Editors’ Introduction

In this issue we continue our series of documents from the formerly secret archives of the CPSU Central Committee, now the Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Contemporary History (RTsKhIDNI), with which Demokratizatsiya has an agreement regarding cooperative research. These documents cover completely different aspects of the highest positions and organs of the Communist Party in the first few years after it came to power. They contain new, usually unexpected information and unknown facts. The documents cover a wide spectrum of historical personages—from V. Lenin, I. Stalin, L. Trotsky, and A. Lunacharsky to physiologist I. Pavlov, and directors A. Stanislavsky and A. Tairov—on matters ranging from civil war operations and the work of the feared Cheka, to paroled release, to the housing problems of the Kremlin’s dentist. As before, our goal is to bring new historical documents into the international research community. This is why the commentaries to these documents, which we have added, are of an explanatory nature. The editors would like to thank Dr. Sally Stoecker, an expert on the period discussed, for helpful comments and suggestions.

—Vasily I. Zlobin
Professor of History
Moscow State University

—Nikolai V. Zlobin
Executive Editor
Demokratizatsiya

[Document 1: From Reserve 558, list 1, case 31, sheet 76. Recording of a conversation between I. Stalin and G. Pyatakov on a direct line, 1919. The document is a typed original of the conversation.]

—This is C. Stalin.
—Hello C. Stalin. I just returned from the Latdivizia. Reporting. First. Parts of the division, in my opinion, are in excellent shape, except the head of the division, Martuzevich, is not right for the stated goal. I have a letter from Sergo on this subject,
which I will send to you. The head of the division is extremely timid.

—Take Martuzevich off of the post and put on one of the Latvian kombrigads.

—This is very good. Second, I visited parts of the 7th and 9th divisions on my way back to army Shtram. I made the following conclusions: The Red Army would be great in battle if the command, from the battalion commanders down, was in place. It is absolutely necessary, in the very near future, to get together the lower command. Third, Sergo and I personally watched the Chernov Cossacks in battle under Khmelevo. A section of them is amazing, it is sad that the best part is not dressed at all, at the same time the Bichugunts are dressed tolerably. Right now this brigade is not with us, but with the 14th Army; that is why the Kavbrigada is uniformed. Fourth. The Kavbrigada can be increased by four hundred sabres, they have a foot division, they are in need of four hundred saddles and sabres (their sabres are not for decoration, we witnessed their full use in attack). We are petitioning only to get the things we ask, horses they will get on their own. Fifth. Sergo and I are petitioning to award the brigade commander, Vitaly Markovich Prilukov with the order of the Red Banner, not for a particular battle, but for uninterrupted military service. From the first days of the October Revolution he has distinguished himself not only as a commander, but as a brave fighter, more than once. Sixth, the Latdivitsia is in a very difficult situation with food rations. I ordered them to take all that there is. I fear that you will again accuse me of stealing.

—You acted completely rightfully. I suggest you act the same way in times to come.

—I am finished.

—I thank you for the report. Your and Sergo’s requests, without question, deserve to be carried out, which is what I will do. Take my tape with Rozengolts for today and give a joint report. Good bye.

—All right. Good bye.

Stalin, Iosif (Dzhugashvili) (1879–1953) —member of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP) from 1898. From January 1912, a member of the Central Committee (TsK). A member of the editorial staff of the newspaper Pravda, and a member of the Military-Revolutionary Committee (Milrevkom).
Became part of the leadership of the TsK in October 1917. At the United Conference, became part of the Council of People’s Commissars (SNK) as the people’s commissar (narkom) on matters of nationality (until July, 1923). During the Civil War he was a part of the Revolutionary-Military Council (Revvoensoviet) of the republic, from 1919–1920. At the same time, he was a representative of the SNK for food production in Southern Russia, a narkom of government control. From 1922–1953, he was general secretary of the TsK, and secretary of the TsK of the Communist Party. Martuzevich, Anton (1863–1944)—Military commander of the Red Army, one of the commanders of the Latvian Division. In 1920, was released from his position because of health problems. Pyatakov, Georgi (1890–1937)—member of the RSDRP from 1910. During the February Revolution, chairman of the Kiev Committee of the RSDRP, spoke out against a socialist revolution. After the RSDRP came to power, became the chairman of the government bank of Russia and a member of the government of the Ukraine. From 1920, was head chairman of the State Planning Committee (Gosplan) and head chairman of the Supreme Economic Council (VSNKh), trade representative to France, administrative head of the Government Bank of the USSR and chairman of the People’s Commissariat of Heavy Industry. A member of the TsK of the party. In 1918, lead an anti-Lenin group, leviye kommunisty, and from 1920–1921, was involved in Trotsky’s group. In 1927, was expelled from the party and allowed back in 1936, until 1938 when he was again expelled then executed based on false allegations. Sergo—Ordzhonikidze, Georgi (1836–1937), a member of the RSDRP from 1903, and from 1912, a member of the TsK. After the October Revolution, was the special commissar of the Ukraine, then Southern Russia. From 1920, worked in the Caucasus; from 1921–1926, was the chairman of the Caucasus bureau of the TsK; then the secretary of the Trans-Caucasian Committee of the party, at the same time was a member of the Revvoensoviet of the USSR. A member of the TsK from 1921, but in 1930 became a member of the Political Bureau (Politburo) of the TsK of the party. From 1926, was chairman of the Central Control Commission (TsKK) of the party and narkom of the RKI. In 1930, was chairman of the VSNKh of the USSR; from 1932, was narkom of heavy industry. In 1937, more than likely, ended his life in suicide. Kombrig—a military post, brigade commander. Shtram—used to be the accepted short form for army headquarters. Kavbrigada—military jargon for “cavalry brigade.” Prilukov, Vitaly (1897–1937)—military commander during the Civil War, commander of Cossack troops. False allegations led to his prosecution in the trial of Marshall Tukhachevsky. Order of the Red Banner—the first Soviet Order, started 16 September 1918. Rozengolts, Alexander (1889–1938)—a member of the party from 1905, after the October Revolution did management work; from 1921, was a member of the People’s Commissariat of Finance (Narkomfin). During the “discussions over trade unions,” was on Trotsky’s side. Executed based on false allegations. Latdivizia—Latvian division.
Letters Regarding the Parole of A. Potresov. 1919.

People’s Commissar
of Education
29 October 1919
Issue # 871

To Predsovvnarkom
com. V.I. Lenin:

According to our telephone conversation, I am sending you a petition, signed by Martov, Dan and Vinaver and others, which warrants that it is necessary to free the ill A.N. Potresov.

Along with that, notice that after the signatures of Krasin and Lapitskov there is a sheet added by Kamenev which guarantees that Potresov was never involved in any organizations fighting against Soviet authority.

