrants a more careful investigation of them.

87. French was the language of international telegraphic communication at that time. Moreover, it may be definitely assumed that not all of the addressees knew Russian (see for example, telegram 59).

88. Only in the cases of the correspondences between Kollontai and Shadurskaia can one say with some certainty that the texts had been translated (see telegrams 11, 19, 22, 29, 31-33, 36, 40, 50, 52). The grammatical construction as well as the lack of distinction between masculine and feminine gender suggest that they were translated from French. In addition, one of the telegrams was sent to Shadurskaia in Paris, where she had lived for many years; and it is well known that Kollontai had a strong command of French. See telegram 11; V. Erofeev, "Desiat' let v Sekretariate Narkomindela," *Mezhdunarodnaia zhizn'* (Moscow), August 1991, p. 120. The grammatical structure of telegram 61 suggests that it was originally written in Polish. The same is true of telegrams 15 and 28.

89. The system of transliteration between Latin and Cyrillic alphabets at that time also contributed to the distortion of the original text. For example, Russian "ë" was transliterated as "ie"; "e" as "o"; "u" as "ou"; "v" as "f", etc. (see telegram 29).

90. Telegram 56. Also see telegrams 46, 61, 63.

91. See, for example, telegram 52.

92. See telegrams 18, 28, 43, 44. Also see telegrams 49, 56.
93. Since the telegrams were received at the Petrograd Telegraph Office on 28 June Old-Style, all telegrams dated July must be New-Style (see telegrams 56-59, 61, 63-66. Also see notes 72, 74 to telegram 28).
94. Telegrams 11a, 24a, 26a.
95. The presence of an oblique stroke in the telegram number distinguishes those sent from Scandinavia to Russia.
96. This number, however, does not always correspond to the actual number of words in the telegram. In some, for example, the address of destination is not produced in its entirety (see note 5 to telegram 1). In others, the word "urgent" is omitted (telegram 17).
97. In telegram 11 the date is not indicated. The digit 13 printed in its place refers to the number of words. Telegrams 11a, 24a, and 26a also include the date of their reception at the Telegraph Office. It appears at the upper right of the text.
98. The name of both the sender and the addressee was printed in upper case letters and underlined in red pencil. This indicated that the Military Attaché was to collect information on these individuals.
99. In telegrams 2, 6, 9, 18, 37-39, 46-47 and 49, for instance, the name of the sender is not indicated. Telegrams 20 and 47 are signed with party pseudonyms of their senders. Moreover, not all those persons listed as the senders of the telegrams were actually their authors. For example, while Fürstenberg was on a clandestine visit to Petrograd in May-June, telegrams sent from his Swedish address continued to be signed in his name. And he did not sign his own name to his return telegrams from Petrograd. Instead, these were either signed by Kozlowski or sent without a signature (see, for example, telegrams 18, 26, 34).
100. *Novaia zhizn'* (NZH), 29 September 1917, p. 3; *Novoe vremia* (NV), 10/23 October 1917, p. 3.
101. *Russkaia volia* (RV), 13 July 1917, p. 5; 25 July 1917, p. 6. Manusevich, *Pol'skie internatsionalisty*, pp. 236-237.
102. *NZH*, 19 September/2 October 1917, p. 2; 1/14 October, p. 3; Also see *Trybuna* (Petrograd) 23 September/6 October 1917, p. 4; *NV*, 10/23 October 1917, p. 3; GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d. 16, l. 321; P.N. Maliantovich, *Revoliutsiia i pravosudie (Neskol'ko myslei i vospominanii)*, (Moscow, 1918), pp. 93-117.
103. *NZH*, 20 September/3 October 1917, p. 3; 10 October 1917, p. 3; 19 September/2 October 1917, p. 2.

