

¹¹⁷ Patrick J. O'Farrell, 'The Russian Revolution and the Labour Movements of Australia and New Zealand, 1917-1922', *International Review of Social History* (1963): 177-197.

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STANDARD-BEARER OF THE AUSTRALIAN REVOLUTION: THE INTERROGATION OF ALEKSANDR ZUZENKO BY SPECIAL BRANCH. AN ANNOTATED TRANSCRIPT.

Introduction

The part played by the determined revolutionary and former anarchist Aleksandr Mikhailovich Zuzenko in the violent disturbances in Brisbane in March 1919 is now well known, having received attention in two important studies by Raymond Evans in the late 1980s and early '90s.¹ More recent research has explored Zuzenko's clandestine return visit to Sydney and Melbourne in 1922 in the larger context of his career and of Comintern interest in Australia.² The source documents which make possible the reconstruction of that episode are located in various archives, notably the Russian State Archive for Socio-Political History (RGASPI) and the National Archives of Australia (NAA). One of the key documents from the RGASPI collection — Zuzenko's report to the Comintern Executive (ECCD), recounting in some detail his journey round the world in support of the infant Communist Party of Australia — is now in print in English translation.³ The perspective on the same event of Zuzenko's adversaries, the 'class enemy' in Australia and Britain, may be seen clearly in some of the documents held in the NAA, particularly in one of these, of British origin, the text of which is set forth below.

The background to this document is as follows: Zuzenko (1884-1938), a sailor, journalist, agitator, and long-term resident of Australia who had been deported to Odessa as a trouble-maker in April 1919 for his role in the red flag demonstrations, had returned with the backing of the Third International in July 1922. His mission, as he understood it, was 'to form a communist party in Australia', but since the Communist Party of Australia had already been founded between the time of his departure (October 1920) and his arrival, his task became one of consolidation, of bringing unity to a party continually plagued by rifts. No sooner had he disembarked with forged papers in Sydney than he launched into a hectic programme of meetings aimed at bringing the sides together, and lectures to draw in new converts. He was arrested in Melbourne less than a month after arriving in Sydney, having quickly come to the attention of the intelligence services. On 17 August 1922 a Melbourne court sentenced him to three months' imprisonment as a prohibited immigrant, to be followed by deportation, but

since he was able to pay his own fare with funds raised by his CP comrades, he was allowed to go free, reclaim some of his seized papers, and travel as a free man. He sailed from Melbourne for London on the SS Hobson's Bay on 6 September, seen off by a spirited crowd of well-wishers.⁴

Zuzenko had good reason for preferring to pay his own fare. He supposed that this would confer immunity from the unwelcome attentions of hostile security services along the route. On arrival in London he was dismayed to find that he enjoyed no such protection. (His 'petition', included here as an appendix, records his belief that immunity applied, and his protest against its violation.) In his long report to the ECCI, submitted in February 1923, shortly after his return, he provides a brief description of his three-month detention at His Majesty's pleasure in Brixton Prison and a summary of what seemed to him the key points of his interrogation.

The two main documents below comprise the stenographic record of that interrogation, in two sessions on 19 and 20 December 1922, offering a different view of the same event and affording a clearer picture of British intelligence concerns. The Special Branch officers in charge of the investigation are named as 'Capt. Miller' and 'Capt. Liddell'. H. M. Miller was prominent in the investigation of several subversives at this period and later. His cases include the ARCOS raid in 1927. Guy Maynard Liddell, MC, worked with him at Scotland Yard and later, when both were transferred to MI5. Liddell later rose to the deputy directorship of MI5 and won great renown in counter-intelligence work for his expertise in Soviet affairs.

As may be seen, Miller and Liddell questioned Zuzenko closely about his identity and nationality, which he had taken some pains to conceal, his mission to Australia, his movements, his contacts and his beliefs. That his disguise was easily penetrated is immediately apparent from the heading 'Interrogation of Zuzenko or Toni Tollagsen Tjorn etc. etc. ...'. On this point the interrogators are well armed and sure of their ground. On other matters, however, they are less well prepared, having less access to independent sources of intelligence. They appear to have limited prior knowledge of his work with activists in Britain, Australia or the USA, and less about his contacts at the headquarters of the Third International. They have little doubt that Zuzenko is an emissary of the International, but do not press the point in the face of his denials, perhaps not wishing to compromise their sources.⁵ Zuzenko, who was no novice in situations of

this kind, tells in his report to the ECCI how he endeavoured to exploit the situation to discover the intentions of his interrogators and the extent of their knowledge.⁶ Miller and Liddell also rely largely on Zuzenko's own words for details of his movements during his extensive travels. They do not dispute his reply to a question about a previous visit — supposedly his only visit — to the United Kingdom, in 1907, despite the fact that he had spent the months of November to January there in 1920. On the latter occasion he had been questioned by the British police, but had perhaps escaped the recording system by using a different identity.⁷ Zuzenko gives little away, doing his best to disclose to the British only what he is confident they already know (about Jock Garden, for example).

From other documents, particularly his own reports, it is clear that Zuzenko's range of contacts in Britain, as in Australia, was extensive. It included a number of radicals of interest to the British authorities, such as Jack Tanner, of the shop stewards' movement, Tom Barker, a stalwart of the Industrial Workers of the World (also deported from Australia for his political activities), James Quinton of the Seamen's Union, and almost certainly Willie Gallagher, George Lansbury and Sylvia Pankhurst. Of these, the name of Sylvia Pankhurst occurs more than once in the course of the interrogation. The other names appear in related documents.⁸

Included with the transcripts of the interrogation sessions is the covering letter from the Australian High Commission to the Prime Minister's Department. This case was of considerable interest to the Australian government, and the British authorities took care to pass on pertinent material concerning a figure who was seen to be at the root of the serious disturbances of 1919 and was plainly bent on furthering the cause of revolution in Australia even after being deported.

The later career of Zuzenko has been briefly described elsewhere,⁹ and no more than a minimal summary needs to be given here. He had hoped to be given charge of Australian affairs in the Comintern in Moscow, and his dearest wish was to return to Australia when socialism triumphed, as 'the standard-bearer of the socialist revolution'.¹⁰ Zuzenko was not given the responsibility he coveted. For reasons which may never emerge, but could possibly be related to this, he left the Communist International to seek a livelihood in other fields. For much of 1923 and 1924 he earned his living as a journalist in Moscow, publishing his articles mostly in *Na vaktte*, the newspaper of the water-transport workers' union, but occasionally in the railwaymen's paper *Gudok*. In the autumn of 1924, at

the first opportunity, he returned to his original profession, the sea, now as an ocean-going captain (*kapitan dal'nego plavaniia*), achieving legendary status in the Baltic Shipping Line and later appearing in various guises in several works of Soviet Russian literature. He moved from Moscow to Leningrad with his wife Civa (Tsetsilia), née Rosenberg, whom he had married in Brisbane shortly before his deportation in 1919, and their three children, and sailed on voyages to Hamburg and London,¹¹ until his arrest by the NKVD in April 1938 and execution in Moscow as a 'spy' in August of the same year.

The notes provided here are intended to enhance clarity at possibly obscure points, identify some of the individuals named, and supply context and correction from other sources wherever necessary.

The text is reproduced as it appears in the archive documents, without adjustments to spelling or punctuation. Ambiguous or unclear statements are not modified, but where deemed necessary these receive some commentary in the notes. Mis-spelt names also appear as given, but clarification will be found in the notes wherever possible. Handwritten comments appearing in the margins of the typescript are also reproduced in the notes.

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Documents

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

Australia House,
Strand,
London WC2

7th February, 1923

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

The Secretary,
Prime Minister's Department,
MELBOURNE

Adverting to my memorandum of the 5th December, relative to the departure of Toni Tollagsen Tjorn or Alexander Michael Zuzenko from Australia, I desire to inform you that the Commissioner of Police here advises that this man, who arrived in this country on the 14th October 1922 and was taken to H.M. Prison, Brixton, on the same day, was deported from England to Russia on 19th January, 1923, in the s. s. 'Irtysk'. On hearing of Tjorn's arrival here, the Russian Trade Delegation developed considerable interest in him and finally gave him a visa for Russia. Tjorn claimed to be of Norwegian nationality and travelled on a Norwegian passport, which the Norwegian authorities in London pronounced after examination to be false.

