

LENIN THE DICTATOR

An Intimate Portrait

VICTOR SEBESTYEN

W&N

WEIDENFELD & NICOLSON

First published in Great Britain in 2017
by Weidenfeld & Nicolson

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

© Victor Sebestyen 2017

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of both the copyright owner and the above publisher.

The right of Victor Sebestyen to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

A CIP catalogue record for this book
is available from the British Library.

HB ISBN 978 1 47460044 6

TPB 978 1 47460045 3

Typeset by Input Data Services Ltd, Bridgwater, Somerset

Printed and bound by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

Weidenfeld & Nicolson

The Orion Publishing Group Ltd
Carmelite House
50 Victoria Embankment
London EC4Y 0DZ

An Hachette UK Company

www.orionbooks.co.uk



In Memory of C. H.

MAPS



The Russian Empire 1878–1917





European Russia 1917

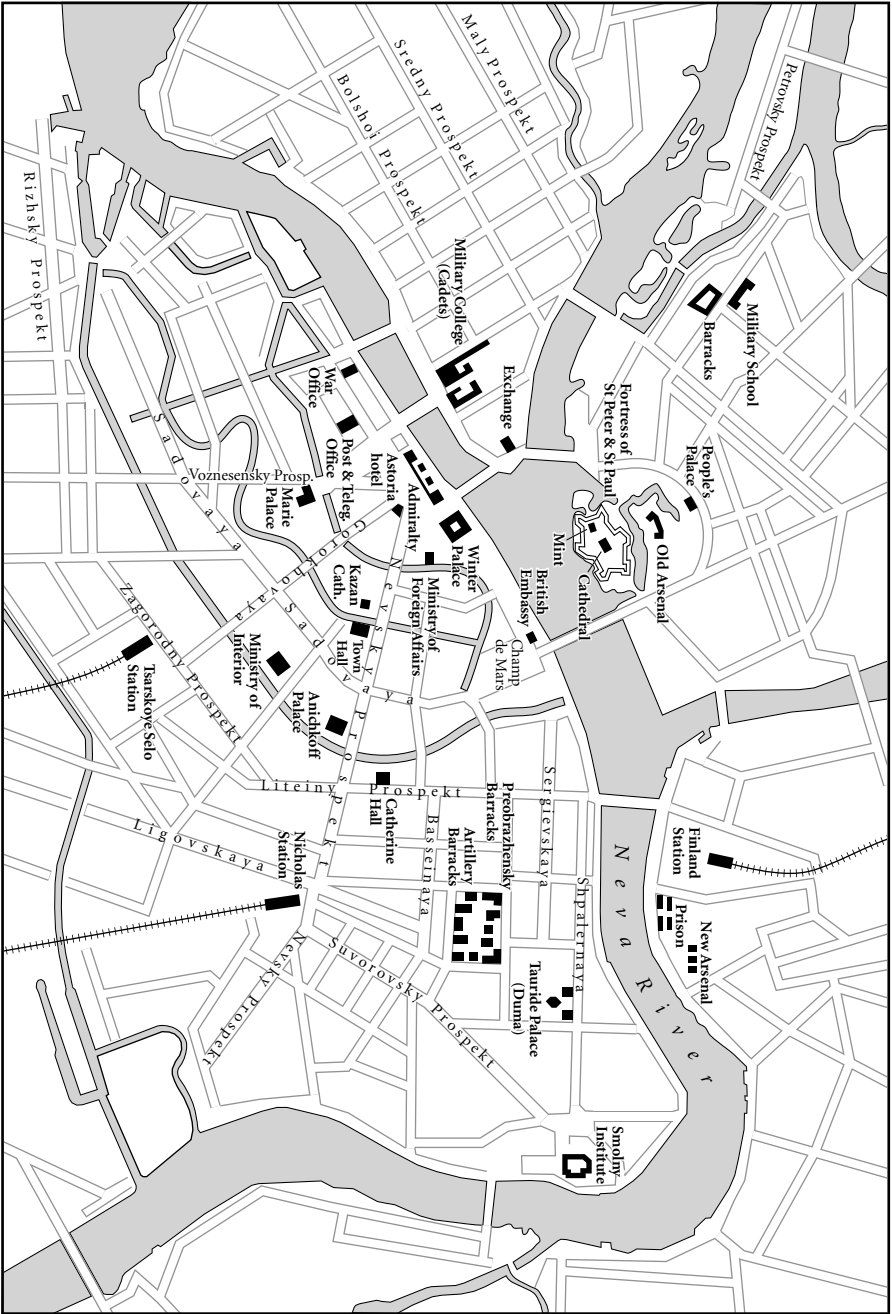


USSR 1920-36



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Vladimir Ulyanov as a baby (PA Images)
The Ulyanov family in 1879 (Sputnik/Alamy)
Alexander 'Sasha' Ulyanov (Sputnik/Topfoto)
Anna Ilyinichna (Interfoto/Alamy)
Maria Ilyinichna (Interfoto/Alamy)
Nadezhda Krupskaya, aged twenty-one (TASS Photo Chronicle
Photos/Tass/PA Images)
Vladimir Ulyanov police mugshot (PA Images)
Yuli Martov (Jakov Vladimirovich Shteinberg/Bridgeman Images)
Leon Trotsky (Heritage Images/Getty Images)
Nadezhda Krupskaya, aged twenty-six (Sputnik/Alamy)
Inessa Armand (ITAR-TASS Photo Agency/Alamy Stock Photo)
Grigory Zinoviev (Hulton Deutsch/Getty Images)
Lev Kamenev (Granger Collection/Topfoto)
Joseph Stalin (ITAR-TASS/Topfoto)
Lenin in hiding (ITAR-TASS Photo Agency/Alamy)
Lenin in Red Square (Granger Historical Picture Archive/Alamy)
Felix Dzerzhinsky (Laski Collection/Getty Images)
Lenin's last days (ITAR-TASS/Topfoto)
Lenin in state (Interfoto/Alamy)



Petrograd 1917



As a baby, Vladimir Ulyanov was 'top-heavy' – his head seemed too big for his body, according to his sister Anna. And 'he was very noisy, a great bawler'.



The nest of gentlefolk: the Ulyanov family in 1879. From left to right: Olga, Maria Alexandrovna (with daughter Maria on her lap), Alexander (standing), Dmitry (seated), Ilya Nikolayevich, Anna and Vladimir.

Alexander 'Sasha' Ulyanov, a brilliant natural sciences student, a few months before he was hanged at the age of twenty-one.



Lenin's older sister, Anna Ilyinichna, in her early twenties.



His other sister, Maria. Both sisters were active revolutionaries who were repeatedly jailed and exiled and who made big sacrifices for Lenin's career.



Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya (Nadya) aged twenty-one, three years before she met her future husband Vladimir. 'He could never have loved a woman whose opinions he totally disagreed with and who was not a comrade in his work.'



The police 'mugshot' of Vladimir Ulyanov taken when he was arrested for the first time in 1895.



Yuli Martov (Julius Osipovich Tserdterbaum), Lenin's closest male friend for many years until the two became bitter enemies and political opponents.



Leon Trotsky around the time he and Lenin first met in 1902, when his affectionate conspiratorial pseudonym was 'Pen'.



Nadya aged twenty-six.



Inessa Armand, Lenin's mistress. 'She seemed to be an inexhaustible spring of life . . . the fiery flame of revolution,' according to one of her comrades.



Grigory Zinoviev (Hirsch Apfelbaum), Lenin's most loyal sidekick and lick-spittle in their exile years. Later, after the Revolution, he became head of the Communist International.



Lev Kamenev (Leon Rozenfeld) spent many years in European exile with Lenin. Lenin was contemptuous about his 'weakness' but enjoyed his jokes and gossip.



A young Joseph Stalin – ‘the wonderful Georgian’, as Lenin once described him – around 1907, when he organised a great bank robbery in Tiflis to finance the Bolshevik Party.



Lenin in hiding in Finland, three weeks before the October Revolution, disguised as a Finnish worker, the only extant picture of him as an adult without his trademark beard.



Lenin in Red Square addressing the soldiers and Communist Party activists on the first anniversary of the October Revolution, 1918.



Felix Dzerzhinsky (centre), head of the Cheka, 'the sword and shield' of the Communist Party. 'Iron Felix', fanatical, ruthless, ice-cold and ascetic, was the most hated and feared man in Russia after 1917.



For the last nine months of his life, Lenin could hardly speak more than a handful of words or walk, and was confined to a wheelchair most of the time. His decline was kept a strict state secret for months.



The Afterlife. While Lenin lay in state, his successors, against his family's wishes, made the decision to embalm his body – 'for ever if we can,' said Dzerzhinsky – and place him on public display. He still draws huge crowds every year.

PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS

Antonov-Ovseyenko, Vladimir (1884–1939)

First World War officer in Tsarist army who threw in his lot with Lenin. One of the military planners of the Bolshevik coup. He led the Red Guards who entered the Winter Palace at the climax of the Revolution and arrested the surviving members of the Provisional Government. Later became one of Lenin's most ruthless hatchet men, suppressing revolts by peasants in 1920–21. Was shot following a show trial during Stalin's Great Purge.

Armand, Inessa (1874–1920)

One of the best-known Bolshevik feminists until Lenin's death, when she was written out of the official Soviet histories because of her relationship with Lenin. She was his mistress in an on-off love affair – and a close working relationship – that continued from 1910 until she died. The only time Lenin was seen to break down in public was at her funeral. She had four children by her husband, whom she had left for her brother-in-law. Was on the 'sealed train' from Zurich to Petrograd in 1917. After she died, Lenin and his wife became guardians of Inessa's daughters Inna and Varvara.

Balabanova, Angelica (1878–1965)

Bolshevik supporter and admirer of Lenin, who grew disenchanted with him. In exile together during the 1900s. After the Revolution she was the first Secretary of the Communist International (Comintern), established to encourage Communist Parties throughout the world and plot Marxist revolutions. Wrote one of the first (and best) accounts of Lenin and his character.

Bogdanov, Alexander (1873–1928)

Doctor, philosopher, journalist and early Marxist. Supported Lenin in

the Bolshevik-Menshevik split, but broke with him over philosophical disputes about religion. Lenin in the early 1900s saw him as a rival as leader of the Bolsheviks and expelled him from the Party. Opposed the 1917 Revolution, but took senior posts afterwards in the arts establishment and medicine. Founded the Soviet Blood Transfusion Service; died following a medical experiment on himself.

Bonch-Bruевич, Vladimir (1873–1955)

Bolshevik activist in Petrograd and an old friend of Lenin's family. A publisher until the Revolution, when he became Lenin's personal secretary and head of his private office until 1920. Thereafter an official at the Soviet Academy of Science and Director of the State Literary Museum.

Bukharin, Nikolai (1888–1938)

Bolshevik activist and the leading Communist ideologist after Lenin, who mentored him as a gifted journalist and speaker. Took a series of leading positions in the Communist Party after the Revolution, including editor of the Party newspaper *Pravda* for many years. The last of the Soviet magnates to see Lenin, whom he visited on the day of his death. Fell out with Stalin in the 1930s, tried and shot in the purges.

Chernyshevsky, Nikolai (1828–89)

Writer and political activist who spent twenty-five years in jail, penal servitude and Siberian exile. Lenin's literary hero. Lenin admitted that Chernyshevsky's novel *What Is To Be Done?*, written when he was in prison, was as big an influence on his socialist politics as any of the works by Marx. Lenin carried a picture of Chernyshevsky in his wallet for most of his adult life.

Dzerzhinsky, Felix (1877–1926)

The first head of the Cheka, the Communist Party's secret police, which later morphed into the NKVD and eventually the KGB. An extreme ascetic. Offspring of minor Polish nobility, he was known as the Iron Count or Iron Felix. Spent years in Tsarist jails for offences ranging from speaking Polish at school to forming a Communist Party in Poland. Tortured severely and lived with scarring on his ankles and arms. Established the Cheka as the 'sword and shield' of the Communist Party,

operating outside the law from the first and answerable only to Lenin.

Fotieva, Lidia (1881–1971)

Bolshevik exile with Lenin in Paris and Switzerland in the 1900s. Lenin's private secretary in Petrograd after the Revolution and in Moscow later. Wrote extensively about Lenin's life and working habits and worked in the Lenin Museum from the 1930s.

Gorky, Maxim (real name Alexei Peshkov, 1868–1936)

Playwright, novelist, socialist political activist. Became the best-known writer – and the highest-paid – for his books on his orphaned childhood and life in extreme poverty. Exiled after the failed Revolution of 1905, lived in Capri and the US. A supporter and generous financial backer of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. A severe critic of Lenin after the Revolution, though he remained a personal friend. Helped many writers and artists who faced persecution. Left Russia but returned under Stalin's dictatorship.

Kamenev, Lev (real name LevRozenfeld, 1882–1936)

Revolutionary conspirator with Lenin for many years in exile. Married to Trotsky's sister, Olga. Opposed the Bolshevik coup but took senior positions in the Party after the Revolution. Lenin sent him on a series of personal ultra-secret and diplomatic missions after the coup. One of the 'troika' – with Stalin and Zinoviev – who took power after Lenin's health collapsed in 1922. Stalin had him purged in a show trial and executed.

Kerensky, Alexander (1881–1971)

Lawyer, journalist, moderate socialist. A famously melodramatic orator who attracted huge crowds to his speeches. The leading figure in the Provisional Government that took power in Russia after the February 1917 Revolution and the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II, but proved a weak and indecisive Prime Minister. Overthrown by Lenin in the October Revolution. Exiled to France and then the US, where he spent the last four decades of his life.

Kollontai, Alexandra (1872–1952)

Revolutionary feminist whose first campaign was for education of

women workers. Talented novelist and author. In exile the leading Bolshevik in Scandinavia, trusted by Lenin. Rival of Inessa Armand as feminist propagandist. After Revolution, the first Commissar for Social Welfare. Clashed with Lenin on workers' rights, removed from senior Party positions and sent as Soviet Ambassador to Norway. Her book *A Great Love* was said to be based on the affair between Lenin and Inessa Armand. Had a series of love affairs of her own with leading Bolshevik revolutionaries.

Krasin, Leonid (1870–1926)

Electrical engineer and one of the few Bolsheviks who had ever worked in a business. Chief fundraiser for the Party, who managed to persuade millionaires to give money to the revolutionary cause. Head of the 'technical department' of the Party which organised bank robberies within Russia. After the Revolution, had high positions in Soviet trade and economic commissariats.