People’s Commissar of Education
A. Lunacharsky

Petition

We, the undersigned, in view of the extremely poor health of the imprisoned Alexander Nikolaevich Potresov, ask for him to be freed and wish to take responsibility for him, at the need of the authorities, to put himself in their custody.

U.O. Martov
Member of the TsK RSDRP,
member of the Socialist Academy
(Milnikov per. b. 8, apt. 8)

F. Gurvich-Dan
Member of the TsK RSDRP, Assistant to the Head of the Surgical subdepartment of the NKZ.
(Vedensky per. 14, apt. 14)

M.L. Vinaver
Member of the TsK RSDRP, Head of Chem. Dept. MTA
(Furmanovii, 18/14)

A. Yukov
Member of the TsK RSDRP, board member of MTO
M. Kapelinsky
Head of the shoe, leather, rubber and fur goods
of the Narkomtrud, member of the RSDRP
(Pyatnitskaya ulitsa, 43, apt. 38)
27 October

 Reserve 5, list 1, case 1170, sheet 14. The original was written by hand by Martov, signatures were the autographs of the petition’s authors.]

Petition
We, the undersigned, knowing Potresov-Starover for several years, can guarantee that he undoubtedly did not participate in the political actions of counter-revolutionary organizations working to undermine Soviet authority.
U. Martov, F. Dan
31 October 1919

[Reserve 5, list 1, case 1170, sheet 15. The original was written by hand by Martov, signatures were the autographs of the petition’s authors.]

R.S.F.S.R.
The All-Russian
Extraordinary Commission
to Fight Counter-Revolution and
Sabotage

by assignment
Head of the
Special Department
7 November, 1919
#07244
Moscow, Bol. Lubyanka, b. 2
P.O. Box #926.

In agreement with the decision of the Russian Special Commission, from the 7th of November, citizen Alexander Potresov is free on parole to Martov, Vinaver, Dan and Yukov, without the right to leave Moscow.

Chairman of the Special Department VChK
Secretary
Martov, Yuli (Tseterbaum) (1873–1923)—social democrat, one of the founders of the RSDRP; at some point, he was a friend of V. Lenin, one of the leaders of Menshevism. After the October Revolution, he was a member of the Moscow City Soviet (Mossoviet), spoke out against Soviet authority. By secret permission from Lenin emmigrated to Germany. Published a magazine in Berlin called The Socialist Herald. Dan, Fyodor (Gurvich) (1871–1947)—social democrat, one of the leaders of Menshevism. After the February Revolution of 1917, was a member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Council and the First Presidium of the Central Executive Committee (TsIK). In 1922, was exiled as an enemy of Soviet authority. Vinaver, Maxim (1862 or 1863–1926)—founder of the Kadet (Constitutional Democratic) Party, a lawyer, a member of the first State Duma. In 1919 was the minister of foreign affairs for the white government in Crimea, later emigrated to Paris. Krasin, Leonid (1870–1926)—member of the RSDRP from 1890. In 1903, converted to Bolshevism. In 1908, left Russia. Took care of financing the party. After the October Revolution, was head of the Supply Commission of the Red Army, member of the Presidium of the VSNKh, narkom of trade and industry, narkom of means of transportation. From 1919, did diplomatic work; from 1922, narkom of foreign trade; from 1924, was the official representative of the USSR in France, from 1925, was the official representative of the USSR in England. Lapinsky, Pavel (Levinson)—member of Levitsa (Polish socialistic party; 1906–1918, Levitsa was part of Polish Communist Party). Member of VTsIK. Deputy, First Congress of Soviets, member of Provisional Soviet of Russian Federation in October 1917. Yukov, Alexander (Novogrudsky) (1895–1937)—from 1917 to 1918, was a member of Bund (a semi-independent Jewish organization inside the Russian Social Democratic Party); from 1919, a member of the RSDRP; from 1920–1921, supported Trotsky. Did managing work in Karaganda, on the Donbass, was the head of the Kuznetsky coal field. Executed based on false allegations. Kopelinsky, Noam—member of Menshevik Party, member of Provisional Soviet of Russian Federation in October 1917. Potresov, Alexander (Starover) (1869–1934)—a social democrat, one of the leaders of Menshevism, was involved in publishing Iskry. In 1917, worked as the editor of a newspaper called Den, which took an anti-Bolshevik position. Emigrated after the October Revolution, worked on the newspaper Dni, published by A. Kerenksy. Lunacharsky, Anatoly (1875–1933)—a Bolshevik from 1903, then took an anti-Bolshevik position. Lived in exile until 1917, worked for the revolution, pushed to bring some religious ideas into Marxist ideology. Returned to Russia in 1917, again joining the ranks of Bolshevism. From 1917 to 1929, was narkom of education, then was chairman of the Scholar Committee of the TsIK of the USSR. In 1933, was assigned as USSR ambassador to Spain. He was author of many books on history, art, and literary theory. Kamenev, Lev (Rosenfield) (1883–1936)—member of the RSDRP from 1901. An editor of Pravda and Pro-
A member of the TsK from 1907. Along with A. Zinoviev, he protested in October 1917 with a decree disagreeing with the decision of the TsK of the party for an armed uprising. After the Revolution was head of the Mossoviet, deputy chairman of the SNK, member of the Politburo of the TsK of the party. Sided with the idea of creating a multi-party government in Russia; in 1925, was one of the organizers of the "new opposition." In 1927, was expelled from the party for actively supporting L. Trotsky, was allowed back to in the party and again expelled in 1932, in a year was allowed back in and in 1934 was expelled for good. Executed based on false allegations.

[Document 3: Telegram from I. Stalin to A. Ioffe. 1919.]

Out of turn.

Vilna. The Soviet Government of Latvia and Belorussia.

Your list is in accordance to what was already communicated period We are not pushing for the candidacy of Ioffe, you may let it be Tsekhovsky period Give a full report on land division, social supports and health care.

[Reserve 558, list 1, case 548, sheet 1. The signature is illegible.]

Ioffe, Alexei (V. Krimsky) (1883–1927)—member of the RSDRP from 1903. Member of the TsK of the party from 1905. In October of 1917, was a member of the Military-Revolutionary Committee of Petrograd. In 1918, was the head then a member of the Soviet delegation the talks in Brest-Litovsk with Germany. In 1918, became the RSFSR ambassador to Germany. Later betrayed L. Trotsky.

[Document 4: Letter from A. Lunacharsky to B. Lenin. 1919.]

Dear Vladimir Ilyich:

I cannot say that I was carried away by the mixed list of fifty heroes compiled in Moscow, not to mention that it is supplied with an unintelligent paraphrasing of my announcement, at which the bourgeois press is rightfully chuckling. But, all of this is being done apart from me.

