

A Troika of Agitators: Three Comintern Liaison Agents in Australia, 1920-22

Whether Comrade Freeman is sick or whether he is clumsily concealing his hostile attitude to Soviet Russia and its leaders is hard to say, but to send a man like him on a responsible and dangerous assignment is risky in the highest degree.¹

Thus wrote one of Paul Freeman's close comrades, Alexander Zuzenko, in Moscow on 15 August 1920 while preparations were in train to send both men, recent deportees from Australia, back on a liaison mission for the Third International, to nurture the infant communist movement there.

Comrade Simonoff was appointed consul-general in Australia ... , dreaming perhaps of becoming an official of Soviet Russia, who would sit in an office issuing passports to departing Russians ... and nothing more.

Thus Zuzenko on 30 April 1920, describing the comrade-in-arms who had shared his hardships in the struggle for socialism in Queensland.²

Comrade Miller [Freeman] has merely acted out a Khlestakov role. ... By his tactless behaviour he has done nothing but harm,

wrote Peter Simonoff, the Bolshevik consul, from Sydney in April 1921, the day after Freeman's departure from Sydney on completion of his clandestine Comintern assignment.³

Statements such as these do not suggest a harmonious working relationship among three prominent participants in the effort to establish Australian communism on a firm basis and position it for the rapid growth needed if Australia was to play its full part in the world revolution. Yet that was the aim which Zuzenko, Freeman and Simonoff earnestly aspired to achieve. All three were determined and militant activists, prepared to make great personal sacrifices to export the Soviet model of revolutionary socialism, and all could claim to be following in the footsteps of the veteran Bolshevik Artem (Fedor Sergeev, 'Big Tom'), who had played such a prominent role in Leftist politics in Brisbane from 1911 to 1917, when he made haste to return to revolutionary Russia.⁴ This paper will examine the operations and interaction of this trio in the critical period 1920-1923, using documentary material now available from the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI) and a limited amount of published material. The RGASPI material includes a number of documents written by or relating to the efforts of these men, who as agents in Australia of the Soviet government carried out vital liaison tasks with the socialist groups which in 1920 came together in a fragile union with the title 'the Communist Party of Australia'.

Simonoff, Zuzenko and Freeman did not, of course, operate alone. There were many others who fervently wished to see a communist party thriving in Australia, many of them Australian-born or British immigrants, and some of these travelled to Moscow as delegates to conferences and congresses, or to seek guidance and inspiration. Their reports and communications are also to be found in the RGASPI collection, and they

feature in existing studies of Australian communism.⁵ There were also other Russian radicals resisting conscription during World War I and politically active in the early post-war period. Several of the most prominent were deported in 1919 and did not return, while some others defected from the cause. Yet others, who remained for some time in Australia and remained active, like Nikolai Lagutin, an anarchist, who according to security files, was a 'thorough-going destructionist' quoted as saying 'all rulers should be guillotined',⁶ do not appear to have been in direct communication with the Comintern's Executive Committee (ECCI), so do not figure in the RGASPI collection. They have, however, received some coverage in existing histories.⁷ Some aspects of the work of Simonoff, Zuzenko and Freeman, on the other hand, merit more attention than they have so far received.

This paper deals with the efforts of these three to establish and then consolidate in Australia a communist movement which would owe allegiance to the Third International and be amenable to the centralised discipline imposed by Moscow. The odds against success, not to mention the dangers, were daunting. All three were at some stage imprisoned in Australia; two were deported and returned from Moscow to further the revolutionary cause; and the individual endeavours of all three emerge prominently from the archive material.

As may readily be seen, the degree of disharmony and lack of coordination, leaving aside any ideological differences, between these three important agents would militate against the emergence of the unified and effective communist party that Moscow wished to see. The extent to which their endeavours remained individual and personal, rather than shared endeavours, is perhaps the most striking feature of their reports, and this fact alone appears to indicate an absence of central control which would have seemed improbable once Soviet power was more securely established in Russia.

Since the careers of two of the protagonists, Simonoff and Freeman, have been well described by Eric Fried, Raymond Evans and Frank Farrell,⁸ it will suffice to repeat only the essential biographical facts: Simonoff was born on 21 June 1883 at Novaia Iablonovka in the province of Saratov. Of his early life it is known that he had worked in Baku boiler-works and been an NCO in the Russian army. Before coming to Australia in 1911 or 1912 he had worked in China and Japan. He was appointed RSFSR consul-general in Australia in February 1918 and held this position until August 1921, but did not receive recognition from the Australian or British governments. He left Australia in September 1921,⁹ and little is known of his later years. Some reports have him working for the Comintern in Afghanistan in the 1920s, and it is widely believed that he was executed in the great purge in 1938.¹⁰ However, one well-placed source — Zuzenko's widow Tssetsilia (Civa, Tsiva) — contradicts this view, stating that Simonoff committed suicide in 1923.¹¹

Paul Freeman (1884?-1921) is generally taken to have been an American, as he himself repeatedly stated, although it may have suited him to deny this when the Australian government deported him and tried to land him in the USA (which refused to accept him).¹² He was sometimes said to be of German extraction, which may explain why Simonoff, who clearly knows more about Freeman/Miller than he pretends, refers to his uninvited guest as 'a German from Broken Hill'.¹³ He arrived in Australia in 1909 and registered as an American under the Aliens Registration Regulations at Broken Hill in 1916. He had worked as a miner in Pennsylvania and Nevada. In Australia he became an

active member of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), at the time the most militant group of activists on the Left. He was prospecting at Dobbyn, near Cloncurry in North Queensland, when arrested in January 1919 – he had drawn attention to himself as a ‘disloyalist’ well before the end of the war, and had made anti-militarist speeches to the Dobbyn miners.¹⁴ Government attempts to deport him to the USA led to a furore which continued through much of 1919, and mass protests were held in Sydney when he went on hunger-strike in June. He was eventually deported successfully on 11 October 1919, not to the USA but to Rotterdam.¹⁵ Thence he travelled to Germany and on to Russia via Estonia, arriving in Russia, according to Normington-Rawling, on 30 April 1920.¹⁶ Little more than a year later he was killed with Artem, then president of the Mineworkers’ Union and a member of the Communist Party’s Central Committee, and several other foreign communists when an experimental propeller-driven locomotive crashed near Tula.

It may well be argued that the most effective and determined of the three was the one to whom historians to date have devoted least attention, Alexander Mikhailovich Zuzenko (1884-1938), whose name is often accompanied by the qualifier ‘anarchist’. While Zuzenko does figure in the work of Raymond Evans,¹⁷ other historians, such as J. Normington-Rawling, seem to have been scarcely aware of Zuzenko as an activist at this period, though well informed about Freeman and Simonoff.¹⁸ Evans has given an authoritative account of the Brisbane riots of March 1919, which led to Zuzenko’s arrest and speedy deportation, noting that Zuzenko had attracted much police attention before this. He had long been regarded as ‘a dangerous propagandist preaching sedition’, and H. E. Jones of the Investigation Branch had urged his immediate deportation in a memorandum dated 3 February, citing his ‘powerful influence over the Russian community’ and advocacy of revolutionary violence.¹⁹ Zuzenko, a sailor originally from Riga, had been in Australia since 1911, like Simonoff, but, unlike the latter, had a record of revolutionary activity reaching back to 1905.²⁰ His second deportation from Australia in 1922 seems to have marked the end of his ‘Australian’ career, but within two years he reappeared in the British ports of Leith and London, where he was not allowed to land, as master of the S.S. Vladimir Rusanov.²¹ He would spend the rest of his life as a sea captain until 1938, when he was arrested and executed in Stalin’s purges.

