

of the leading figures of Swiss Trotskyism in the 1950s and 1960s – focussed on international politics, on networking, and on bringing together different political activists and organizations.⁴ This can be seen, for example, in their extensive political and infrastructural support of Algerian revolutionary activists in European exile during the Algerian war of independence.⁵ Many of the international contacts as well as the influence of the Swiss Trotskyists are not well known until now, even though there are traces in the extensive archive stocks.

Notwithstanding the situation in Switzerland was not that easy for self declared Marxists, the Trotskyists did play a role in the social and political movements in Switzerland. There were only a few dozen Trotskyists in Switzerland during the first two decades of the Cold War period, but many of them received an extensive formation in Marxist theory and political agitation and were able to intervene in different contexts. One of them was the movement against nuclear armament.⁶ The way the Trotskyists helped to build the movement and shaped its political articulation can be seen as exemplary for the political influence small groups had on broader political mobilizations. Especially the attempts to forge links to the trade union movement and their will to build international alliances on their topic are points that will guide the analysis of the Trotskyist movement in Switzerland and will help to discuss their influence, their projects, their political ideas and finally their particular position between the two blocs, located in a so-called “neutral” country in this phase of the Cold war, 1948-1969.

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⁴ For an early example is the movement in solidarity with anti-colonial resistance, in which the Swiss Trotskyists played an important role, see: René Holenstein: Was kümmert uns die Dritte Welt. Zur Geschichte der internationalen Solidarität in der Schweiz, Zürich, Chronos, 1998; Monika Kalt: Tiersmondismus in der Schweiz der 1960er und 1970er Jahre. Von der Barmherzigkeit zur Solidarität, Bern, Lang, 2010.

⁵ On the relations between the Algerian independence movement and European revolutionaries, see: Ian Birchall (ed.): European Revolutionaries and Algerian Independence, 1954-1962, London, Socialist Platform, 2012; Jeffrey J. Byrne: Mecca of Revolution. Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order, New York, Oxford University Press, 2016; Allison Drew: We are no longer in France. Communists in Colonial Algeria, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2014.

⁶ See Markus Heiniger: Die schweizerische Antiatombewegung 1958-1963. Eine Analyse der politischen Kultur, lic. diss., Zürich, Universität Zürich, 1980.

SECTION IV. STUDIES AND MATERIALS

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Soviet Communist Party Central Control Commission Files for Workers' Opposition Leaders Aleksandr Shliapnikov and Sergei Medvedev

While researching my doctoral dissertation on the political biography of Workers' Opposition leader Aleksandr Gavrilovich Shliapnikov (1885-1937) in Moscow, Russia, in 1995, I requested and received permission to view *Soviet Communist Party Central Control Commission* (CCC) files on Shliapnikov and his co-opponent Sergei Pavlovich Medvedev (1885-1937) in the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI), fond 589 (*Committee of Party Control - CPC*), opis 3 (personal party files of the *CPC Special Archive*), files 9102 and 9103.¹

Created in 1920 at the Ninth Party Conference, the Central Control Commission (CCC) was intended to try cases of ethical infractions by party members, but it also became a tool for suppressing factionalism within the party.² The CCC was replaced in 1934 by the *Commission of Party Control*, which was renamed the *Committee of Party Control (CPC)* in 1952 and which was dissolved in 1991, along with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when the USSR collapsed. Access to Shliapnikov's and Medvedev's personal party files was obtained with the permission of their daughters, both named Irina. The files in fond 589, opis 3 were and are not held on the Moscow premises of RGASPI, but are preserved in a remote location, which I understood was a closed military zone near Kazan, to which they were relocated during World War II. The archive possessed sufficient resources in 1995 to deliver the files to its Moscow reading room, without any fees assessed to the researcher. Unfortunately, this is no longer the case. Although the files are in principle open to

¹ My research in 1994-95 was funded by an Individual Advanced Research Opportunity grant from the *International Research and Exchanges Board* (IREX) and by a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad fellowship. I defended my doctoral dissertation, "Worker, Trade Unionist, Revolutionary: A Political Biography of Alexander Shliapnikov, 1905-1922", at Indiana University Bloomington in 2001, under the direction of Alexander Rabinowitch. My book, *Alexander Shlyapnikov, 1885-1937: Life of an Old Bolshevik*, was published in cloth in The Netherlands by Brill in 2015 and in paperback by Haymarket Books in Chicago in 2016. When I conducted research in 1995, RGASPI was named the Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Recent History (RTsKhIDNI). Before the collapse of the USSR, it was known as the Central Party Archive under the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (TsPA IML).