104. *Rech'*, 22 July 1917, p. 5; *RV*, 22 July 1917, p. 4.
105. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, pp. 377-381, 412; Pipes almost exclusively follows the memoirs of Nikitin (see especially chapters 11 and 12 in Nikitin's *Rokovye gody*) which are not always reliable. Also see Katkov, *The Kornilov Affair*, pp. 33-35.
106. Zeman and Scharlau, *The Merchant of Revolution*, pp. 164-165. This version is based primarily on the accounts of Austrian and German diplomats in Copenhagen, whose information was greatly influenced, however, by the Russian press campaign in the aftermath of the July uprising (see, for example, *Politische Studien*, no. 91, 1957, pp. 232-234 and *Politisches Archiv Auswartiges Amts, Weltkrieg Akten*, Nr. 2 Geheime, Bd. 46, 47, July-August 1917).
107. Futrell, *Northern Underground*, pp. 160-163, 221. Also see Possony, *Lenin: The Compulsive Revolutionary*, pp. 229-232; Stone, *Soviet Studies*, pp. 90-92; Volkogonov, *Lenin*, vol. 1, pp. 208-214.
108. See, for example, telegrams 34, 51, 56, 62, 64.
109. See GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d. 24 and dd. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20. Also see delo 14, ll. 88-90, 101-102. This important conclusion by the Provisional Government's officials in charge of the July investigation was overlooked by Volkogonov. It appears, instead, that his interpretation of the nature of Parvus-Fürstenberg-Sumenson-Kozlowski's business transactions was shaped by the circumstantial information originating from an Austrian diplomat in Copenhagen. (See Volkogonov, *Lenin*, vol. 1, pp. 208, 444 no. 43; see also my note 106 above.)
110. *Rech'*, 22 July 1917, p. 5; Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, p. 412; Mel'gunov, *Zolotoi nemetskii kliuch bol'shevikov*, p. 106; Possony, *Lenin*, p. 230; *Rech'*, 12 October 1917, p. 1; telegrams 57 and 6.
111. See telegrams 57, 60, 31.
112. GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d. 16, l. 195 ob.
113. See telegram 10 and Nikitin, *Rokovye gody*, p. 114. In the personal correspondence between Kollontai and her friend, Zoia Shadurskaia, who had stopped briefly in Christiania on her way to Russia, Shadurskaia mentions a transfer of 200 crowns from Petrograd. Despite the transfer's trivial sum and the fact that it was meant for personal needs, it provoked the suspicion of the authorities (see telegrams 1, 11a, 19, 22, 29, 32, 33, 36, 40, 50).
114. *NZh*, 11 July 1917, p. 3; *The Russian Provisional Government*, vol. III, p. 1379; Lenin, *PSS*, vol. 32, pp. 415, 422.
115. Futrell, *Northern Underground* and Bjorkegren, *Ryska Posten*.

116. RV, 13 July 1917, p. 5; Incoming no. 3490, 6 August 1916, File 9072; File 9409: "Kniga 1-aia dlia zapisi pasportov russkikh poddannyykh ot'ezzhaiushchikh zagranitsu cherez pogranichnyi punkt v gor. Torneo v 1915 godu," RMP. FSA. Also see Swedish police report no. 310, 13 March 1916, folder E 3:1, V.P.M. 90-347, 1915-1916. SPR. SNA; *Ves' Petrograd. Adresnaia i spravochnaia kniga* (Petrograd), 1914-1915.
117. RV, 13 July 1917, p. 5.
118. V. A. Kuvshinov, *Partiia bol'shevikov posle sverzheniia samoderzhaviia (mart - nachalo apreliia 1917 goda)* (Moscow, 1975), p. 178; *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, no. 1, 1959, pp. 21, 33.
119. Around 1907, Zaks married Zinoviev's older sister, Liia Aronovna Radomysl'skaia. This relation to the son of the merchant of the second guild (*kupets vtoroi gil'dii*) allowed some members of the Zinoviev family to move to the capital from provincial Ekaterinoslavl'. In contrast, in the 1930s the kinship with the Zinovievs proved fatal for Zaks and his family. Both he and his son Rafail (Zinoviev's nephew) were shot in 1937; Liia Radomysl'skaia-Zaks perished in the camps several years later. Her father-in-law, the elder Zaks, however, managed to survive. He emigrated to Palestine soon after the Bolshevik revolution.
120. Outgoing no. 473, 1913 and Index XVIIIa, f. 3, Coll. Okhrana, HA; *Voprosy strakhovaniia*, no. 46-47, 1923.
121. Futrell, *Northern Underground*, p. 89; Bjorkegren, *Ryska Posten*, pp. 144-146.
122. File 9409, RMP FSA; Dashkov, *U istokov dobrososedstva*, p. 129.
123. See Outgoing no. 1257 and Incoming no. 157, 10 November 1914, Correspondence 1914. General'noe Konsul'stvo, Coll. Russia. Missiia Norway, HA; "Iskhodiashchii zhurnal 1915 goda," Box 7, file 4, Coll. Pototskii, HA. Also see Incoming no. 121, 9 December 1915 "Zhurnal vkhodiashchikh bumag pomoshchnika nachal'nika Finliandskogo Zhandarmskogo upravleniia po Torneoskomu pogranichnomu punktu za 1915 god," File 9057, RMP FNA; Index VIIIb, file 1A, Coll. Okhrana. HA.
124. Zeman and Scharlau, *The Merchant of Revolution*, p. 196; *Ves' Petrograd na 1915 god*; RV, 13 July 1917, p. 5.
125. See Index VIIIb, file 1A. Coll. Okhrana; Box 7, file 24. Coll. Pototskii, HA; *Ves' Petrograd na 1915 god. Part: Bankirskie doma i banki*.
126. Piiashev, *Vorovskii*, p. 184; Krasnopol'skaia, *Vo imia liubvi k chelovechestvu*, pp. 142, 183; Futrell, *op. cit.*, p. 170; GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d. 15, l. 155 ob.