The very appearance of these three, to say nothing of their language and speech, was an affront to polite Australian society. Captain J. J. Stable, the University of Queensland linguist who served as Censor during World War I, developed a detailed knowledge of those whose letters he read. Of Zuzenko he wrote that he resembled ‘a morose Russian serf’,²² while Lt John Wearne of the Intelligence Section, General Staff, (Brisbane), observing that Spencer Brodney, a new arrival in Brisbane, had entertained Zuzenko in his home, asserted, ‘No one would invite Zuzenko for a meal, especially at one’s private home, for pleasure. Zuzenko was the leader of the Russian trouble in Brisbane’.²³ Arthur James Vogan, a conservative journalist and patriot, conveyed his impression of Simonoff to the Prime Minister’s Private Secretary in what would be called in Russian a *donos* (letter of denunciation), written on 30 August 1920, showing clearly the extent of xenophobic sentiment in some quarters: ‘I recognise in Simonoff the superior-criminal type, the suavity, the “Jew-eye”, the delicate “thief-hands”, the modulated voice of persuasion, and the look with which he regards one as a possible dupe.’²⁴ The Australian government files on the ‘Case of Paul Freeman’ contain letters

from ladies appalled at the bad language used by Freeman to his warders when on hunger strike in Sydney in June 1919.²⁵

All three had been active in the field of labour relations and socialist politics in Australia before the end of World War I, but had achieved heightened prominence particularly after Artem's departure for Russia. Artem, who had been close to Lenin from as early as 1903, had mobilised the Union of Russian Immigrants (or Union of Russian Workers, URW), originally an association of fellow-countrymen, as a political force, and had been the founder and editor of at least three Russian-language newspapers.²⁶ His departure, shortly after the February revolution in 1917, had left a vacancy to be filled at the head of the Union of Russian Immigrants/Workers, and the Russian-language press in Brisbane had lost its most prominent editor. Simonoff filled the post of head of the URW in June 1917, and for a period edited *Rabochaia zhizn'* [Workers' Life], one of the Russian-language newspapers, which was closed down by the government in December of the same year. At this time there was much fluidity and mobility as the key figures jockeyed for influential positions. Simonoff, apparently adept at self-promotion and eager for greater responsibilities, soon found an opportunity to move on from regional prominence to the national arena. Zuzenko emerged as a natural leader in Brisbane and made sure that Queensland remained well to the fore as a focus of revolutionary action, at a time when events in far-off Petrograd and Moscow enhanced the status of Russian workers in Australia and of Russian activists, in the eyes of many on the Australian Left.

In 1918 Simonoff, through contacts with Litvinov and Trotsky, secured the post of consul-general for the Bolshevik regime in Australia. This was a controversial appointment, for two unrelated reasons: first, the Australian and British governments in the period 1918-21 were disinclined to grant recognition to any official representative of the new regime in Russia, just as they were in no hurry to recognise the regime itself; second, among the Russians there were many who thought that other 'Australian' Russians possessed better revolutionary credentials, Simonoff apparently having come to the cause relatively late.²⁷ Nevertheless, Simonoff proved energetic in his role as representative of the new state and proponent of its ideology, so energetic that in September 1918 he was banned along with Zuzenko, who had taken over the editorship of the newspaper *Znanie i edinenie* [Knowledge and Unity] from Lagutin, from speaking publicly and from publishing. It is characteristic of Zuzenko that he thought Simonoff not quite energetic enough, but it was Simonoff who was the first to be arrested for breaching the ban. The *International Socialist* (28 December 1918) reported meetings of Russian workers in Brisbane, Melbourne and Selwyn calling for his release, and one of two authors of the Brisbane appeal was Zuzenko's sister-in-law, Fanny Rosenberg, the General Secretary of the Russian Workers' Association.²⁸

As World War I ground towards its conclusion, the Australian authorities increasingly turned their attention from German 'disloyalists' to proponents of the new brand of disloyalty, communism. The new Russian regime had, after all, defected from the allied cause by the peace of Brest-Litovsk, so Russians in Australia who publicly opposed the war effort attracted much social opprobrium. No great care was taken to distinguish the various ideological strains: Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries and anarchists were all tarred with the same 'disloyalist' brush. Thus it was that Paul Freeman, a foreigner and known fomenter of strikes and unrest in NSW and Queensland,

though neither a Bolshevik nor a Russian, was selected as a suitable candidate for deportation before the war ended (but the process took many months).²⁹

Not long after Freeman's arrest and long before the saga of his deportation was over, another event in Brisbane precipitated serious trouble, resulting in more arrests and deportations, this time of Russian agitators. A demonstration against the War Precautions Act and a ban on the display of red flags flared into a series of riots and street battles in March 1919. Zuzenko was soon arrested as a ring-leader and within a month deported to the White-held Black Sea coast, where he expected to be executed, the journey taking some six months. His pregnant wife was put aboard the S.S. Ulimaroa and dispatched to Russia in May 1919, and a dozen more Russians, including Civa's father Michael Rosenberg, were deported in September. Simonoff, being in prison at the time, could take no part in the Red Flag procession and subsequent disturbances.

The idea of a return mission to Australia appears to have been under discussion early in 1920 and the evidence points to Zuzenko as its main advocate. He can be seen promoting the venture as early as mid-April 1920 when he had scarcely had time to catch his breath after his first deportation and the tribulations he and his wife and baby had endured. After the expulsion of Denikin's (White) Volunteer Army from Odessa on 7 February 1920, an event he would vividly describe in an article in the US Russian-language daily *Novoe russkoe slovo*,³⁰ he had worked for a brief period as editor of a newspaper in Tiraspol, before departing for Moscow and Petrograd. That spring and summer he attended the All-Russian Congress of Trades Unions and the Second Comintern Congress (as the representative of the Queensland League of Communists), set forth his view of the prospects for revolution in Australia, conferred with such senior Bolsheviks as Artem, Jan Antonovich Berzin and Karl Radek, and vigorously argued the case for appropriate action — naturally involving Zuzenko himself — to speed the revolutionary process:

If you decide to send me to Australia for liaison with the Third International and to transmit information, I shall be very glad to serve the cause of the Social Revolution once again. The field for ideological work in Australia is very wide and presents opportunities for work such as cannot be found in Europe.³¹

The aim of the mission which Zuzenko proposed was clear and straightforward, as stated twice in his report of 28 February 1923: in May 1920 he was 'taken into the employment of the Comintern and directed to Australia to form a Communist Party of Australia.'³² The draft budget for the assignment, drawn up in August 1920, makes plain that funds are to be delivered to support a number of Australian communist newspapers, and one may assume that the intention was to ensure that the Australian party, once created, would form a cohesive unit obedient to Moscow's directives. Under interrogation by Special Branch in London in December 1922, Zuzenko denied that his employer was the Comintern and when asked about the immediate purpose of his visit to Australia did his best to present it as a private ideological mission.³³

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 [sic] 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.

The fact that Zuzenko, a newcomer to the Bolshevik party, was able to lobby so successfully for a mission to Australia and so quickly enlist support says much for his powers of persuasion. In 1920 Australia did not figure prominently in the thinking of the global strategists of revolutionary socialism. It is well known that Lenin and Trotsky pinned their hopes on the disaffected proletariat of the defeated European powers — Germany and some constituent parts of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Australia *per se*, with its then population of scarcely five million souls, could claim little attention by comparison, but Zuzenko's line of argument — that it was the weak link by which to attack the very fabric of the British Empire ('the Achilles' heel of British imperialism')³⁴ — clearly made an impression on the ECCI.

