

#### STUDIES OF THE HARRIMAN INSTITUTE

#### Columbia University

The W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, Columbia University, sponsors the *Studies of the Harriman Institute* in the belief that their publication contributes to scholarly research and public understanding. In this way the Institute, while not necessarily endorsing their conclusions, is pleased to make available the results of some of the research conducted under its auspices.

THE MAKING OF THREE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARIES



This book is published as part of the joint publishing agreement established in 1977 between the Fondation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge. Titles published under this arrangement may appear in any European language or, in the case of volumes of collected essays, in several languages.

New books will appear either as individual titles or in one of the series which the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and the Cambridge University Press have jointly agreed to publish. All books published jointly by the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and the Cambridge University Press will be distributed by the Press throughout the world.

Cet ouvrage est publié dans le cadre de l'accord de co-édition passé en 1977 entre la Fondation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme et le Press Syndicate de l'Université de Cambridge. Toutes les langues européennes sont admises pour les titres couverts par cet accord, et les ouvrages collectifs peuvent paraître en plusieurs langues.

Les ouvrages paraissent soit isolément, soit dans l'une des séries que la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme et Cambridge University Press ont convenu de publier ensemble. La distribution dans le monde entier des titres ainsi publiés conjointement par les deux établissements est assurée par Cambridge University Press.



# THE MAKING OF THREE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARIES

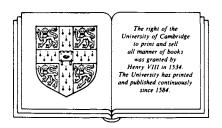
Voices from the Menshevik past

## LEOPOLD H. HAIMSON

W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, Columbia University

in collaboration with Ziva Galili y Garcia and Richard Wortman

Introduction by Leopold H. Haimson, Notes by Ziva Galili y Garcia



## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge

New York New Rochelle Melbourne Sydney

EDITIONS DE LA MAISON DES SCIENCES DE L'HOMME

Paris



PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK 40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011–4211, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

© Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and Cambridge University Press 1987

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1987 First paperback edition 2004

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

Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Haimson, Leopold H.

The making of three Russian revolutionaries.

- 1. Dan, Lidiia. 2. Nicolaevsky, Boris I., 1887–1966.
- 3. Denike, George. 4. Revolutionists Soviet Union Biography. 5. Rossiiskaia sotsial-demokraticheskaia rabochaia partiia. I. Galili y Garcia, Ziva.

II. Wortman, Richard. III. Title.

DK253.H34 1987 947.08′092′2 87-6651

ISBN 0 521 26325 5 hardback ISBN 2 7351 0199 1 (France only) ISBN 0 521 52697 3 paperback



## **CONTENTS**

Pr	ist of illustrations reface ditors' note	<i>page</i> vi vii ix
Introduction		1
1	Lydia Dan	46
2	Boris Nicolaevsky	214
3	George Denike	293
No	451	

V



## **ILLUSTRATIONS**

1.	Lydia Osipovna Dan, Olekminsk, 1904	page 46
2.	Lydia Osipovna Dan, circa 1960	46
3.	Boris Ivanovich Nicolaevsky, early 1920s	214
4.	Boris Ivanovich Nicolaevsky, circa 1960	214
5.	Iurii Petrovich Denike, January 11, 1908	293
6.	Iurii Petrovich Denike, circa 1960	293



## **PREFACE**

The three life histories from which the reminiscences in this volume have been drawn were originally recorded on tape in the course of an interviewing program conducted between 1960 and 1965, as part of an interuniversity project on the history of the Menshevik movement. All the interviews were transcribed as faithfully as possible, but our informants were given and usually availed themselves of the opportunity to edit their remarks, and especially to correct the inevitable errors in the transcripts.

For reasons more fully explained in the Introduction, I concluded soon after beginning my interviews with three survivors of the Menshevik movement that the interest their reminiscences presented warranted a systematic effort to trace the trajectory of their lives, and in particular the shaping of their ideas, attitudes, and values. If the end product of this effort proves of enduring interest and value, thanks are owed first and foremost to these three informants – Lydia Dan, Boris Nicolaevsky, and George Denike – for the time and energy that they invested, notwithstanding advanced age and failing health, in this long and arduous interviewing program.

Long after the conclusion of the interviews – which by the time of the deaths of these informants comprised thousands of pages of transcripts – several readers expressed the view that the light shed by these life histories on Menshevik political culture and the radical intelligentsia of which it was a part warranted dissemination of edited versions among a broader circle of readers. Most encouraging in this regard was Professor Richard Wortman, who offered me his collaboration in selecting and eventually editing those portions of the transcripts that most deserved broader circulation. With his help, and eventually that of Professor Ziva Galili y Garcia, I embarked on the difficult task of selecting portions of the interviews for translation into English. These translations, which often proved extremely demanding, were undertaken by Mr. Martin Lopes Morillas and eventually by Ms. Lynn Solotaroff, to whom I wish to express our gratitude for the efforts they invested in what sometimes seemed an almost impossible task.