In Petersburg this week there will be a wonderful bust of Radischev installed, Shervud’s work. It is so good that I will be petitioning for it to be cast in bronze. I will send you photographs within the next few days. Not quite as good but still not bad are the busts of Rileev and Dobralubov; the bust of Gertsen is almost ready. In the next few days the Matveev bronze of Marx will be installed at Smolnov. The monument to
Volodarsky is being worked on in the place where he fell. The ignoble sign on the Moscow gates is being removed and will be replaced by a Communist one.

The dictum is going slowly, but Ryazanov and I will have completed the works, for which the plaques are ready, within the next few days.

The monument to the heroes of the Revolution of 1917–1918 will be good. As a matter of fact, it will have eight huge plates with signs of monumental character, except of course, the main sign, the historical information.

Here are some signs I have written, if you are interested:
1 - Those who have fallen for great deeds are immortal. Among the people, they who put down their life for the people, work, fight and die for the common good, will always live. (New grammar, of course.)
2 - Not knowing all of the names of those heroes, who in the fight for freedom, spilled their blood, the human race honors the nameless. In their memory and honor, this stone is put for the many years to come.
3 - 1917 and 1918 wrote great glory into the annals of Russia. Having sown mournful, enlightening years, your harvest will ripen for all the inhabitants of this earth.
4 - From the depths of oppression, necessity and ignorance, you rose, proletariat. Earning freedom and happiness for yourself, you will bring humanity out of slavery and bring it happiness.
5 - Against riches, power and knowledge for a cupped hand, you fought a war and honorably fell so that riches, power and knowledge be the common lot.
6 - By the will of the titans, peoples tore each other apart. You rose, laborious Petersburg, you were the first to start the war of the oppressed against all oppressors, to extinguish the very seeds of war.
7 - Not victims, but heroes lie in this tomb. Not sorrow, but envy does your fate bring to the hearts of your noble descendants. In burning, terrifying times you lived gloriously and died beautifully.
8 - Those great beings who left life in order for new life to bloom, heroic rebels from different times, crowds of Jacobins, the fighters of `48, the mobs of commoners, have be joined by the sons of Petersburg.
I bring your attention to the matter concerning the
extremely talented architect, Zholtovsky, on grounds which you, will be spoken with about. In the decree about the Commissariat of Health Care there is a fourth terrible and compromising mistake, in essence it is unacceptable. As soon as I arrive I will protest it with all of my strength.

I shake your hand. The friendliest, tenderest, hello to dear Nadezhda Konstantinovna with wishes for her to get well soon.

Yours A. Lunacharsky

[Reserve 5, list 1, case 1170, sheet 14. The original was typed.]

Radischev, Alexander (1749–1802)—writer, philosopher, author of the book Journeys from Petersburg to Moscow (1790). After the publication of his book, was sentenced to ten years in prison by Katherine II, then sent to Siberia. In 1801, was pardoned by Pavel, and returned to service. Committed suicide by taking poison. Shervud, Leonid (1871–1954)—sculptor. Rileev, Kondraty (1795–1826)—poet and Decembrist. Participated in foreign marches of the Russian army in 1814 and 1815. From 1823, was a member of “Southern Society of Decembrists.” After the attempted uprising of 14 December 1825, he was executed. Dobralubov, Nikolai (1836–1861)—writer, critic, publicist. His convictions were socialist-utopian. Gertsen, Alexander (Iskander) (1812–1870)—writer, philosopher, publicist. In 1842, left the country. In 1853, opened The Free Russian Telegraph in London, in 1858 started publishing the almanac Polar Star (Poliarnaya Zvezda). From 1857–1867, published the newspaper Kolokol (Bell). Wrote many books, including an autobiography. Volodarsky, Vladimir (Golshtein M.) (1890–1918)—member of the RSDRP from 1917, before that lived in the United States for five years. In 1918, was the narkom for print, propaganda, and agitation. Was killed 20 June 1918 in Petersburg by the right wing S.R. (Socialist Revolutionary Party member) Sergeev. Ryazanov, David (Goldembakh) (1870–1938)—social democrat, Menshevik. In 1917, joined the RSDRP. After the Revolution worked for a trade union, left the party for a short time because of some disagreements over conclusions reached at the Brest Conference. During the time of discussions over trade unions, he took the anti-Lenin position and lost his trade union job. From 1921, was the director of the K. Marx and F. Engels Institute. In 1931, was removed from the party. Was executed due to false allegations. Zholtovsky (1867–1959)—architect, designed many buildings in Moscow. One of the designers of the General Plan to Reconstruct and Develop Moscow, 1921–1923.

[Document 5: Letter from A. Lunacharsky to V. Lenin. 1920]
To Predsovnarkom com. V.I. Lenin

Even earlier, Vladimir Ilyich, word had reached me that the Petrograd Cheka, especially its prison and punitive apparatus, is something awful.

In its own time, a similar situation existed in Moscow, but from questioning arrestees, I have come to the conclusion that the situation in Moscow is relatively under control. It is the opposite in Petrograd, where it is not moving forward, but is going backward. In Petrograd, they are getting used to arrested people being treated inhumanely, as a matter of fact, the overwhelming majority of these arrestees are not counter-revolutionaries, they are inhabitants and even workers, suspected of speculation. Two fellow Communist comrades, Anufriev and Kuropatkin, have appealed to me with horrible facts about the practices of the Cheka. Both of them ended up there by accident and where soon freed, but they consider it a debt to their conscience to focus attention on these terrible conditions.

Maybe you, Vladimir Ilyich, would wish to hear them out yourself, or suggest who I should direct them to, since it seems to me absolutely necessary to schedule a special inspection from the VChK or the NKU or from the worker-peasant inspection or from the VTsIK in order to fully take a look at the apparatus of the PChK, which could turn out compromising for us, earning us thousands of enemies, or maybe completely discredit us in the eyes of the Europeans.

Each of us, willingly, will completely answer for any acts of terrorism and the fight against the counter-revolution and speculation, but when it comes to inhumanity as a result of slovenliness and course treatment, then things can and should be corrected.

Once again, I ask of you, Vladimir Ilyich, as soon as you can, let me know where to direct my informers, for this is not the first time that I have heard news of the extremely difficult conditions of the PChK.

I heartily shake your hand.

Narkom of Education
A. Lunacharsky
Dear Vladimir Ilyich:

I apologize for having to bring to your attention what are in essence details, but I know that you can wonderfully understand that these details do demand some attention.

As you remember, by your own orders, I rejected O.D. Kameneva as the director of the Art Subdepartment of the Moscow Soviet.

Several days after this, C. Krestinsky told me that the matter of Kameneva leaving was settled, although she protested, but nevertheless, asked to stay on for a short time longer. I agreed to this.