By mid-August 1920, when the second congress of the Third International ended, plans for the mission were taking shape and Freeman, who had reached Russia only three months earlier, had been included, apparently at Freeman's own suggestion and insistence. W. P. Earsman, the Scotsman from the rival faction, a leading figure in the establishment of the CPA, claims to have learned 'the true position of Freeman' shortly after the latter's death:

He had turned up in 1920 in time for the 2nd Congress and stated that he had come to represent the IWW of Australia. I denounced this and stated this was an absolute falsehood because the IWW had died in 1917. After the 2nd Congress he worried several of the Russian party officials for recognition but he was refused because he belonged to no party which claimed to be Communist. His next move was to turn to the Red Trade Unions and persuaded them to give him money to return to Australia so as he might act as their agent to invite the workers of this country to send one or two delegates to the Congress in Moscow. He had no special credentials but simply had to try to get a couple of delegates for the Red Trade Union International. He had no authority whatever to invite as many delegates as possible and that all their expenses would be paid [sic]. His real reason for coming to Australia was that he might join one of the parties there and by that means he would be able to join the Russian CP.³⁵

The idea of a two-man mission by Zuzenko and Freeman was not to everybody's liking. A letter to the Small Bureau dated 22 August 1920 expressed the view that it was not a good idea to send Freeman to Australia. As an IWW member, he was ill-suited to the task, thought the writer, who noted that Freeman was 'very well known in Australia' but had 'no idea of illegal work at all.' Worse followed: though 'thoroughly sincere, ... I believe that his many sufferings have a little unsettled his mind. ... I should not like him to have representative powers'. Zuzenko, on the other hand, appeared to be 'a good Communist and thoroughly trustworthy'.³⁶

If the author of the letter thought Freeman's sufferings had unsettled his mind, Zuzenko was less charitable, saying simply that he was mad, with no allowance for circumstances, and an entirely unsuitable comrade for such a 'responsible and dangerous assignment'. Zuzenko, who had known Freeman in Queensland, saw something of him in

the summer of 1920 at the time of the 2nd congress and reported some improbably anti-Soviet and anti-Russian statements allegedly made by Freeman:

From the earliest days of my personal acquaintance with Comrade Freeman (in Australia we knew each other by repute) I gained the impression that he had a negative attitude to everything that was happening in Russia. In his words, Soviet power meant the oligarchy of a power-hungry few. The dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia was a dictatorship of politicians, ring-leaders of parties who were dishonestly exploiting the revolutionary impulses of the working masses for their own personal ends. The red terror, the persecution of the Mensheviks and anarchists, the struggle against the free market and profiteering all gave him cause to inveigh loudly against 'the dishonest, careerist leaders of the Russian Communist Party, whom the workers of the world would call to account.' The Comintern, as a 'Russian Muscovite machine for entrapping the simple-minded', evoked only sarcastic remarks from him. ... I asked him what impression Petrograd and the Petrograd workers had made on him. He replied maliciously, 'a blind herd led by blind shepherds!' His negative attitude to Soviet Russia did not prevent him declaring to Comrade Radek that he was a communist ... All this leads one to suppose that Comrade Freeman is suffering from a mental illness.

This conclusion, Zuzenko adds, is shared by others, including Alexander Bilan, the prominent American communist.³⁷

In addition to denigrating his comrade's character and questioning his sanity, Zuzenko also lays much emphasis on Freeman's political past, his long connection with the IWW and his anarchism, all of which are exploited to demonstrate that Freeman is a less than reliable comrade. It is true, of course, as Freeman was the first to admit, that for many years in Australia he espoused IWW views and policies. There is evidence of this from many sources, including his friend Paddy Lamb:

... contending that political action was futile, he was to be found in the ranks of the IWW. It was the Anarchists, however, who, realising his sincerity and determination to find truth, sent him to Russia.

Unlike Zuzenko, however, Lamb goes on to say that Freeman actually found the truth he was seeking:

A few months in Russia convinced Freeman — as it did many other agitators — that Communism had found the right key to the emancipation of the working class and he devoted the rest of his life in its service.³⁸

In Zuzenko's less laudatory account, Freeman cannot break his long-standing ties with rival socialist groups — anarchists, Mensheviks and SRs (he has twice called on Kropotkin, says Zuzenko, and cannot therefore be counted a true Bolshevik). In sum, to send such an individual would verge on recklessness and there can be no question, in Zuzenko's view, of his undertaking an important assignment in Australia in Freeman's company.

Zuzenko's dismissal of Freeman, however, is a clear case of the newly-red pot calling the anarchist kettle black. Zuzenko may have carried the red banner in Brisbane in

March 1919, but he admitted later that he had not yet abandoned the black flag of anarchism. He made no secret of his past allegiances: in one of his reports to the ECCI he claimed that in the 1905 revolution he had participated in terrorist acts for the Socialist Revolutionary party.³⁹ In Australia, like Freeman, he had been closely associated with the IWW, and it is worth noting Spencer Brodney's conclusions concerning Zuzenko: 'I found that he was not a Bolshevik, but an anarchist who still cherished the notions of the Russian Social Revolutionary movement as it existed before he left Russia.'⁴⁰ Some time later, in 1921, using the alias 'A. Matulichenko', Zuzenko related in *Novoe russkoe slovo* how he had worked for many years for the IWW, edited an anarchist newspaper, been known as 'fanatik anarkhii' and remained so for 'almost 18 months after the October Revolution'.⁴¹ This would mean that his change of heart occurred in about April 1919, the time of his first deportation from Australia, although in a separate article under a different pseudonym he claims to have attended the Third Congress of Trade Unions in Petrograd 5-15 April 1920, as 'one of the Anarchists'.⁴² Whichever date is correct, by mid-1920 at the latest he was proud to be a member of the party of Lenin and Trotsky.

The change was wrought, he says in *Novoe russkoe slovo*, by recent events in Russia, citing his experiences in Odessa and the Ukraine in early 1920, in particular the behaviour of the anarchist guerrilla Makhno. He adds that Lenin's and Trotsky's powerful oratory at the Trade Union Congress had their effects on his thinking, making special mention of Trotsky's advocacy of the militarisation of labour — something which clearly held much appeal for Zuzenko. He now pours vitriol on anarchists, SRs and Mensheviks alike with all the zeal of a new convert. Honoured veterans of those parties — Kropotkin, Emma Goldman, Plekhanov and Breshko-Breshkovskaia — are written off with fierce contempt, (even if his view of Bolshevism seems to be coloured by the position he claims to have abandoned):

The great Socialist revolution in Russia has made me, like 99 out of every 100 honest anarchists, a revolutionist, not of Kropotkin's, but of Lenin's type; because there is no party of workers in the world more revolutionary and more extreme than the party led by Comrade Lenin. There is no other way to reach Communism than the way of proletarian dictatorship, and Communist society is a society without a state, the ideal of the anarchist.⁴³

In other statements his voice — positively enthusiastic about the exigencies of War Communism — is that of a committed follower of Trotsky, rather than Lenin, though at this early date (February 1921) he and many others would have made no distinction:

Kropotkin is the enemy of forced recruiting, the enemy of centralisation, the enemy of military discipline, the supporter of self-determination for the individual, of free manifestation of the individual will!⁴⁴

If Freeman and Zuzenko had undergone an ideological evolution, so too had the political landscape on the Australian Left, to which they set out — separately — in late 1920, and in which Simonoff had remained. The changes would make for serious complications in their work, and both of them may have been ill prepared for the new situation. Zuzenko's task, as he saw it, of 'forming a communist party' could not have

had the same meaning when he arrived (July 1922) as when his visit was being planned in early-mid 1920. Freeman arrived much earlier, but nevertheless, according to Normington-Rawling, 'expected to find the A.S.P. [Australian Socialist Party] as the Communist Party: he found two.'⁴⁵ Things were in many ways easier for Simonoff, who did not suffer the disadvantage of a prolonged period of absence from Australian political life. Since the government ban on the IWW in 1917 and the deportation of some key activists, the ASP had enjoyed a dominant position on the Left, and continued to do so for some time after the October Revolution. When Freeman and Zuzenko made their forced exit in 1919, the ASP may have seemed the logical candidate for recognition as the local counterpart to the RCP (Bolshevik), but by 1921 the picture was less clear, given the existence of two hostile factions vying for the title.