Krupskaya, Nadezhda (1869–1939)

Daughter of army officer and schoolteacher, both from minor nobility. Qualified as a teacher and taught workers to read and write. A passionately committed revolutionary socialist. Lenin's wife from 1898 – they married when both were exiled to Siberia for political offences. Lived with Lenin for nearly twenty years in exile and held senior posts in the Bolshevik Party, organising clandestine networks and handling agents. After the Revolution held senior post at the Commissariat of Public Enlightenment. Objected to the idea of embalming Lenin's body after he died and displaying it, but lost the battle. Opposed Stalin after Lenin died for a few years but turned into a reluctant Stalin loyalist for the last dozen years of her life.

Lunacharsky, Anatoly (1875–1933)

A revolutionary from school days and a supporter of Lenin after the Bolshevik- Menshevik split in 1903. A prolific and gifted writer of literary criticism, a close friend of Gorky. Broke with Lenin briefly but joined the Bolsheviks again. Was on the 'sealed train' from Switzerland to Russia. Became the first Commissar for Enlightenment after the Revolution, responsible for Soviet culture and education. Removed from

office by Stalin after Lenin died and despatched to diplomatic posts away from Russia.

Malinovsky, Roman (1876–1918)

A metalworker, jailed for theft and charged with attempted rape. Released from prison, became active in trade unions and the Social Democratic Party. Caught the eye of Lenin in 1909 as a highly intelligent, authentic working-class leader. Lenin promoted him to be the most important Bolshevik inside Russia. A double agent for the Tsarist secret police, the Okhrana, for whom he was the most highly paid agent provocateur and spy they had ever employed. He betrayed scores of Bolshevik activists, who were arrested and exiled – including Stalin, Sverdlov and Bukharin. Despite the evidence Lenin refused to believe he was a traitor. At the start of the First World War he absconded to Germany and after the February Revolution Okhrana files revealed his double life. He returned to Russia in 1918 and was shot.

Martov, Yuli (born Julius Tsederbaum, 1873–1923)

Founder and leading thinker of the Mensheviks. Exiled to Siberia and Western Europe for two decades. Had been Lenin's closest male friend and they were inseparable when they launched Russia's first Marxist party, the Social Democrats, together and began the newspaper *Iskra*. But they fell out in a vicious dispute that split the Party irrevocably in 1903. A highly popular man, fine writer and witty speaker, he returned to Russia in 1917, but objected to Lenin's seizure of power. Lenin allowed him to leave Russia and he went into exile again in 1920, to Berlin, where he died of TB.

Plekhanov, Georgy (1856–1918)

The 'father' of Russian Marxism. Escaped from Russia in 1880, just before the police were about to arrest him. His books *Our Differences* (1885) and, despite its title, *The Development of a Monist View of History*, became classic Marxist texts, famous throughout Europe. Established the Social Democratic Party and *Iskra* with Lenin but repeatedly clashed with him. Supported the First World War, against Lenin. Returned to Russia in 1917 and objected to the Bolshevik coup. Went into hiding shortly afterwards, fearing for his life. Died from a natural illness.

Stolypin, Pyotr (1862–1911)

The most able statesman and administrator of the late Tsarist period. Launched a series of agrarian and economic reforms – but also draconian measures against ‘subversives’ in which thousands of people were killed. Lenin admired him as a clever politician and opponent. Assassinated in Kiev by a Socialist Revolutionary, but the evidence suggested that the murder was planned by rivals in the Tsarist police and royal court.

Sverdlov, Yakov (1885–1919)

Arrested first aged barely eighteen and jailed numerous times before 1917. A staunch Lenin loyalist and number two in the administrative machine after the Bolshevik Revolution. Lenin said it ‘would need six men to replace Sverdlov’. He was the chief organiser and fixer in the regime, who carried out much of the secret dirty work Lenin would delegate to nobody else, such as organising the murder of the Tsar and his family. When Lenin was shot and, briefly, out of action after an assassination attempt, Sverdlov took over the reins. Died in the post-war influenza epidemic.

Trotsky, Leon (born Lev Bronstein, 1879–1940)

Marxist thinker and prolific writer. Originally a supporter of Lenin and contributor to *Iskra*, but sided with the Mensheviks in the Party split and then was neutral. Venomous disagreements with Lenin for a dozen years afterwards. A sparkling speaker who became famous in the failed 1905 Revolution when he led the Petrograd Soviet. In 1917 he made peace and sided with Lenin and became the public face of the Revolution – much better known than Lenin. He organised the Bolshevik coup and was head of the Red Army during the Civil War. Sidelined by Stalin after Lenin’s death and forced into exile. Murdered on Stalin’s orders.

Ulyanov, Alexander (1866–87)

Lenin’s older brother (by three years). Gifted natural science student at St Petersburg University. Involved in a bungled plot by the People’s Will revolutionary group to assassinate Tsar Alexandra III. Arrested, tried in secret and hanged six weeks after his twenty-first birthday.

Ulyanov, Ilya (1831–86)

Lenin's father. Leading Tsarist civil servant, an inspector of schools, who rose to the status of nobility because of his official rank as an administrator. Moderate liberal in politics. Died of a stroke when his son Vladimir was fifteen.

Ulyanova-Elizarova, Anna (1864–1935)

Lenin's older sister, a revolutionary socialist, who was arrested, jailed and exiled several times for her radical political activities. Married shipping agent Mark Elizarov and adopted a son, Gora. Wrote an Ulyanov family history in the 1930s detailing, among other things, her mother's Jewish background, which Stalin censored.

Ulyanova, Maria Alexandrovna (1835–1916)

Lenin's mother, whom he often described as 'a saint – pure and simple'. She was never a Marxist or any kind of socialist, but subsidised his revolutionary politics, and was a constant support to all her radical children. Throughout his two decades of exile he wrote her a constant stream of letters.

Ulyanova, Maria Ilyinichna (1878–1937)

Lenin's younger sister. Jailed and exiled regularly for her political activities. Occasionally lived with Lenin and Nadya in Switzerland and Poland – and shared an apartment with them in the Kremlin after the Revolution. Was given a senior post in the Communist Party after the Revolution by her brother, and a high-level job on the Party newspaper, *Pravda*.

Zinoviev, Grigory (born Hirsch Apfelbaum, 1883–1936)

Lenin's most faithful sidekick and aide during his years of exile from 1903, in Paris, Geneva, Poland and Zurich. Returned to Russia with Lenin on the 'sealed train'. Opposed the October coup and, initially, the establishment of a one-party state, but took leading jobs after the Revolution – as head of the Bolshevik Party in Petrograd and later Secretary of the Comintern. A popular speaker and after Lenin's death the

chief cheerleader of the 'Lenin cult' of mass hero worship. One of the 'troika' of leaders who succeeded Lenin but fell foul of Stalin, who drove him out of the Communist Party. Tried with Kamenev in the first of the show trials in Stalin's Great Terror and shot.

NOTES

PROLOGUE: THE COUP D'ETAT

The best accounts of the October Revolution remain the eyewitness reporting of Nikolai Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution 1917: A Personal Record*, London, 1955 (from the Russian *Zapiski o Revolutsii*, originally published in 1922), John Reed, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, New York, 1919, and despite, in places, its manifest *parti pris* distortions, Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, London, 1934. The best modern account in English is Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution 1891–1924*, London, 1996. I have drawn on all these works here.

- ¹ Lenin's *Collected Works* – around 9.5 million words of them – were published in the former USSR in various editions, the latest of them in 45 volumes between 1965–1973. I shall refer to them here, throughout, as CW. Lenin's letters to Fofanova and the Bolshevik Central Committee: CW, Vol. 44, pp. 68–72. The danger on Petrograd streets, Reed, p. 83.
- ² Lenin's arrival at Smolny: Harrison Salisbury, *Black Night, White Snow: Russia's Revolutions 1905–1917*, New York, 1978, pp. 434–42; Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*, p. 288.
- ³ Disorganisation of the October coup: Figes, pp. 484–90; Nikolai Podvoisky, 'Lenin in October', *Krasnaya Gazeta*, 6 November 1927.
- ⁴ Lenin's furious pace of work: Podvoisky. Choosing the title People's Commissars: Trotsky, *My Life*, New York, 1930, pp. 427–31.
- ⁵ Lenin's anger: Podvoisky; ministers in Winter Palace: Salisbury, pp. 440–6, Figes, pp. 495–497, Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution 1899–1919*, London, 1990, pp. 514–16.
- ⁶ Lenin's statement at Soviet Congress: CW, Vol. 44, p. 83.
- ⁷ Provisional Government in Winter Palace: Pipes, pp. 515–17.
- ⁸ Petrograd during the coup: Sukhanov, pp. 392–4; Reed, pp. 195–7.
- ⁹ Storming of the Winter Palace: Podvoisky; Figes, pp. 515–17; Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*, pp. 313–15; Sukhanov, pp. 396–9.
- ¹⁰ Trotsky's speech at Congress of Soviets: Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Armed: 1879–1921*, New York, 1954, p. 397; Lenin's speech: Reed, p. 213.

1: A NEST OF GENTLEFOLK

The best accounts of Lenin's family and childhood are by his two sisters – Anna Ulyanova-Elizarova, *Vospominaniya ob Il'iche*, published in Moscow in 1934 and translated into English as *The Childhood and School Years of Vladimir Ulyanov*, Moscow, 1988; and Maria Ulyanova, *O lenine i sem'ye Ulyanovikh: vospominaniya ocherki pisma*, Moscow 1978. Robert Service, *Lenin: A Biography*, London, 2000; Dmitry Volkogonov (trans. Harold Shukman), *Lenin: Life and Legacy*, London, 1994; Louis Fischer, *The Life of Lenin*, London, 1995; and Ronald Clark, *Lenin: The Man Behind the Mask*, London, 1988.

- ¹ Men had to agree with him, Mikhail Silvin: quoted in Adam Ulam, *Lenin and the Bolsheviks*, London, 1966.
- ² Lenin's mother and Blank family background: Volkogonov, pp. 45–9.
- ³ Children's love for mother: Anna Ulyanova-Elizarova, p. 33.
- ⁴ Maria Alexandrovna's charm: cited in Clark, p. 64.
- ⁵ Ilya Ulyanov, Lenin's father, background and politics: Anna Ulyanova-Elizarova, p. 21, and Maria Ulyanova, p. 17. Gorky on Lenin's 'traits of a nobleman': 'Untimely Thoughts' column, *Novaya Zhizn*, 17 November 1917.

2: A CHILDHOOD IDYLL

- ¹ Lenin as a child: Anna Ulyanova-Elizarova, pp. 2–41, and Maria Ulyanova, pp. 5–17; Robert Service, pp. 33–41; Clark, pp. 21–30.
- ² Simbirsk described by Ivan Goncharov, *Oblomov*, London, 1989. Lenin's early reading and playing games: Service, pp. 37–42; Richard Abraham, *Kerensky: The First Love of the Revolution*, London, 1987; Lenin and chess: Fischer, pp. 98–101.
- ³ The Ulyanovs at Kokushkino: Anna Ulyanova-Elizarova, pp. 31–3.
- ⁴ Lenin's education: Service, pp. 36–7; Fischer, pp. 45–51.
- ⁵ Memories from classmates at school: Clark, pp. 61–3.
- ⁶ Lenin not interested in politics in adolescence: Anna Ulyanova-Elizarova, p. 26.
- ⁷ Death of Lenin's father: Maria Ulyanov, pp. 29–31.

3: THE HANGED MAN

- ¹ Sasha's execution: Salisbury, pp. 5–9; Bertram Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, Boston, 1955, pp. 72–4; Philip Pomper, *Lenin's Brother: The Origins of the October Revolution*, New York, 2010, pp. 173–9.
- ² Sasha's childhood and youth: Anna Ulyanova-Elizarova, pp. 26–8.
- ³ Lenin's hatred for bourgeois liberals who snubbed his mother: Leon Trotsky, *The Young Lenin*, New York, 1972, pp. 43–4; Isaac Deutscher, *Lenin's Childhood*, London, 1970, pp. 123–5.
- ⁴ Sasha's assassination plot: Pomper, pp. 103–9. Trial: Wolfe, pp. 62–4. Meetings in jail with his mother: Fischer, p. 124.
- ⁵ Vladimir's reaction to death: Maria Ulyanova, p. 32, and quoted in Clark, pp. 86–8.
- ⁶ The bourgeois 'traitors and cowards': Nikolai Valentinov, *Encounters With Lenin*, London, 1968, and letter to sisters Anna and Maria, 13 July 1901, CW, Vol. 43, p. 126.

4: THE POLICE STATE

- ¹ Pyotr Struve, *Collected Works: Vol. 9*, Ann Arbor, 1970.
- ² Count von Aehrenthal, quoted in Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, p. 137.
- ³ Zaslulich trial: Anna Hillyar and Jane McDermid, *Revolutionary Women in Russia, 1870–1917*, London, 2000, p. 136.
- ⁴ Women revolutionaries and Vera Figner: quoted in Hillyar and McDermid, pp. 35–55.
- ⁵ Tsarist autocracy: Figes, pp. 73–84; Pobedonostev quoted in Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, p. 89; Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, pp. 65–74.
- ⁶ Censorship and the Tsars: Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, pp. 85–7; Fischer, pp. 73–5.
- ⁷ Radical movements: Figes, pp. 130–6; Wolfe, pp. 73–9; Maxim Gorky, *My Universities*, New York, 1938, pp. 130–5.

- ⁸ Sergei Nechayev, *The Revolutionary Catechism*, www.marxists.org/subject/anarchism/nechayev/catechism.htm

5: A REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION

- ¹ Fyodor Kerensky on Lenin, quoted in Fischer, p. 73.
² Expulsion from university: Volkogonov, p. 68.
³ Lenin and smoking: Maria Ulyanova, p. 39.
⁴ Ministers' refusal to allow Lenin to study: Maria Ulyanova, p. 46. Lenin on his mother's courage: Valentinov, p. 61.
⁵ Lenin on Chernyshevsky: Valentinov, p. 81–2.
⁶ Lenin on landed estates: Valentinov, p. 148. On hunting: Anna Ulyanova-Elizarova, p. 47.
⁷ Lenin on discovering Marx: Maria Ulyanova, p. 43.
⁸ On farming: Nadezhda Krupskaya, *Reminiscences of Lenin*, New York, 1970, pp. 67–8.
⁹ Lenin's law exams: Ulam, p. 89.