The Commissioner of Police also states that Tjorn was in possession of credentials from Tom Walsh, and forwards translations of certain of the documents found in possession of Tjorn, which he thinks may be of interest to the Commonwealth Government, as well as copy [*sic*] of the shorthand notes of the interrogation of Tjorn at Scotland Yard, which are attached hereto.

(sgd) G. L. Campbell
for OFFICIAL SECRETARY

Interrogation of Suzenko or Toni Tollagsen Tjorn etc. etc. by
Captain Miller and Captain Liddell — 19/12/22

Capt. M. We wanted to see you here about some little difficulty there
has been about your passport and various other things. In
the first place what is your name?

Tjorn: Toni Tollagsen Tjorn.

- Capt. M. Your age?
- T. 41.
- Capt. M. What nationality?
- T. I was born in Norway.
- Capt. M. In what town?
- T. Hetkestadt, Stavangar district.¹²
- Capt. M. What date?
- T. 3rd September, 1881.
- Capt. M. What is your most recent permanent address?
- T. In Norway.
- Capt. M. Anywhere, where have you been residing?
- T. I was in Melbourne. My last address was 221, Richardson Street, North Carlton, Melbourne.
- Capt. M. What was your profession?
- T. I received a good education. At 18 years old I went on the sea.
- Capt. M. You are a seaman?
- T. Yes.
- Capt. M. How long were you resident at the address you have just given me?
- T. About four weeks.¹³
- Capt. M. Were you living in Australia under this same name?

- T. In Australia I was living under the name of Alexander Michael Suzenko. Before the war broke out I was living under the name of Toni Tollagson Tjorn.¹⁴ After war broke out every alien had to register himself. I registered under the name Alexander Michael Suzenko. In Australia I spent over 10 years. At the moment I was arrested I was working as editor of a newspaper, a labour paper *Knowledge and Unity*.¹⁵
- Capt. M. Were you arrested under the name of Suzenko?
- T. Alexander Michael Suzenko.
- Capt. M. But your real name was Toni Tollagson Tjorn?
- T. Yes.
- Capt. L. Why did you register under that name if your real name was Tjorn?
- T. Because I was working as Secretary of a Russian Association and it was my journalistic pseudonym. I always signed my articles Alexander Michael Suzenko.¹⁶
- Capt. L. Why?
- T. If you have a newspaper, as for instance the *Workers Dreadnought* and you only have one or two men filling the columns you want to show that not one man is working, but 15 different men supplying articles.
- Capt. M. Then you signed under both names?
- T. I signed 4 or 5 names.
- Capt. M. What other names did you pass under?
- T. Matoulitchenko and Sani Maman.¹⁷
- Capt. L. Any other names?

- T. Sometimes initials and so on, but in Australia, in the Home Office they knew Suzenko, Matoulitchenko and Maman.
- Capt. M. What were the other names?
- T. I have told you Suzenko, Podoprighero.¹⁸
- Capt. M. And all the time your real name was Toni Tollagson Tjorn?
- T. Yes. Then in the beginning of 1919 I issue my paper, all the time while the war was on.¹⁹ It was a labour socialistic paper — non-partisan.
- Capt. M. It was a political paper?
- T. Labour paper. Every article we wrote was very severely censored and in March 1919 they arrested me without any charge and deported me out of the country. In the beginning of 1919 they deported me to Constantinople and from Constantinople I went to America.
- Capt. M. What date?
- T. March 1919.²⁰
- Capt. M. How long were you in Constantinople?
- T. In Constantinople November 1919.
- Capt. M. When did you leave Constantinople?
- T. In December 1919.
- Capt. M. At Constantinople what name did you go under?
- T. In Constantinople they deported me under the name of Alexander Michael Suzenko.
- Capt. L. They deported you — where, to America?
- T. No, to Constantinople.

- Capt. M. Yes, but from there you went to America?
- T. In Constantinople they let me free. I went to America and in America I was a journalist for Russian papers.²¹
- Capt. M. What papers?
- T. *Novi Russko Slovo*.²² I came into the hands of Denikin.
- Capt. M. Then they thought you were a Russian, not a Norwegian.
- T. They never asked me. They never passed any sentence of deportation at all. They never asked me what was my name. In Australia one of the IWWs, Freeman, born in Chicago, an American subject, was sent to Germany. A few IWWs were sent to South America and from there to Buenos Aires.²³
- Capt. M. What you mean is that the Australians do not mind where they deport people?
- T. They never asked 'Who are you, what is your name' and I was asking them there for fair dealing. If I am guilty, if I have done something wrong, put me before a judge, and I have full right to ask for it.
- Capt. M. You then went to America, what did you do?
- T. For papers, *Russkie/Slovo* and for *Golas*?²⁴
- Capt. L. Where did you acquire your knowledge of Russian?
- T. I spent a good few years in Russia.
- Capt. L. What time?
- T. I was there when I was not quite 17. I was a Socialist and took part in the revolutionary movement in Russia.
- Capt. M. Which one?
- T. 1905.

- Capt. L. Then what did you do after working on these papers in America? How long were you there?
- T. I was in America till February this year.
- Capt. M. That makes two years, does it?²⁵
- T. Yes.
- Capt. M. And then?
- T. And then I went to Seattle and Vancouver and from Vancouver to New Zealand and in New Zealand I stayed about one month, and from New Zealand I came to Sydney.²⁶
- Capt. M. Can you give me the dates?
- T. I am very sorry. I have a bundle of documents in the jail, permission to land in New Zealand, permission to stay permanently in New Zealand, then permission to land in Sydney, and then in Sydney I had 10 lectures on different subjects. After that I came to Melbourne and stayed in Melbourne. I had 11 lectures and after one of the lectures I was arrested and put in prison.
- Capt. M. How long did you stay there?
- T. The sentence was three months for being a prohibited emigrant.²⁷ I stayed something like 8 days.
- Capt. M. What happened then?
- T. They released me on bail. I asked 'Why do you deport me. If I have done something wrong I am ready to take the punishment you put on my shoulders.' He pronounced 3 months imprisonment and I was one week on remand and one day after sentence, which makes 8 days I spent in jail and then they released me on bail provided I went as a passenger at my own expense.
- Capt. L. Where to?

- T. To Hamburg and from Hamburg to Berlin, to Moscow, to Soviet Russia. My documents are issued for going to Soviet Russia.
- Capt. L. That is your passport?
- T. Issued for going to Soviet Russia. I have read in the *Daily Mail* in the stop press, a statement that a Bolshevik agent was deported from Australia, but it is not right. I am a socialist at the present time, but I do not know what strain of socialist [sic] I belong to because I do not know at the present time what the meaning of new economic policy is. I am against the new economic policy, or in favour if it is good.²⁸ I do not belong to any economic policy at all. I am simply a journalist and lecturer and in my life I never lied to anybody. I never lied to a member of the working class.
- Capt. M. Of course you would not have the same scruples with regard to me. Now, would it astonish you to hear that there is another Toni Tollagson?
- T. Yes.
- Capt. M. A Norwegian who is not yourself.
- T. And he is here?
- Capt. M. He is not yourself. He is somebody different. Now what about that passport?
- T. My passport was issued to Toni Tollagson Tjorn.
- Capt. M. But you are not Toni Tollagson Tjorn.
- T. I am.
- Capt. M. I am afraid this is one of your many names.
- T. I have a good set of names.

