

# **THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER OF COMMUNIST STUDIES**

Der Internationale Newsletter der Kommunismusforschung  
La newsletter internationale des recherches sur le communisme  
Международный бюллетень исторических исследований коммунизма  
La Newsletter Internacional de Estudios sobre el Comunismo  
A Newsletter Internacional de Estudos sobre o Comunismo

**Edited by Bernhard H. Bayerlein and Gleb J. Albert**

**VOL. XXIV/XXV (2018/2019)  
NO 31–32**

**Published by The European Workshop of Communist Studies  
With Support of the Institute of Social Movements  
and the Library of the Ruhr University Bochum**

**ISSN 1862-698X**

**<http://incs.ub.rub.de>**

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Communist Studies Newsletter/Mailinglist: <https://lists.uni-koeln.de/mailman/listinfo/communist-studies-newsletter>

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## **EDITORIAL**

Dear Readers, Authors and Correspondents,  
Dear Friends

We are happy to present you with issue no. 31/32 (2018/2019) of The International Newsletter of Communist Studies (INCS). Due to the fact that both editors have to conduct this project in their spare time, being impacted by workload related to other projects, there was a delay in publishing this issue. We apologise before our authors and readers, and hope to be able to publish INCS on an annual schedule again, starting from this year.

We would like to welcome our new correspondents Daniel Gaido, who is a researcher at the National Scientific and Technical Research Council (Conicet) and Professor of History at the University of Córdoba Argentina, and Maria Luisa Nabinger, Retired History Professor at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

The current issue encompasses 335 pages and features news on recent developments of communist studies and archives, six project reports, eight reviews, three review essays, and five article contributions, ranging from early Soviet Russia to 1960s Argentina, from the international Left Opposition to the late GDR and post-1989 China. It includes a hitherto unpublished article by the late Pierre Broué, one of the founders of the International Newsletter.

Issue no. 33 (2020) of the International Newsletter of Communist Studies will be published in late 2020. We are looking forward to receiving any sort of relevant information and contributions from our readers before **30 September, 2020**, including news on archives and institutions, project presentations, announcements of new publications, bibliographic items from the years 2019–2020, suggestions for book reviews, and proposals for articles on aspects of the history of the Communist International, communist and socialist regimes and movements, the history of workers' and revolutionary internationalism, the cultural Left, and related topics. Also, in accordance to the original goals of the International Newsletter in the 1990s, we would specifically like to encourage annotated publications of archival sources relevant for the history of communism. For review suggestions, article and sources contributions, we would ask you to get in touch as soon as possible, so we can evaluate the proposals and give you enough time to complete your manuscripts. In doing so, please be aware of our formal guidelines and refer to the style sheet published on the website.

All the very best,

The Editors,  
Bernhard H. Bayerlein and Gleb J. Albert (Bochum–Zürich, 26 February 2020)

*PS:* We still have a limited stock of printed International Newsletter issues from 1993–1998. Libraries and research institutions are welcome to request copies to be shipped to them free of charge.

## **SECTION I. THE NEWSLETTER OF THE NEWSLETTERS**

### *Communist Studies Newsletters – New Issues 2018–2019. Selected Items*

#### **Aufarbeitung Aktuell. Ein Newsletter der Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur**

Berlin, Germany

<https://www.bundesstiftung-aufarbeitung.de/newsletter-archiv-5176.html>

*Published by Ulrich Mähler under the name „Neues aus der DDR-Forschung“ until 2010, the newsletter „Aufarbeitung Aktuell“ informs about new research projects, recently published literature, events and exhibitions on the history of the GDR. The regular sections are „News on Research“, „Exhibitions“, „Museums and Memorials“, „Archives and Libraries“, „Publications“, „Dates“, „Multimedia“, „Individuals and Institutions“, „Miscellanea“, and „Project Announcements“. All issues can be viewed online.*

#### **NewsNet. News of the American Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies**

University of Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, USA

<http://aseees.org/newsnet-current>

*NewsNet, a newsmagazine of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEES), is published five times a year and includes information in the field of Slavic, Russian, Central European, and Eurasian studies. Inside NewsNet, you will find articles on issues important to the field, news on library collections and research tools, interviews with members and prize winners, spotlights on institutions, news about individual and institutional members, affiliate organizations, notices of members' publication, and a calendar of conferences. The digital issues are accessible at the URL above free of charge, while printed issues are obtainable by paid subscription.*