6: VLADIMIR ILYICH – ATTORNEY AT LAW

- ¹ Lenin's legal case against Arefev: Service, pp. 91–2 and Anna Ulyanova-Elizarova, p. 49.
² Volga famine: Maria Ulyanova, p. 57 and Leon Trotsky, *On Lenin: Notes Towards a Biography*, London, 1971, p. 86.
³ Descriptions of Lenin: Valentinov, p. 46; Alexander Potresov, *Posmertinyi sbornik proizvednyii* (ed. B. Nikolayevsy), Paris, 1937; and quoted in Clark, p. 73. Alexander Kuprin quoted in Fischer, p. 85.
⁴ Lenin's character: Potresov, p. 63, and quoted in Clark, p. 72.
⁵ Lenin, *What the Friends of the People Are*, CW, Vol. 2, pp. 47–57.
⁶ Lenin lecturing to St Petersburg workers: Clark, pp. 82–4.

7: NADYA – A MARXIST COURTSHIP

- ¹ Nadya's first meeting with Lenin: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, pp. 42–4.
² Nadya's family and background: *ibid.*, pp. 10–18; Robert McNeal, *Bride of the Revolution: Krupskaya and Lenin*, London, 1973, pp. 13–19; and Mary Hamilton-Dann, *Vladimir and Nadya*, New York, 1998.
³ Nadya's idealism: quoted in Fischer, p. 95.
⁴ Work as railway clerk: Fischer, p. 73.
⁵ Nadya's friendship with Yakubova: McNeal, p. 89.

8: LANGUAGE, TRUTH AND LOGIC

- ¹ Lenin uses argument to 'wipe him off the face of the earth': CW, Vol. 6, p. 156.
² Moishe Olgin: quoted in Clark, p. 145.
³ Voitinsky: quoted in Salisbury, p. 126.
⁴ Lenin as a speaker: Maxim Gorky, *Days with Lenin*, New York, 1933, also as *Memories of Lenin* at the Marxists internet archive, www.marxists.org/archive/gorky-maxim/1924/01/x01.htm
⁵ Lenin as speaker: Trotsky, *On Lenin*, pp. 197–9.
⁶ Martov quote, see Israel Getzler, *Martov: A Political Biography of a Russian Social Democrat*, Cambridge, 1967.

9: FOREIGN PARTS

- ¹ 'Important mission': CW, Vol. 44, p. 265.
- ² Lenin and Okhrana: quoted in Helen Rappaport, *Conspirator: Lenin in Exile*, London, 2009, p. 7; bad at languages: letter to his mother, 29 April 1895, CW, Vol. 44, p. 266.
- ³ First sight of Alps: letter to his mother, 2 May 1895, CW, Vol. 44, p. 261.
- ⁴ Meeting Plekhanov: CW, Vol. 9, p. 145; letter to Maria Ulyanova, 24 May 1895, CW, Vol. 44, p. 302.
- ⁵ Axelrod's letter to Plekhanov: quoted in Fischer, p. 173.
- ⁶ Asking mother for money: CW, Vol. 44, pp. 283 and 298.
- ⁷ On invisible ink: Lenin to Axelrod, CW, Vol. 44, p. 485.

10: PRISON AND SIBERIA

- ¹ First interrogation: Clark, p. 83.
- ² Keeping fit in jail: Letter to Maria Ulyanova, 13 February 1896, CW, Vol. 44, p. 532, and to his mother, 10 February 1896, CW, Vol. 44, p. 519.
- ³ Visitors to prison: letter to Anna and Maria Ulyanova, 3 March 1896, CW, Vol. 44, p. 546.
- ⁴ Letters in code: *ibid.*
- ⁵ Kzhizhanovsky: quoted in Fischer, p. 134.
- ⁶ Lenin in Siberia: letter to his mother, 14 March 1897, CW, Vol. 44, p. 527.
- ⁷ Arrival at Shushenskoye: letter to his mother, 28 May 1897, CW, Vol. 44, p. 539. Hunting: letter to Maria Ulyanova and Dmitry Ulyanov, 29 June, CW, Vol. 44, p. 556. Lonely: letter to Anna Ulyanova, 25 July 1897, CW, Vol. 44, p. 583.
- ⁸ Family sending supplies: letter to his mother, 6 September 1897, CW, Vol. 44, p. 573.
- ⁹ Nadya on her early married life: quoted in McNeal, p. 197.
- ¹⁰ Nadya's letters to Lenin's mother and sisters on hunting: 9 September and 11 October 1898, CW, Vol. 44, pp. 587 and 593 respectively; on being pregnant: 12 October 1899, CW, Vol. 44, p. 616.
- ¹¹ Arrest at Tsarkoe Selo: Service, p. 156 and Fischer, p. 133; Nadya's illness: letter to his mother, 6 April 1900, CW, Vol. 44, p. 637.

11: LENIN IS BORN

- ¹ Plekhanov's letters to Lenin about liberals: quoted in Ulam, p. 176. Lenin's replies: CW, Vol. 44, p. 312.
- ² Letter from Lenin to Nadya from Munich, 12 December 1900, CW, Vol. 44, p. 456.
- ³ Lonely in Munich: letter to his mother, 3 January 1901, CW, Vol. 44, p. 487.
- ⁴ Nadya meeting Lenin in Munich: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, pp. 93–6.
- ⁵ *Iskra* as the 'collective agitator': CW, Vol. 5, p. 115.
- ⁶ Clash between Plekhanov and Lenin over *Iskra*, Lenin's quotes: *How the 'Spark' was nearly extinguished*, CW, Vol. 5, pp. 197–8.
- ⁷ Letter to Plekhanov on editing *Iskra*: 4 January 1901, CW, Vol. 44, pp. 276–7. Launch issue article by Lenin: 11 December 1900, CW, Vol. 5, pp. 276–81.
- ⁸ Smuggling *Iskra*: Service, pp. 132–6, and Rappaport, pp. 152–6.
- ⁹ Deciphering letters: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, pp. 179–81 and Rappaport, pp. 162–5.

- ¹⁰ Lenin as editor: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 183. Friendship with Martov: Fischer, pp. 133–7; Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, pp. 180–3; Sukhanov, pp. 85–93; and Israel Getzler, *Martov: A Political Biography of a Russian Social Democrat*, Cambridge, 1967. Potresov on Martov quoted in Ulam, p. 135.

12: UNDERGROUND LIVES

- ¹ Mikhail Silvin: quoted in Ulam, p. 133.
² Conspiratorial life underground: Rappaport, pp. 133–40; Figes, pp. 242–9; and Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, pp. 146–9.
³ Elena Stasova: quoted in Rappaport, p. 139.
⁴ Women conspirators: Rappaport, pp. 136–9.
⁵ Lenin on organising underground networks: letter to Leonid Krasin, CW, Vol. 44, p. 253.
⁶ Okhrana penetration of underground cells: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 117.

13: ENGLAND, THEIR ENGLAND

- ¹ London, 'hideous' letter to Axelrod: 16 April 1902, CW, Vol. 44, p. 233. Lenin and Nadya hated English food: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 135. Landlady: quoted in Rappaport, p. 197. Letter from Lenin's mother about lodgings: quoted in Clark, p. 129.
² Lenin loathed communes and wanted his own space: Valentinov, pp. 196–7.
³ British police relaxed about Russian radicals: Rappaport, pp. 194–5.
⁴ Publishing *Iskra* and the British Museum Reading Room: Andrew Rothstein, *Lenin in Britain*, London, 1970, p. 76 and p. 92. Lenin aloof but cheerful: Valentinov, p. 199.
⁵ Lenin taking walks and excursions outside London: Rothstein, pp. 78–81 and Rappaport, pp. 193–5.
⁶ Country walks: letter to his mother, 2 July 1902, CW, Vol. 44, p. 598.
⁷ Trotsky arrives in London and meets Lenin: Trotsky, *On Lenin*, p. 37.
⁸ Leaving London, miserable and ill: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 137.

14: WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

- ¹ *What Is To Be Done?* in the original *Leninski sbornik* (collected writings), Moscow, Vol. 7 of 50 published between 1927 and 1960. The best English version was translated by S. V. and Patricia Utechin, Oxford, 1963.
² Valentinov, p. 146.
³ Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 104.
⁴ 'Theory is only a hypothesis', said to Potresov: quoted in Clark, p. 138. Plekhanov quote 'Lenin could veer and prevaricate': letter to Angelica Balabonova, p. 159.

15: THE GREAT SCHISM – BOLSHEVIKS AND MENSHEVIKS

- ¹ Zelikson Bobrovskaya: quoted in Clark, p. 142.
² Martov in Geneva: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 128.
³ Lenin disliked boring people: Valentinov, p. 173.
⁴ Lenin singing revolutionary songs: quoted in Clark, p. 144.
⁵ Lenin divided himself from other exiles: Valentinov, p. 181.
⁶ The 1903 Congress is described well by Rappaport, pp. 165–71, Service, pp. 156–62 and Ulam, pp. 173–9. Quote to Gleb Krzhizhanovsky: letter, 11 October 1903, CW, Vol. 44, p. 128. Lenin on 'a splendid Congress': quoted in Clark, p. 149.

- ⁷ The Party splits are superbly recounted by Valentinov, pp. 178–81; Service, pp. 160–6; Fischer, pp. 197–201; and Rappaport, pp. 173–6.
- ⁸ Lenin’s ‘rages’: Valentinov, p. 189.

16: PEAKS AND TROUGHS

- ¹ Walking in the Alps: Lenin to his mother, 6 September 1903, CW, Vol. 44, p. 372.
- ² Reconciliation attempts in Party: Krzhizhanovsky in Ulam, p. 204.
- ³ Walking holiday, 1903, and Lenin’s need for holidays: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 149.
- ⁴ Climb of Rochers de Naye with Maria Essen: quoted in Fischer, pp. 169–71.

17: AN AUTOCRACY WITHOUT AN AUTOCRAT

Of the vast number of books about the last Tsar and his wife – and the late stages of the Romanov dynasty – the best are Simon Sebag Montefiore, *The Romanovs 1613–1918*, London, 2016; Dominic Lieven, *Nicholas II: Emperor of all the Russians*, London, 1993 and Edvard Radzinsky, *The Last Tsar*, London, 1992. The letters of Nicholas II and Alexandra, 1914–1918, are invaluable source material, available online at www.alexanderpalace.org/letters. There is excellent background on the Tsar and the 1905 Revolution in Figes, *A People’s Tragedy*, and Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*.

- ¹ Nicholas absorbed in picking his nose: Figes, p. 172.
- ² ‘Best-bred . . . yet tremendous parochialism’, Sebag Montefiore, *The Romanovs*, p. 526.
- ³ War with Japan: Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, pp. 188–93.
- ⁴ Lenin reaction to 1905 Revolution: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 184.
- ⁵ Bloody Sunday description: Figes, pp. 246–8.
- ⁶ Gorky at Bloody Sunday: cited in Figes, p. 249.
- ⁷ US Ambassador McCormick, Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1905>.
- ⁸ Lenin on Japan War: CW, Vol. 6, p. 274.
- ⁹ Lenin’s letters on street fighting: CW, Vol. 44, pp. 337–8.
- ¹⁰ Lenin on arming the masses, ‘an immediate task’: CW, Vol. 6, p. 328.
- ¹¹ ‘Victory . . . is not the point’: quoted in Ulam, p. 253.
- ¹² Leonid Krasin on rich people’s gifts to Bolsheviks: quoted in Roy Medvedev, *Let History Judge*, London, 1972. Putilov, ‘Tsarism is lost’: quoted in Ulam, p. 259.
- ¹³ Landlords fear attacks: Figes, pp. 282–4.

18: BACK HOME

- ¹ Stalin’s first meeting with Lenin: quoted in Simon Sebag Montefiore, *The Young Stalin*, London, 2007, p. 213.
- ² Gorky’s relationship with Lenin: Gorky, *My Days with Lenin*, London, 1933, pp. 27–9 and Figes, pp. 257–9.
- ³ Lenin speaking at Countess Panina’s *soirée*: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 195.
- ⁴ Terror after 1905 Revolution: Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, pp. 217–20; Salisbury, pp. 191–4; Sebag Montefiore, *The Romanovs*, pp. 493–5. Tsar Nicholas wanted harsh measures: Salisbury, p. 195.
- ⁵ Tsar’s anti-Semitism and support for Union of the Russian People: Sebag Montefiore, *The Romanovs*, pp. 497–8 and *Letters of Tsar Nicholas to [his mother] Empress Marie*, (ed. Edward Bing), London, 1930. Pogroms: Figes, pp. 271–3.
- ⁶ Lenin’s physical cowardice: Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, p. 283.

19: 'EXPROPRIATE THE EXPROPRIATORS'

- ¹ 'Revolution is not a finishing school,' Lenin to Martov: 12 March 1902, CW, Vol. 44, p. 278 and to Valentinov, p. 196.
- ² *Record of Fifth Russian Social Democratic Congress*, London 1907, Service, p. 219. Gorky: quotes from *Days with Lenin*, p. 48. Lenin's concern for Gorky's comfort: quoted in Wolfe, p. 237. Maxim Litvinov: quotes on Rothschilds from John Holroyd-Doveton, *Maxim Litvinov: A Biography*, London, 2013, p. 135.
- ³ 1907 Congress: Rappaport, pp. 204–10. Bank robbery in Tiflis: Sebag Montefiore, *The Young Stalin*, pp. 22–8. Schmidt inheritance: Volkogonov, pp. 194–201 and Fischer pp. 216–19. Lenin admits he could not have carried off the deception: Service, p. 182. 'A scoundrel . . . might be what we need': Lenin to Vladimir Bonch-Bruевич, 8 March 1909, CW, Vol. 44, p. 137.
- ⁴ The 'trustees' of the Schmidt money: Volkogonov, p. 202.
- ⁵ Lenin's money from Party: Volkogonov, pp. 238–40. Nadya admits they were not in penury: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 198.
- ⁶ Lenin needs rest: Nadya's letter to his mother, 22 June 1907, CW, Vol. 44, p. 423, and Lenin to his mother, 24 June 1907, CW, Vol. 44, p. 425.
- ⁷ Lidia Dan: quoted in Boris Sapir (ed.), *Fyodor Ilyich Dan Prisma [Letters] 1899–1947*, Amsterdam, 1985, p. 137.
- ⁸ Clara Zetkin, *Reminiscences of Lenin*, www.marxists.org/archive/zetkin/1924/reminiscences-of-lenin.htm.
- ⁹ Walter Borg's quote about Lenin's freezing feet: Salisbury, p. 213.
- ¹⁰ Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 194.