- Capt. M. Yes. Well, the difficulty is this. At present the situation is that we have enquired of the Norwegian Government about you and they are naturally finding some difficulty in identifying you. You agree that it is natural.
- T. I do not think it is natural.
- Capt. M. Can you give me any particulars that will help them to identify you?
- T. Only one thing will help them to identify me, it is my passport.
- Capt. M. They have seen your passport.
- T. They have seen my passport and after all they refuse to tell that I am a Norwegian subject?
- Capt. M. No, but they cannot find out about you at all.
- T. Of course it is very difficult to find out from Hetkestadt about a man who does not live in Hetkestadt. A man has to give something definite which will prove his personality.
- Capt. M. The only definite thing which will prove your personality as far as the Norwegian Government is concerned is the passport, but there are many doubts as to whether you had any right to ask for that passport in that name.
- T. I am quite positive that if you will let me go with these gentlemen to the Norwegian Consul with my documents I will get a passport.
- Capt. M. You got one in Australia?
- T. In Vancouver.
- Capt. M. From the Norwegian Authorities there?
- T. Yes, and I will get another passport tomorrow if you will let me go to the Norwegian Consul.

- Capt. L. What makes you think that?
- T. Because they cannot refuse me a passport, I have a birth certificate.
- Capt. L. Have you got the birth certificate here?
- T. Yes.
- Capt. M. If your date of birth and place of birth are given on your birth certificate the Norwegian authorities are bound to have a record of them. They have only to refer to the municipal authorities to see whether you were actually born there on the day that you say.
- T. It is very easy even at the present time to ask the place where I was born, at the church, and they will get all the particulars I need.
- Capt. M. Yes, I have no doubt it is quite possible that a Toni Tollagson Tjorn was born and baptised at that Church. The question is whether you are Toni Tollagson Tjorn. There is another Tjorn who is not yourself and that is the difficulty.
- T. I do not see any difficulty. If a man tells you 'I do not like to stay in this country at all' I quite agree with your rights. You want to deport me. I wrote a petition to the Home Secretary.²⁹ I am ready to go and the moment you will allow me I will proceed. My intention is to go to Hamburg and then from Hamburg to Berlin and from Berlin to Moscow. I do not like to disturb you at all. I will go at my own expense.
- Capt. M. Is that literally true?
- T. Yes. I am positive there is a telegram about me from the Home Secretary in Australia. I ask you, do you think anybody is going to miss me in London or that anybody is going to interfere with me in London. My intention was to proceed straight away to Hamburg.
- Capt. M. You were going to the Congress of the Third International?³⁰

- T. I am going to stay and to live there and to do work.
- Capt. M. Now, Mr Tollagson, you offer always to go at your own expense.
- T. Yes.
- Capt. M. Where do you get your funds? From the account you have given so far of your movements, you say you were a seaman, you are a lecturer, you are an editor of a small paper. None of these are occupations at which a man makes money.
- T. I have money. When I was arrested in Melbourne they searched my pockets and they found £8.7. and they asked 'Is it the only money you have?' I said 'Yes, it is the only money I have.' After that a collection was made by the workers to find my fare and they gave me £26 of money. I have at present about £20.
- Capt. M. In fact the party pays for your journeys?
- T. Not party. Groups of workers.
- Capt. M. Belonging to the party?
- T. No. Mostly non-partisan. I would not take money from anybody who needed money. The workers asked me to accept new costume. I refused. Then one, who is a rich man, Kenevsky, and has a factory in Melbourne, ordered me a new costume.
- (Kenevsky, managing director of the Wholesale Dress Goods Company, and N. Leonad Kenevsky, Pty. 48-50 Elizabeth Street, Melbourne.)³¹
- Capt. M. The money you have travelled on came from the workers in Australia? Who paid your passage to London?
- T. The workers, the Russian workers in Australia. They paid £42 for my ticket and then I had something like £25 in money. I

- had no clothing at all. Some woman bought something for my wife and child and myself.³²
- Capt. M. In fact the Communist Party, or members of the Communist Party in Australia paid for your passage.
- T. No. Not members of the Communist Party, but simply Russian workers — Russian groups of workers.
- Capt. M. Who were not affiliated to the Party?
- T. Not affiliated at all. In Melbourne even branches of the Communist Party do not exist. There is a big branch in Sydney, a big branch in Brisbane, but no branch in Melbourne at all. In Melbourne there is only the Socialist Party, which is the opposite to the Communist Party.³³
- Capt. M. Now, difficulties will arise for you, I think, if the Home Office decide to send you to Norway.
- T. I am quite willing.
- Capt. M. The Norwegian authorities are very doubtful about you.
- T. Even not to be a burden to the Home Office I will pay my fare to Norway.
- Capt. L. Have you been here before this time?
- T. I have been here in 1907. I was in Newcastle-on-Tyne, where I stayed for a couple of months.
- Capt. M. As a seaman?
- T. Yes.
- Capt. M. You have not been since then?
- T. No.
- Capt. M. Do you know Miss Sylvia Pankhurst?

T. I do not know her personally. I know her only as a leader of suffragettes in England and as editor of the *Workers Dreadnought*.³⁴

Capt. M. I think one of the difficulties there will be for you if the Norwegian authorities are not satisfied with your papers will have been created by some of the rather imprudent things some of your friends have done about you.

T. I do not know what was done by my friends. What kind of action was done? You mentioned just now the name of Sylvia Pankhurst. Can you tell me what kind of action was done by her?³⁵

Capt. M. Not at this stage, I think. But taking everything into consideration, I strongly advise you to be frank and to clear the whole thing up properly. That is really a piece of genuine advice I am giving you. This affair is not at all clear and has been made worse by the action of some of your friends. As long as you are perfectly frank and as long as everything that you say can be verified your position is relatively strong. Immediately you start using false papers or saying things about yourself that are not true your position becomes weak.

T. It is very easy to verify it step by step. It will be very easily verified by documents I have. One thing I see clearly, the intention of the authorities to keep men here who do not like to stay here.

Capt. M. They do not keep them here. You have come here on Norwegian papers and the Norwegian authorities cannot verify them.

T. And it is very hard for anybody to verify them if the documents were issued under one name and the person was deported from Australia as Alexander Michael Suzenko. After all you can see from my documents that I never came to stay here. I had no intention of staying here and I am quite positive that in future, if only anything can be done to avoid it, I will not come here any more.

Capt. M. Yes, but I am looking to your own immediate future. If, as I have reason to believe, the Norwegian authorities are not satisfied with your passport you may get into very serious trouble with them.

T. I do not think so.

Capt. M. Therefore you had better tell us here exactly how the matter really stands and exactly who you are. We do not necessarily have to give you into the hands of the Norwegian authorities.

T. I am a Norwegian. Toni Tollagson Tjorn is my real name. I have documents to prove it beside the passport. I have documents which give me the possibility of getting a passport, for instance, my birth certificate is quite sufficient. I have a few documents to prove my personality. I will explain to you and be quite frank that I am not even a member of a party.³⁶ But if I were a member of a party it would not change the situation at all. In any case in Australia and in Great Britain the Communist Party is quite official, but I am not even a member of any socialistic organisation or anything to do with any organisation. I was working like an individual socialist and all my lectures were on different subjects, socialist only in tone.

Capt. M. What were the subjects of your lectures?

T. For instance, specific character of Russian literature was one lecture; another lecture was Russian literature and her influence on Russian revolution. Two lectures on Political Economy.

Capt. M. From what point of view?

T. Marxian point of view. The simplifying of political economy for the simple mind of the workers. Then on women's questions there were two lectures, 'the Russian Woman and her Part in both revolutions.' Of course woman [*sic*] in both revolutions did most work. Even the majority in some groups of socialist organisations was women.