The change that had come about was at least partly of Simonoff's making. Having little faith in the pre-existing socialist movement, which he felt to be insufficiently radical for the new times, he had urged others on the Left, especially in Sydney and Melbourne, to form a communist party worthy of the title. With his allies Bill Earsman and Christian Jollie Smith, he formed the executive of such a party in 1920, and this 'three-person party', as Normington-Rawling called it, published its manifesto on 2 October and proceeded to gather newly-formed groups under its mantle.⁴⁶ What became known as the 'Trades Hall' ('Sussex Street') group underwent an impressive increase in membership and influence by the time of the first 'Unification Congress' with the ASP ('Liverpool Street'), in which the key figures were Arthur and Marcia Reardon and Ray Everitt, on 30 October 1920. Unity proved short-lived and within weeks there were again two factions, each calling itself 'the Communist Party' and each seeking ECCI recognition as *the* CPA. The rift was deep and unbridgeable, as may be seen from the Earsman-Reardon correspondence published in the first issue of *The Australian Communist*,⁴⁷ though apparently based less on ideology than personalities and rivalry, leading to some frustration in Moscow at what appeared to be local bickering, and the ECCI felt it necessary to send messages ordering them to bury their differences. Zuzenko, who opposed everything that Freeman did, aligned himself with the Garden-Earsman faction (Trades Hall), so with Simonoff, but he did not arrive until July 1922, by which time Simonoff and Freeman had long since departed, and Freeman had been dead for almost a year.

Although there had been joint planning for the mission, Zuzenko and Freeman had departed on separate missions, both of which must have received the blessing of the ECCI, one must wonder how this was achieved, and what role — if any — was taken in the planning by Artem, given that there is little sign of coordination of either means or ends. Freeman, on finding two claimants to ECCI recognition, made efforts to reconcile them on ASP terms, chastising Jock Garden and Bill Earsman, but to little effect.⁴⁸ In doing so Freeman must have felt confident of Artem's support. Artem had, after all, himself joined the ASP in earlier times, and on his departure in 1917 had been 'credentialled to represent the ASP in Moscow'.⁴⁹ Moreover, Artem had written articles in the Brisbane Russian press in 1915-17 condemning the IWW and 'anarcho-syndicalists'.⁵⁰ Although it is said that Artem maintained friendly relations with socialists of other persuasions, his articles suggest a profound ideological difference, and one must suspect that his targets here include Zuzenko, who, by his own account of 1921, did not abjure anarchism until some time after the October revolution.⁵¹

Simonoff in his letter to the ECCI claims that if Artem were in Australia now he would share his (Simonoff's) view of the ASP, and therefore oppose Freeman's efforts.⁵² Simonoff, plainly aware that Artem is not to be contradicted lightly, nevertheless gives every appearance of doing the unthinkable and taking a stand against him, as does Zuzenko when he rails against Freeman and the ASP. Freeman would certainly have consulted Artem before departing, and Artem's blessing then counted as the ultimate accolade in all matters relating to Australia, although he may have been out of touch with recent developments. Furthermore, as several accounts emphasise, Freeman continued to enjoy favoured status at court after his return from Australia and his clash with Simonoff, as evidenced by his presence with Artem in the ill-fated *aerovagon*.

From Moscow's perspective, the differences are largely personal and not easily understood. To further confuse the picture, it is notable that while Zuzenko has great animus for Freeman and is contemptuous of the ASP,⁵³ he is sometimes dismissive of individuals in the faction which has his backing (Trades Hall). However, his most withering contempt is reserved, as we have seen, for his own former friends, the anarchists.

Simonoff, when speaking of the ASP, is derisive. It is not, he claims, a revolutionary party of any kind:

It should be seen more or less as a replica of British socialist organisations, that is, rather like a religious sect, worlds apart from the workers' movement as a whole. If you were to introduce to the British socialist party and to some British religious sect somebody with no understanding of English and no knowledge of the world socialist movement, he would be unlikely to notice any substantial difference between them.⁵⁴

So ineffectual is the ASP, according to Simonoff, that when the time came for Freeman to return to Russia, it was unable even to assist him in finding a place on board ship:

Five hundred influential communist ASP members could not so much as get him on board a ship. He had to resort to the services of the Communist Party, ... [i.e. Trades Hall].⁵⁵

Party allegiances aside, the personal dynamics within this group are not conducive to concerted and purposeful action. Far from conferring, consulting and joint planning, they seem actively to avoid one another's company. On the face of things, the protagonists should have had much in common besides the common cause: Simonoff and Zuzenko both received banning orders in 1918; Freeman and Zuzenko were both deported in 1919; both had long-standing anarchist connections and a history of work for the IWW, as we have seen, but there is little sign of fellow feeling. And if Zuzenko's and Freeman's conversion to the Bolshevik faith was recent, Simonoff too did not have the pedigree of, say, Artem. (In fact his track record as a revolutionary was less impressive than Zuzenko's or Freeman's.) While they should have been united in their endeavours, it is plain that relations between these key revolutionary activists were somewhat less than comradely. Manifestations of what may have been tactical differences, personal

incompatibility or simply professional jealousy, or a combination of all three, may be seen in almost all their recorded statements.

We have seen Zuzenko declaring Freeman mad, malicious, negative, hostile and cynical, and citing Bilan in support of this assertion, which was not made, as far as we can establish, by any other associates of Freeman's. Unmoved by sentiment, after Freeman's death Zuzenko remains contemptuous of his work in Australia. If he was shocked or saddened by news of the accident which took the lives of Freeman and Artem, he gives no indication of this, and the only document to contain any subsequent reference to either of them is his report of 28 February 1923, immediately after his deportation from Britain. Here, referring to the split in the CPA, Zuzenko writes, 'the late Freeman had done nothing to foster the unification of the warring sides and had departed leaving a deeper division than before.'⁵⁶

As for Zuzenko and Simonoff, the best that can be said is that the documents do not show open hostility between them. Zuzenko in his reports to the ECCI still insinuates that Simonoff is inclined to laziness ('dreams of issuing passports, and nothing more') and asserts more than once that he had to be cajoled into addressing meetings and flouting the ban (for which he was arrested!).⁵⁷ Simonoff, it must be said, did not receive a 'good press' from any quarter in his time as consul, and later students of the period have not been much kinder. A contemporary witness, W. P. Tiutene (V. Tiutin), on whose evidence Normington-Rawling relied, deplored Simonoff's love of good food and preference for the saloon bar, while comparing him to Mr Jingle from *Pickwick Papers* and Gogol's Khlestakov — the latter comparison, by coincidence, being one that Simonoff himself applied to Freeman/Miller.⁵⁸ Simonoff seems by nature to have generated much acrimony in his relations with his natural enemies and supposed allies alike.⁵⁹

Simonoff is clearly incensed when, as Soviet consul-general, and, as he thought, the one person in control of the nascent Communist movement in Australia, he learns that an agent of the Comintern of whom he has been told nothing, has arrived from Moscow and is operating independently of his office. Worse, without contacting the Soviet consul, Freeman/Miller is acting in a direction contrary to all his own actions, and supporting a different faction! The correspondence in the archives of the Third International often bristles with barely suppressed anger, but nothing compares with the apoplexy excited in Simonoff by his encounter with Freeman on 6 April 1921. Seeming not to recognise in 'Miller' the celebrated IWW deportee whose case had caused such a furore less than two years earlier, he describes Freeman as blind, tactless, a fantasist, a Khlestakov and a liability to the cause.⁶⁰

In Simonoff's surviving reports there is scarcely any mention of Zuzenko, in fact only a single reference, but this one reference shows clearly that not only did he know nothing of Freeman's return visit — he had not been informed that Zuzenko was on his way:

If Comrade Miller's mission was to ensure that delegates were sent from here, he would have done much better to remain in Europe and write a letter, like Comrade Tom Barker and Comrade Ziuzenko [sic];⁶¹

Had he realised that as he wrote Zuzenko was in the USA doing his best to take ship to Australia as Moscow's emissary (and had actually hoped to arrive much earlier), his indignation would, one may suppose, have reached new heights. (Given that Simonoff and Zuzenko were well acquainted, it is curious that Simonoff distorts Zuzenko's name.)