20: GENEVA – 'AN AWFUL HOLE'

- ¹ Lenin, 'I've come back to Geneva to be buried': Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 196.
- ² *Ibid.* p. 202.
- ³ 'shall I live to see another Revolution': letter to Maria Ulyanova, 3 March 1909, CW, Vol. 44, p. 496.
- ⁴ Plekhanov, *My i oni ['Us and Them']*, Moscow 1907, p. 32 and quoted in Samuel Baron, *Plekhanov: The Father of Russian Marxism*, Stanford, 1963. August Bebel to Lenin: quoted by Martov in Getzler, p. 136.
- ⁵ Lenin and Bogdanov: letter to Gorky, CW, Vol. 44, p. 263.
- ⁶ Lenin on religion: letter to Gorky, CW, Vol. 44, p. 186.
- ⁷ Gorky on Lenin's charm and vivacity: Gorky, *Days with Lenin*, p. 28.
- ⁸ Okhrana informers: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, pp. 173–4.
- ⁹ Zinoviev's background: Ulam, pp. 213–14; and quotes: Balabanova, p. 139. Kamenev, quotes: Valentinov, p. 149 and Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 274.
- ¹⁰ On Dr Zhitomirsky: Yuri Felshtinsky, *Lenin and His Comrades: The Bolsheviks Take Over Russia, 1917–1924*, New York, 2010. 'A large city will cheer us up': Lenin to his mother, 13 December 1908, CW, Vol. 44, p. 497.

21: INESSA – LENIN IN LOVE

- ¹ Background of Inessa Armand: Michael Pearson, *Inessa: Lenin's Mistress*, London, 2001 and R. C. Elwood, *Inessa Armand: Revolutionary and Feminist*, Cambridge, 1992.
- ² 'Lenin was mesmerised': Jean Fréville, *Lénine à Paris*, Paris, 1958, p. 13.
- ³ Elizabeth de K. and Lenin: Fischer, p. 192 and Felshtinsky, pp. 93–5.

- ⁴ Reports from Okhrana: quoted in Ben Fischer, *Okhrana: The Paris Operations of the Russian Imperial Police*, Washington D.C., Center for the Study of Intelligence, 1997. Also a double agent: Valerian Agafonov, *Zagranichnaya Okhrana*, Petrograd, 1918, has good first-hand accounts of spying throughout Europe for the Tsar.
- ⁵ Inessa's background: Pearson, Elwood, Freville, Louis Fischer and Polina Vinogradskaya, *Pamyati Inessy Armand* (ed. Nadezhda Krupskaya), Moscow, 1926.
- ⁶ Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 195. Food parcels from Russia: Lenin to his mother, 5 June 1909, CW, Vol. 44, p. 479. Tidy Paris flat: Ilya Ehrenburg, *People and Life: Memoirs 1891–1917*, London, 1961.
- ⁷ Lenin's stress and insomnia: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 197.
- ⁸ Nadya on cycling: letter to Lenin's mother, 19 September 1909, CW, Vol. 44, p. 485. Last time Lenin saw his mother: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 201 and quoted in Katy Turton, *Forgotten Lives: The Role of Lenin's Sisters in the Russian Revolution, 1864–1937*, London, 2007.
- ⁹ The long-censored letters between Inessa and Lenin became available after the collapse of the USSR in 1991 in various stages over the next decade, not all at once. Most are in the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI) fond 127, but a few others are in the Archives of the President of the Russian Federation (APRF). Most of the family records were moved to the RGASPI by 1991, including most of Inessa's letters to her children. This letter 'I wasn't in love with you then': RGASPI f. 127, op. 17, d. 12.
- ¹⁰ Nadya in 'a state of utter melancholy': letter to Lenin's mother and sister Maria, 12 April 1910 and 3 May 1910, CW, Vol. 44, p. 496 and p. 513. Kollontai claims Nadya offered to leave Lenin: Marcel Body, 'Alexandra Kollontai', *Preuves*, No. 14, April 1952, Paris.
- ¹¹ 'Life . . . more cheerful when Inessa around': Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 198.
- ¹² 'a hot bonfire of revolution': quoted in Rappaport, p. 201. Inessa was 'pedantic . . . repeated Lenin verbatim': Balabanova, p. 185.

22: BETRAYALS

- ¹ 'Theory is not Holy Writ': quoted in Ulam, p. 235. Lenin in favour of parliaments, in *Neuskaya Zveda*: 13 May 1912, CW, Vol. 7, pp. 257–8.
- ² Roman Malinovsky an 'outstanding worker representing us': Lenin to Alexander Shlyapnikov, 16 October 1912, CW, Vol. 43, p. 186.
- ³ Malinovsky's background: Service, pp. 220–8; Felshtinsky, pp. 25–7; Ulam, pp. 237–40; and Rappaport, pp. 225–9.
- ⁴ Lenin didn't believe Malinovsky a double agent: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 219.
- ⁵ 'That bastard . . . fooled us for years': Lenin to Zinoviev, quoted in Rappaport, p. 228.
- ⁶ Launch of *Pravda*: Louis Fischer, pp. 278–80.
- ⁷ Lenin to Gorky on moving to Austria: 12 May 1912, CW, Vol. 44, p. 104.
- ⁸ Climbing Babya in the Tatra Mountains: quoted in Clark, p. 219.
- ⁹ Galicia is 'almost Russia': Lenin to his mother, 3 September 1912, CW, Vol. 44, p. 496. Homesickness: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 198.

23: A LOVE TRIANGLE – TWO INTO THREE WILL GO

- ¹ Nadya ill and needing treatment for Graves' Disease: letter to Maria Ulyanova, quoted in Clark, p. 285.
- ² Nadya's operation in Berne: Louis Fischer, pp. 284–7. Lenin's row with surgeon: letter to Kamenev, 15 June 1913, CW, Vol. 44, p. 138.

NOTES

- ³ Nadya on operation: *ibid.*, p. 213.
- ⁴ Nadya on Inessa in Galicia: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 219.
- ⁵ Lenin's fondness of children: Zina (Zinoviev) Lilina, 'Tov: Lenin edet v Rossiyu', *Leningradskaya Pravda*, 16 April 1924.
- ⁶ Lenin thanks Inessa for representing him in Brussels: RGASPI f. 127, opis. 16, delo. 19.
- ⁷ Nadya on drawing close to Inessa: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 223.
- ⁸ Inessa's letter from Paris, 14 December 1913: RGASPI f. 127, op. 13, d. 15; Lenin's reply: RGASPI f. 127, op. 13, d. 18.

24: CATASTROPHE – THE WORLD AT WAR

- ¹ Lenin predicting war, *Vyperod*: October 1907, CW, Vol. 7, p. 142.
- ² Lenin tells his mother there won't be war: 13 November 1912, CW, Vol. 44, p. 499; and to Gorky, 9 December 1912, CW, Vol. 44, p. 178.
- ³ Arrest in Galicia and help from Victor Adler: Lenin letter to Zinoiev, CW, Vol. 44, pp. 258–9 and Clark, p. 195.
- ⁴ Move to Berne: Lenin to his sister Maria, 21 August 1914, CW, Vol. 44, p. 513.
- ⁵ Russian Interior Minister Durnovo warning against war: Figes, p. 387.
- ⁶ The most comprehensive works in English on Russia's disastrous First World War and the Eastern Front 1914–1918 are Dominic Lieven, *Towards the Flame: Empire, War and the End of Tsarist Russia*, London, 2015; Norman Stone, *The Eastern Front, 1914–1917*, London, 1975; and Max Hastings, *Catastrophe: Europe Goes to War 1914*, London, 2013. I have drawn from each of them.
- ⁷ Brusilov quotes, an 'army of ignoramuses': Figes, p. 398.
- ⁸ Low morale in army: Hastings, p. 277.
- ⁹ Polianov, Minister of War, to Tsar: quoted in Figes, p. 400.

25: IN THE WILDERNESS

- ¹ Lenin's squabble with his sister Anna: Turton, p. 96.
- ² Lenin complains to Inessa about squabbles in Party: quoted in Service, p. 296.
- ³ Nadya's mother dies and is cremated: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 224.
- ⁴ Nadya ill again and needs holiday: letter to Kollontai, www.marxists.org/kollontai
- ⁵ Nadya, Inessa and Lenin holiday at Sörenberg: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 231.
- ⁶ Lenin's opposition to war: letter to Kollontai, 12 November 1914, CW, Vol. 44, p. 199.
- ⁷ Zimmerwald Conference: Service, pp. 246–8. Martov on Lenin's anti-war stand: Getzler, p. 197.
- ⁸ Inessa and Lenin dispute on 'free love': Rappaport, p. 236; Pearson, *Inessa Armand*, pp. 176–8; Service, p. 276; Inessa to Lenin, RGASPI f. 127, op. 17, d. 9 and Georges Bardawil, *Inès Armand*, Paris, 1993, p. 187.
- ⁹ Lenin to Inessa, RGASPI f. 127, op. 15, d. 14.
- ¹⁰ Background on Helphand. Zbyněk Zeman, *The Merchant of Revolution*, London, 1965.

26: THE LAST EXILE

- ¹ Lenin's money troubles: Nadya to Maria Ulyanova, 16 December 1916, and Lenin to Maria, 13 January 1917, CW, Vol. 44, p. 512.
- ² Modest lodgings in Zurich: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 231.

- ³ Titus Kammerer, 'We rented to the Lenins', *Partisan Review*, Vol. 6, No. 3, New York, 1939.
- ⁴ Stefan Zweig quote: from Zweig, *The Tide of Fortune: Twelve Historical Miniatures*, London, 1927.
- ⁵ Lenin's plan to hand over Bolshevik funds to Inessa: see Service, p. 270.

27: REVOLUTION – PART ONE

- ¹ Dmitry Merezhovsky quote: from the diaries of Zinaida Gippius, *Peterburgskie dnevniki 1914–1919*, New York, 1982, p. 45; and her claim that Russia is 'a large lunatic asylum', p. 49.
- ² Alexander Blok on promiscuity: quoted in Figes, p. 159.
- ³ Officers going AWOL: Major-General Sir Alfred Knox, *With the Russian Army 1914–1917*, London, 1921.
- ⁴ The revolution 'will be started by the army': quoted in Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, p. 374.
- ⁵ Meriel Buchanan: quote from M. Buchanan, *Ambassador's Daughter*, London, 1958. Lord Milner: quoted in Louis Fischer, p. 297.
- ⁶ Okhrana reports: see Alexander Rabinowitch, *Prelude to Revolution: The Petrograd Bolsheviks and the July 1917 Uprising*, Bloomington, Ind., 1968.
- ⁷ Gippius, p. 165.
- ⁸ Lenin to Inessa, RGASPI f. 127, op. 17, d. 11.
- ⁹ Lenin's instructions to Kollontai: 2 March 1917, CW, Vol. 12, p. 165.
- ¹⁰ Plans to leave Zurich using disguises: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 225.
- ¹¹ 'My nerves overstrung': Lenin to Inessa, RGASPI f. 127, op. 18, d. 19.
- ¹² Alexandra's letter describing revolutionaries 'a hooligan movement': www.alexanderpalace.org/letters
- ¹³ 'That fat fellow Rodzianko': quoted in Sebag Montefiore, *The Romanovs*, p. 489.
- ¹⁴ Mutiny by regiments and casualties in Revolution: Figes, pp. 486–92.
- ¹⁵ Tsar's abdication: Sebag Montefiore, *The Romanovs*, pp. 528–9.
- ¹⁶ Bolsheviks unprepared for Revolution and short of money: Rabinowitch, *Prelude to Revolution*, p. 129.

28: THE SEALED TRAIN

- ¹ Lenin approves Martov's 'sealed train' plan: letter to Radek, 7 March 1917, CW, Vol. 44, p. 216.
- ² Tells Inessa he has to operate secretly: letter, 8 March 1917, RGASPI f. 127, op. 18, d. 13.
- ³ German Generals Ludendorff and Hoffmann: quoted in Clark, p. 269; also see Hastings, p. 253.
- ⁴ German defence of using Lenin: Volkogonov, p. 216.
- ⁵ Lenin desperate to reach Russia: letter to Inessa, 10 March 1917, RGASPI f. 127, op. 18, d. 13.
- ⁶ Negotiations with Germans: Fritz Platten, *Lenin iz emigratsii v Rossiyu*, Moscow, 1925.
- ⁷ Reaction in Zurich to sealed train: Rappaport, pp. 228–30; Michael Pearson, *The Sealed Train* (London, 1975), pp. 49–51; Catherine Merridale, *Lenin on the Train*, London, 2016, pp. 73–9; Karl Radek, 'Lenin's Sealed Train', *New York Times*, 19 February 1922; J. Ley, 'A Memorable Day in April', *New Statesman*, 19 April 1958; Olga Ravich, 'The Journey Across Germany', *Pravda*, 10 April 1922.

- ⁸ Lenin felt justified in taking German help: Clark, p. 214.
- ⁹ British tried to bribe Lenin: Clark, p. 217.
- ¹⁰ Lenin's belongings when he left Zurich: Kammerer, 'We rented to the Lenins'. Rappaport, p. 229.
- ¹¹ Departure from station in Switzerland: Karl Radek, 'V plombirovannom vagone', *Pravda*, 20 April 1924; Platten, p. 19; and Rappaport, pp. 232–3.
- ¹² Lenin a martinet on the journey: Radek, 'Lenin's Sealed Train', Merridale, pp. 82–6; and Rappaport, pp. 231–4.
- ¹³ Lenin to Zinoviev: quoted in Louis Fischer, p. 317, and in Radek, 'V plombirovannom vagone'.
- ¹⁴ Lenin in Stockholm: Platten, p. 35; Radek, 'V plombirovannom vagone'; and Rappaport, pp. 236–7.
- ¹⁵ Esmé Howard quote, 'let things take their course': Louis Fischer, p. 286.
- ¹⁶ Lenin infuriated by articles in *Pravda* supporting the war: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 239.
- ¹⁷ Women strip-searched by British soldiers: Zina Linina, 'Tov: Lenin edet v Rossiyu', *Leningradskaya Pravda*, 16 April 1924. British agent Harry Gruner letting Lenin into Finland: Giles Milton, *Russian Roulette: How British Spies Thwarted Lenin's Global Plot*, London, 2013.