- Capt. M. Then you have never done any organising of any kind?
- T. I was all the time organising something.
- Capt. M. What?
- T. In Australia I was organising groups of IWW in the Northern part of Queensland.
- Capt. M. Among Russians?
- T. Among Russians, because my broken English prevented me from any work among the English.
- Capt. M. Then you are an IWW organiser?
- T. I was, but since 1917 I have changed my views. I knew that the idea in general was good, but the particulars are wrong.
- Capt. M. Where? In the IWW?
- T. In the IWW movement many of the workers are awfully wrong.
- Capt. M. Where do you disagree?
- T. I disagree with the idea of sabotage. I disagree with the idea to go out of the existing labour movement and to build something outside the old unions. I always think it is better to bring the idea of industrial organisation into line with the existing organisations.
- Capt. L. In other words you think it is better to work inside the existing organisations and convert them?
- T. Yes, because they are wrong in their ideas and up to the present they have not succeeded.
- Capt. M. Who are 'they'?

- T. The IWW. Before 1917, and it can be traced in my writing and my articles, I had the idea that every power was wrong, no matter whether it is socialistic or democratic or bourgeois. I was against any State at all.³⁷
- Capt. M. You were an anarchist?
- T. More anarchist than socialist. But again with some of the points I disagreed, because anarcho-communism as it was described by Kropotkin contained many mistakes, which showed themselves in the first moment of practical life.³⁸
- Capt. M. What was the immediate purpose of your organising in Australia?
- T. To bring understanding among the individuals, bring them together, make them understand, make them read, make them discuss every question of life and the moment a real time came to find for everybody his own place in the revolutionary lines, to fight for the best of the working class. That was my idea.
- Capt. M. Then your idea is violent revolution?
- T. Not violent — defensive.
- Capt. M. In Russia would you be against the Soviet Government which is in power?
- T. I cannot answer at the present time, because I do not know what Soviet Russia means. I know very little about the new economic policy.
- Capt. M. Did you give any lectures about Soviet Russia?
- T. I gave a couple of lectures in support of famine relief and the struggle which exists in Soviet Russia. I gave lectures in Sydney and also in Melbourne, and called on men to support their people.
- Capt. M. The victims?
- T. The victims of hunger.

Capt. M. Were the lectures in favour of what is called productive relief?
T. Of productive relief? Yes.
Capt. M. Were you working at all in touch with Willy Munzenberg?³⁹
You know him?
T. I do not know the name you mention. Only in California I organised a Sectarian Russian Famine Relief Committee to send a few ship loads from San Francisco loaded with wheat, grain and old clothing.
Capt. M. Did you send money?
T. No. Only the fare was paid by the Delegation.
Capt. L. The delegation here paid the fare from London?
T. Yes.
Capt. L. We have got a very definite statement by the Australian authorities to the effect that you were born at Riga. Well now, they apparently have satisfied themselves beyond all reasonable doubt that you were born at Riga.
T. No.
Capt. L. Is that not true?
T. No.⁴⁰
Capt. L. Did you tell them that?
T. They never asked me a single question. There were two interpreters from Victoria Barracks and they always tell all kind of stories only to have their bread and butter. It is not true.
Capt. M. This is a fabrication then?

T. Yes.
Capt. M. When were you interrogated exactly?
T. In March 1919, in Brisbane.
Capt. M. And two interpreters you say from Victoria Barracks made up this story that you were born in Riga on 17th May, 1885, and arrived in Australia in 1911.
T. No. I arrived in Australia at the beginning of 1909. I landed in South Australia and went to Port Pirie Hospital.⁴¹
Capt. L. There is a statement here that you took part in a demonstration in Brisbane in 1919 at which there was a conflict with the authorities and a good many people were shot and wounded.
T. No, nobody was shot or wounded.
Capt. L. But you were armed at the time?
T. No.⁴² It was simply a labour demonstration from the Trades Hall in Brisbane to the Britannic Gardens.⁴³ There was some clash with the police, who tried to prevent them entering the Gardens and they broke the line of policemen.
Capt. M. Then there was violence?
T. The violence was before. The same night Victoria Barracks soldiers smashed up a socialist meeting.
Capt. M. Were you at the socialist meeting which was smashed?
T. Organised by Victoria Barracks.
Capt. M. You were there?
T. No. I was in Ipswich, 40 miles away. It was a crowd of few 100 organised by Victoria Barracks soldiers to burn down the houses belonging to Russian associations, and after the police stopped them they went away.⁴⁴ The next day they came again

and it was a clash between armed policemen and the crowd organised by Victoria Barracks.

Capt. M. In which the socialists took no part?

T. No part at all. If they wanted to burn the houses let them burn them, we did not care about it. It was only a clash between the military authorities and the police.⁴⁵ A few police were wounded. The head of the police was wounded by a stone in the head and two soldiers were wounded.⁴⁶

Capt. M. You have told us very definitely that your policy is not a violent policy. I have here incident after incident which shows that you would stick at absolutely nothing if it came to the point.

T. If the time of revolution comes. If this comes I will take part of course. If I were in the Red Army at the beginning of the revolution I would join the Red Army as a soldier. It would be my duty.

Capt. L. But that is not the impression you have been giving us this afternoon. It is perfectly clear that that is what you would do. If these are your views let us have them and we shall know where we stand.

T. I am a socialist and a revolutionary, I state quite clearly.

Capt. L. There are some people who have views about politics and they say to achieve these ends we will use the ordinary machinery of State, and there are other people who say 'we will make a short cut for it'. I should put you in the latter category.

T. In Great Britain I would tell the workers if they asked me to use Parliament to express their views. Use legal means only. If their paper was suppressed, issue another paper ...⁴⁷ The best propagandists in the world are the Bourgeois Government, who have the power in their hands ... The people begin to understand that the one thing they need is to organise themselves as a class and take the power into their hands by legal means, and of course the moment they begin to take it by

legal means it will be blow after blow in their own defence. It will be revolution and the overthrow of this system.

Capt. L. Do you imagine that this has been achieved in Russia?

T. In Russia it was achieved by another means.

Capt. L. Do you imagine that they are in a better state than we are here?

T. Yes. For instance I get a few letters stating that a town like Petrograd only needs 100 policemen, and before in the Czar's time it was a few thousand policemen, and there was robbery and sometimes killing a man for a few pounds.

Capt. L. Now nobody has anything left to rob. Of course you have not made up your mind about the new economic policy.

T. I do not know what the new economic policy means.

Capt. L. Do you know Jim Quinton?

T. No. Is he one of the Communists of Great Britain?

Capt. L. No, he is an Australian, but I think you know him. In fact I know you do.

T. No. I might know him if you gave me his photo.

Capt. M. I think you met him in Moscow.

T. No.

Capt. L. Think again. Seamen's Union. Australian by birth.⁴⁸
T. I know Quinlan. He is Home Secretary of Australia.⁴⁹ I do not remember Quinton at all. I would know him if he were a permanent IWW in Queensland.

Capt. L. Did you ever meet anybody of the name Nargin in Melbourne?

T. Nargin? They arrested me under that name.

- Capt. M. Is that another of your names?
- T. They arrested me and told me that my name was Nargin, and after a few hours they took my fingerprints and said my name was Suzenko.
- Capt. M. Who is Nargin then?
- T. I only know they gave me the name of Nargin.⁵⁰
- Capt. M. You did not mention that name to me just now.
- T. I gave you the list of names under which I sign my articles, my pseudonym.
- Capt. M. But I asked you for any other names you might have had. You did not mention Nargin.
- T. It is simply a name that was given to me by the detectives.

END of first session 19 Dec 1922.

Toni Tollagson [sic] Tjorn, interviewed by Captain Miller and Captain Liddell on 20.12.22

- Capt. M. Well, Tollagson, we have been going into what we know about you and we are not at all satisfied that you are really the man you pretend to be. I told you last time that it was very important that you should tell the truth absolutely. Now I want to warn you again that there may be very serious consequences for yourself if you do not. First of all, will you tell me how it comes about that you only assumed the name of Tollagson Tjorn (Tjorn I understand is a place) after you were in Vancouver?
- T. I was known as Toni Tollagson Tjorn in San Francisco.
- Capt. L. When? What date?