The stated purpose of Freeman's 1921 visit was, as Earsman learned later, to find Australian delegates for the Third Congress of the Communist International, to be held in Moscow in June-July, and to the First Congress of the Red International of Trade Unions. Accordingly, a report in the RGASPI collection, extant only in a Russian version and incomplete, but almost certainly by Freeman, recounts the history of the CPA from an ASP standpoint and states that the delegates will be 'Pol F.' [Paul Freeman], 'Patrik L.' [Patrick Lamb], 'Dzheims K.' [James Quinton] and 'Rid A.' [actually Alfred Rees], adding that Australian labour unions have sent ten delegates from various unions to the World Congress of Red Trade Unions.⁶²

Reconciling warring factions could not have been part of the original plan for Freeman's visit, but, as noted above, he could hardly avoid this task in the new circumstances. He preferred to deal mainly with members of the (former) ASP faction (Liverpool Street) and did not meet the Bolshevik consul until Quinton took him to see him on the eve of Freeman's sailing. Simonoff makes plain that he had followed Freeman's activities from reports reaching him, with mounting anger, no doubt feeling that he was being rendered increasingly irrelevant. Detailed accounts of Freeman's activities during his visit are hard to find, but that in Normington-Rawling's typescript, from which unfortunately the references are missing, gives some information.⁶³

Freeman arrived back in Moscow in June 1921, his mission, as he saw it, accomplished, and according to Macintyre, took advantage of the situation to run down 'Sussex Street' (Trades Hall; Garden and Earsman) in Moscow as 'an IWW outfit' (despite his own past in the IWW) and Simonoff as 'an incompetent adventurer'.⁶⁴ Earsman, in Moscow for the congress of the Third International and the Trade Union Congress, countered with much lobbying of his own, which logically ought to have brought him into contact with Artem, a long-standing ASP member and backer of Freeman, but — remarkably — Earsman in his report avoids any mention of Artem by name, not even saying that he was a casualty in the railway accident.⁶⁵

For Simonoff, Earsman and the Trades Hall group as a whole the accident and removal of Freeman was extremely convenient, and some sources report Earsman later voicing cynical satisfaction at a stroke of good fortune which removed a key opponent and his powerful ally.⁶⁶ It should be noted, however, that there is no trace of cynicism in Earsman's own account of the accident, which he describes as 'one of the most appalling I have ever known', and he has much praise for Freeman's courage.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, with his death, injuries to Rees and Lamb, and some effective lobbying by Earsman, the advantage had clearly passed to Trades Hall.

Complete triumph, however, was not yet assured. As late as January 1922 the ASP faction clung to the belief that they had Moscow's recognition despite being told authoritatively that this was not so, and that Moscow would recognise only a united CP.⁶⁸ But the erratic process of unification dragged on, the next important stage being the one which involved Zuzenko, who at last stepped ashore in Sydney from Auckland on 11 July 1922 with a Norwegian passport in the name of Toni Tollagsen Tjorn. In a letter nominally addressed to his wife but actually intended to inform the ECCI, he reported a

very warm welcome, and within days of his arrival he was deep in debate with the factions, addressing a crucial meeting at length and pressing hard for unity on Trades Hall terms.⁶⁹ It is possible, of course, that he overstates his personal role in these debates, but there is no doubt that his arrival was seen as a significant event, not only by Zuzenko himself. Garden cabled the ECCI to report that 'Nargin' was in Sydney, and a letter from H. L. Denford, the Party secretary, hailed his 'splendid services to the Communist International'.⁷⁰ Zuzenko claims that the factions are now united (after the 15 July meeting), and Everitt and Reardon, whom Zuzenko quotes uttering potentially heretical views on the local party's independence of Moscow, are no longer very important.⁷¹ According to Normington-Rawling, after the July Unity Conference, 'the triumph of Earsman-Garden was complete'. In fact deep divisions remained for many months, but the path would now be very much easier.⁷²

Of Freeman's mission to Australia, Paddy Lamb wrote on the anniversary of Freeman's death: 'he defeated the authorities and succeeded in his object'.⁷³ The RGASPI papers include two reports from Freeman dealing with the state of affairs in the Australian CP, but no account of his own movements or achievements. The fact that he escaped arrest and that the relevant Australian government papers contain little material about his 1921 visit indicates that he attracted less attention than Zuzenko.⁷⁴ Perhaps this is what Lamb meant by 'defeated the authorities', but as for Freeman 'succeeding in his object', Zuzenko and Simonoff scoffed at such claims. Simonoff in his April 1921 letter to the ECCI sneers at Freeman's 'mission' and says that the delegates to the RILU congress had been selected before Freeman arrived in Australia. A much later and more objective appraisal notes that Freeman 'failed to bring together the feuding factions of the newly formed Communist Party of Australia',⁷⁵ but the aim could hardly have been stated in these explicit terms when the mission was planned.

If Freeman did escape the clutches of the authorities in 1921, this itself was a degree of success not achieved by Zuzenko the following year. There is evidence in the Australian files to suggest that his arrival was expected and his alias known in advance,⁷⁶ and rumours are reported of an unnamed informer who denounced him to the authorities.⁷⁷

Could Zuzenko and Simonoff claim more success than Freeman? To the extent that their faction triumphed by default — yes, but in this Zuzenko and Simonoff were greatly aided by a *deus ex machina* — the *aerovagon* accident. Though the feuding continued after the unity conference of July 1922, the old ASP faction was never able to reassert itself, but this was hardly a personal triumph that Simonoff could put on his curriculum vitae. He had been back in Moscow since the previous northern winter and when Earsman met him there in late 1922, according to Macintyre, 'he had fallen so far from favour that now Bill [Earsman] had to buy the drinks.'⁷⁸

If Freeman backed the wrong horse in 1921, Zuzenko (and Simonoff) may have fallen into the same trap in the constantly shifting ground of CPA ideology and alliances. Zuzenko must have been a sorely disappointed man when he learned that the one of few comrades for whom he had a kind word, the 'splendid communist fighter Tom Walsh',⁷⁹ the leader of the Seamen's Union, had defected from the ranks, along with his wife Adela Pankhurst. In 1920, at the time of the founding of the CPA, the Walshes, as founding members, had seemed staunch comrades, and Tom Walsh had given much assistance to Zuzenko on his return visit in 1922. But their faith appears to have waned very soon after

this, and by 1928 Walsh was widely accused of going over to the enemy, siding with Havelock Wilson, the anti-communist leader of the British Seamen's Union, whom Zuzenko earlier had denounced as a venal accomplice of the bourgeoisie.⁸⁰ Others, like Garden and Baracchi, fell victim to the periodic bouts of expulsion to which the CPA was prone.