It turned out that this short time turned into an undefined length of time for Kameneva to stay on her post. For a short time, she behaved herself more or less well and I did not feel it necessary to start unneeded squabbles. But now things have turned to such a degree that I am again in need of your advice.

Several conflicts have started with the Soviet, more specifically, Kameneva, in which you will have no difficulty seeing that I am right.

According to the first decision of the Moscow Soviet to have control over, as decided by the 7th Congress, all of the theaters, with the exception of those that have social and state significance. I agreed to this, and without any conflict we picked out the Belch,
Maly and Pokazatelny theaters for the state. There was a conflict over three other theaters: Khudozhhestvenny, Kamerny and the Children’s theater.

Considering the Khudozhhestvenny Theater as a local Moscow theater is, of course, absurd and I have not met one person other than Olga Davidovna, her husband and a few members of the Presidium, who would go with this absurdity. Aside from that, the Khudozhhestvenny Theater, starting with Stanislavsky and ending with their youngest actor, has submitted to me a petition in which they beg me to make it a state theater and not put it under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Soviet (because of O.D.).

The Kamerny Theater is the only theater going in a new direction that has already proven itself. One can see its work differently, but there is no doubt that it is the only work of its kind in Russia. Also, the Kamerny Theater has submitted the same kind of petition and its director, Tairov, directly states that knowing the intentions of Olga Davidovna towards that theater, he will have to, from the minute it is under the control of the Moscow Soviet, liquidate the whole deal and go wherever his eyes fall upon. Finally, the Children’s Theater on Mamonovsky periuolok is organized by the narkompros, because we need to have at least one theater in Russia where we can show how shows for children and teenagers need to be done.

The Moscow Soviet has announced a protest against all of this.

Further, in Moscow there exists an art-educational council of workers organizations. It had several theaters and a substantial amount of theatrical supplies. Eventually this council fell apart and the moment came when it had no more theaters and controlled some theatrical supplies which it would rent out etc. The Central Theater which is, by decree of the Sovnarkom, actually in charge of all nationalized theatrical property, appointed a special commission to gather all of the property of this practically liquidated council into one place, check it over carefully, not prede-termining to whom it will go.

Essentially, we intended to transfer it to the Moscow Soviet, but the Moscow Soviet in the most illegal way disregarded the means of control of Central Theater, placed a ban on this property, although by law we can
control any property that belongs to the Moscow Sovi- et due to our higher supervisory status.

Finally as the narkompros, so did the Komgossor slowly move to do the long overdue, necessary repairs to the Maly Theater.

The means for this have been worked out and everything is ready to start the repairs. This will take some time, the early part of the fall, for that time the State Theater owns a building called the Nezlobinsky Theater. It was built to be used as a school for the state Maly Theater.

So I have applied to the Soviet a request that I think it is necessary to leave this theater as a state theater, even more since this holding will allow us to start next year’s season of the Maly Theater on time, moving the shows to the Nezlobinsky Theater.

After this explanation, I ask of you, Vladimir Ilyich, to include the attached with seven copies into the minutes for the Presidium meeting.

I ask you to pay attention to the very tone that the Presidium uses to speak to the narkom, to the scandalous interference, which can be seen in the third point of activities between these two departments. Taking this matter to the VTsIK has all sorts of dangers involved. The Presidium of the VTsIK, as every Soviet worker knows, meets in groups of 3–4 people. Kamenev himself participates in the Presidium. To find two comrades, place an item on the agenda more or less unexpectedly, to devote five minutes to review and make the decision he wants, costs next to nothing.

In any other way the Soviet would fail as it did already on 5 or 6 other problems that it tried to create for me. Meanwhile, the Constitution gives me no guarantee that in this situation the same thing will happen.

Vladimir Ilyich, you know that I am not prone to worry and am rather calm about unpleasantries, but to think that in our Soviet Russia, we may have to give up such theaters against the will of people like Stanislavsky and others to the games of an hysterical woman because she is the wife of the head of the Sovi- et, this is far too insulting. I categorically announce that if this kind of scenario with the VTsIK takes place with me, I will raise the most extreme protest with the Central Committee of the Party.
I would think that this could be avoided in a way that was recommended to me by c. Serebryakov (I must say that all of the comrades who I have spoken with: Serebryakov, Krestinsky, Galkin, are all in agreement with me), to bring this matter to the Little Sovnarkom.

I have often had disagreements with the Little Sovnarkom, but I have had to work with them often on vital matters and could not dispute that it brings maximum objectivity and careful work into every matter.

If Kamenev will insist on the Constitution being carried out to the letter, I will personally ask you, Vladimir Ilyich, to arrange a meeting of this Presidium with as complete attendance as possible and to bring it some objectivity.

Really, this is all a war that raises the Moscow Soviet against the narkompros every day, for any or no reason, with deep unwillingness on our part as well as all of the genuine workers of the Soviet; there is a repulsive and ridiculous thing, at which all Moscow inhabitants laugh and I would think that it would be in the parties interest to end it once and for all.

Shaking your hand
A. Lunacharsky 29/1/`20

[Reserve 5, list 1, case 1171, sheet 21, 21 back, 22, 22 back. The original was typed with Lunacharsky’s signature by hand. After the signature is the stamp of the narkompros.]

Krestinsky, Nikolai (1883–1938)—member of the RSDRP from 1905. In 1917, was the head of the Yekaterinburg and Ural Committees of the RSDRP. From 1918–1921 was the narkom of finance of the RSFSR, secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, representative of the RSFSR in Germany, and head of the narkom of foreign affairs. Spoke out against the conclusions of the Brest Conference. In 1937, was discharged from the party and executed due to fabricated allegations. Kameneva, Olga—member of the Moscow Soviet, wife of Lev Kamenev, who, in one of his many posts, was the director of the Moscow Soviet. She was sister of Leon Trotsky. In 1935, was arrested and in 1941, executed “as sister and wife of enemies of the people.” Moscow Soviet—the council of the working deputies of Moscow, organized in March 1917. From September 1917, the Bolsheviks held the majority in the Soviet. The soviet system was secured in the Constitution of the RSFSR, 1918. Central Theater (Tsentroteatr)—the governing body of state theaters from August 1919 to November 1920, affiliated with the narkompros. In November 1920, was recognized as a division of narkompros. Komgossor—possibly, more correctly, the Komgossoor, the Committee of State Construction. The chairman was A. Sapronov and the deputy G. Tsyurupa.
Stanislavsky, Konstantin (Alexeev) (1863–1938)—director, actor, and theater theorist. Creator of the “Stanislavsky System.” In 1898, along with Vladimir Nemirovich, founded the Moscow Khudozhestvenny Theater. Tairov, Alexander (1885–1950)—director, actor, founder of the Kamerny Theater in 1914. Serebryakov, Leonid (1890–1937)—member of Communist Party since 1905, participant in the revolutions in 1905, February 1917, and October 1917. Later was in the army, on the southern front. After Civil War, was a party officer. Was executed following fabricated allegations. Nezlobinsky Theater—Russian Theater of Drama in 1909–1917; was founded by Russian actor and theater director Konstantin Nezlobin. In 1917, was reorganized as an “actor’s fraternity.” In 1920, closed. Maly Sovnarkom—included, as a rule, deputies of narkoms and important government workers, dealt with secondary and minor matters as compared to the Sovnarkom, also prepared drafts and materials for the Sovnarkom.