- T. It was at the beginning of this year — of 1922 — and my address was 1050, De-Haro, San Francisco.
- Capt. M. You were living there at what date?
- T. I lived there for about eight months, from the beginning of May last year till the beginning of this year.
- Capt. M. Under that name?
- T. Toni Tollagson Tjorn.
- Capt. M. Is Tjorn in Norway?
- T. Tjorn is a ranch.
- Capt. M. In Norway?
- T. In Norway, yes.
- Capt. M. Where exactly?
- T. It is near Hetkestadt.
- Capt. M. It is nothing to do with the island Tjorn, north of Gothenburg?
- T. No.
- Capt. M. You did use the name Tjorn in Vancouver?
- T. In Vancouver, yes.
- Capt. M. And also where you got your passport?
- T. Yes.
- Capt. M. Do you know this man (*producing photograph*)?
- T. I do not think so?

Capt. M. You are not very sure.

T. I do not think so. Maybe I met him but from the photo I cannot tell. My opinion is that I never met this man. Maybe in reality I have.

Capt. M. Now it is curious that this man was engaged in Vancouver in very much the same kind of work as you were engaged in. He was connected with the Technical Aid Society for Soviet Russia. Did you meet him in that connection?

T. With Technical Aid to Soviet Russia? I do not think that I met him.

Capt. M. How does it come then that you used his birth certificate to get a passport?

T. You mean to say that my passport belonged to the man of the photo you showed me?

Capt. M. No, the birth certificate did.

T. Belonged to Toni Tollagson Tjorn?

Capt. M. And that is Toni Tollagson Tjorn.

T. Yes.

Capt. M. You have been travelling under false papers.

T. No.

Capt. M. You have just said so.

T. Maybe you are right, maybe you are wrong. There is only one authority can tell that I am wrong, the Norwegian.

Capt. M. That is just the point we are not satisfied that you are a Norwegian subject. This man whose photograph I showed you is the real Toni Tollagson Tjorn and we know about him and we know about his movements and they are different

movements to yours, so that it is quite clear that there is this man Toni Tollagson Tjorn, and the presumption is very strongly that you, who have used some dozen of names as we know, took his name, obtained his birth certificate, went and got a passport on the strength of it, because a birth certificate bears no photograph, and have come to this country on it. That is our theory and it is very strongly founded. Now I strongly advise you to tell us the truth.

T. It is not true. I am Toni Tollagson Tjorn, and if there is any punishment I am ready to take this punishment from the authorities of Norway, in Christiania or Bergen.

Capt. L. It has nothing to do with the authorities of Norway. If you have come to this country ...

T. I never came to this country.

Capt. L. But here you are.

T. You dragged me to your country. You arrested me on board an Australian steamer at Hudson Bay.⁵¹ I never showed you any documents at all. Those documents you received from the Captain of the steamer.

Capt. M. You were on a British ship, in British waters.

T. Not British.

Capt. M. You were within British territorial waters.

T. I was on Australian territory. It was an Australian governmental steamer.

Capt. M. No, but all this leads us no further. We mistrust your account of things very much and in fact entirely. We have definite proof, apart from what I have told you, that at the last interview you told us several things which were not true.

T. Not true, yes.

Capt. M. We therefore, having this very strong presumption about who you are, or at least about who you are not, distrust your account of yourself entirely. We therefore propose to rely upon accounts of you which we believe we can trust, and these accounts lead us to believe that you were born in Riga and that you are therefore a Lettish subject, Now naturally, if we conclude that you are a Lettish subject you will be sent back to Latvia. Now I strongly advise you to tell the truth. You are in for a very uncomfortable time in Latvia with the record that you have and with the record which we shall have to send about you.

T. In my stormy life I have had three death sentences for being a Socialist, one of them I received from Mr Hughes, he sentenced me to be hanged.⁵²

Capt. M. On what charge?

T. You only heard last time about my deportation and being sent into the hands of Denikin. He was quite positive that Mr Denikin would receive me and would hang me, but it was too late. When I came to Constantinople Denikin had already abandoned his position.⁵³

Capt. M. What are the other two sentences?

T. I had two death sentences passed, without even capturing me. Only a couple of weeks ago I was carrying on a death sentence by declaring hunger strike.⁵⁴ I was ready to die.

Capt. M. Where?

T. In Brixton Prison. And you fed me forcibly. In my life I never was frightened at all. If your intention is to hang me, please send me to Latvia.

Capt. M. No. They do not at present hang people in Latvia for that, unless of course there is some reason in Latvia for your being hanged. Is there a capital crime against you in Latvia?

T. Everybody who as a Communist reaches Latvia is hanged.

Capt. L. No. No.

T. You can see the photo taken of Communists in Latvia who have been hanged.

Capt. M. Why do you rely upon documents like that? Everybody knows that those documents are faked.

T. Only documents are faked used by me.⁵⁵ If you want to deport me I will tell you my real name.

Capt. M. Yes?

T. Toni Tollagson Tjorn, born in Hetkestadt ...

Capt. M. No, no, we have that.

T. If you send me to be hanged I am ready to die. All the time I am ready. I do not care for my life at all. Always I am ready to die. Why? For propaganda purposes. I shall be a saint. These heroes are very soon forgotten.

Capt. M.

T. In this same cell where I am for 74 days you fed MacSwiney.⁵⁶ MacSwiney will not be forgotten. Even in your capitalist press you call him the hero of Ireland.

Capt. M. MacSwiney is practically forgotten already, even in Ireland.

T. No.

Capt. L. Water passes under the bridges very quickly now.

T. Irishmen will not forget the man who fought against violence all over the world. In America in every house where there is an Irish grandfather or grandmother you will see a photo of Terence MacSwiney, victim of British brutality, of British violence.

Capt. M. Now, there are two things possible. There is the possibility that after due investigation it will be found that you are a Latvian. Then you will be sent to Latvia. That is obvious, in

due course of law. But in that case you must really be franker about yourself. I know of course that you do not regard it at all as anything wrong to tell us lies. You told us the other day that you would never lie to a comrade.

T.

To a workman. Not in my life. But I will lie and I will lie 100 per cent to my enemies.

Capt. L.

We have gathered that already.

Capt. M.

The utmost we now hope for is to get you to tell the truth.

T.

The truth is what you have written there, and it will tell you that a man whose name was Toni Tollagson Tjorn was in Vancouver, organising the groups of Norwegians to go to Soviet Russia. It was I. I organised the groups of the comrades. It was a mixed group of Swedes, Norwegian, Russian, and they put 600 dollars each of machinery [*sic*] and went to Russia via New York. I sent them to Russia. I organised this group.

Capt. M.

The Workmen's group to go into Soviet Russia.

T.
and

The Workmen's group. They bought ploughs and machinery from New York they went to Soviet Russia. I belong to this group and I am still a member of this group and I have places in Soviet Russia to go to. Myself I went to New Zealand and from New Zealand to Australia.

Capt. M.

You see, the Toni Tollagson Tjorn whom we know and whose photograph this is, came the other way. He did not travel to New Zealand and from New Zealand to Australia. He did not travel westwards, he travelled eastwards, or at least he started to travel the other way. So it is quite definite that there are two Toni Tollagsons.

T.

I believe there are 60,000 Toni Tollagsons in the southern part of Norway only. It is a very common name, as Ivanoff is in Russia. And after all I want to ask, what I have done here, what crime I did in Australia. Nobody will answer me.

Capt. L.

Well, we are coming to that.

Capt. M.

Now, you said that you had been given the name of Nargin by the police in Australia — the detectives called you Nargin?

T.

Yes, they asked me 'Are you Nargin' and I told them 'No' but they brought me to the detective office.

Capt. M.

You had never heard of Nargin?

T.

It might be some comrade trying to give another name. Instead of using Suzenko they gave me another name. That is the first name they pick up, from the sky.⁵⁷

Capt. L.

But as far as I can make out a number of comrades in different parts of the country seem to have picked the same name up from the sky to address you.

T.

To address me?

Capt. L.

Yes, that is the curious thing.

T.

You mention just now that I had in my life 12 names — I had 75 names. When I was working in Russia as a socialist I used the passport of Ivan Ivanovitch.