² For more on this party body, see J. Arch Getty: *Pragmatists and Puritans: The Rise and Fall of the Party Control Commission*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh/CREES, 1997. (Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies).

researchers, if 75 years have elapsed from the death of the person who figures in them, the fees associated with either physically transporting them to Moscow or digitizing them for digital transfer to the researcher may be prohibitively expensive. Because my notes from these files may be of use to other researchers, I have donated photocopies of them to the Hoover Institution Library & Archives at Stanford University in California, USA. Below I offer a guide to the materials I found in the files, which included nearly 1500 pages of documents.

*File 9102, Sergei Pavlovich Medvedev, born 1885, party member since 1900. 274 pages, followed by unpaginated copies of documents from other files.*³

Letter from Shliapnikov to the Bureau of the Omsk Okrug RCP(b) Committee April 4, 1930; manuscript by Shliapnikov entitled "About a big mistake by a small group in Omsk"; letter from Shliapnikov and Medvedev to the CCC, April 28, 1930; list of those implicated in the Omsk case of the Workers' Opposition; letter to the Politburo and CCC from Nikolai Ambrosevich Maksimov protesting his purge and exile, May 24, 1930; more letters from Maksimov to the CCC and Politburo, including one possibly concocted by the secret police; report to Emelian Iaroslavskii from Genrikh Iagoda and Iakov Agranov, October 14, 1929 about the Omsk group; Shliapnikov's statement regarding the protocol of the CCC presidium of August 3 [1930], explaining his accusations toward OGPU, August 14, 1930; handwriting analysis of a letter allegedly from Maksimov; excerpt of CCC protocol, March 13, 1930; stenographic record of Timofei Krivov's and Lazar Kaganovich's questioning of Shliapnikov, November 25, 1929; stenographic record of the questioning of Medvedev by Krivov and Kaganovich, November 25, 1929; letter from a communist in Mongolia, informing on Medvedev; recommendations for Medvedev from Malyshev, Rozhko, and Ivanov, 1922; Medvedev's autobiography for the Central Party Purge Commission, February 10, 1922; stenographic record of Iaroslavskii's questioning of Medvedev, October 25, 1932; stenographic record of the Moscow oblast party purge commission session with Medvedev, November 22, 1933; letter from the Moscow City Party Committee to Kogan, August 4, 1933, about Medvedev's party cell membership status; decrees on Medvedev's purge, his December 13, 1933 letter of appeal, biographical questionnaire, and the conclusion of the Commission of Party Control; Medvedev's death certificate and rehabilitation notices; Irina Medvedeva's letter to the Party Central Committee (CC), March 24, 1988, describing the repression against Medvedev's family; report of CPC controller about Medvedev; Medvedev's party rehabilitation notice; letter from Medvedev to the Orgburo, March 9, 1922 (possibly never mailed), and other related materials, December 1922.

File 9103, Aleksandr Gavrilovich Shliapnikov (volumes one, two, three, five, and six), and his wife Ekaterina Sergeevna (volume four).

Volume one, material relating to the case against Shliapnikov and Medvedev in relation to a group of the Workers' Opposition in Baku, 1924-26. 288 pages.

Excerpt from the periodical *Sotsialisticheskii vestnik*, no. 14, July 26, 1926, about the 1924 letter from Sergei Medvedev to a comrade in Baku; Shliapnikov's manuscript of his 1926 article, "About a demonstrative attack and the rightist danger in the party", which was published in the journal *Bolshevik*; letter from instructor Klimov of Zamoskvoretskii District Party Committee to the Presidium of the CCC of the All-Union CP(b), August 12, 1926, about having intercepted Shliapnikov's manuscript, which was circulating at the sanatorium

³ The Russian word for the unit of storage, which I translate here as "file", is "edinita khraneniia". I translate as "page" the Russian word "list", which refers to a sheet of paper, which can have type or writing on both sides.

“Krepost” in Kislovodsk; letter to Iaroslavskii from Darovskii, administrator of the Krepost sanatorium, about Klimov and Shliapnikov’s manuscript; 1926 press clippings about Medvedev and Shliapnikov in German, English, and French; letter from Shliapnikov and Medvedev to the CCC and Politburo, September 17, 1926; statements and letters from Shliapnikov and Medvedev to the CCC and Politburo, October 19-29, 1926; excerpt from protocol of session of Secretariat of CCC, October 28, 1926; verified copy of a letter from the informer Kotoromov describing a report that Shliapnikov made in a party cell meeting at the Moscow Hydroelectrical Station on July 26, 1921; excerpts from CCC protocols, August 1921; copy of Medvedev’s letter to a comrade in Baku; letter to CCC from Levon Mirzoian, secretary of the Baku Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, October 2, 1924; letter to B from N, undated and unsigned, about a rising group of “Stalinists”; excerpts from the newspaper *Bakinskii rabochii*, no. 33, February 8, 1926; handwritten memos by Iaroslavskii and Nikolai Ianson, February 24, 1926; Telegram from Iaroslavskii to the CCC, Communist Party of Azerbaijan, and the Transcaucasian Region Party Control Commission, February 25, 1926; Letter from Amaiak Nazaretian, chair of the Transcaucasian Region Party Control Commission to the Control Commission of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, March 9, 1926; conclusion on Medvedev’s case, June 19, 1926; conclusion on Medvedev’s and Shliapnikov’s case; protocol of session of CCC commission, October 22, 1926; stenographic record of session of CCC commission, October 20, 1926; session of CCC Presidium, October 23, 1926.