29: TO THE FINLAND STATION

- ¹ Finland looked familiar to Nadya and Lenin: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 245.
- ² Kamenev's pro-war editorial: *Pravda*, 31 March 1917.
- ³ Lenin's arrival at the Finland Station on Easter Monday 1917 is best described in Sukhanov, pp. 86–90 and Robert Payne, *The Life and Death of Lenin*, New York, 1965, pp. 288–92.
- ⁴ Trotsky on Mathilde Kshesinskaya's mansion and background: quoted in Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution* and Barbara Allen, *Shlyapnikov: The Life of an Old Bolshevik*, Leiden, 2015.
- ⁵ Lenin's speech to Bolsheviks at the Party headquarters: Sukhanov, pp. 91–3.

30: THE INTERREGNUM

- ¹ Lenin at his mother's grave: Vladimir Bonch-Bruevich, *Vospomonanii o Lenine*, Moscow, 1985, p. 43.
- ² Lenin at Tauride Palace: Sukhanov, p. 103.
- ³ Lenin's 'extremism', quotes from Prince Lvov and Pavel Milyukov: Figes, p. 487.
- ⁴ Gorky, 'this is no longer a capital; it is a cesspit': Gorky, 'Untimely Thoughts' column, *Novaya Zhizn*, 13 June 1917.
- ⁵ Trotsky on anarchy: Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 183.
- ⁶ 'For sheer political incompetence, history has few better examples': Zinoviev, *The History of the Bolshevik Party*, www.marxists.org/archive/zinoviev/. Chaos at meetings of Petrograd Soviet: Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, pp. 448–9.
- ⁷ 'Soon the government will not . . . preserve itself': Bonch-Bruevich, p. 63.
- ⁸ Prince Lvov: quoted in Figes, p. 482.
- ⁹ Kerensky speaking: Sukhanov, pp. 91–3 and Albert Rhys Williams, *Through the Russian Revolution*, New York, 1921.
- ¹⁰ Gippius, p. 193.

31: 'PEACE, LAND AND BREAD'

- ¹ Lenin said experts were not needed: to Alexander Shotman in Shotman, 'Lenin nakanune Oktyabrya', *O Lenine: Sbornik vospominaniy*, Leningrad, 1925.
- ² 'We must talk about peace, land and bread, these things': Lenin to Kamenev, 13 May 1917, CW, Vol. 44, p. 134.
- ³ Rhys Williams, p. 74.
- ⁴ 'A peaceful reconnaissance of our enemies' forces': Lenin to Zinoviev and Kamenev, 2 May 1917, CW, Vol. 44, p. 201.
- ⁵ Indiscipline in army and quotes from generals: Baron Alexei Budberg papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford, California, Box 1, Knox, pp. 109–10 and in Louis Fischer, p. 284.
- ⁶ Gorky in despair: Maxim Gorky archive, www.marxists.org/archive/gorky-maxim/
- ⁷ Revolution on the land, estates vandalised: Figes, pp. 493–9; Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, pp. 423–6; and Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power: The Revolution of 1917 in Petrograd*, London, 1979, pp. 286–9.
- ⁸ Landowners murdered: Figes, p. 498.

32: THE SPOILS OF WAR

- ¹ June All-Russian Congress of Soviets: Sukhanov, p. 186; Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, p. 123; and Morgan Philips Price, *Manchester Guardian*, 19 June and 20 June 1917.
- ² German money to Lenin: Volkogonov, pp. 167–73, Zeman, Zbyněk (ed.), *Germany and the Revolution in Russia, 1915–1918*, Oxford, 1953, pp. 101–3; Merridale, pp. 106–15.
- ³ Details of German payments to Bolsheviks: Volkogonov, pp. 170–5; Merridale, pp. 105–9; and Pearson, *The Sealed Train*, pp. 116–19. Long-censored reports detailing the cover-up: letter to Trotsky and Lenin, RGASPI f. 32, op. 14, d. 12.

33: A DESPERATE GAMBLE

- ¹ Andrew Curtis, *Somerset Maugham*, London, 1977 is good on Maugham's role as a spy in Petrograd, as is Maugham's own *Ashenden: Or the British Agent*, London, 1928. Robert Bruce Lockhart's *Memoirs of a British Agent*, London, 1932 and *Diaries: Volume 1*, London, 1973, are highly readable (if not always entirely reliable) about espionage in Russia between 1917 and 1921, as is Robert Service, *Spies and Commissars*, London, 2011.
- ² The disastrous June offensive: Hastings, pp. 293–7; Figes, pp. 483–6; and Budberg Papers, Box 1.
- ³ Funds from Germany. Volkogonov, pp. 372–9; Merridale, pp. 94–7.

34: THE JULY DAYS

- ¹ Lenin insists on caution in demonstrations: Nikolai Podvoisky, 'Lenin in October'. 'Holiday' before the July Days: Bonch-Bruevich, p. 72.
- ² July Days description: Figes, pp. 472–4 and Rabinowitch, *Prelude to Revolution*.
- ³ 'A little more than a demonstration, but less than a Revolution': Lenin to Trotsky, in Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, p. 296.
- ⁴ Lenin demands explanation from insurrection planners: Podvoisky, 'Lenin in October'.
- ⁵ Lenin and Nadya embrace and say goodbye, witnessed by Zinoviev, Stasova and

Kamenev: Bonch-Bruevich, p. 84.

- ⁶ Lenin goes underground into hiding: Trotsky, *On Lenin*. Shaving with Stalin's help: Service, *Lenin*, p. 272.

35: ON THE RUN

- ¹ Escape from Petrograd with Zinoviev: Service, *Lenin*, pp. 274–6; Bonch-Bruevich, p. 82; and Clark, pp. 296–8.
- ² Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, CW, Vol. 12.
- ³ Journey from Gulf of Finland to Helsingfors: Shotman, 'Lenin nakanune Oktyabrya', p. 24.
- ⁴ In hiding at Helsingfors police chief's apartment: Volkogonov, p. 274.
- ⁵ Gustav Rovio, 'Kak Lenin skryvalsya u gel'sinngforskogo politsemeisteria', in N. L. Meshcheryakov (ed.), *O Lenine: Sbornik vospominanii*, Moscow, 1924.

36: REVOLUTION – PART TWO

- ¹ Trotsky speech: account in Sukhanov, p. 284.
- ² Lenin back in Petrograd: Margarita Fofanova, 'V. I. Lenin na Vyborrgskoi Sytorone vy 1917 godu', in *VoVIL (Vospominaniya o V. I. Lenin)*, Vol. 4, Moscow, 1989–91.
- ³ The 10 October meeting was recounted by several of the people who were there, but not by Lenin. The best account was Trotsky, *The History of the Revolution*, pp. 291–9, but Zinoviev's is lively (www.marxists.org/archive/zinoviev/), and later interesting versions are Sukhanov, pp. 331–5 (his wife was there), Louis Fischer, pp. 345–34, Figes, pp. 468–70 and Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, pp. 286–90.
- ⁴ Trotsky speech at Cirque Moderne: Sukhanov, p. 494. Putilov quote: 'Tsarism is dead', Reed, p. 113.
- ⁵ 'Nobody wants the Bolsheviks': Gippius, p. 183.

37: POWER – AT LAST

- ¹ Revolution would not last: Gippius, p. 175 and Gorky, *Novaya Zhizn*, 26 October 1926. Vladimir Nabokov: quoted in Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, p. 469. US Ambassador Francis: quoted in FRUS, digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.1917.
- ² Lunacharsky: quoted in Figes, p. 492.
- ³ 'The bourgeois press is a weapon. Why place it in their hands': Lenin to Trotsky, in Trotsky, *On Lenin*, p. 158.
- ⁴ Gorky, 'To Lenin the working class is like iron ore to a metal worker': *Novaya Zhizn*, 17 November 1917.
- ⁵ Plekhanov attacked: Volkogonov, p. 248. Zasluchich quote: Jay Bergman, *Vera Zasluchich: A Biography*, Stanford, 1983, p. 249.
- ⁶ Hughes wire exchange, 26 October: RGASPI f. 201, op. 21, d. 15.
- ⁷ Trotsky quote: Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 325, but also in *The Trotsky Papers 1917–1922*, Vols 1–2, The Hague, 1967–1971: Vol. 1, p. 145.
- ⁸ Trotsky's first day as Commissar of Foreign Affairs: Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 297.
- ⁹ Raid on the Russian National Bank: Richard Pipes (ed.), *The Unknown Lenin: From the Secret Archives*, New Haven and London, 1996, p. 86; Louis Fischer, pp. 347–9; Alexander Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks in Power: The First Year of Soviet Rule in Petrograd*, Bloomington, Ind. 2007, pp. 92–4.

38: THE MAN IN CHARGE

- ¹ Lenin neglected his health: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 269.
- ² Sovnarkom members still thought they were conspirators: Figes, p. 489.
- ³ Lenin at Sovnarkom meetings and punctuality: Trotsky, *On Lenin*, pp. 173–4. Lenin's orders to Smolny staff: RGASPI f. 301, op. 32, d. 9.
- ⁴ Nikolai Gorbunov: Clark, p. 324.
- ⁵ Adolph Joffe, quotes from unpublished diaries and memoirs: 'Kanun Oktyabbrya. Zasedanie v Lesnom', in *Izvestiya Tsetral'nogo Komiteta Kommunisticheskoi Parti Sovetskogo Soyuz (1989–1991)*, or *ITsKKPSS*, a cache of Soviet Party documents from the 1920s. Joffe's are in cache 4.
- ⁶ Lenin quote, 'Sverdlov is indispensable': letter to Maria Ulyanova, 19 April 1918, CW, Vol. 45, p. 134.
- ⁷ Lenin's Decree on Libraries, RGASPI f. 32, op. 3, d. 22.
- ⁸ Kamenev and Zinoviev, letter objecting to 'one-party state': *Izvestia*, 4 November 1917. Zinoviev recants: *Izvestia*, 1 December 1917.

39: THE SWORD AND SHIELD

- ¹ Formation of Cheka and Dzerzhinsky, background: Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks in Power*, pp. 104–10. Jozef Piłsudski, quotes: Piłsudski, *Memoirs of a Polish Revolutionary and Soldier*, London, 1931. Isaac Steinberg, quotes: Ulam, p. 297.
- ² Lenin's support for Cheka on first anniversary: CW, Vol. 26, p. 312; Pipes, *The Unknown Lenin*, p. 87; and Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin, Vol. 1: Paradoxes of Power 1878–1928*, London, 2014, p. 317.

40: WAR AND PEACE

- ¹ Ambassador Francis to State Department, digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1917. Allied anger at the Soviets: Figes, pp. 501–4; Margaret MacMillan, *Peacemakers: The Paris Peace Conference and its Attempt to End War*, London, 2001; and Lieven, *Towards the Flame*, pp. 201–9.
- ² Lenin wanted Trotsky to delay Brest-Litovsk talks: Trotsky, *On Lenin*, p. 201. Background to the conference: John Wheeler-Bennett, *Brest-Litovsk: The Forgotten Peace, March 1918*, London, 1938. Trotsky's queries about evening dress, 'Go in a petticoat': *The Trotsky Papers*, Vol. 1. Lenin forcing the Treaty through the Communist Party: a good background can be found in Figes, pp. 573–5 and Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, pp. 303–4 and pp. 109–18. Effect on Lenin: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, pp. 242–3.

41: THE ONE-PARTY STATE

- ¹ Lenin to Petrograd Soviet, 17 November 1917, CW, Vol. 23, p. 217.
- ² Lenin wanted to cancel elections: Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks in Power*, p. 186 and Trotsky, *On Lenin*, p. 199. Banning the Kadets as 'enemies of the people': RGASPI f. 11, op. 6, d. 23.
- ³ Lindhagen quote to Trotsky: *The Trotsky Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 188. Lenin meets American reporter at Assembly: Rhys Williams, p. 253.
- ⁴ Assembly closed down: Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime 1919–1924*, London, 1994, pp. 97–100. Justifies the closure: Trotsky, *On Lenin*, p. 204.
- ⁵ Murder of Kadet ministers: Isaac Steinberg, *In the Workshop of the Revolution*, New York, 1955, p. 97 and Ulam, p. 374. Murderers allowed to go free: Rabinowitch, *The*

Bolsheviks in Power, p. 218. 'a war against the rich': *Pravda*, 8 December 1917, CW, Vol. 24, p. 163.

- ⁶ 'Let there be blood', call by Lenin to Fourth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, 16 March 1918, CW, Vol. 26, pp. 98–102; To Isaac Steinberg, 'we [can't] be victorious . . . without . . . terror': Steinberg, p. 175.
- ⁷ Move to Moscow: Figes, pp. 564–5; Arthur Ransome, *Six Weeks in Russia in 1919*, London, 1919; and Zinoviev in *Pravda*, 13 March 1918. Lenin complains about repairs to his Kremlin apartment: RGASPI f. 168, op. 10, d. 24.

42: THE BATTLE FOR GRAIN

- ¹ Starvation in Petrograd, Gorky quotes: Torvah Yedlin, *Maxim Gorky: A Political Biography*, Westport, Conn., 1999 and Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*, London, 1932, p. 239. Some friends 'unrecognisable': Gippius, p. 225.
- ² Lenin's article 'The Battle for Grain': *Pravda*, 11 June 1918; 'The Socialist Fatherland in Danger', *Pravda*, 21 February 1918.
- ³ Requisition brigades: Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*, pp. 189–92; Figes, pp. 583–5; and Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks in Power*, p. 208. Lenin order to Penza Province to 'hang 100 kulaks': RGASPI f. 14, op. 17, d. 19. Stalin tells Lenin that 'my hand will not tremble': Kotkin, p. 297.
- ⁴ Maria Spiridonova's background: Isaac Steinberg, *Maria Spiridonova: Revolutionary Terrorist*, London, 1935.
- ⁵ Left Socialist Revolutionaries' Rebellion: *The Trotsky Papers*, Vol. 1, pp. 298–301; Steinberg, *Maria Spiridonova*, pp. 195–7; Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks in Power*, pp. 251–4; and Louis Fischer, pp. 398–401.