## **Alfred Klahr Gesellschaft Mitteilungen**

Vienna, Austria

<http://www.klahrgesellschaft.at/Jahrgaenge.html>

*This online bulletin is edited by the Verein zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung (Association for the Study of the History of the Labour Movement) of the Alfred Klahr Gesellschaft.*

### **2018, no. 1 (March)**

#### *Beiträge:*

• Hans Hautmann: Der Jännerstreik 1918 und das Entstehen der Arbeiterräte • Winfried R. Garscha: Opfer-Mythos, Täter-Mythos und die „Entsorgung“ des Widerstands. Anmerkungen zum 80. Jahrestag des März 1938 • Peter März/Sabine Fuchs: Hungerunruhen und Demonstrationen von Februar 1919 bis Mai 1920 (Oberösterreich: Porträt eines Umbruchs, Teil 3) • Elisabeth Holzinger: Heimkehr. Von Ravensbrück nach Wien Helmut Rizy: „Das Menschengeschlecht“. Sein und Überleben in der KZ-Literatur • Karl Wimmmler: Ein Historiker auf Abwegen. Die „dunklen“ Jahre Kurt Bauers • Nachruf: Heinz Rudolf Unger: Erzähler der Geschichte von unten (Gerald Grassl)

Mitteilungen der Alfred Klahr Gesellschaft, Nr. 1/2018, als pdf-Datei:

[http://www.klahrgesellschaft.at/Mitteilungen/AKG\\_1\\_18.pdf](http://www.klahrgesellschaft.at/Mitteilungen/AKG_1_18.pdf)

### **2018, no. 2 (June)**

#### *Beiträge:*

• Manfred Mugrauer: „Reaktionäre aus der Regierung hinauswerfen“. Die „Figl-Fischerei“ im Mai/Juni 1947 • Karl Wimmmler: 1968 im Westen und Österreich. Überlegungen zu Mythos und Realität • Michael Graber: Von der VDS zum KSV • Franz Stephan Parteder: Das Jahr 1968 und die „Alt-68er“ • Heimo Halbrainer: Lisl Sinic: „Wollten wir das?“ – Widerstand in Graz 1938 • Peter März/Sabine Fuchs: Fortschreitende Hungerkrise und politische Radikalisierung im Sommer 1919 (Oberösterreich: Porträt eines Umbruchs, Teil 4) • Erich Sameck: Erinnerungen an die Anfänge der FÖJ in Wiener Neustadt • Helmut Rizy: Aversionen und Ressentiments in der KZ-Literatur

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### **2018, no. 3 (Oktober)**

#### *Beiträge:*

• Winfried R. Garscha: Vor 75 Jahren: Die nationalsozialistische Hinrichtungswelle im Jahr 1943 • Wien schlägt Berlin. Interview mit Hans Hautmann • Irene Filip: Die Rettung der Fahne der XI. Internationalen Brigade • Elisabeth Holzinger: Grete Mikosch – Gerechte unter den Völkern • Heimo Halbrainer: Anton Buchalka und der Widerstand der KPÖ in Kapfenberg und Umgebung 1938/39 • Peter März/Sabine Fuchs: Die US-amerikanische Kinderhilfsaktion (Oberösterreich: Porträt eines Umbruchs, Teil 5) • Helmut Rizy: Die Kinder von Buchenwald •

Karl Wimmeler: Die Bayerische Räterepublik. Zwei Neuerscheinungen – mit Wermutstropfen  
• Nachruf: Hans Hautmann (1943–2018)

Mitteilungen der Alfred Klahr Gesellschaft, Nr. 3/2018, als pdf-Datei:

[http://www.klahrgesellschaft.at/Mitteilungen/AKG\\_3\\_18.pdf](http://www.klahrgesellschaft.at/Mitteilungen/AKG_3_18.pdf)