[Document 7: Letter of I. Pavlov to the Council of People’s Commissars. 1920.]

To the Council of People’s Commissars
Academician I.P. Pavlov’s petition

All of my life I have preferred a straightforward, open way of action. Other than that being my nature, the half-century of scientific laboratory work (physiological) also had an effect: nature does not adapt to trickery. I have decided to do the same in this matter.

I most humbly ask of the Council of People’s Commissars to allow me to start correspondence (even if it is controlled) with my foreign scientific friends and comrades on the topic of finding me a place, outside of my homeland, where I could be sufficiently provided for along with my wife and without any difficulty continue my research, which I dare to consider very important and to which my brain is still completely adept, maybe even especially so with the enormous amount of material collected over such a long time and my abilities to focus my thoughts on it.

Staying in Russia at this time I cannot carry out this work not only as I would prefer and completely fruitfully, but also I am completely afraid. This because of many points that I found to be true for me, not even considering the extraordinary and what are now largely insurmountable material limitations of all forms in today’s Russian laboratories and the lack of communication or connection with the worldwide scientific communities.

These are the reasons.

I was never involved with politics actively and was
never a part of any political party since I was not willing to part with the freedom of thought I got so accustomed to in the laboratory and which is detrimental to the search for truth; I also did not want to distract myself from my chosen, life’s work. This does not mean that I closed my eyes to the surrounding reality. With my habitual laboratory thoroughness I also collected in my mind general observations about life, systemized them, analyzed and came up with conclusions. So now, here I am as an ancient experimentalist of life, however elementary, I am deeply convinced that the Russian socialist experience is doomed to absolute unhappiness, it will give no result other than political and cultural ruin to my homeland. Without fail, this thought gnaws at my mind and keeps me from focusing on my research. In the long run, this attitude more or less gradually weakens one.

Therefore, I do not want to and cannot without the will make myself into a socialist or Communist, that is to refuse all that is mine and become a serf of others. I want to have complete control of the fruits of my intellectual work, which by their ideological content in the form of scientific results have no nationality and are and will continue to be useful to all people. With them I hope to, outside of creating for myself a few comforts and pleasures, to reward and thank those who have helped me selflessly throughout my life, especially in the difficult initial portion of my research work, of course, first is my wife and taking care of her in her old age should she happen to outlive me. This is my second point.

Third, although I now hold three positions, which means I get salaries from three places, it is still only a total of 25 thousand rubles a month. Sometimes a lack of funds forces me to, in the required season, to do the work of a gardener (not always easy at my age) and to constantly work around the house in the role of a servant, a helper to my wife in the kitchen and keeping the house clean, which all together takes away the larger and best part of the day. Further, my wife and I don not eat well in either quantity or quality (years without seeing white bread, weeks and months without milk or meat, the main staple in our diet being black bread, most of which is of bad quality or millet that is not very good either etc.) which natural-
ly is leading to our gradual thinning and weakening. All this after half of a century of research work which has been rewarded with valuable results and accepted by the whole scientific world.

In the strength of all of this I ask you to allow me along with my wife the freedom to leave Russia and also allow those members of my family who agree to accompany us and to help us with their youthful strength once we become decrepit. I also ask that you do not keep us from using our current property (the belongings in our home) to give us its value in making the adjustment to a new place, at least at first, tolerable.

Academician I.P. Pavlov
My address: Petrograd., Vas. Ostr. line 4, building 2, apt. 11.
The 11th day of June 1920.

[Reserve 5, list 1, case 1172, page 32. The original consists of 4 handwritten pages, written by hand by I.P. Pavlov.]

Pavlov, Ivan (1849–1936)—prominent physiologist, did research on nervous system activities and the process of digestion, founded a school of physiology. In 1904, received the Nobel Prize. A member of many foreign academies, universities, and societies. Stayed in Russia until the end of his life.

[Document 8: The records of the investigation of American immigrants by the Council of People's Commissars. 1921.]

A Conversation with Comrade Stoklitsky
25 January, 1921.
About American Re-migrants.

The first groups of workers from America started arriving in the middle of November of last year, each group contained 80 people. They were, without exception, Communists: in their tracks non Communists started to arrive. By the 25th of January a total of 300 Communists and 3,500 workers arrived. This wave started from when the American government started to give Russian immigrants passports to leave for Russia.

By the testimony of the Communists in Russia who have come from America, many more will be coming. Right now there is a waiting list that consists of over 100,000 people.

Two years ago, when the American government did not yet give out passports, it received over 1,000,000 requests for exit to Russia.
This number is officially published in America.

These workers are a very good element as qualified strength (who are accustomed to highly specialized jobs in mass production) if we will be able to use them, but the additional demands and unfamiliarity with Russian reality could be politically dangerous.

The workers bring with them, from America, trunks full of all sorts of goods and some substantial sums of money (from 100 to 1,000 dollars each), which, in our conditions, make them millionaires. This leads to profiteering around them and leads to a proprietary atmosphere.

The revolutionary attitude of the arriving workers quickly diminishes and turns to a counter-revolutionary attitude.

The American workers can only be controlled thanks to the Communist cell among them which consists of the Communists that came with them as well as those that have been infused here.

In most cases those that arrive are strong, energetic people. If they are not established as they should be in Moscow, they could in response spread out among the villages and cause serious danger by becoming the initiators of a counter-revolutionary organization.

It is necessary to regulate and organize a border currency exchange for the dollars of American workers to be changed to Soviet money. Right now in these matters there is complete confusion. For example: Vnesh-torg gives 300 Soviet rubles per dollar, Ganetsky, on the average, gave 4,000 rubles per dollar, now it is 2,000 rubles, speculators here and in other countries buy dollars for anywhere from 5,000 to 10,000 Soviet rubles.

For the regulation of the issues regarding the arrival of immigrants from Moscow, as part of the Narkomtrud, the Central United Commission has been created for the arrival of American immigrants. This commission was originally formed as the Central Moscow Commission.