43: REGICIDE

- ¹ Lenin decides on execution on 12 July with Sverdlov: Sebag Montefiore, *The Romanovs*, p. 527 and Volkogonov, pp. 328–30. Sovnarkom meeting reporting on murders, 18 July 1918: RGASPI f. 177, op. 9, d. 13. Trotsky to Sverdlov: Trotsky, *On Lenin*, p. 203.
- ² Goloshchekin, background; and Ekaterinburg Soviet: Sebag Montefiore, *The Romanovs*, pp. 571–3; Helen Rappaport, *Ekaterinburg: The Last Days of the Romanovs*, London, 2008, pp. 276–8; and Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*, pp. 294–6.
- ³ Yurovsky, background: Sebag Montefiore, *The Romanovs*, pp. 530–2; Rappaport, *Ekaterinburg*, pp. 280–2; Radzinsky, pp. 387–90. Execution described: Sebag Montefiore, *The Romanovs*, pp. 530–3. Yurovsky, quotes: Rappaport, pp. 283–4.
- ⁴ Bruce Lockhart, *Memoirs of a British Agent*, p. 296. Kokovtsov, quote: Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*, p. 301.

44: THE ASSASSINS' BULLETS

- ¹ Uritsky, murder: Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks in Power*, p. 296. Lenin to Trotsky, 'applying the model of the French Revolution': RGASPI f. 377, op. 10, d. 16.
- ² Lenin shot: Service, *Lenin*, pp. 388–9; Bonch-Bruевич, p. 266; Professor Vladimir Rozanov (ed.), 'Iz vospominaniya a Vladimire Ilyiche, in *Po Vospominayam perepeske i dokumentam*, Moscow, 1935; and Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 274. Inessa's letter to her daughter Inna: cited in Pearson, *Inessa*, p. 198.
- ³ Fanny Kaplan's background: Volkogonov, pp. 237–8 and Service, *Lenin*. Arrest and interrogation: Archives of the President of the Russian Federation (APRF) f. 9, op. 21, d. 170.

- ⁴ Execution of Kaplan: Pavel Malkov, *Zapiski komendata Kremlyna*, Moscow, 1987.
- ⁵ Launch of Red Terror, Sverdlov's statement on attempted murder: RGASPI f. 678, op. 11, d. 17; Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks in Power*, p. 21. Executions in Petrograd: *Pravda*, 2 September 1918; Stalin to Sverdlov, RGASPI f. 19, op. 11, d. 19. Cheka officials shoot clown Bim-Bom: Figes, p. 567. Cult of Lenin, Zinoviev's speech 'Lenin, leader by the Grace of God': *Pravda*, 5 September 1917.
- ⁶ Photographs and film of Lenin: Bonch-Bruevich, p. 193. Krasin to his wife: cited in Louis Fischer, p. 307.

45: THE SIMPLE LIFE

- ¹ Lenin's apartment in Kremlin: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 297 and Clara Zetkin, *Reminiscences of Lenin*, www.marxists.org/archive/zetkin/1924/reminiscences-of-lenin.htm.
- ² Dacha in Gorki: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, p. 291. Spiridon Putin was Lenin's cook: Kotkin, p. 413.
- ³ Privileges for Party officials: Louis Fischer, p. 398. Lenin's justification: RGASPI f. 14, op. 9, d. 23.
- ⁴ Stalin refuses to investigate Zinoviev's luxury lifestyle: Kotkin, p. 354.
- ⁵ Joffe depressed by corruption: letter to Trotsky, 19 September 1919, *The Trotsky Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 276.
- ⁶ Lenin's office: personal visit by the author, May 1987. Work habits: Lidia Fotieva, *Pages from Lenin's Life*, Moscow, 1960, pp. 45–8. Lenin loved to laugh: Gorky, *Days with Lenin*, p. 58. Lenin appears dressed in Bokharan national costume: Fotieva, p. 63.
- ⁷ Lenin orders Lunacharsky to place busts in public places: RGASPI f. 637, op. 10, d. 7. Loses temper at Sovnarkom meeting over bust of Marx: Ulam, p. 388. Reprimands commandant of Kremlin about lift repairs: APRF f. 13, op. 7, d. 13. Wastes time on trivia: Trotsky, *On Lenin*, p. 173. Hunting trips with Krylenko, 'the fox too pretty to shoot': Louis Fischer, p. 397. Hunting with Rudzutak: Ralph Carter Elwood, *The Non-Geometric Lenin: Essays on the Development of the Bolshevik Party 1910–1914*, New York, 2011.
- ⁸ Visits to the theatre: Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, pp. 301–3. Lunacharsky says Lenin is a philistine about art: Lunacharsky, *Revolutionary Silhouettes*, www.marxistsfr.org/archive/lunachar/works/silhouet/index.htm. Admits to Zetkin he is a 'barbarian': Zetkin, p. 62.
- ⁹ Lenin on Tolstoy: 'Lev Tolstoy as the Mirror of the Russian Revolution', CW, Vol. 8, 1908, pp. 103–8. On Dostoyevsky to Valentinov, p. 232. Loathed Mayakovsky and wanted his poems published in smaller print runs: RGASPI f. 19, op. 11, d. 21.

46: REDS AND WHITES

- ¹ Whites 'the last dream of the old world': Marina Tsvetayeva (ed. Jamey Gambrell), *Earthy Signs: Moscow Diaries, 1917–1921*, London and New Haven, 2002. The Whites' 'old regime psychology': Pyotr Struve, *The End Results and the Essence of the Communist Enterprise*, Paris 1921, CW, Vol. 11.
- ² Trotsky as Commander of Red Army: Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*, pp. 178–81; Robert Service, *Trotsky: A Biography*, London, 2009, pp. 285–91; and Evan Mawdsley, *The Russian Civil War*, Edinburgh, 2008. Trotsky recruits Tsarist officers: Figes, pp. 513–15 and Gippius, p. 135. Holding Tsarist officers hostage: Order Number 30, RGASPI f. 24, op. 8, d. 12. Lenin supports Trotsky: RGASPI f. 17, op. 8 1, d. 18.

- ³ Whites' strategy and leaders: Mawdsley, pp. 73–80; Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*, pp. 179–88; Anton Denikin, *The Russian Turmoil*, Berlin, 1922; and Alexander Kerensky, *The Kerensky Memoirs*, New York, 1965, pp. 297–301
- ⁴ Western aid to the Whites: Mawdsley, pp. 186–92; British Cabinet discussion on support for Whites: Figes, p. 597 and David Lloyd George, *War Diaries*, London, 1938; American Secretary of State: quotes from FRUS 1918, Russia, Chapter 13, digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1918
- ⁵ Lenin, war telegrams, to Trotsky, Simbirsk: RGASPI f. 567, op. 13, d. 9; to Party leaders, Saratov: RGASPI f. 16, op. 9 1, d. 21; to Baku: RGASPI f. 16, op. 9 1, d. 10. Orders hostage-taking: Pipes, *The Unknown Lenin*, pp. 44–5 and document 20 from RGASPI f. 16, op. 9 1, d. 18.
- ⁶ Rivalry between Trotsky and Stalin, who see Kollontai with her lover Dybenko: cited in Sebag Montefiore, *The Young Stalin*, p. 319. Stalin wants Trotsky removed as Red Army chief: RGASPI f. 18, op. 6 1, d. 17. Trotsky demands Stalin recalled from Tsaritsyn: *The Trotsky Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 399. Lenin needed both of them: Kotkin, p. 376.
- ⁷ Whites' atrocities: Kerensky, p. 347. Wrangel quote: Peter Wrangel, *Always with Honour*, New York, 1957.
- ⁸ Pogroms by Whites: Figes, pp. 638–44 and Volkogonov, pp. 337–41. Red pogroms: Volkogonov, p. 242. Reports by Reds to Lenin: RGASPI f. 15, op. 9 1, d. 12. Lenin's gramophone recording, 'On Pogroms' and 'The Persecution of the Jews': CW, Vol. 40, pp. 287–9.
- ⁹ British use chemical weapons against Reds: Milton, pp. 186–8 and Mawdsley, pp. 157–8. Lloyd George asks Churchill to keep quiet about Russia: Louis Fischer, p. 398. Woodrow Wilson's peace initiative: William Bullitt, *The Bullitt Mission to Russia*, New York, 1919 and Figes, pp. 609–10. Why the Whites lost: Gippius, p. 188.

47: FUNERAL IN MOSCOW

- ¹ Lenin overcome with emotion at Inessa's funeral: Alexandra Kollontai, quoted in Body, p. 34 and Balabanova, p. 135.
- ² Lenin's letters to Inessa before her final illness: RGASPI f. 127. Letter to Inès, 'give the letter personally to VI': quoted in Bardawil. Inessa's last letter to Lenin: RGASPI f. 127, op. 13, d. 19.
- ³ Inessa's last journey to Caucasus: Lenin to Ordzhonikidze, RGASPI f. 127, op. 13, d. 12. Inessa's diary of her illness: RGASPI f. 127, op. 6, d. 12. Details of illness: Polina Vinogradskaya, *Sobytiya i pamiatnye vstrechi*, Moscow, 1926.
- ⁴ Lenins unofficial guardians to Inessa's daughters: Varvara Armand, 'Zhivaya nit', *Novyi Mir*, No. 4, 1967; Polina Vinogradskaya, in Nadezhda Krupskaya (ed.), *Pamyati Inessy Armand*, Moscow, 1926; Pearson, *Inessa Armand*, pp. 213–15. Nadya's affection for Inessa: McNeal, p. 202. Grigory Kotov, in Kollontai, *Pamyati Inessy Armand*, p.36.

48: THE 'INTERNATIONALE'

- ¹ Clara Zetkin, 'his face shrank': Zetkin, p. 16.
- ² Creation of the Comintern: report of First Comintern Congress, APRF f. 23; Pipes, *The Unknown Lenin*, pp. 127–33; and Volkogonov, pp. 219–21.
- ³ War with Poland, background: Service, *Lenin*, pp. 390–3; Figes, pp. 623–5; and Volkogonov, pp. 228–31. Lenin admits defeat at Tenth Communist Party Congress, 9 March 1921: CW, Vol. 38, pp. 239–42. Explains to Clara Zetkin: Zetkin, p. 28.
- ⁴ Balabanova, first Secretary of Comintern, 'spend millions': Balabanova, p. 164. Lenin approves vast sums to foment revolution in Afghanistan: Volkogonov, pp.

391–7 and APRF f. 27, op. 3, d. 9; in Korea: APRF f. 27, op. 4, d. 8; in Finland: APRF f. 27, op. 4, d. 10. Approves money for John Reed: Central State special archive, TsGOA f. 4, d. 13.

49: REBELS AT SEA AND ON LAND

- ¹ Kronstadt rebellion, background: Louis Fischer, pp. 415–16; Emma Goldman, *My Disillusionment in Russia*, London, 1925, pp. 146–9; Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*, pp. 213–16. Trotsky ordered to suppress uprising: *The Trotsky Papers*, Vol. 2, pp. 57–60.
- ² Petrichenko's last appeal to Trotsky, 4 March 1921, *Kronstadt Izvestia* and to Emma Goldman, p. 151. Tukachevsky, 'not a battle, an inferno': Russian State Military Archive, TsGASA f. 339986, op. 3, d. 56.
- ³ Cheka killed suspect by accident: cited in Figes, p. 635. Lenin to Gorky, 'they are good people . . . that is why we must arrest them': Yedlin, p. 218. Lenin, 'dictatorship means use of force, not of law', to Zinoviev: RGASPI f. 16, op. 9, d. 12.
- ⁴ Gorky saves dissidents from prison, Lenin released Ivan Volny, 12 April 1919: RGASPI f. 18, op. 12, d. 34; asks Lenin for release of Blok's secretary, March 1920: RGASPI f. 19, op. 8, d. 13. Dzerzhinsky told to investigate case of actress Nadezhda Nikulia: RGASPI f. 19, op. 9, d. 114.
- ⁵ Volga famine, background: Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*, pp. 386–90 and Henry Fisher Report on American Relief Administration effort in Russia, ARA files, Hoover Foundation, Stanford, California. Lenin ordered Molotov to spy on Hoover's relief volunteers: APRF f. 20, op. 11, d. 9.
- ⁶ Peasant revolt in Tambov Province: Volkogonov, pp. 345–7 and Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*, pp. 281–3. Tukachevsky uses chemical weapons and burns down villages: TsGASA f. 339727, op. 2, d. 13.
- ⁷ Lenin's campaign against Church, background: Pipes, *The Unknown Lenin*, pp. 119–23; Volkogonov, pp. 387–92; and Figes, pp. 624–7. Patriarch Tikhon excommunicates Bolsheviks: cited in Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*. Lenin's note to Central Committee, 'we can smash the church': Volkogonov, pp. 381–3.
- ⁸ Millions seized from Church: APRF f. 18, op. 9, d. 11.

50: INTIMATIONS OF MORTALITY

- ¹ Lenin had been considered 'of robust health': Trotsky, *On Lenin*, p. 201.
- ² 'I am unwell': letter to Zetkin, CW, Vol. 45, p. 167. Requests leave of absence from colleagues in July: RGASPI f. 11, op. 7, d. 9; again in December: RGASPI f. 11, op. 9, d. 4. Tells doctors to remove one of the bullets in his body left after Kaplan murder attempt: Rozanov, p. 3.
- ³ Bertrand Russell meeting with Lenin: Russell, *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*, London, 1920. 'Lenin always wore the same tie': Simon Liberman, cited in Clark, p. 398. Sculptor Clare Sheridan makes a bust of Lenin: Sheridan, *Russian Portraits*, London, 1921.

51: REVOLUTION – AGAIN

- ¹ Bukharin explains the NEP, 'We are making economic concessions to avoid having to make political ones': APRF f. 12, op. 6, d. 9.
- ² Lenin defends NEP to Party Central Committee, 12 June 1921: CW, Vol. 45, p. 238. Speech to Tenth Party Congress, 16 March 1921: CW, Vol. 45, p. 217.

- ³ Campaign against bureaucracy, 'We should be hanged for creating red tape': cited in Louis Fischer, p. 498.