Capt. M.

And sometimes the passport of Toni Tollagson Tjorn?

T.

And sometimes I have to be illiterate.

Capt. M.

Yes, and sometimes the passport of Toni Tollagson Tjorn?

T.

Sometimes the passport of Toni Tollagson Tjorn, and according to this name I am quite positive that you will deport me to Norway.

Capt. M.

No, I think not.

T.

Then you will let me proceed to Hamburg. I do not think you will find any crime against me.

- Capt. M. Except that obviously we cannot rely on anything about you.
- T. Let me go to Germany, to your enemies, and I will bite everybody whom I meet and use machine guns and big guns.
- Capt. M. No, we love our enemies more than that. Well, you see, we have found out we know quite a lot about you for a very simple reason.
- T. I know the reason — I am a socialist.
- Capt. M. No, you wanted to send some clothes to your wife in Russia. You undertook to send only clothes and you sent a lot of papers. These papers we have.
- T. You say you have discovered some papers, and I have some papers here. I have a list of addresses in my pocket, but they are of no value to you. Any addresses which are of value to you I keep in my head. You can see the documents I have but they are of no value to you.
- Capt. M. They are quite useful.
- T. What kind of papers were they?
- Capt. M. I think you said last time that you had nothing to do with the party, that you were merely organising?
- T. Nothing to do with the party at all.
- Capt. M. Well, it is a very curious thing that the party have given you credentials and not only that, they have held a meeting and passed a resolution to thank you for your services.
- T. It cannot be so.
- Capt. M. They were found in your box.
- T. Can you show me, from a far distance?
- Capt. L. I believe this was in your seaman's bag. It is on the paper of the United Communist Party of Australia. 'I',⁵⁸

- T. To whom?
- Capt. L. To you.
- T. No, to whom?
- Capt. M. To you.
- T. To Toni Tollagson Tjorn or to Suzenko?
- Capt. M. No, not to Suzenko.⁵⁹
- T. I had 75 names and if you pick up any name and show me it belong to me I will refuse.
- Capt. M. Whatever I say you will say it is not true — that I take for granted.
- T. It is only a couple of books which were given to me to put in my seamen's bag by one of the comrades. I believe that this comrade is in Moscow at present.
- Capt. M. I believe he is here.
- T. In London?
- Capt. M. Yes, in this room.
- T. Now you are joking. I am speaking about the comrades, six of them were going to Moscow on board the same steamer with me.
- Capt. M. Now who were these?
- T. Of course I will not mention names. They have already passed through here. I do not think it is any mystery to tell you one of them was Jock Garden.⁶⁰

Capt. M. In fact you and we are very much older friends than you think. And we have got quite a lot of friends in common. So we can talk about them. Jock Garden is one.

T. Yes.

Capt. M. Now, in any case, what is quite clear is that in Australia and elsewhere you have been acting for the Third International. Do not let us be absurd, it is no use playing a game.

T. It is a very high recommendation for me you have just read and you are giving me a very high title. I am a hundred times more stupid than you think. I am a simple socialist who is doing his best. My work has no value at all. I am helpless to do propaganda work at all.

Capt. M. They seem to have over-estimated your services in Australia.

T. Yes, too much.

Capt. L. Everybody seems to think well of you. There is another one here.

T. All these I tell you belong to Jock Garden, a simple man who does not know very much about matters. I knew very well I would be arrested. I received an assurance from Mr Quinlan;⁶¹ I received an assurance from Mr Hughes and the moment I received assurance that nobody would interfere with me here, then I knew that I should be arrested.⁶²

Capt. M. You are authorised to organise among the Russians and all members are requested to give you every assistance?

T. I never did any organising work for the Communist Party.

Capt. M. With the Russian section of it, according to this.

T. Only once, it was in Australia.

Capt. M. Last time you said you had done organising work.

T. In the northern part of Australia, in the IWW.

Capt. M. And then you have all these communist papers?
T. In reality the position is that men who were IWWs are not trusted by official authorities. For example, Sylvia Pankhurst, she is out of the party, she is working alone only [sic], and if you remember (for I believe all my letters pass through this room) I never address any letters to her here except Communist Party of Great Britain. I never write any letter because Sylvia Pankhurst is outside of the party.⁶³

Capt. M. You told us last time that you had rather 4th International tendencies.

T. At the present time I do not know where I stand.

Capt. M. I think that is true.

T. Yes.

Capt. M. But what I argue from that is that if you do not know exactly where you stand, at any rate, your opposition to the Third International in Australia or elsewhere would not be so strong that you would not work for them. You are not definitely 4th International and definitely hostile yet, you are between the 4th and the 3rd.

T. I am a simple individual, who is willing to help the socialistic [sic] movement, no matter of what kind it is.

END of second session 20.12.22

To the Right Honourable His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department⁶⁴

Sir,

This petition humbly sheweth: -

That His Excellency the Secretary of State for Home Affairs in Australia gave to your petitioner his plighted word before he left Melbourne that the Authorities of this country would not interfere with him in any kind of way on his arrival here but would be pleased to allow him to proceed to his destination via London and Hamburg to Soviet Russia.⁶⁵ That His Excellency the Prime Minister of Australia also assured your petitioner's friends who are labour leaders in that country that he would not be molested while on his way back to Soviet Russia if he undertook, as he did, to pay his fare for the whole of the journey.

That notwithstanding the promises made by such high governmental officials, your petitioner was arrested on the very day his ship the Hobson's Bay entered the Thames, and immediately afterwards cast into Prison.

That your petitioner strongly protests against such action on the part of those responsible, and as he has ample funds wherewith to meet all expenses likely to be incurred during the rest of the journey, and as his passport is in order, he humbly begs to be allowed to resume it without any undue delay. That your petitioner has no interest at all in this country; his one desire being to get back to Russia at the earliest possible date. And your petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray.

(Sgd.) Toni Tollagsen Tjorn

Witness (Sgd.) D. J. Morris, C.I.S.

Notes

- ¹ Raymond Evans, *The Red Flag Riots: A Study of Intolerance*, Brisbane, 1988; 'Agitation, Ceaseless Agitation', in *Russia and the Fifth Continent: Aspects of Russian Australian Relations*, eds. John McNair and Thomas Poole, Brisbane, 1992, 125-71. The title of this article is a phrase from an unsigned article, most probably by Zuzenko, 'Abolish the War Precautions Act', in *Knowledge and Unity* (Brisbane), 22 March 1919, the day before the riots.
- ² Kevin Windle, 'Round the World for the Revolution: A Bolshevik agent's mission to Australia 1920-22 and his interrogation by Scotland Yard', *Revolutionary Russia*, Vol. 17, No. 2, December 2004, 90-118.
- ³ Kevin Windle, 'The Achilles Heel of British Imperialism': A Comintern agent reports on his mission to Australia 1920-1922. An annotated translation', *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies*, 2004, 135-57. The Third International's Australia-related documents from RGASPI are held in microfilm copies at the Australian Defence Force Academy, where their academic sponsor is Professor David Lovell.