Volume two, the Baku case, continued. 250 pages.

Excerpt from *Bakinskii rabochii* newspaper, February 8, 1926; resolution of assembly of party members, no date, no signatures; copy of Medvedev’s 1924 letter to Comrade B; copy of Shliapnikov’s speech at the Khamovnicheskii district party conference, January 7, 1924; letter from Shliapnikov and Medvedev to the Politburo and CCC, February 20, 1926; memo from Iaroslavskii to the Bureau of the CCC Presidium, March 8, 1926; excerpts from Politburo protocol, March 11, 1926; Excerpt from protocol about sessions of representatives of the Petrograd Union of Metalworkers with the Wage Rates Commission of the Mechanical Department of the Society of Factory Owners, June 22, 1917; CCC memos, excerpt of protocol; letter from Medvedev and Shliapnikov to the Politburo and CCC, March 30, 1926; stenographic record of session of CCC commission, March 31, 1926; copy of Medvedev’s letter to Comrade B in Baku; questions posed to Shliapnikov and Medvedev by CCC commission, April 8, 1926; letter from Shliapnikov and Medvedev to the CCC Presidium, April 12, 1926; Khaevskii’s reported conversation with Shliapnikov by telephone, May 19, 1926; letter from Shliapnikov to the Politburo and CCC, May 19, 1926; various letters and telegrams about the Baku case; letter from Baku Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan to the CCC, June 29, 1924; Grazkin’s [July 1926] letter to *Pravda* denouncing Medvedev for pursuing incorrect line in 1917; a note from Grazkin to Iaroslavskii, July 12, 1926; copy of Shliapnikov’s 1926 article, “About a demonstrative attack and the rightist danger in the party”; letter from Medvedev to *Pravda*, July 17, 1926; comparison of two versions of the letter, which Medvedev sent to a comrade in Baku in 1924, one which was confiscated in Baku and another which was provided by Medvedev; another copy of Shliapnikov’s 1926 article; letter from Shliapnikov and Medvedev to *Pravda*, July 19, 1926.

Volume three, materials relating to various cases and years. 114 pages.

Copy of a summons to A. Polosatov to the CCC on July 28, 1926; note from Secretariat of Presidium of Central Executive Committee of the Soviet of the USSR, July 27, 1926, sending Shliapnikov’s and Medvedev’s personal files; note to Medvedev from Khaevskii, July 27,

1926; draft decree of the CCC Presidium about Medvedev, July 28, 1926; Iaroslavskii's letter to the Politburo in 1923, with a complaint about Shliapnikov, and Shliapnikov's reply; material refuting Shliapnikov's accusations against the OGPU of employing former tsarist police agents, 1923; letter to the CCC from Shliapnikov, October 26, 1923; letter from Moscow party members to the CC, May 1923 (copy); letter to Shliapnikov from V. Demidov, October 20, 1923, about Demidov's arrest; letter to Shliapnikov from Mikhail Flegontovich Mikhailov, [1923], about his arrest; excerpts from letters and testimony of members of Workers' Group [and Workers' Truth?], 1923; excerpts of Politburo sessions, November 1, 1923, April 28, 1921 and August 8, 1921; letter from Shliapnikov to the Politburo and the CCC, January 2, 1929; excerpt from protocol from a meeting of the Omsk Party Bureau, October 22, 1929; other Omsk materials, 1929-30; copy of statement by Shliapnikov about criticism of his books, February 26, 1932; letter from *Pravda's* editors to Kaganovich and the Orgburo, February 6, 1932; stenographic record of session of CC RCP(b), March 17, 1922, questioning those who signed the letter from 22 Russian Communists to the Executive Committee of the Communist International (seems incomplete); excerpt of protocol of CCC session, May 28, 1930 about the Omsk case; letter from the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute to Matvei Shkiriakov of the Commission of Party Control, October 13, 1935; A. P. Pavlov's statement about having signed the letter of the 22 and his participation in further struggle with opposition, at closed party assembly of the Voronezh Oblast planning committee, September 10, 1936; telegram from Shliapnikov to Nikolai Ezhov, from Astrakhan, January 15, 1936.