127. Upon his return to Russia at the end of November 1915, Worowski was detained and searched at the border. Among the papers confiscated were the addresses of Party and commercial agents who, as a result, were placed under the surveillance of the Russian Police. It is interesting that none of the published sources mentions Worowski's arrest. Although it is not known whether he was detained as a business partner of Parvus or as a Bolshevik operative, the reason for the cover-up of his arrest seems connected to the highly dubious circumstances under which he succeeded in regaining his freedom. This supposition finds support in Worowski's decision to move to Stockholm soon after the incident, as well as in the fact that until after the February Revolution he did not risk travelling to Russia under his own name. In January 1916 he used a counterfeit passport to bring his daughter to Stockholm, and then, in February, he used yet a different passport to return for his wife, D. M. Mamutova. In the beginning of February they crossed the Russo-Swedish border on foot. (A number of Mamutova's relatives from Odessa, also actively involved in the export-import business, followed them to Stockholm soon thereafter.) There are still other grounds to question the circumstances of Worowski's release in November 1915. A portion of Lenin's wartime correspondence with Petrograd Bolsheviks was passed through the Siemens-Shuckert firm's commercial catalogues, which circulated legally between its Petrograd and Stockholm offices. (The conspiratorial information would be written between the lines in chemical ink.) Nevertheless, the Department of Police was fully aware of these interactions, and regularly updated its files on Bolshevik underground operations (Krasnopol'skaia, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143; V.D. Bonch-Bruevich, *Na slavnom postu. Pamiati V.V. Vorovskogo (po lichnym vospominaniiam)*, Moscow, 1923, p. 39; V.V. Vorovskii, *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1933), vol. I, p. xiii. Also see "Knigadlia zapisi pasportov russkikh poddannykh ot'ezh'aiushchikh zagranitsu cherez pogranichnyi punkt v g. Torneo v 1915 g.", File 9409, RMP FNA; Z.I. Peregudova, "Vazhnyi istochnik po istorii revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia (kolleksiia perliustratsii TsGAOR SSSR)," in S.L. Tikhvinskii, ed., *Istoricheskii opyt velikogo oktiabria. K 90-letiiu akademika I.I. Mints'a* (Moscow, 1986), p. 382; "Iz perepiski Russkogo biuro TsK s zagranitsej v gody voiny (1915-1916gg.)," *PR*, nos. 7-8, 1930; Rukopisnyi otdel Rossiiskoi Gosudarstvennoi Biblioteki (RO RGB), fond. 369 (V.D. Bonch-Bruevich) 19.9, 369.19.11.

128. The Warsaw businessman Aleksandr Vol'fovich Maliniak was a representative of the Red Cross. He is known to have helped Worowski on many occasions with import licenses, which were customarily obtained from the local Russian diplomatic mission. Maliniak was able to do this largely due to his close business ties to Iosif Kolyshko, at that time a high-ranking official in the Ministry of Finance in charge of purchasing Swedish steel for the Russian government. Curiously enough, both Maliniak and Kolyshko are mentioned in the Sisson collection of *The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy* (documents 60, 68).

129. Zeman and Scharlau, *The Merchant of Revolution*, pp. 196-197; Futrell, *Northern Underground*, pp. 171, 180-191.

130. Maximilian Harden, "Mit eiserner Schaufel," *Die Zukunft*, vol. 107, 20/27 December 1919, p. 382-386; *Kraks Vejviser Danmarks Handelsspejl 1917 Kjobenhavn*, Part V, Firms, p. 1049. Also see Box 28, f. 15. Coll. Pototskii, HA.