- ⁴ See Windle, 'Achilles Heel', 171; National Archives of Australia A6122/40, 111 (18/9/22), Summary of Communism, p. 163; Zuzenko gives the date as 7 September.
- ⁵ Miller refers only to materials found in Zuzenko's possession.
- ⁶ See Windle, 'Achilles Heel', 174.
- ⁷ They would, however, have been reminded of the fact by the list of expenses taken from Zuzenko, which gave a useful record of his movements.
- ⁸ Especially Zuzenko's report of 28 February 1923 (Windle, 'Achilles Heel'). That he was well informed about Left politics in Britain, and about the work of all these activists as well as others, is clear from this report and others. At this period, Sylvia Pankhurst and George Lansbury were of particular interest to British intelligence; see *A Survey of Revolutionary Movements in Great Britain in the Year 1920*, Directorate of Intelligence (Home Office), National Archives (London), KV4/124, M15 pamphlet, January 1921. Pankhurst's career has been well chronicled. On Lansbury, who at one point emigrated to Brisbane but returned, see John Shepherd, *George Lansbury: At the Heart of Old Labour*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002.
- ⁹ Windle, 'Round the World'; 'Achilles Heel'; 'Журналист и революционер на трех континентах: А. М. Зюзенко', *Тыняновский сборник*, выпуск 12, 2006, 452-68; 'A Troika of Agitators: Three Comintern Liaison Agents in Australia, 1920-22', *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 52, No. 1, 2006, 30-47.
- ¹⁰ Windle, 'Round the World', 118.
- ¹¹ On Zuzenko as Captain of the MV Smolny and his connections with the British Left, see Kevin Windle, 'Orpheus Down Under: Fragments by A. N. Tolstoi on the career of Captain Zuzenko', *Slavonica*, Vol. 12, No. 2, November 2006, pp. 91-105.
- ¹² 'Stavanger': as given, for 'Stavanger'. 'Hetkestad', here and below, may be a misspelling of Hekstad, a small town 90 km. south-east of Stavanger.
- ¹³ 'About four weeks': in reality about one week.
- ¹⁴ This is one of Zuzenko's more obvious untruths. He had assumed the name of Tollagsen Tjorn only in 1922, when he acquired Tjorn's passport in Canada. The typist has 'son' here and later, though 'sen' in the heading.
- ¹⁵ Zuzenko is referring to his arrest in March 1919, rather than that in August 1922. On his editorial work in Brisbane, see text and notes below.
- ¹⁶ In fact, not 'always'. His letters and articles of 1916-19 are signed Matulichenko or Sania Mamin.
- ¹⁷ Matulichenko and Sania Mamin: both as given. The second of these appears in numerous corrupt forms, e.g. 'Cane Mamina', in Australian government documents and works relying on these. Zuzenko used Aleksandr (or Sania) Mamin.
- ¹⁸ 'Podoprigo': as given. This particular alias has not emerged in the documents. It may have been corrupted but it is not clear what the original form might have been.
- ¹⁹ Sentence as given. Its meaning is obscure. Zuzenko took over *Znanie i edinienie* as editor in 1918, towards the end of the war. By 'the beginning of 1919' the paper had been closed down but Zuzenko was able to restart it as an English language paper at the end of 1918, pretending that the editorship was in the hands of Civa (Tssetsilia) Rosenberg, who was soon to become his wife.
- ²⁰ Zuzenko was arrested in Brisbane at the end of March, a few days after the Red Flag demonstration. He was deported from Sydney on the SS Bakara in mid-April.
- ²¹ There is some confusion here, or possibly evasion by Zuzenko. The Australian authorities sent him via Constantinople to Odessa, where he arrived in November 1919.

He departed Murmansk as a Comintern emissary in October 1920 and arrived in the USA, by way of Norway, Britain and Canada, in January 1921.

²² Newspaper title as given. It should read *Novoe russkoe slovo*.

²³ IWW = Industrial Workers of the World; When this organisation was closed down by the government, some members were deported to Valparaiso and made their way to Buenos Aires. Paul Freeman was sent to Germany in 1919 after unsuccessful attempts to land him in the USA.

²⁴ Newspaper titles as given, including the forward slash in the first title. Zuzenko soon after his arrival in New York in early 1921. 'Golas' should read 'Golos', but this may not be the full title of the newspaper. It could refer to *Russkii golos* (New York), *Golos truda* (New York), or the IWW paper *Golos truzhenika* (Chicago). It has been possible to check only incomplete sets of one of these, without result.

²⁵ This would mean February 1920-February 1922; in fact, as shown above, he arrived in January 1921 and was in the USA until the spring of 1922, finally taking ship from Vancouver BC for Auckland and Sydney in May.

²⁶ One Australian document which seems authoritative has him landing in Sydney on 11 June, then at once sailing for Auckland, where he stayed for about a month before returning to Sydney. The author is H. E. Jones, Director of the Investigation Branch, which monitored Zuzenko's movements, in a secret report to the Attorney-General's Department. The report, part of the Branch's 'Summary of Communism', dated 16 August 1922, is held in the papers of William Morris Hughes, National Library of Australia, 1538 Series 21.

²⁷ Zuzenko does not distinguish 'emigrant' and 'immigrant'.

²⁸ Zuzenko denies being a Bolshevik agent and claims to be uncertain about his ideological allegiance. He had for a considerable time adhered to the Socialist Revolutionary Party, and later in Queensland developed a reputation as an anarchist, however, he made clear that by early 1920 he had switched his allegiance to the Bolsheviks and joined the Soviet Communist Party. See especially, A. Marynchenko, 'Как я, анархист, стал коммунистом', *Hoosoe russkoe slovo*, 16, 17, 18 February 1921. His reports to the ECCI leave no doubt that in 1920-1923 he was employed by the Comintern, so in every sense a 'Bolshevik agent'. See Windle, 'Achilles Heel'.

²⁹ See the document included below, following the interrogation transcript.

³⁰ Zuzenko's interrogators would have been aware that in late 1922 delegates from many countries were making their way to Moscow for the Fourth Congress of the International, and that among Zuzenko's travelling companions on the SS Hobson's Bay there were two from Australia: Jock Garden and Tom Payne. The latter was concealed for part of the voyage in Zuzenko's cabin. On Garden, see n. 60 below.

³¹ The note in parenthesis appears in the original typescript. 'Kenevsky' should read 'Kanevsky'; 'Leonad' is presumably 'Leonid' or 'Leonard', perhaps originally 'Leonidovich'.

³² 'some woman': apparently a reference to Christian Jollie Smith, who had forwarded a parcel for 'Comrade Toni' from Sydney to Tom Walsh in Melbourne, containing a 'little garment' for Toni's baby. The accompanying letter was signed 'Christianfolle'. Christian Jollie Smith was close to Bill Earsman, one of the founding members of the

CPA, and friendly with Tom Walsh and his wife Adela Pankhurst Walsh, who is also referred to in the letter. NAA A1/15, 1924/30649 A. M. Sozenko - Undesirable.

³³ Sidelining in the margin at this point indicates that this was of particular interest to the security authorities.

³⁴ Most likely Zuzenko would have met her at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920. Sylvia Pankhurst was a key figure in the early history of British communism. In Australia he certainly counted her sister Adela and her husband Tom Walsh among his closest comrades. Sylvia Pankhurst described her journey to Russia in 1920 and her conversations with Lenin in a book, *Soviet Russia as I Saw It*, London, 1921.

³⁵ In his report to the ECCI Zuzenko refers to Captain Miller's statement about the actions of his friends and how this might affect him. (Windle, 'Achilles Heel', 155; RGASPI 495.94.18). Only his claim to have asked 'several times' how that 'poor defenceless lady' could do them any harm is not confirmed in this transcript.

³⁶ See n. 28 above, and cf. his statements about having joined the CP in 1920.

³⁷ Zuzenko's statements here and above suggest that he broke with anarchism and the IWW in the year of the Russian revolution. In his reports and press articles, he dates his conversion considerably later. In Brisbane in late 1918 and early 1919, although he worked with committed Bolshevik comrades, he still made anti-Bolshevik statements in public. His change of heart appears to have come about in 1920.

³⁸ In other documents written in 1920 and later Zuzenko is scathing in his dismissal of Kropotkin.

³⁹ Willy Münzenberg (1887-1940): prominent German socialist, later Comintern activist. See Pierre Broué, *Histoire de l'Internationale communiste 1919-1943*, Paris: Fayard, 1997, 1054.

⁴⁰ Zuzenko was in fact born in Riga, on 17 April 1884.

⁴¹ It seems from other sources more likely that he arrived in Australia in late 1911, as he himself wrote in his communications with the ECCI.

⁴² Police reports written on the day of the event indicate that Zuzenko was armed with a pistol and that he fired it. National Archives of Australia A456/4, W26/241 Unrest in Queensland.

⁴³ 'Britannic Gardens': as given, for Botanic Gardens.