There are branches of the United Commission in Petrograd, Yamburg, Senezh and all border crossing points. It is proposed that immigrant houses be organized in Libava and smaller points in Riga and Revel, where there are representatives of this commission who will
be able to keep newly arriving workers out of the influence of the White Guard and Latvian organizations. In Latvia there are branches of the United Commission. The building of an immigrant house in Riga and Revel are being held up by a lack of funds, which the United Commission at this point is still not able to receive.

Tsentravek does not wish to consider the specifics of the American workers and does not separate them from other refugees, immigrants and prisoners of war.

Now, when Tsentravek has seen that the Central United Commission has begun to deal with this it has completely forsaken its work.

Narkomtrud is only interested in this from the perspective of assigning the workforce. Even in this they are not very careful, not publishing questionnaires and often making terrible mistakes, not using valuable specialists, mis-assigning them, which all leads to a terrible discontent among them.

Seeing that American workers are a valuable strength for our industries, it would follow to make Narkomtrud put more energy into clearing up the process of arrival and assignment of American workers.

Comrade Stoklitsky, Administration of the Activities of Sovnarkom, it is proposed that for all of the matters that were touched on a list of practical proposals be submitted to the United Commission and passed on to the Administration of the Activities of Sovnarkom and to the Narkomtrud no later than the 29th of January, 1921.

N. Gorbunov
25-1-21

[Reserve 5, List 1, Case 146, Sheet 6. The original was written on a typewriter. The signature of Gorbunov was written by hand. At the beginning of the document, in Gorbunov’s handwriting there were two notes: “In Regard to American Immigrants. I ask C. Beloyartsev to see that C. Stoklitsky will offer a practical proposal by 1.29. N. G.” and “Executor N.G.”]

Vneshtorg—the bank for foreign trade. Ganetsky, Yaroslav (Furstenburg) (1879–1937)—social democrat, a member of the Social Democrat Party of the Polish and Latvian Kingdoms and the RSDRP. In 1917, was a member of the RSPRD’s Foreign Bureau’s Central Committee. After the Revolution did diplomatic work; from 1921–1922, was a member of the college of the People’s Commissariat of Foreign Affairs (NKID), trade (Narkomtorg) and the Presidium of VSNKh. In 1935, became director of the State Museum of the Revolution of the
USSR. Was executed based on fabricated allegations. **Narkomtrud**—the People’s Commissariat of Labor, created with the other people’s commissariats in October of 1917. In 1948, it was reorganized into a ministry. **Yamburg**—a city in the Leningrad oblast, later renamed Kingiselp. **Senezh**—lake in northwestern Moscow. **Revel**—a city previously called Talpin. **Libava**—a city previously called Liepaja located in Latvia. **Tsentrozvakh**—Central Committee in charge of refugee affairs. **Gorbunov, Nikolai** (1892–1937)—from November 1917, the personal secretary of V. Lenin, secretary of the SNK. From December 1921, was director of affairs of the SNK and STO. Was executed on the basis of fabricated allegations.

[**Document 9**: Letters regarding housing for the Kremlin hospital dentist. 1921.]

To the Council of People’s Commissars  
From the dentist Vasily Samoilovich Yudelovich  
Arkhangelsk periulok, b. 8, apt. 1  
Application  
In apartment 1, building 8 on Arkhangelsk periulok, I have two rooms, in one of which is my dentist office. Based on the instructions of the TsZhO (Kom. trud #308), I have the right to another room.  
In view of the fact that I treat workers of high responsibility (from the Revvoensoviet and people’s commissars comrades Trotsky, Krasin, Chicherin, Tsuyrupa, Lenin, etc.), I feel that it is necessary that there be no more reduction of space in my apartment in order to avoid undesirable elements; in my apartment, the overcrowded 7 rooms already are home to 11 people and I ask of you to stop further overcrowding and give me the corresponding deed.  
Dentist V. Yudelovich,  
Head Medic of the Outpatient department of the Dental Health NKZdrav.  
Moscow 7-X-21

[Reserve 5, list 1, case 45, sheet 306.]  
To the Secretary of the Managing Office of the SNK.  
com. Drinevich  
In answer to your request, I would like to inform you that the matter of reduction of space in my apartment has been settled. Thank you and my regards.  
V. Yudelovich  
8-X-21

[Reserve 5, list 1, case 45, sheet 6. The original was written by hand.]
Trotsky, Lev (Bronshtein) (1879–1940)—member of the RSDRP from 1897, Menshevik. After the Revolution, in February, returned to Russia and joined the ranks of the Bolshevik Party. After the October Revolution, from November 1917, was the narkom of foreign affairs; from February of 1918, narkom of the military and navy; from 1921–1922, was the head of the Revvoensoviet of the Republic and narkom of communication. A member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and of the Ispolkom of the Communist International (Comintern). Spoke out against the conclusions of the Brest Conference, was head of the opposition in the discussions of trade unions, challenged Stalin. In 1927, was expelled from the party; in 1929, was exiled from the USSR as an enemy of the people, in 1932, lost his Soviet citizenship. Spent the last years of his life in Mexico. Authored many books and articles on history, politics, and a Stalin biography. After several attempts, was killed by KGB agent R. Mercader, as assigned by Stalin.

Chicherin, Georgi (1872–1936)—member of the RSPRD from 1905. From 1904 to 1917, lived in exile. Until the end of 1917, was a Menshevik, then a Bolshevik. From 1918–1930, was a narkom of foreign affairs, led a Soviet delegation in Geneva. A member of the VTSIK, of the TsIK of the USSR, and of the Central Committee of the Party. Tsyurupa, Alexander (1870–1928)—member of the RSDRP from 1898. After the February Revolution, was head of the City Duma of Ufa. From November 1917, was deputy of the narkom of foodstuffs; from the beginning of 1918, people’s commissar of foodstuffs. From the end of 1921, was head of the SNK and the Council of Labor and Defense (STO). From 1921–1923 narkom of the RKI, then head of Gosplan, and narkom of domestic and foreign trade. Member of the TsK of the party, the Presidium of the VTSIK and the TsIK of the USSR.

[Document 10: A letter from I. Stalin to V. Lenin. 1921.]

R.S.F.S.R.
People’s Commissar
of the Workers’ and Peasant’ Inspection.
26/XI day 1921
#237/1.
Moscow, Povarskaya, 11.
tel. 3-01-71
C. Lenin!
We have a problem either with misunderstanding or thoughtlessness.
1) It is incorrect that “the Party has founded, in the name of the agitotdel, an organ of 185 people.” Going by the staff I have checked and the confirmation of the Orgburo, there are not 185, but 106 members (of those, 58 members are natsmen).
2) It is incorrect that by deducting the natsmen, 87 members are left who “will destroy” and so on. With
the same staff, there are not 87 left, but 48 people to work on agitation, propaganda and printing.