52: THE LAST BATTLE

- ¹ Maria Ulyanova on Lenin's stroke: Maria Ulyanova, *Olerine i sem'ye Ulyanovikh*, RGASPI f. 16, op. 3, d. 6.
- ² Lenin wanted to kill himself and 'die like the Lafargues': *ibid.* Stalin saw Lenin and said he would give him cyanide 'if it becomes necessary': Kotkin, p. 313.
- ³ He was still issuing orders to the Cheka: RGASPI f. 13, op. 9, d. 7; and to Justice Commissar about the new penal code: RGASPI f. 13, op. 8, d. 13.
- ⁴ Was not like the old Lenin making speeches: French Communist, quoted in Clark, p. 493.
- ⁵ Stalin refused to give him poison, 'I do not have the strength': Kotkin, p. 315.
- ⁶ Lenin's 'Last Testament', background: Service, *Lenin*, pp. 450–2; Fotieva, *VoVIL*, Vol. 8, pp. 180–90; and Volkogonov, pp. 390–5.
- ⁷ Lenin's last row with Stalin: Kotkin, pp. 320–2; Krupskaya, letter to Kamenev: RGASPI f. 12, op. 3, d. 9; Lenin's message to Stalin: RGASPI f. 12, op. 3, d. 11; Stalin's reply: RGASPI f. 12, op. 3, d. 12. March 1923 stroke and Professor Kramer quote: Moshe Lewin, *Lenin's Last Struggle*, New York, 1967.
- ⁸ Nadya's letter to Zetkin: RGASPI f. 12, op. 9, d. 1; Nadya to Inna Armand, 23 May 1923: RGASPI f. 12, op. 9, d. 11; letter on 2 September: RGASPI f. 12, op. 9, d. 13. Lenin's nephew Gora's visit: record at RGASPI f. 13, op. 11, d. 17. Visit by artist Yuri Annenkov: cited by Volkogonov, p. 374.
- ⁹ Lenin's last day remembered: Bukharin, *Pravda*, 30 January 1924; death described in Krupskaya, *Reminiscences*, pp. 301–2.

53: 'AN EXPLOSION OF NOISE'

- ¹ 'Unmistakable grief' after Lenin's death: Valentinov, p. 288.
- ² Funeral described: Walter Duranty, *New York Times*, 28 January 1924; Bukharin, *Pravda*, 29 January 1924; Balabanova, p. 215; and Lunacharsky, www.marxists.org/archive/lunachar.

54: LENIN LIVES

- ¹ Funeral Commission orders embalming the body for forty days: RGASPI f. 17, op. 9, d. 13. Dzherzhinsky, 'If science can preserve a human body': Politburo minutes, 25 January 1924, RGASPI f. 17, op. 17, op 8, d. 13. Trotsky objects to embalment: *The Trotsky Papers*, Vol. 2, p. 59. Nadya's letter to Inna Armand: RGASPI f. 12, op. 13, d. 18.
- ² The 'Troika' ensure that Lenin's Testament is 'buried' at Politburo: RGASPI f. 17, op. 11, d. 13; and at Council of Elders: RGASPI f. 17, op. 11, d. 16 and Kotkin, pp. 424–6. Zinoviev's speech at Central Committee, 'Every word of Ilyich is law to us': RGASPI f. 17, op. 12, d. 116.
- ³ Lunacharsky on the shape of Lenin's skull: *Pravda*, 3 September 1918. Studies by the Institute of the Brain: Volkogonov, pp. 400–2; post-mortem reports: Rozanov, p. 23; Service, *Lenin*, p. 463; and Louis Fischer, p. 483.
- ⁴ Immortalisation Commission and embalming Lenin: Volkogonov, pp. 406–10; Ilya Zbarsky and Samuel Hutchinson, *Lenin's Embalmers*, London, 1998; Service, *Lenin*, pp. 453–4; and John Gray, *The Immortalisation Commission*, London, 2010.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abraham, Richard, *Alexander Kerensky: The First Love of the Revolution*, London, 1997
- Alliluyev, Sergei, *Moyi vospominaniya, Krasnaya letopis*, Moscow, 1923
- Archives of the President of the Russian Federation (APRF), Moscow
- Armand, Varvara, 'Zhivaya nit', *Novy Mir*, No. 4, 1967
- Ascher, Abraham, *The Revolution of 1905*, London, 1988
- Ascher, Abraham, *P. A. Stolypin: The Search for Stability in Late Imperial Russia*, Stanford, 2001
- Baedeker, Karl, *Baedeker's Russia*, London, 1914
- Bagoczki, Sergiusz, 'V. I. Lenin v Krakove i Poronine', in *VoVIL*, Vol. 1, pp. 438–56
- Balabanova, Angelica, *Impressions of Lenin*, Ann Arbor, 1964
- Bardawil, Georges, *Inès Armand*, Paris, 1993
- Baron, Samuel, *Plekhanov: The Father of Russian Marxism*, Stanford, 1963
- Beer, Daniel, *The House of the Dead: Siberian Exile under the Tsars*, London, 2016
- Bernov, Y. and Manusevich, A., *Lenin v Krakove*, Moscow, 1972
- Blackstock, Paul and Hoselitz, Bert (eds), *The Russian Menace to Europe, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: A collection of articles, speeches, letters and news dispatches*, London, 1953
- Bobrovskaya, Cecilia, *Twenty Years in Underground Russia*, San Francisco, 1934
- Body, Marcel, 'Alexandra Kollontai', *Preuves*, No. 14, April 1952, pp. 12–24
- Bonch-Bruevich, Vladimir, *Izbrannye Sochineniya*, Moscow, 1934
- Bonch-Bruevich, Vladimir, *Vospomonaniya o Lenine*, Moscow, 1985
- Brien, Alan, *Lenin: The Novel*, London, 1987
- Brogan, Hugh (ed.), *Signalling from Mars: The Letters of Arthur Ransome*, London, 1998

- Bryant, Louise, *Six Red Months in Russia*, New York, 1918
- Buchanan, Sir George, *My Mission to Russia and Other Diplomatic Memories*, London, 1923
- Buchanan, Meriel, *Ambassador's Daughter*, London, 1958
- Bukharin, Nikolai, *The ABC of Communism*, Ann Arbor, 1966
- Bukharin, Nikolai, *How It All Began*, New York, 1998
- Carr, E. H., *The Bolshevik Revolution* (3 vols), London, 1950
- Carrère d'Encausse, Hélène, *Lenin*, New York, 2001
- Chernyshevsky, Nikolai, *Chto delat?*, St Petersburg, 1863; in English as Beraha, Laura (trans.), *What Is To Be Done?*, London, 1983
- Churchill, Sir Winston, *The World Crisis, Vol. 2: The Aftermath*, London, 1929
- Clark, Ronald W., *Lenin: The Man Behind the Mask*, London, 1988
- Clements, Barbara, *Bolshevik Women*, Cambridge, 1997
- Conquest, Robert, *Between Mars and Venus*, London, 1962
- Conquest, Robert, *The Great Terror*, London, 1973
- Conquest, Robert, *Tyrants and Typewriters*, London, 1989
- Dan, L. O., *Iz Arkhiva Dan*, Amsterdam, 1957
- Deutscher, Isaac, *The Prophet Armed: Trotsky 1879–1921*, New York, 1954
- Deutscher, Isaac, *The Prophet Unarmed: Trotsky 1921–1929*, New York, 1959
- Deutscher, Isaac, *Lenin's Childhood*, London, 1970
- Deutscher, Tamara, *Not By Politics Alone: The Other Lenin*, London, 1973
- Elwood, Ralph Carter, *Inessa Armand: Revolutionary and Feminist*, Cambridge, 1992
- Elwood, Ralph Carter, *The Non-Geometric Lenin: Essays on the Development of the Bolshevik Party 1910–1914*, New York, 2011
- Ehrenburg, Ilya, *People and Life: Memoirs of 1891–1917*, London, 1961
- Engel, Barbara Alpen and Rosenthal, Clifford, *Five Sisters: Women against the Tsar*, London, 2013
- Essen, Maria, 'Vstrechi s Leninym', in *Vo VIL*, Vol. 1, pp. 244–62
- Felshtinsky, Yuri, *Lenin and His Comrades: The Bolsheviks Take Over Russia 1917–1924*, New York, 2010
- Figes, Orlando, *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution 1891–1924*, London, 1996

- Fischer, Ben, *Okhrana: The Paris Operations of the Russian Imperial Police*, Washington D.C., Center for the Study of Intelligence, 1997
- Fischer, Louis, *The Life and Death of Stalin*, London, 1953
- Fischer, Louis, *The Life of Lenin*, London, 1965
- Fomicheva, L., *N. K. Krupskaya: Zhizn' i deyatelnost' v fotografiyakh i dokumentakh*, Moscow, 1988
- Fotieva, Lidia, *Pages from Lenin's Life*, Moscow, 1960
- Francis, David, *Russia from the American Embassy*, New York, 1921
- Fréville, Jean, *Une grande figure de la révolution russe: Inessa Armand*, Paris, 1957
- Fréville, Jean, *Lénine à Paris*, Paris, 1968
- Ganecki, Yakub (von Vurstenberg), 'V. Lenin', *Voprosy istorii*, No. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 92–101
- Geifman, Anna, *Thou Shalt Kill: Revolutionary Terrorism in Russia, 1894–1917*, Princeton, 1993
- Geifman, Anna (ed.), *Russia Under the Last Tsar: Opposition and Subversion, 1894–1917*, Oxford, 1999
- Getzler, Israel, *Martov: A Political Biography of a Russian Social Democrat*, Cambridge, 1967
- Getzler, Israel, *Nikolai Sukhanov: Chronicler of the Russian Revolution*, Cambridge, 2011
- Gil', Stepan, *Shest' let s V. I. Leninym: vospominaniya*, Moscow, 1957
- Gippius, Zinaida, *Peterburgskie dnevniki 1914–1919*, New York, 1982
- Goldman, Emma, *My Disillusionment in Russia*, London, 1925
- Goldman, Emma, *Living My Life*, London, 1932
- Golikov, Georgy, *Vospominaniya o V. I. Lenine* (5 vols), Moscow, 1968–1970
- Golikov, Georgy, *V. I. Lenin: Biograficheskaya Khronika, 1870–1924* (12 vols), Moscow, 1970–1982
- Gorky, Maxim, *My Days with Lenin*, London, 1933
- Hasegawa, Tsuyoshi, *The February Revolution of Petrograd, 1917*, London, 1981
- Hastings, Max, *Catastrophe: Europe Goes to War 1914*, London, 2013
- Henderson, Robert, 'Lenin and the British Museum Library', *Solanus*, Vol. 4, London, 1990, pp. 3–15
- Hillyar, Anna and McDermid, Jane, *Revolutionary Women in Russia, 1870–1917*, London, 2000

- Hoffman, Max, *War Diaries and Other Papers*, London, 1929
- Holroyd-Doveton, John, *Maxim Litvinov: A Biography*, London, 2013
- Ivansky, A. I. (ed.), *Comet in the Night: The Story of Alexander Ulyanov's Heroic Life and Tragic Death as Told by his Contemporaries*, Honolulu, 2004
- Joffe, Nadezhda A., *Back in Time: My Life, My Fate, My Epoch*, Oak Park, Mich., 1995
- Kamenev, Lev, *Mezhdu dvumya revolyutsiyami; sbornik statey*, Moscow, 1923
- Kennan, George, 'The Sisson Documents', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 28, No. 2, June 1956, pp. 130–54
- Kennan, George, *Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin*, Boston, 1961
- Kerensky, Alexander, *The Crucifixion of Liberty*, New York, 1934
- Kerensky, Alexander, *The Kerensky Memoirs: Russia and History's Turning Point*, New York, 1965
- Knox, Major-General Sir Alfred, *With the Russian Army 1914–1917*, London, 1921
- Kollontai, Alexandra, *Love of Worker Bees*, London, 1971
- Kollontai, Alexandra, *A Great Love* (trans. Porter, Cathy), London, 1981
- Kotkin, Stephen, *Stalin, Vol. 1: Paradoxes of Power 1878–1928*, London, 2014
- Krupskaya, Nadezhda, *Reminiscences of Lenin*, New York, 1970
- Krupskaya, Nadezhda, 'O Vladimire Ilyich', in *Vo VIL*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1975
- Krzhizhanovsky, Gleb, 'O Vladimir Il'iche', in *Vo VIL*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1924
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich, *Collected Works*, (45 vols) (in English), Moscow, 1963–1970
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich, *Biograficheskaya khronika* (12 vols), Moscow, 1970–1982
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich, *Neizvestnye Dokumenty 1891–1922* (ed. Amiantov, Yuri), Moscow, 1999
- Lepeshinskaya, Olga, *Vstrechi s Ilyichem*, Moscow, 1966
- Lepeshinsky, Panteleimon, *Na povorot: ot kontsa 80-kh godov k 1905*, Moscow, 1922

- Lih, Lars, *Lenin*, London, 2011
- Liebman, Marcel, *Leninism under Lenin*, London, 1975
- Lieven, Dominic, *Russia's Rulers Under the Old Regime*, London, 1989
- Lieven, Dominic, *Nicholas II: Emperor of all the Russias*, London, 1993
- Lieven, Dominic, *Towards the Flame: Empire, War and the end of Tsarist Russia*, London, 2015
- Lilina, Zina (Zinovieva), 'Tov: Lenin edet v Rossiyu', *Leningradskaya Pravda*, 16 April 1924
- Lunacharsky, Anatoly, *Revolutionary Silhouettes*, New York, 1968
- Lyadov, M., *Iz zhizhni partii, Vospominaniya*, Moscow, 1926
- McMeekin, Sean, *History's Greatest Heist: The Looting of Russia by the Bolsheviks*, New York, 2009
- McMeekin, Sean, *The Russian Origins of the First World War*, Cambridge, Mass., 2011
- McMeekin, Sean, *July 1914: Countdown to War*, London, 2014
- McNeal, Robert, *Bride of the Revolution: Krupskaya and Lenin*, London, 1973
- Maisky, Ivan, *Journey Into the Past*, London, 1960
- Marcu, Valeriu, 'Lenin in Zurich: a Memoir', in *Foreign Affairs*, April 1943
- Marxist Internet Archive, www.marxists.org
- Mayakovsky, Vladimir, *And Other Poems*, London, 2016
- Medvedev, Roy, *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*, London, 1972
- Mel'nichenko, Vladimir, *Ya tebya ochen' lyubila: Pravda o Lenine i Armand*, Moscow, 2002
- Merridale, Catherine, *Lenin on the Train*, London, 2016
- N. L. Meshcheryakov (ed.), *Po Vospominayam perepeske i dokumentam*, Moscow, 1935
- Mikhailov, I. K., 'Vospominaniya o V. I. Lenin', in *VoVIL*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1960, pp. 130–41
- Milton, Giles, *Russian Roulette: How British Spies Thwarted Lenin's Global Plot*, London, 2013
- Milyukov, Pavel, *The Russian Revolution*, New York, 1978
- Muravyova, L. and Sivolap-Kaftanova, L., *Lenin in London: Memorial Places*, Moscow, 1983