These were early days in the development of the Third International. In 1921-22 Soviet Russia had scarcely emerged from a devastating civil war, chaos and famine. While world revolution was of supreme ideological importance in the earliest period, and Australia was of some interest in the Bolshevik scheme of things, Australia could not remain for a sustained period at the focus of attention. Zuzenko and Garden had separately attempted to persuade Moscow that the Communists of Australia had real influence, if not numbers, but apparently they were unconvincing. As Macintyre has stated, whatever the influence of Australian communism, Australia remained 'a small outpost on the very margins of the CI.'⁸¹

Simonoff had written to the ECCI in November 1920,

Of course we do not expect the revolution to take place here soon, but the idea of communism, the idea of social revolution according to the Third International is evidently nonetheless taking firm hold.⁸²

As the recipients of this message would have clearly understood, this was an optimistic presentation of two statements which might have read more realistically if reversed.

The hopes of the ECCI were centred rather on the major European powers, closer to home. Australian communists were well aware of this. In Moscow in 1921 Earsman admitted that he found his position much easier when he attached himself to the more obviously important German delegation.⁸³ In this context it may not be surprising that the agents sent to act for the Third International in Australia were largely self-selected, working at cross purposes and largely without direction.

It may be that their lack of success in Australia and their choice of unsuitable candidates for ECCI sponsorship, along with perceived Trotskyite tendencies or connections, contributed to the eventual downfall of Simonoff and Zuzenko. Zuzenko, at least, was executed as a 'spy' in August 1938. In the shorter term, the 1920s and early 1930s, the RGASPI documents do not record any further visits by emissaries comparable to these three. It seems that, difficult though communication often was, the ECCI was generally content, with the signal exception of the case of Harry Wicks/Moore,⁸⁴ to welcome emissaries travelling in the opposite direction, to Moscow from Australia, and to maintain British and when possible Australian representation on the Anglo-American Secretariat.

The degree to which Soviet hopes for the Australian revolution had dimmed within only a few years is apparent from two documents from 1926 and 1927, one an article by Simonoff, the other a transcript of discussions in the Political Secretariat of the Third International, in which Nikolai Bukharin spoke at some length. Simonoff is responding to an article in *Pravda*, wishing to correct what he regards as erroneous statements about the history of the CPA and stressing that its origins owe little to the ASP, which 'was completely divorced from the masses'. At present, he says, it is 'entirely possible that the CPA will temporarily collapse', under pressure from a

reactionary federal government, but may be expected to rise again on an illegal basis.⁸⁵ An equally pessimistic view was heard in the Political Secretariat in a debate on the 'Australian Question' on 14 October 1927. Here no less a figure than Bukharin spoke emphatically against illusions held by some about the success of the Australian workers' movement, warning that economic development there might well bring rising prosperity for the working class, greater independence from Britain, and less — rather than more — radical activism among the working class: 'I believe the question of the communist workers' movement is being presented too optimistically.' He went on to express serious doubts about claims that 'the class struggle is becoming ever more acute and the radicalisation of the workers' movement is gaining pace and great opportunities exist for the Communist Party,' as some were claiming.⁸⁶

This was a far cry from the heady days of 1918-19 and, for those eager to see the October revolution taking hold in the 'Achilles heel of British imperialism', a serious disappointment. In the long term Bukharin, whose career was to be brutally terminated in the same year as that of Zuzenko, proved to be closer to the mark than the optimists of the earlier years.

¹ Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii (RGASPI) 495.94.2, *Tovarishchu sekretariu Ispolkoma Kominternu*, p. 17. Microfilmed copies of the RGASPI documents covering the Third International's relations with the Communist Party of Australia are held at the Australian Defence Forces Academy (ADFA), Canberra, where their academic sponsor is A/Prof. David Lovell. The ADFA microfilm collection partly duplicates the collection deposited by Barbara Curthoys in the State Library of New South Wales but also contains material not held in the latter. RGASPI Comintern documents referred to here are in the ADFA collection unless otherwise stated. The English translation from Russian and German here and throughout is by the author. The name 'Zuzenko' is often found in Australian and British documents in the forms 'Soosenko', 'Soozenko' and 'Suzenko'.

² RGASPI: 495.94.2 *Tret'emu kommunisticheskomu internatsionalu*, p. 6 (in type p. 12).

³ RGASPI: 495.94.6, *Ispoln. Kom-t Kommunist. Intern.*, Simonoff to ECCI 8.4.21, p. 41 (in type p. 27). 'Peter Simonoff' is the form of name used by its owner (otherwise Petr Simonov) in Australia, and retained for most purposes here. 'Miller' was the name used by Paul Freeman on his return visit to Australia from Moscow in 1921.

Khlestakov is the hero of Nikolai Gogol's famous play *The Government Inspector* (1836), a vain and empty poseur who is mistaken by the people of a provincial town for an important dignitary travelling incognito. Khlestakov relishes the attention and grows in self-importance as the situation develops. As shown below, others compared Simonoff himself to Khlestakov.

⁴ On Artem see Eric Fried, 'Sergeyev, Fedor Andreyevich', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, (1891-1939), (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988); Tom Poole and Eric Fried, 'Artem: A Bolshevik in Brisbane', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 31/2, 1985, 243-54; Kevin Windle, 'Brisbane Prison: Artem Sergeev describes his experience of Boggo Road, 1913', *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, vol. 38, 2004.

⁵ Most comprehensively in Stuart Macintyre, *The Reds*, (Melbourne: Allen & Unwin, 1998).

⁶ National Archives of Australia (NAA): A6122/40. Summary of Communism, p. 60-1.

⁷ e.g. Raymond Evans, *The Red Flag Riots: A Study of Intolerance* (St Lucia, London, New York: University of Queensland Press, 1988). This paper will say little about the home-grown radicals of the period, except in so far as they interacted with the 'troika'. For more detailed treatment of early Australian communists the reader is referred to the admirable studies by Evans, Macintyre and others.

⁸ Eric Fried, 'Simonov, Peter', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (1891-1939), (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988), Vol. 11; Eric Fried, 'The First Consul', in John McNair and Thomas Poole (eds.), *Russia and the Fifth Continent: Aspects of Russian-Australian Relations*, (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1990), pp. 110-25; Raymond Evans, 'Radical Departures: Paul Freeman and Political Deportation from Australia following World War One', *Labour History*, No. 57, Nov. 1989, pp. 16-26;

Frank Farrell, 'Freeman, Paul', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 8 (1891-1939), (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1981); Frank Cain, *The Origins of Political Surveillance in Australia*, (London, Sydney, Melbourne: Angus & Robertson, 1983); See also Noel Butlin Archive Centre (NBAC): N57/299 'Simonoff', James Normington-Rawling Collection; letter to John Playford from the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

⁹ His departure is reported in *The Communist*, 23 September 1921. Some sources claim that Simonoff left Australia in June. These can be discounted on the strength of reports in *The Communist* of his activities in Australia between June and September.

¹⁰ See Eric Fried, 'Russians in Queensland 1886-1925', BA Hons Thesis, University of Queensland (1980), pp. 61-2. Also Fried, 'Simonov, Peter', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

¹¹ Civa was interviewed in 1990, when she was aged 92, by Eric Fried, who made a video-recording of the conversation. I am most grateful to him for generously supplying a copy of the video. In a separate interview (not recorded) she stated that Simonoff's suicide was in 1923. Notes from the latter interview are held in the Poole-Fried Collection, Fryer Library, University of Queensland, as UQFL 336, Box 12, Folder 3.

¹² Raymond Evans, 'Radical Departures: Paul Freeman and Political Deportation from Australia following World War One', *Labour History*, No. 57, Nov. 1989, pp. 16-26; see also Macintyre, *The Reds*, p. 58 ff.; P. L. [Paddy Lamb], 'The Story of Freeman and Sergaev, by one who knows them', *Workers' Weekly*, 30 July 1926.

¹³ RGASPI: 495.94.6, Ispoln. Kom-t Kommunist. Intern., Simonoff to ECCI 8.4.21, p. 22.