⁴⁴ On the attack on the Russian premises, see Evans, *Red Flag Riots*, 104-08; also NAA A456/4, W26/241.

⁴⁵ 'military authorities': as given, presumably meaning 'the returned soldiers'.

⁴⁶ In the *mélée* F. C. Urquhart, the Queensland Police Commissioner, received a stab wound in the chest, accidentally inflicted by one of his own men. The Police Magistrate H. Archdall was also wounded when the crowd pushed him onto the bayonets of his men. (Evans, *Red Flag Riots*, 133.)

⁴⁷ This echoes Zuzenko's recommendations from his Brisbane period, sometimes mocked by his comrades. See О том как мы учимся самоуправлению и контролю (Записки русского клуба), Рождественские собрания 1918-1919, NAA (Brisbane Office) BP4/1 Box 4 66/4/2165. The author is German Bykov, who carried a red flag beside Zuzenko in the demonstration of 23 March 1919 and was deported the following September. See Kevin Windle, 'Unmajestic Bombast': The Brisbane Union of Russian Workers as Shown in a 1919 Play, *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies*, 2005, Vol. 19, Nos. 1-2, 29-51.

⁴⁸ Jim Quinton: an active participant in the Brisbane 'Free Speech Fight' in 1913, for which he was brought before the police court in December of that year (Brisbane *Courier*, 4 December 1913); later a leading figure, with Zuzenko, in the Red Flag demonstration of 23 March 1919. Quinton travelled to Moscow in 1921 to attend the conference of the Red International of Trade Unions.

⁴⁹ F. J. Quinlan was Chief Clerk, Central Staff, Home and Territories Department. In this position he handled deportation proceedings.

⁵⁰ 'Nargin': as Miller and Liddell are fully aware (see below), this is a curious departure from the truth. Nargin/Nargen was one of the names Zuzenko had been using in his reports to the ECCI well before his arrest in Melbourne.

⁵¹ Hudson Bay: apparently the shorthand typist's error: Zuzenko was not arrested at Hudson Bay. He travelled from Melbourne on the SS Hobson's Bay and was arrested when it docked in London.

⁵² Mr Hughes: William Morris Hughes, prime minister of Australia from 1915 to 1923. None of the documents so far available confirm that Zuzenko was 'sentenced to be hanged', let alone by the prime minister. However, Zuzenko's reply to Miller's next question indicates that the story of the 'death sentence' is not to be understood in a literal sense.

⁵³ The chronology of events is faulty here. Zuzenko was in Constantinople by November 1919 and in Odessa only weeks later. Denikin remained in control of Odessa until Feb 1920. Zuzenko in a 1921 article describes the arrival of Red forces in Odessa; see A. Матушевско, 'Настоящая печь', *Насое русское слово*, 15 March 1921, 'carrying on a death sentence': as given. This phrase makes it plain that this 'death sentence', at least, was self-imposed rather than prescribed by a court.

⁵⁴ This sentence as given. Zuzenko may wish to say ironically that he is the only one using false documents.

⁵⁵ MacSwiney: Terence MacSwiney was Lord Mayor of Cork and a prominent Sinn Féin activist, who died on hunger strike in October 1920, amid great publicity. *The Australian Communist* (14 Jan 1921) published a colourful description of his funeral, provided by Tom Barker in a letter from London.

⁵⁶ Nargin: see n. 50 above.

⁵⁷ Captain Miller is about to quote a letter to 'Comrade Nargin' signed by H. L. Denford (18 July 1922), on behalf of 'the Special Unity Conference of the Communist Parties of Australia'. It cites a unanimous resolution of the conference, placing on record his 'splendid services' to the Communist International 'whilst on your mission to Australia'. NAA A1/15, Item 1924/30649 Soozenko — Undesirable.

⁵⁸ 'Not to Zuzenko': i.e. it is addressed to 'Nargin'.

⁵⁹ Jock Garden: a leading figure at the time of the foundation of the CPA. In one of Zuzenko's subsequent reports to the ECCI, he devotes much space to the character of Garden, whose behaviour and attitudes he had studied during the voyage on the Hobson's Bay. That section was extracted and translated into English for the benefit of English-speakers on the ECCI dealing with Australian affairs.

⁶⁰ Mr Quinlan: see n. 49 above.

⁶¹ In the transcript this sentence is sidelined and a handwritten note, only partly legible, is appended. It reads, 'He was told we would do our best to arrange for his transhipment. Nothing else'.

⁶² Sylvia Pankhurst was expelled from the party in 1921. See Martin Pugh, *The Pankhursts*, London, Penguin Books, 2001, 368.

⁶³ This document is undated but must date from October or November 1922.

⁶⁴ This sentence is heavily sidelined and a handwritten note in the margin reads, 'Is anything known of this pledge?' [Signature or initials illegible] 18.1.23. The reply, in a different hand, reads: 'This man was infd [informed] that we would commit [communicate] with H.C. [High Commission?] re transhipment and that it was not anticipated there would be any difficulty. Certainly nothing in the shape of plighting one's word that the British authorities would not interfere with him was given & we could not bind them.' [Signature or initials illegible] 19.1.23.

New Zealand Slavonic Journal

2005, Volume 39

Journal of the Australia and New Zealand Slavists' Association

NEW ZEALAND SLAVONIC JOURNAL

Journal of the Australia and New Zealand Slavists' Association

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The *New Zealand Slavonic Journal* is published annually and is a refereed journal. Published at the School of Languages & Cultures, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch, New Zealand. The typesetting of this issue is supported by the School of European Languages and Literatures at the University of Auckland. Typesetting by Jonathan Rilling. Production by UC Print+Copy

Subscriptions: The price for New Zealand subscribers is NZ\$45.00, incl. GST. The price for overseas subscribers is NZ\$50.00, incl. postage. (Half price to *bona fide* students). Subscriptions should be paid in advance in New Zealand dollars.

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ISSN 0028-8683

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Kristin Bidoshi

THE STRANGER IN THE FICTIONAL WORKS OF NIKOLAI GOGOL'S ARABESQUES

The terms space and place have long contested histories and bear with them a multiplicity of meanings and connotations which reverberate with other debates. Space may call to mind the chaotic realm of simultaneity and multiplicity or the synchronic definiteness of structuralist systems. Place can raise the image of one's 'place in the world' and is connected with much greater intimations of mobility and agility in the context of discussions of positionality. The notions of space, place, placelessness and betwixt and betweenness are extremely prominent in Nikolai Gogol's works and are an essential part of his worldview. In this paper I discuss Gogol's interest in spatial categories in order to show how he manipulates the trope of the stranger to reflect spatial, temporal and psychological dislocation in 'Nevskii Prospekt' ('Nevsky Prospect'), 'Portret' ('Portrait') and 'Zapiski sumashdedshago' ('Diary of a Madman').

Mikhail Bakhtin's seminal work on the "Forms of Time and Chronotope in Novel" informs this study. In his article Bakhtin discusses the interconnectedness of temporal and spatial relationships as they are artistically expressed in literature.¹ In the literary chronotope, Bakhtin writes, "spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole" (Bakhtin, 84). In his essay Bakhtin very eloquently cites Balzac's ability to "see" time in space. As evidence of Balzac's unusual ability, Bakhtin writes, "We need mention only Balzac's marvelous depiction of houses as materialized history and his description of streets, cities, rural landscapes at the level where they are being worked upon by time and history" (Bakhtin, 247). As this paper will demonstrate, Gogol also possessed the unique ability to see time in space. The famous beginning to 'Nevsky Prospect' in which he describes the avenue in terms of its spatial and temporal qualities is but one obvious example.

Drawing on Bakhtin's writings on the chronotope of threshold, I will show how the three fictional works discussed below stand as testament to Gogol's fascination with the theme of metamorphosis (human transformation and identity).² In each of Gogol's works "metamorphosis serves as the basis for a method of portraying the whole of an individual's life in its more important moments of crisis: for

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