- Novikov, V., *Lenin i deyatel'nost' iskrovskikh grupp v Rossii 1900–1903*, Moscow, 1978
- Ossendowski, Ferdinand, *Lenin: God of the Godless*, London, 1931
- Payne, Robert, *The Life and Death of Lenin*, New York, 1965
- Pearson, Michael, *The Sealed Train*, London, 1975
- Pearson, Michael, *Inessa: Lenin's Mistress*, London, 2001
- Pianzola, Maurice, *Lenine en Suisse*, Geneva, 1965
- Piłsudski, Joseph, *The Memoirs of a Polish Revolutionary and Soldier*, London, 1931
- Pipes, Richard, *The Russian Revolution 1899–1919*, London, 1990
- Pipes, Richard, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime 1919–1924*, London, 1994
- Pipes, Richard (ed.), *The Unknown Lenin: From the Secret Archives*, London and New Haven, 1996
- Platten, Fritz, *Lenin iz emigratsii v Rossiyu*, Moscow, 1925
- Podvoisky, Nikolai, 'V. I. Lenin v 1917 godu', in *VoVIL*, Vol. 4, Moscow, 1960
- Pomper, Philip, *Lenin's Brother: The Origins of the October Revolution*, New York, 2010
- Porter, Cathy, *Alexandra Kollontai: A Biography*, London, 2014
- Possony, Stefan, *Lenin: The Compulsory Revolutionary*, London, 1966
- Potresov, Alexander (ed. Nikolayevsky, B.), *Posmertny sbornik proizvedeniya*, Paris, 1937
- Rabinowitch, Alexander, *Prelude to Revolution: The Petrograd Bolsheviks and the July 1917 Uprising*, Bloomington, Ind., 1968
- Rabinowitch, Alexander, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power: The Revolution of 1917 in Petrograd*, London, 1979
- Rabinowitch, Alexander, *The Bolsheviks in Power: The First Year of Soviet Rule in Petrograd*, Bloomington, Ind., 2007
- Radek, Karl, 'Lenin's "Sealed Train"', *New York Times*, 19 February 1922
- Radek, Karl, 'V plombirovannom vagone', *Pravda*, 20 April 1924
- Radek, Karl, *Portrety i pamflety* (2 vols), Moscow, 1927
- Rakhia, Eino, 'Moyi vospominaniya o Vladimir Ilyich', *Pravda*, 21 January 1927
- Ransome, Arthur, *Six Weeks in Russia in 1919*, London, 1919
- Ransome, Arthur, *The Autobiography of Arthur Ransome*, London, 1976

- Rappaport, Helen, *Ekaterinburg: The Last Days of the Romanovs*, London, 2008
- Rappaport, Helen, *Conspirator: Lenin in Exile: The Making of a Revolutionary*, London, 2009
- Rappoport, Charles, 'Lénine à Paris', in *Russie d'aujourd'hui*, No. 70, January 1938
- Raskolnikov, Fyodor, 'Priezd tov. Lenina v Rossiyu', *Proletarskaya revolyutsiya*, No. 10, 1923, pp. 220–26
- Reed, John, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, New York, 1919
- Rothstein, Andrew, *Lenin in Britain*, London, 1970
- Rozanov, Vladimir, 'Iz vospominaniya o Vladimire Ilyiche', in N. L. Meshcheryakov (ed.), *Po Vospominayam perepeske i dokumentam*, Moscow, 1935
- Russell, Bertrand, *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*, London, 1920
- Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI), Moscow
- Russian State Library (The Lenin Library), Moscow
- Russian State Library of Literature and Arts (RGALI), Moscow
- Russian State Military Archive (TsGASA), Moscow
- Salisbury, Harrison, *Black Night, White Snow: Russia's Revolutions 1905–1917*, New York, 1978
- Sanborn, Joshua, *Imperial Apocalypse: The Great War and the Destruction of the Russian Empire*, Oxford, 2014
- Savinkov, Boris, *Memoirs of a Terrorist*, London, 1931
- Sebag Montefiore, Simon, *The Romanovs 1613–1918*, London, 2016
- Sebag Montefiore, Simon, *The Young Stalin*, London, 2007
- Semashko, Nikolai, *Otchego bolet i umer V. I. Lenin*, Leningrad, 1924
- Senn, Alfred, *The Russian Revolution in Switzerland 1914–1917*, London, 1975
- Serge, Victor, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, London, 1963
- Serge, Victor, *Year One of the Russian Revolution*, London, 1972
- Service, Robert, *Lenin: A Political Life* (3 vols), London, 1985–95
- Service, Robert, *Lenin: A Biography*, London, 2000
- Service, Robert, *Stalin: A Biography*, London, 2004
- Service, Robert, *Trotsky: A Biography*, London, 2009
- Service, Robert, *Spies and Commissars*, London, 2011
- Schapiro, Leonard, *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, New

- York, 1970
- Schapiro, Leonard, *The Russian Revolutions of 1917: The Origins of Modern Communism*, New York, 1984
- Sheridan, Clare Consuelo, *Russian Portraits*, London, 1921
- Shlyapnikov, Alexander, *On the Eve of 1917: Reminiscences from the Revolutionary Underground*, London, 1982
- Shotman, A. V., 'Lenin nakanune Oktyabrya', in *O Lenine: Sbornik vospominaniy*, Leningrad, 1925
- Shub, David, *Lenin*, London, 1966
- Shukman, Harold, *Lenin and the Russian Revolution*, New York, 1981
- Shukman, Harold (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the Russian Revolution*, Oxford, 1988
- Smele, Jonathan, *Russian Revolution and Civil War 1917–1921: An Annotated Bibliography*, London, 2003
- Solzhenitsyn, Alexander, *Lenin in Zürich*, London, 1975
- Spengler, Tilman, *Lenin's Brain*, London, 1993
- Stasova, Elena, *Vospominaniya*, Moscow, 1969
- Steinberg, Isaac, *Maria Spiridonova: Revolutionary Terrorist*, London, 1935
- Stone, Norman, *The Eastern Front 1914–1917*, London, 1975
- Sukhanov, Nikolai, *Zapiski o Revolutsii*, Moscow, 1922; in English as *The Russian Revolution 1917: A Personal Record*, London, 1955
- Sverdlova, Klavdia, *Yakov Mikhailovich Sverdlov*, Moscow, 1957
- Tismaneanu, Vladimir, *The Devil in History: Communism, Fascism, and Some Lessons of the Twentieth Century*, Los Angeles, 2012
- Trotsky, Leon, *My Life*, New York, 1930
- Trotsky, Leon, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, London, 1934
- Trotsky, Leon (ed. Meijer, M.), *The Trotsky Papers, 1917–1922* (2 vols), The Hague, 1964–1971
- Trotsky, Leon, *On Lenin: Notes Towards a Biography*, London, 1971
- Troyat, Henry, *Gorky*, London, 1989
- Tsereteli, Irakli, *Vospominaniya o fevral'skom revolutsii*, Paris, 1963
- Tsvetaeva, Marina and McDuff, David (trans.), *Selected Poems*, London, 1987
- Tsvetaeva, Marina, *Earthly Signs: Moscow Diaries, 1917–1921*, London and New Haven, 2002
- Tumarkin, Nina, *Lenin Lives!: The Lenin Cult in Soviet Russia*,

- Cambridge, Mass., 1983
- Turton, Katy, *Forgotten Lives: The Role of Lenin's Sisters in the Russian Revolution, 1864–1937*, London, 2007
- Ulam, Adam, *Lenin and the Bolsheviks*, London, 1966
- Ulam, Adam, *In the Name of the People*, New York, 1977
- Ulyanova-Elizarova, Anna, *Vospominaniya ob Il'iche*, Moscow, 1934, in English as *The Childhood and School Years of Vladimir Ulyanov*, Moscow, 1988
- Ulyanova, Maria, *O lenine i sem'ye Ulyanovikh: vospominaniya ocherki pisma*, Moscow, 1978
- Valentinov, Nikolai, *Encounters With Lenin*, London, 1968
- Vasilieva, Larissa and Porter, Cathy, *Kremlin Wives*, London, 1994
- Vernadsky, George and Davis, Malcolm Warner (trans.), *Lenin: Red Dictator*, New Haven, 1931
- Vinogradskaya, Polina and Krupskaya, Nadezhda (ed.), *Pamyati Inessy Armand*, Moscow, 1926
- Volkogonov, Dmitri, *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy*, London, 1988
- Volkogonov, Dmitri and Shukman, Harold (trans.), *Lenin: Life and Legacy*, London, 1994
- Wade, Rex, *The Russian Revolution, 1917*, London, 2000
- Williams, Robert, *The Other Bolsheviks: Lenin and His Critics, 1904–1914*, Bloomington, Ind., 1986
- Wilson, Edmund, *To the Finland Station: A Study in the Writing and Acting of History*, London, 1972
- Wolfe, Bertram, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, Boston, Mass., 1955
- Yedlin, Tovah, *Maxim Gorky: A Political Biography*, Westport, Conn., 1999
- Zamoyski, Adam, *Warsaw 1920: Lenin's Failed Conquest of Europe*, London, 2008
- Zbarsky, Ilya and Hutchinson, Samuel, *Lenin's Embalmers*, London, 1998
- Zeman, Zbyněk (ed.), *Germany and the Revolution in Russia 1915–1918*, Oxford, 1953
- Zeman, Zbyněk, *The Merchant of Revolution: The Life of Alexander Israel Helphand (Parvus), 1867–1924*, London, 1965
- Zinoviev, Grigory, *History of the Bolshevik Party*, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/zinoviev/works/history/ch01.htm>

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Zinoviev, Grigory, *Leninizm: vvedeniye v izuchenie*, Leningrad, 1925
- Zuckerman, Frederic, *The Tsarist Secret Police in Russian Society, 1880–1917*, London, 1996
- Zuckerman, Frederic, *The Tsarist Secret Police Abroad: Policing Europe in a Modernising World*, London, 2003
- Zweig, Stefan, *The Tide of Fortune: Twelve Historical Miniatures*, London 1927
- Zweig, Stefan, *The World of Yesterday: An Autobiography*, London 1943

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a major debt to the late, great Robert Conquest – always a source of encouragement – whose death in 2015, as I was halfway through researching this book, was such a blow to numerous historians of a later generation whom he inspired.

It is a measure of the tragedy that has befallen modern Russia that very few of the considerable number of people in Moscow and St Petersburg who helped me in this project wish their names to appear here. If I could write an ‘anti-acknowledgement’ it would be to the organs of state that the Russia of 2017 is building. Nevertheless, I owe an enormous and special debt to three people – they know who they are – who were invaluable research assistants and trawled through various archives for me and helped with advice and specialist knowledge about the early Bolsheviks. In Russia I am indebted to Pavel Gemenalov, Anna Nemtsova, Ilya Rhyzhkov, Nadezhda Semyenova, the staff at the Russian Presidential Archive (APRF) and of the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI) and Mikhail Rossokowksi, who kindly showed me around the Kremlin rooms occupied by Lenin. Many thanks to the staff at the Lenin Mausoleum, who gave me a private tour, and, some years ago, to the Gorbachev Foundation.

The Hoover Institution’s Russia collection of material from the nineteenth century onwards – but particularly the Soviet years – has been invaluable, as always. I wish to thank the amazing staff at the London Library, where I wrote a large amount of this book (the back row of the art room is an inspiring place) and at the Bodleian Library. I am grateful to the staff at Wilton Park and at Chatham House.

Wonderfully generous friends have given me hugely appreciated emotional and practical support. Victoria Hislop organised a ‘writers’ retreat’ at her beautiful house on Crete which was marvellous for getting work completed – and for companionship. Annalena

McAfee and Ian McEwan let me stay at their peaceful rural home when I was going through a difficult writing time. My thanks for seeing me through it.

I am grateful to ideas, advice and encouragement to a great many people: Richard Addis, Nina Adler, Anne Applebaum, Csaba Békés, Katalin Bogyay, Peta Brod, Archie Brown, Richard Burge, Sir Bryan Cartledge, Minderat Chauduri, Rollo Collins (for invaluable research on the First World War), Paul and Wendy Diggory, Hugo and Mark Dixon, Iain Fergusun, Helen and Lindsay Forbes, Danuta Galecka, Charles Gati, Miklós Haraszti, Barbara Kiss, Oleg Khlevniuk, Karsten Krenz, Ashkold Krushelnycky, Adam LeBor, Ben Lewis, Keith Lowe, Anne McElvoy, Boris Marelic, Annabel and Sasha Markova, Giles Milton, Anne-Elisabeth Moutet, Giuliana Nedelskaya, Christian Osterman, George Prochnik, Aram Radmoksi, László Rajk, Anna Reid, Andrew Roberts, Katya Rossokowski, Günter Schabowski (before his death in 2016), Dr Simon Sebag-Montefiore, Amanda Sebestyen, Damien Sharkov, Krassen Stanchev, Joanna Stein, George Szirtes, Stefan Tafrov, Vladimir Tismaneanu and John Walko.

Two books by scholars whose work has been inspirational and vastly helpful were Robert Service's *Lenin: A Biography* – a superb achievement – and Orlando Figes's *A People's Tragedy*. I have drawn ideas and knowledge from both.

I have been fortunate in so many things during my writing career. One above all is to have Georgina Capel as my agent. Her calm and unshakable optimism are infectious.

This is a return to Weidenfeld and Nicolson as my publisher after a brief gap – and I am immensely glad I am back. Many thanks for the energy and enthusiasm of my editor, Alan Samson, and the super-efficiency of my assistant editor Lucinda McNeile, who have been working to the toughest of deadlines. Linden Lawson, the copy-editor, worked beyond the call of duty in a contest with time to bring the book out at speed. A great thank you to Bea Hemming, the editor who originally commissioned the book, saw it through the initial stages and had faith in it throughout.

None of my books would have been written without the constant support and loving encouragement of Jessica Pulay. She has always been a

practical help with her sound judgment and clarity of thought and an inspiration for me to try harder and think deeper. It is impossible adequately to acknowledge all that I owe to her.