¹⁴ Evans, 'Radical Departures ...', pp. 16-20.

¹⁵ Evans, 'Radical Departures ...', pp. 19-20.

¹⁶ NBAC: N57/1, J. Normington-Rawling manuscript 'Communism Comes to Australia', p. 88. Paul Freeman, 'The Growth of Red Russia', *International Communist*, 28.5.21. The accident is described in B. Mogilevskii, *Artem (Fedor Sergeev)*, (Moscow: 1960), pp. 359-60. See also P.L. [Paddy Lamb], 'The Story of Freeman and Sergaev, by one who knows them', *Workers' Weekly*, 30 July 1926; and Boris Mogilevskii and Vadim Prokof'ev, *Nash Artem*, (Moscow: 1980), pp. 9-13.

¹⁷ Evans, *The Red Flag Riots*; Raymond Evans, ' "Agitation, Ceaseless Agitation": Russian Radicals in Australia and the Red Flag Riots', in John McNair and Thomas Poole (eds.) *Russia and the Fifth Continent: Aspects of Russian-Australian Relations*, (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1992).

¹⁸ Although Normington-Rawling has no mention of Zuzenko, a letter to the historian (NBAC: N57/87) from Norman Jeffery (13 March 1963) offers information on him, and a letter from the Moscow Institute of Marxism-Leninism (1959: N57/299), replying to a query from John Playford, states that the Institute has no information on 'Nagin' — on whom information was sought. 'Nagin' is undoubtedly Nargin/Nargen, which is one of many aliases used by Zuzenko. In this form it was probably not recognised.

¹⁹ NAA: A1606 A35/1 'Suspected Persons — Russians.' Zuzenko is alleged to have said of 'members of parliament, governors, kings and rulers', 'we shoot these vermin.' See also the papers of William Morris Hughes, National Library of Australia (NLA), Manuscript Collection, 1538/21, pp. 202-3.

²⁰ Zuzenko's travels in 1920-23 are examined in more detail in 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, pp. 90-118. I am grateful to the editors of *Revolutionary Russia* for permission to cite some of the same source material. Depictions of Zuzenko in Russian literature between 1924 and 1975 will shortly be the subject of a separate article, 'Paustovskii, Klimenchenko and Aleksandr Zuzenko: Literary reflections of a revolutionary life'.

²¹ Public Record Office, London: FO 371 11019 (1925), esp. pp. 31 and 55. Letters from M. Bogomolov, Acting Soviet Chargé d'Affaires, and M. Rakovsky, Chargé d'Affaires, to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

²² NAA Melbourne Office, MP95/1/0, 167/46/56, 368887, QF2152. Also cited in Evans, 'Agitation', p. 141. In Stable's view, Zuzenko was 'a more dangerous man than Simonoff.'

²³ NAA: A3932 SC 292 Part 1, 'Suspected Persons'.

²⁴ NAA: A3932 SC294, 'Bolshevism, Sedition and Disloyalty'. No known source other than this one suggests any Jewish connection. The letter to John Playford (NBAC: N57/299 'Simonoff') from the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (see above) describes Simonoff as a Mordvin.

²⁵ NAA: A3932 SC 292 Part 1 'Suspected Persons'.

²⁶ This union or association was known by various Russian names, and various English translations appear in historical sources and documents. The Intelligence Branch often used corrupt forms of the Russian for 'union': 'the Sojus', or 'the Souse' (!).

²⁷ NBAC: N57/299. 'Simonoff'. Tiutene interview. Fried, 'The First Consul', pp. 113-15.

²⁸ Some writers have taken Fanny and Civa to be two names for the same person. That they were in fact sisters is clear from a letter over Fanny's name in the *International Socialist*, 13.9.19, and in a statement made by their mother Dora Rosenberg, cited in a letter from the Investigation Branch to the Prime Minister's Department 18.8.24. (NAA: A3932, SC292, Part 3, re Mrs Rosenberg, wife of Michael Rosenberg). At this time Civa was 27 and Fanny 22.

²⁹ Freeman claimed that the government had secretly deported over 200 IWW men, most of them to South America. RGASPI: 495.94.128 'A Glimpse into the Working Class Movement in Australia', [no date, but after Freeman's deportation 10.10.19]. p. 183 (in type p. 190). Freeman's evidence, of course, is hardly objective, but the practice, if not the figure, is confirmed in Evans, 'Radical Departures', p. 19.

³⁰ A. Matulichenko, 'Nastoiashchaia rech', *Novoe russkoe slovo*, 15.3.21. For a fuller account of Zuzenko's journalism, see Kevin Windle, 'Zhurnalists i revoliutsioner na trekh kontinentakh: A. M. Zuzenko i ego zhurnalistskaia deiatel'nost' v 1916-24 gg.' [A Journalist and Revolutionary on Three Continents: A. M. Zuzenko and his journalism 1916-24], *Tynianovskii sbornik*, vypusk 12, 2004. I am grateful to the editors of *Tynianovskii sbornik* for permission to cite some of the same source material.

³¹ RGASPI: 495.94.2 'Pri pervom-zhe trebovanii ...'. (Zuzenko, 14.4.20), p. 2.

³² RGASPI: 495.94.18 pp. 1-17, Ispolnitel'nomu komitetu 3-go kommunisticheskogo internatsionala, 28.2.23, p. 1.

³³ The first draft budget, in English, drawn up by Freeman and Zuzenko, and Zuzenko's own competing version, in Russian, are in RGASPI: 495.94.2, pp. 19-20. Zuzenko's record of expenses to July 1922 is in NAA: A6122/40 111, 'Summary of Communism', p. 151. For a more detailed treatment of this matter and his interrogation by Guy Liddell and H. M. Miller see my 'Round the World for the Revolution', [note 20 above]. The transcripts of the two interrogation sessions are in NAA: A1/15 1924/30649 'Soozenko — Undesirable'. The lines cited here are from the transcript of the interrogation on 19.12.22, p. 9.

³⁴ RGASPI: 28.2.23, Ispolnitel'nomu komitetu 3-ego kommunisticheskogo internatsionala, 495.94.18, p. 16.

³⁵ Roger Coates, 'The Earsman Report', *Australian Left Review*, No. 27, 1970, pp. 14-15.

³⁶ RGASPI: 495.94.127, pp. 32-33. The writer appears to be J. T. Murphy, a British Communist and Comintern official in Moscow, but this is uncertain owing to apparently faulty page-sequencing in the files.

³⁷ RGASPI: 495.94.2 Tovarishchu Sekretariu Ispolkoma Komminerna [sic] (Zuzenko, 15.8.20), pp. 16-7. Zuzenko's statements here about Freeman's cynicism are hard to square with Freeman's own articles in the *International Communist* (28.5.21, 5.6.21, 11.6.21), brimming with (somewhat naive) enthusiasm for the 'stupendous successes' he observed in Soviet Russia, where the workers 'determine everything'.

³⁸ P. L. [Paddy Lamb], 'The Story of Freeman and Sergaef, by one who knows them', *Workers' Weekly*, 30.7.26.

³⁹ RGASPI: 495.94.18, Ispolnitel'nomu komitetu 3-go kommunisticheskogo internatsionala, 28.2.23, p. 1. An English translation of this document may be found in 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*, 18/1-2, 2004.

⁴⁰ NAA: A3932 SC292 Part 1. Spencer Brodney to Acting PM, 14.4.19, protesting against police harassment and censorship of mail.

⁴¹ A. Matulichenko, 'Kak ia, anarkhist, stal lenintsem', *Novoe russkoe slovo*, 16, 17, 18 Feb 1921.

⁴² Alexander Nargin, 'Russian Worker Delivers a Smashing Reply to Emma Goldman's Lying and Misleading Articles', *The Worker*, 22.7.22.