Comrade Krupskaya read a draft of C. Solovev, that I had not looked at and the Orgburo had not approved, and so decided that “a new commissariat is being formed.” C. Krupskaya went too fast.

3) Of the 48 people, 6 serve the central apparatus of the agitprom (the director and technical director), 6 people in the propaganda sub-department (with the same kind of relationship between the technical and managing workers), 11 people in the sub-department of agitation and 25 people in the provincial print department, plus editing Vestnik Agit, Izvestia TsK, a library dedicated to special literature for the gubkom.

The other 58 people will work in 8 natsmen sections, serving no less than 30 thousand communists ([one illegible word—N.V.Z.] Finns, Jews, Tatars and so on), outside of the republic (speaking either little or no Russian). So, this is the “new commissariat” which got Lunacharsky so scared that he had “seen it all” (I must say I cut the number of natsmen in half, meaning that the number of workers in the agitprom did not increase, but decreased, compared with the earlier numbers).

4) As far as the “position” of the agitprom, I have reviewed in it in the last few days and given it to the Orgburo for approval, the agitprom a) will direct the agitation work of all Party organizations, collecting and sharing their experiences, b) control the agit-work of soviet and trade union institutions. Screams about the “destruction” of Glavpolitprosvet are completely unfounded. The point is that—the work of the agitprom is not limited to sending a member of the TsK to the Glavpolitprosvet. It is inadmissibly harmful to ignore the generalizing of experience of local party organizations and leadership of their agit work.

The roots of misunderstanding are in that c. Krupskaya (and Lunacharsky) read a “proposal” (draft), sent for the first time to the Orgburo, not yet looked over by me nor approved by the Orgburo (it will be approved Monday). She again rushed.

5) Your note addressed to me (at the Politburo), I understood that you posed a question about my leaving the agitprom. You must understand that the agitprom job was pushed on me (I did not push for it). Because of that, I should not resist leaving. But, if you raise
the issue, especially now, in connection to the head-
long misunderstanding, you will put yourself and me in
an uncomfortable situation (Trotzky and others will
think that you are doing this “because of Krupskaya,”
that you demand a “sacrifice” and that I agree to be
that “sacrifice” and so on), which is not desirable.

I think that if the Orgburo includes c. Krupskaya
and myself (and maybe Lunacharsky) in its commission,
then in that commission we can work out any misunder-
standings and clear them up or come up with some sort
of agreement. Without trying this, it is not worth pos-
ing it to the Orgburo.

I. Stalin

[Reserve 558, list 1, case 5195, sheet 2. The original was written by the hand of
I. Stalin.]

_Agitotdel_—the Department of Agitation and Propaganda within the structure of
the Communist Party. _Orgburo_—the organizational bureau of the TsK of the Bolshevist party, the executive branch of the Party, founded in January of 1919. In
1952, was reorganized into the Secretariat of the TsK. _Natsmen_—a shortened
version of the Russian for “representatives of national minorities.” _Solovey,
Vladimir_ (1890–1939)—member of the RSDRP from 1913. Before the Revolu-
tion was a copy editor for _Pravda_. In 1920, was a member of a commission to
reorganize the narkompros, from 1921, was head of the Main Board of Political
Education (Glavpolitprosvet); then a member of the college of the Agitpromot-
del of the TsK of the party, entrusted in the dealings of the USSR and Afghanistan;
head of the print department of the TsK of the party; adviser to the Chinese
ambassador; director of the State Book Repository. Member of the RTsIK. Exec-
cuted based on fabricated allegations. _Krupskaya, Nadezhda_ (1869–1939)—
wife of Lenin, member of the RSDRP. From 1898, lived in exile; worked as the
secretary for the editorial staff of _Iskra, Vpered, and Proletary_. After the Febru-
ary Revolution, returned to Russia with Lenin and worked in the secretariat of the
TsK. After October 1917, was a member of the narkompros college; from 1921,
was the director of Glavpolitprosvet; from 1924, was a deputy of the narkom of
education. Member of the TsK and TsKK of the party, member of the VTsIK and
TsIK of the USSR, and a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the
USSR’s first congress. Became entangled in conflicts with Stalin and his sup-
porters. Some contend she was secretly poisoned. _Vestnik Agit._—_Vestnik Agitat-
sii i Propagandi_, the journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
from September 1920 to 1922. The editor-in-chief was Nikolai Bukharin. _Izvessia TsK_—a journal of the TsK of the party, published from 1919 to 1929.
Was reorganized as the journal _Party Structure_. In the years of perestroika, its old
title returned. _Politburo_—the Political Bureau of the TsK, founded in October
1917. It was made up of fifteen members and nine candidates. It was the highest
To the members of the Politburo, and com. Chicherin:

To add to the note of com. Lenin from the 27th of December regarding Georgia, I would like to remind you of some facts that I brought up in my report:

1) In the Maikopsky area, there is a “peasant militia” which is controlled by “The Black Sea Committee to Save Russia.” It is headed by S.R.s. According to completely reliable information collected during our investigation, the committee is subsidized by Armenian and Russian industrialists, behind whom stand two groups: English oil industrialists and Italian manganese industrialists.

2) “The Black Sea Committee to Save Russia” (subsidized by English industrialists) recently entered an agreement with the Georgian rebel committee with the goal of taking Tiflis. This is being mentioned a lot in S.R. emigrant communities (in Prague and so forth).

3) In this situation, Henderson and other chatterboxes of the Second International demand that we get the soldiers out of Georgia.

Conclusions:

If Henderson cannot give us a guarantee that the English oil industrialists, through their armed mercenary bands, will not take Georgia or Azerbaijan (and this kind of guarantee he cannot give), Henderson would be defending the idea of Georgian democracy without Soviet troops, acting, most certainly, as an agent for English oil industrialists. This is the real essence of the matter.

L. Trotsky

P.S. I would like to add the following portion of a telegram from Krasin: “Briande has managed to attract the interest of the British government in a plan to take Transcaucasia, leaning against the Turks. The existence of such a plan is proven by a special oil-industry press. 24th of December, 1921. Krasin.”

28.12-21

[The original was typed, signed by Trotsky by hand. Also by his handwriting was a note at the beginning: “To com. Lenin.” Further in the document is a note writ-
ten by Stalin: “C. Lenin! I have a proposal, to add to your document, something in the way of an answer to the worker’s party that it (the worker’s party) is too late with its referendum, since all of the Georgian soviets of worker and peasant deputies (in Tiflis, Batumi, Kutaisi, Sukhumi, etc.) have been formed, connecting hundreds of thousands working in Georgia and defining their way in the soviet form, is it not too late to raise the matter of referendum with the British government in regards to Ireland, India and so on—why doesn’t the worker’s party work on this also.]