The final selection and editing of the excerpts to be published, which Richard Wortman, Ziva Galili, and I undertook after the completion of these translations, was itself no easy job. We had jointly concluded that in the reminiscences of Lydia Dan and Boris Nicolaevsky preference should be accorded in this process of selection to the reminiscences that these two informants had left us of their childhood and youth, and of their early political careers. We drew this conclusion partly because of the much greater vividness with which these earlier stages of their life experience had



## viii Preface

remained imprinted upon their memories, but also because of the light that they jointly shed – especially given these two informants' very different social origins and backgrounds – on the processes of socialization that had been at work in the shaping of Menshevik political culture, and in the evolution of the radical intelligentsia as a whole. (Our considerations on this issue are elaborated in the Introduction.)

But even after this decision was reached, we were confronted with the problem of reconciling our objective of making these reminiscenses accessible and hopefully interesting to a broader readership with that of rendering as faithfully as possible the actual transcripts. One of our working rules, in this connection, was to eliminate most of the inevitable repetitions in these long series of interviews. Another was to eliminate major digressions from the narrative flow (usually biographical details concerning secondary figures in Russian Social Democracy and other currents of the revolutionary movement). We also condensed the introductory remarks with which I had usually opened our interview sessions in an effort to provide a framework and chronological points of reference for the chapters in their lives which my informants would seek to recount; and we eliminated many of the follow-up questions with which the sessions had been punctuated to elicit fuller responses, and to provide pauses for memory to do its work.

The final preparation of the manuscript consequently involved occasional "splicing" of the interviews to bridge gaps left by the editing process. But we took considerable care not to allow these efforts to achieve greater readability to distort the record that the interviews provided of my informants' processes of recall.

This description of the preparation of the volume will hopefully suggest that for all those who were involved in it, it came to constitute a labor of love as much as a work of scholarship. I have already mentioned the debt we owe to the memory of our three informants (two of whom, Lydia Dan and George Denike, died shortly after the completion of my interviews with them), as well as to the translators of these interviews, Martin Lopes Morillas and Lynn Solotaroff. But I particularly wish to acknowledge indebtedness to Richard Wortman and Ziva Galili for their help in the final shaping of this volume. Ziva Galili played an especially important part in the final editing, and contributed elaborate endnotes that will make the historical record provided here more valuable to interested readers. I wish to thank Madame Marianne Dumont - as remarkable a person as the informants in which she took such a deep personal interest - for her assistance in the preparation of the introductory section during my stays in Paris. I also owe a special debt to Ruth Mathewson for her help in turning the draft of the introduction into serviceable English prose, to Lola Peters who took charge of the final editing, as well as to Jan Sammer who patiently recorded the various versions on the word processor. Last but not least, I wish to acknowledge our debt to the Ford and Atran Foundations, which funded the work of the Menshevik project during the years when these interviews were conducted, and to the American Council of Learned Societies, which provided the grant that enabled us to present them in this edited version.



## **EDITORS' NOTE**

All editorial additions to the text of the interviews have been placed in brackets. These include the translation into English of certain Russian terms; the Russian origin of certain words rendered into English in the text; surnames otherwise identified in the text only by proper name and patronymic; and the interjection of a word or a phrase to clarify an incomplete sentence or a misleading statement. Introductory or connecting passages are also in brackets.

In transliterating Russian names we generally adhered to the more precise Library of Congress system, but deliberately allowed for certain exceptions, especially in the text. Thus, Lydia Dan's first name, and Boris Nicolaevsky's last name, have been anglicized both for aesthetic reasons and to conform to their preferences. In the notes, however, these are treated as Russian names and transliterated as Lidia Dan and Boris Nikolaevskii. Only in one case did we use the more familiar anglicized version throughout; namely, in the case of Trotsky.

All the abbreviations in the text are those actually used during the interviews, most notably, *SRs* for Socialist Revolutionaries and *SDs* for Social Democrats. In the notes, the abbreviation *CC* is often used for Central Committee, *NSs* for the Party of People's Socialists, *PSR* for the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, and *RSDRP* for the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.

Unless otherwise indicated, all pre-1918 dates follow the Julian or "Old Style" calendar, twelve days behind the Gregorian or "Western" calendar in the nineteenth century and thirteen days behind in the twentieth.