⁴³ Nargin, *The Worker*, 15.7.22.

⁴⁴ Matulichenko, *Novoe russkoe slovo*, 16.2.21.

⁴⁵ J. Normington-Rawling, 'Foundation of the Communist Party in Australia', *Quadrant*, No. 37, Vol. IX, No. 5, Sept-Oct 1965, p. 76.

⁴⁶ Ibid. pp. 74-77. Normington-Rawling adds that Simonoff also provided financial backing. RGASPI: 495.94.6.

⁴⁷ *The Australian Communist*, 24.12.20, p. 3.

⁴⁸ J. Normington-Rawling, (referring to the *International Communist*), 'Foundation of the Communist Party in Australia', p. 77.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 74.

⁵⁰ See e.g. his 'Sal'to-mortale avstraliiskogo sindikalizma' and 'Zashchita strany', first published in *Rabochaia zhizn'* (Brisbane) in 1916 and 1917, reproduced in *Artem (F.A. Sergeev) Stat'i, rechi, pis'ma*, (Moscow: 1983), pp. 145-56.

⁵¹ This picture differs radically from the legend purveyed by Iurii Klimenchenko, who depicts Chibisov (Zuzenko) as a willing disciple of the Bolshevik Artem in Brisbane. See 'Paustovskii, Klimenchenko and Alexander Zuzenko...' [forthcoming, see note 20 above].

⁵² RGASPI: 495.94.6, Ispoln. Kom-t Kommunist. Intern., p. 26.

⁵³ See e.g. RGASPI: 495.94.13, Dorogaia zhinka i dochka Ksiuncha. 21.7.22, p. 32.

⁵⁴ RGASPI: 495.94.6, Ispoln. Kom-t Kommunist. Intern. p. 26. Earsman spoke of the ASP in very similar terms: 'In reality they were a sect who surrounded themselves with a halo arising from the Marxian platitudes which they give lip service to.' Roger Coates, 'The Earsman Report', *Australian Left Review*, No. 27, 1970, p. 15.

⁵⁵ RGASPI: 495.94.6, p. 26. According to Normington-Rawling, it was Jacob Johnson, of the Seamen's Union, then a close ally of Tom Walsh, who secured Freeman's passage to Japan. NBAC: N57/3 'Communism Comes to Australia', p. 71.

⁵⁶ RGASPI: 495.94.18, Ispolnitel'nomu komitetu 3-go kommunisticheskogo internatsionala, 28.2.23, p. 12. It is of course possible that Zuzenko had more to say about Freeman's and Artem's deaths in documents which have not survived.

⁵⁷ RGASPI: 495.94.2, Tret'emu kommunisticheskomu internatsionalu.

⁵⁸ NBAC: N57/299 'Simonoff'. Guido Baracchi (ibid., transcript of interview) disliked Simonoff's 'over-simplified approach' but acknowledged that he was persistent. On Khlestakov see n. 3 above. Fried in 'The First Consul' describes Simonoff as a poseur who was keen to have the honour of the position of Consul.

⁵⁹ See e.g. an angry letter from the veteran campaigner W. P. Thomas about Simonoff's intrigues 495.94.7, pp. 1-7.

⁶⁰ It is possible that Simonoff had not met Freeman in person and was at first deceived by the alias 'Miller', by which Quinton introduced him. The name Freeman does not appear in the letter, but at the end of his report Simonoff refers to 'Miller's' deportation.

⁶¹ RGASPI: 495.94.6, Ispoln. Kom-t Kommunist. Intern., p. 26.

⁶² RGASPI: 495.94.128. Zarozhdenie kommunisticheskogo dvizheniia v Avstralii, [no date, but April-June 1921], p. 221. See also Macintyre, *The Reds*, p. 59.

⁶³ Normington-Rawling has no mention of Freeman's clash with Simonoff.

⁶⁴ Roger Coates, 'The Earsman Report', *Australian Left Review*, No. 27, 1970, p. 7; Macintyre, *The Reds*, p. 65, citing Earsman's diary.

⁶⁵ Roger Coates, 'The Earsman Report', *Australian Left Review*, No. 27, 1970, pp. 13-14.

⁶⁶ e.g. Normington-Rawling, 'Foundation', p. 77. National Library of Australia (NLA), Papers of Guido Baracchi MS5421: Series 1, Folder 2, letter from May Brodney 5.10.67.

⁶⁷ Roger Coates, 'The Earsman Report', *Australian Left Review*, No. 27, 1970, p. 14.

⁶⁸ See the exchanges in RGASPI: 495.94.13.

⁶⁹ RGASPI: 495.94.13, Dorogaia zhinka.

⁷⁰ NAA: A1/15 1924/30649, 'A. M. Soosenko – Undesirable.' Letter dated 18.7.22.

⁷¹ Tom Payne (tape recording in NLA, ORAL TRC700, interview 17.5.76) supports the view that Reardon felt less commitment to the USSR than Garden and Earsman.

⁷² NLA: Papers of Guido Baracchi MS5421 Series 2, Folder 9, Normington-Rawling p. 9.

⁷³ Lamb, 'The Story of Freeman and Sergaef'.

⁷⁴ It is clear from the 'Summary of Communism' series (9.3.22) that the security authorities were aware of Freeman's visit. Hughes papers, NLA 1538/21, p. 197.

⁷⁵ RGASPI: 495.96.6 Ispoln. Kom-t Kommunist. Intern., p. 26; Frank Farrell, 'Freeman, Paul', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 8, pp. 584-5.

⁷⁶ NAA: A1/15 1924/30649 'A. M. Soosenko — Undesirable', letter of 25.8.22 Director, Investigation Branch, to Secretary, Home & Territories Branch.

⁷⁷ NAA: A6122/40. Summary of Communism, p. 199. It is not possible to tell from the material in this file whether the rumours had any foundation.

⁷⁸ Macintyre, *The Reds*, p. 83.

⁷⁹ RGASPI: 495.94.18. Ispolnitel'nomu komitetu 3-go kommunisticheskago internatsionala, 16.3.23, p. 20.

⁸⁰ On the defection of the Walshes, see Martin Pugh, *The Pankhursts*, (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 370; on Havelock Wilson, *ibid.* p. 426. For Zuzenko on Havelock Wilson, RGASPI: 495.94.18. Ispolnitel'nomu komitetu 3-go kommunisticheskago internatsionala, 16.3.23, p. 20.

⁸¹ RGASPI: 495.94.18. Ispolnitel'nomu komitetu 3-go kommunisticheskago internatsionala, 16 March 1923, p. 26; Macintyre, *The Reds*, p. 11; *ibid.* p. 84 on Garden in Moscow in 1922 painting an exaggerated picture of CPA influence.

⁸² RGASPI: 495.94.2. Uvazhaemyi t. Tolmachev, 2.11.20, p. 22.

⁸³ Roger Coates, 'The Earsman Report', *Australian Left Review*, No. 27, 1970, p. 5. During the same visit he was not unduly perturbed when Trotsky invited him to his office for a private conversation only to realise that he had meant to invite Eastman of the American delegation. On this see Tom Payne, NLA, ORAL TRC700; also Macintyre p. 86.

⁸⁴ See Barbara Curthoys, 'The Comintern, the CPA, and Impact of Harry Wicks', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, XXXIX, 1993, pp. 23-33.

⁸⁵ RGASPI: 495.94.28. P. Simonow, 'In dem dem I. G. Kuschnarjow gewidmeten Nekrolog ...' [no date but April 1926]. The only extant copy is in German.

⁸⁶ RGASPI: 495.3.40 State Library of NSW. Politsekr. vom 14.X.1927. Australische Frage. The only copy is in German.