[Reserve 558, list 1, case 5196, sheet 106.]

Maikopsky Area—a region in the Krasnodar krai, in the center of Adygeya. Maikop is the capital of the Adygei Autonomous Republic. Soviet rule began in January 1918; in September, the city was taken by the White Army; in January 1920, Soviet rule took over. S.R.s—Socialist Revolutionary Party of Russia, which existed from 1902 to 1922. Tiflis—name for Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia until 1936. Second International—international union of the workers’ parties. Started in 1889. During World War I, the Communist Party emerged from it; in 1919, the Communist International was founded. What was left became the Socialist Workers International. Briande, Aristide (1862–1932)—involved in the French government, a socialist. Between 1909 and 1931, held the post of prime minister of France eleven times, and the post of minister of foreign affairs seventeen times.

[Document 12: Letter from I. Stalin to S. Ordzhonikidze, 1927. Part of the original in Georgian.]

23/9–27

Hello Sergo! Greetings to Zina!

For an entire week, I have been meaning to write you, but nothing came of it, since I have been so busy with work and have not increased my free is not much better (Rykov and Molotov are in Crimea, Bukharin recently returned, but again ran of to Crimea, and will not return earlier than tomorrow, Rudzutak got sick, due to all of this, the work of others has fallen on me). Not paying any attention to that, today’s letter from you (I got it today) gave me a push and allowed me to loosen up, so I decided to forget about “everything” and answer with a letter.

1) Your rationale was right from beginning to end. We will undoubtedly have to send a group of engineers and workers from here on business trips to America and Germany. To scrimp on that would be sinful and a crime [this phrase was in Russian—N.V.Z.]. If you could bring
Alyosha into this at least for literary help [the last six words were in Russian—N.V.Z.], you will have done well. We need literary help [from here until the end it is in Russian—N.V.Z.] before anything, otherwise, you cannot move people; before we do anything, we need to clarify (systematically clarify) in print, the suit, character, form, use of the rationale, so we can count on the support of the workers and through that the masses. Without this nothing will come.

2) The opposition has not only not backed down, but strengthened its fractioning work. No more than two weeks ago they threw together a pamphlet called “Platforms of Bolsheviks-Leninists,” and demanded it be printed (this was September 3rd) and that a discussion be started immediately. This is essentially a new platform for a new party. We did not allow it and forbade its distribution until they had permission from the next Plenary Session. They sent the “platform” and the answer to it to all of the members of the Pol. Bureau and Presidium of the TsKK. However, the opposition distributes it illegally . . .

On September 12 the GPU, while looking for military conspirators, came across one Scherbakov (a partyless son of a manufacturer), who happened to have an illegal typography from the opposition (Mrachkovsky and opponents are directly involved). One of the smaller (known to few or no one) opponents, and some partyless (intellectuals) were arrested. Two days later, we received a rude letter from Preobrazhensky, Scherbakov and Sharov, where they admit to being the “organizers of the typographies” and “demand we release those arrested (who where not affiliated with any party).” It turned out something like the “Shlyapnikov Group” or “workers truth.” We issued in the name of P.B. and the Presidium of the TsKK “a notice of forbidden, illegal Trotskyist typography” and decided to expel from the Party “all oppositionary trifles,” related to typography, to put aside the matter of Preobrazhensky and the other two . . . So that is what is going on with us. It has not been printed in the newspapers yet. So, what do you think about all of this?

3) When are you coming? It would be good for you to free yourself of your appendix.

4) I am sending a minimum amount of materials about the struggles within the Party.
Get well soon.
Greetings to Alyosha.
Yours, Koba. 23-IX/27

[Reserve 558, list 1, case 3345, sheet 1, 2. Signed by Stalin.]

Rykov, Alexei (1881–1938)—member of the RSDRP from 1899 and of the TsK from 1904. After the February Revolution, spoke out against the RSDRP to prepare a new socialist revolution. After October 1917, was narkom of internal affairs and chairman of the VSNKh. In November 1917, supported the idea of a multi-party government, and as a sign of protest temporarily left the TsK and SNK. He then became a deputy to the chairman of the SNK and STO, and later was head of the Council of People’s Commissars of the RSFSR and USSR. Was also a member of the Politburo. In 1937, was expelled from the party and executed based on fabricated allegations. Molotov, Vyacheslav (Skryabin) (1890–1986)—a member of the party from 1906. In February 1917, was a member of the Russian bureau of the TsK. From 1920, was the secretary of TsK of the Communist Party of the Ukraine; 1921–1930, secretary of the TsK of the CPSU; 1926–1952, was a member of the Politburo; 1930–1941, was chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars; from May of 1939, minister of foreign affairs; 1941–1945, head chairman of the Government Defense Committee; 1941–1957, was the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministries of the USSR; 1957–1960, USSR ambassador to Mongolia. Bukharin, Nikolai (1888–1937)—member of the RSDRP from 1906. From 1911 was in exile and often did not see eye to eye with the Bolsheviks. After the October Revolution, was the editor of Pravda, a member of the Politburo of the TsK of the RSDRP, member of the Ispolkom of the Comintern. In 1918, led an opposition movement called leviye kommunisty, often took independent positions in matters of party politics, and was later accused of supporting L. Trotsky. In 1927, was expelled from the Politburo, and in 1937, from the party. Executed based on fabricated allegations. Mrachkovsky, Sergei—member of the Communist Party from 1905 and military chief during the Civil War. Prosecuted on fabricated allegations in 1936. Preobrazhensky, Gregory (1886–1937)—member of the RSDRP from 1903. After the February Revolution headed the Ufa Committee of the RSDRP, spoke out against the socialist revolution. From 1920, was a secretary of the TsK of the party, and the head of the Main Directorate of Professional Education. Active supporter of L. Trotsky. In 1927, was expelled from the party, allowed back in 1929, and again expelled then executed based on fabricated allegations. Scherbakov, Pyotr (1893–?)—activist in the October Revolution in Saratov, military chief during Civil War, fought against Mamontov’s troops. Later, served as party officer. Shlyapnikov, Alexander (1885–1937)—member of the RSDRP from 1901. After the February Revolution, was a member of the Petersburg Committee of the RSDRP and the city soviet and chairman of the Petrograd Council of Metal-workers. After the October Revolution, was a member of the People’s Commissariat of Labor and the Presidium of the VSNKh. From 1920–1922, was the orga-
nizer and leader of the “workers’ opposition.” In 1933, was expelled from the party and executed based on fabricated allegations. *Rabochaya Pravda*—underground group in the Communist Party based on the platform “The Real Workers’ Party,” from 1921 to the end of 1923. The group was disbanded after its leaders were arrested. *Zina*—Zinaida Ordzhonikidze, wife of Sergo Ordzhonikidze.