131. Zeman and Scharlau, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-197.
132. Harden, *Die Zukunft*, pp. 382-384. Also see Coll. Pototskii, files 7, 24, 28. HA.
133. Before the February Revolution, Sklarz's association with the "Export and Trading Company" appeared not to have extended beyond business matters. In the beginning of March 1917, however, Parvus and Fürstenberg went to Christiania to discuss with Kollontai the possibility of arranging Lenin's return to Russia. Upon their arrival in Copenhagen, Sklarz set off to Zurich to plan (through Bronski-Warszawski) with Lenin and Zinov'ev their journey across Germany. (Z. Sheinis, *Put' k vershine. Stranitsy zhizni A.M. Kollontai* (Moscow, 1987), Second edition, p. 109; Senn, *International Review of Social History*, p. 250; Zeman and Scharlau, *op. cit.*, p. 210. Also see handwritten minutes of the meetings of the "Sledstvennaia komissiiia tsentral'nogo evakuatsionnogo komiteta," Zurich, 1917. IISH).
134. Sometimes medical goods were sent through the diplomatic pouch to the German Mission in Copenhagen, to avoid payment of shipment and import duties (see "Svodki na lits, ot'ezhchaiushchikh v Germaniiu," Box 28, File 15, Box 7, 10, Coll. Pototskii. Also see Report V.P.M. 498, 27 April, 1917, Polisbyro, SPR SNA).
135. See telegrams 1, 12; "Ganetskii i Ko.," *RV*, 11 July 1917, p. 5. Also see GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, dd. 16,18,20.
136. See, for example, telegrams 6, 7. Sumenson was conveniently located in the center of town on Nadezhdinskaia ulitsa, 36, two short blocks away from Kozlowski's residence. During the winter of 1989-90, the author of the present work visited the large, once-luxurious, five-story building on Nadezhdinskaia in hopes of seeing first-hand Sumenson's apartment. In its place, he found a door with five bells on it, one for each of the families living there. Despite the author's five attempts to convince the residents to show him the apartment, not one of them found the historical curiosity of a total stranger enough reason to open the door. Perhaps the previous 1917 residents would have exhibited similar reluctance, although for different reasons.
137. In 1916 the Nelken Banking House no longer had its own office in Petrograd, concentrating instead entirely on trade with the United States. (See Coll. Russia. Posol'stvo USA. Russian Supply Committee, Office File, Military Agent. Correspondence, box 367, fs. 2-5, box 342, f. 8, box 373, f. 10, box 381, f. 1; *Ves' Petrograd na 1917 god*, Part II, Section: Commercial advertisements).
138. See Coll. Russia. Missiia Norway, General Consulate, f. Commerce: Government Policies during World War I. HA.
139. See telegrams 61, 1.
140. See telegrams 3, 4, 9, 10, 13, 14-16.

141. See telegrams 30, 34, 35, 39, 41, 43, 48, 51, 53, 57. Also see GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d. 20, ll. 175-6.
142. See telegrams 24, 46, 47, 53, 62, 64.
143. See telegram 62. Also see Sumenson's deposition in GARF, f. 1826, op.1, d. 20, l. 176 ob.
144. Despite press reports that there was a remaining balance of 180,000 rubles in Sumenson's account at the Siberian Commercial Bank that she intended to pass on to Kozlowski and the Bolsheviks (*Rech'*, 22 July, 1917, p. 5), investigation records show that during 1916-1917 the total amount received by Kozlowski was only 23,424 rubles. This sum represented payments for the services he had rendered to Fürstenberg's firm in his capacity as legal consultant (see GARF, f. 1826, op. 1, d. 16, l. 33 ob.).
145. For example, telegram 30.
146. Parvus' network included 18 agents. About eight of them were stationed in Copenhagen while the rest traveled between Scandinavia and Russia (Zeman and Scharlau, *op. cit.*, p. 164; Coll. Pototskii, Box 10, f. 27, HA; Delo 10, File 9435, RMP FSA). None of them had been known for their affiliation with the Bolshevik party or for delivering "German money" to the Bolshevik treasury.
147. See Zeman and Scharlau, *op. cit.*, p. 183; Zeman, *Germany and the Revolution in Russia*, pp. 14-15; Delo 10, File 9435, Delo 12, File 3749; Delo 12, part II, File S.11, RMP. FSA.
148. Outgoing no. 206, 6 June, 1917, no. 207, 7 June 1917, no. 284, 12 July 1917, Coll. Pototskii, Box 7, f. 24, HA; Klaus Epstein, *Matthias Erzberger and the Dilemma of German Democracy* (Princeton, 1959), pp. vii, 163-164. Also see Incoming no. 110584, 27 January 1917, no. 111056, 4 February 1917, Index VIIIb F. 1B, Coll. Okhrana, HA.
149. See File 9071, RMP. FSA; *Protokoly Tsentral'nogo Komiteta RSDRP(b), avgust 1917 - fevral' 1918* (Moscow, 1958), p. 263; *Leninskii sbornik*, vol. XIII, pp. 281-3.
150. Semion Lyandres, "Novye dokumenty o finansovykh subsidiakh bol'shevikam v 1917 godu," *Otechestvennaia istoriia* (Moscow, 1993), no. 2, pp. 128-142.
151. *Ibid.*

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