Volume four, Ekaterina Sergeevna Shliapnikova, born 1900, party member from 1924. 103 pages.

Autobiographies Ekaterina completed in 1924, 1949, and 1956; letters from her and her children to party officials requesting rehabilitation for her and for Aleksandr Shliapnikov, and related documents; letter from A. A. Medvedev to Pel'she, July 12, 1966, on behalf of Ekaterina.

Volume five, materials relating to the purge of Aleksandr Shliapnikov from the party in 1933 and about other matters relating to party discipline. 240 pages.

Stenographic record of the assembly of the Gosplan RSFSR party cell on the purge of Shliapnikov, June 17, 1933; excerpt from protocol of Gosplan RSFSR purge commission, June 17, 1933; Shliapnikov's letter to Iosif Stalin, July 19, 1933; Letter from Shliapnikov to the Bauman district purge commission, July 20, 1933; stenographic record of the assembly of the Bauman district purge commission with Shliapnikov and the Bauman commission's decree; letter from Shliapnikov to the Moscow oblast purge commission, August 22, 1933; session of Moscow oblast purge commission with Shliapnikov, September 4, 1933 and decision of Moscow oblast purge commission, September 10, 1933; stenographic record of the session of the Secretariat of the Central Party Purge Commission with Shliapnikov, September 29, 1933 and decision, October 31, 1933; documents about the case of Popov improperly parking his car in violation of housing cooperative rules, 1932; letter from Shliapnikov to the CCC, October 3, 1924 about accusation against him in press of nepotism while he was People's Commissar of Labor; decision about the Popov case, November 21, 1932; documents about the case of Volkov's and Klinkovshstein's dispute over apartment in the housing cooperative where Shliapnikov lived and was a board member, February 1933; list of Shliapnikov's party penalties.

Volume six, material relating mainly to family members' appeals on behalf of Aleksandr Shliapnikov. About 160 pages (pagination continues from volume five).

Excerpt from CCC Presidium session, August 3, 1930; reports and correspondence related to family members' appeals for rehabilitation; birth, marriage and death certificates; protocol of session of the Presidium of the All-Russian Council on the Economy (VSNKh), 1922; material relating to the purge of Shliapnikov from the party cell at Gosplan RSFSR; Shliapnikov's speeches at Gosplan RSFSR fraction meeting, January 27-28, 1933; excerpt of protocol, expanded session of the bureau of the Gosplan RSFSR party cell meeting with activists, February 15, 1933; Shliapnikov's second speech at the bureau of the party cell, February 15, 1933; Shliapnikov's first speech at the session of the bureau of the party cell, February 15 as addition to statement he submitted; "Basic Moments from Comrade Shliapnikov's speech"; Information from Meteletskaia about the January 27-28 Gosplan party cell meeting; excerpt from resolution of general closed meeting of party assembly of Gosplan and RSFSR Economic Accounting Board (UNKhU) party cells, January 27-28; speech by Shliapnikov at closed party cell assembly of Gosplan and UNKhU RSFSR, January 28, 1933; Shliapnikov's January 27 speech; February 3, 1933 letter from Shliapnikov to Gosplan cell, party district committee and party city committee, not complete; letters from Irina Shliapnikova and Iurii Shliapnikov to Mikhail Gorbachev, September 16 and 21, 1987; draft decisions on rehabilitation of Shliapnikov; December 21, 1988 order to restore Shliapnikov to the CPSU; excerpt from protocol of session of Secretariat of Presidium of CCC, October 31, 1923, about Shliapnikov's accusations against the GPU.

Above, I have provided an inventory of the contents of party personal files for two prominent leaders of the Workers' Opposition. This may provide an indication of what is to be found in party personal files for other leading members of the Workers' Opposition. In 2012, I consulted the inventory for RGASPI, fond 589, opis 3, and found files for other Worker Oppositionists, including Genrikh Ivanovich Bruno, Mikhail Ivanovich Chelyshev, Aleksei Semenovich Kiselev, Aleksandra Mikhailovna Kollontai, Nikolai Vasilevich Kopylov, Nikolai Afanasevich Kubiak, Mikhail Flegontovich Mikhailov, Ivan Ignatevich Nikolaenko, Vasilii Lukich Paniushkin, Aleksandr Grigorevich Pravdin, Aleksandr Fedorovich Tolokontsev, and Mikhail Petrovich Vladimirov. By law and in principle, these files should be accessible, but for practical purposes, they may be beyond the reach of most researchers due to the financial expense of making them available.