#### **2018, no. 4 (December)**

##### *Beiträge:*

• Ernst Berger/Ruth Wodak: Die Kinder der Rückkehr • Bericht: Erster Weltkrieg – ArbeiterInnenbewegung – herrschaftskritische Geschichtsschreibung. Kolloquium zur Erinnerung an Hans Hautmann (Simon Loidl) • Winfried R. Garscha: Erinnerte und vergessene Justizverbrechen. Hans Hautmann als Ermittler der „cold cases“ des Ersten Weltkriegs • Stefan Bollinger: Revolutionen, Räte, Erinnerungen und aktuelle Herausforderungen • Rudolf Kropf: Die österreichische Arbeiterbewegung vom Vormärz bis 1945 („Hautmann/Kropf“). Anmerkungen über Genese, Inhalt und Wirkung • Manfred Mugrauer: Hans Hautmann und die Geschichtsschreibung der KPÖ • Heimo Halbrainer: „Die Revolution darf nicht vor den Toren der Steiermark Halt machen.“ Die KPÖ in Graz 1918/19 • Peter März/Sabine Fuchs: Auswanderung aus Oberösterreich (Oberösterreich: Porträt eines Umbruchs, Teil 6 und Schluss) • Robert Streibel: Auf der Donau in die Wachau. Das Schicksal zweier politischer Häftlinge von Stein: David Jetzt aus Donawitz und Theodor Kurtz aus Salzburg

Mitteilungen der Alfred Klahr Gesellschaft, Nr. 4/2018, als pdf-Datei:

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#### **2019, no. 1 (March)**

##### *Beiträge:*

• Heimo Halbrainer: April 1919: die Sozialistische Republik Donawitz • Irene Filip: Elisabeth und Alfred Eidingen – Widerstand in Frankreich • Elisabeth Eidingen: Ein Mädchen wird Soldat • Helmut Rizy: Hoffnung, beflügelt durch Bomben. Alliierte Luftangriffe in den Erinnerungen von KZ-Häftlingen • Florian Schwanninger: Rote Fahnen und schwarze Madonna. Revolution und Räterepubliken an Salzach und Inn • Erich Sameck: Erinnerungen an die Parteischule der KPÖ

Mitteilungen der Alfred Klahr Gesellschaft, Nr. 1/2019, als pdf-Datei:

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#### **Mitteilungen des Förderkreises Archive und Bibliotheken zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung**

Berlin, Germany

<http://www.fabgab.de/mitteilungendesfoerderkreises/fabgab.html>

*This bulletin is published by the Förderkreis Archive und Bibliotheken zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung (Association for the Advancement of Labour Movement History Archives)*

*and Libraries). It features information on new (or little-known) archival holdings and libraries, reports on conferences and research projects, book reviews, and news from the Association. Printed copies are mailed out to the Association's members, the most recent issues are also available online.*

**no. 53 (2018)**

• Bewegte Geschichte: das Archiv der Arbeiterjugendbewegung (Dörte Hein) • Gegen Faschismus, Kriegsgefahr und Kapital. Eine einzigartige Postkartensammlung (Linda Käfer) • „Die kleine Schwester der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung“. Besuch im August Bebel Institut (Holger Czitrich-Stahl/Reinhard Wenzel) • Artur Crispiens Erinnerungen an den Kriegsausbruch 1914. Quellenfundbericht, Teil 2 (Holger Czitrich-Stahl) • Die Messe, die am Boykott ersticken sollte (Siegfried Prokop) • 27. Sitzung des Kuratoriums der Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv am 24. April 2017 (Günter Benser) • Konferenz „Digital Dreams: Information Technology, Social History Research and the Future of Archives, Museums and Libraries“ (Gent, 6.–9. September 2017) (Christian Koller) • 53. ITH-Tagung „Welten der Arbeit auf den Kopf gestellt: Revolutionen und Arbeitsbeziehungen in globalhistorischer Perspektive“ in Linz (21.–23. September 2017) (Holger Czitrich-Stahl) • Arbeit in der Krise: Gewerkschaftliche Krisendeutungen und Krisenpolitik in Deutschland und Großbritannien (Ralf Hoffrogge) • Aus dem Vereinsleben • Nachruf: Narihiko Ito (1931–2017) (Annelies Laschitzka) • Rosa Luxemburg im Spiegel von Berichten der politischen Polizei im Wilhelminischen Kaiserreich in den Bänden 6, 7/1 und 7/2 der „Gesammelten Werke“ (Eckhard Müller) • Buchbesprechungen & Literaturhinweise

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**no. 54 (2018)**

• Erschließungsarbeiten, Internetpräsentation und Bestandszugänge der SAPMO (BArch) (Günter Benser) • Aktuelles aus dem Finnischen Arbeiterarchiv: Das Erinnerungsjahr 1918 (Marjaliisa Hentilä) • Das Historische ist politisch – das „Archiv der deutschen Frauenbewegung“ (AddF) in Kassel (Mirjam Sachse) • 30 Cent und 30 Kilometer. Wolfgang Harichs Nachlass (Andreas Heyer) • J. B. Tito 1943 über die Lösung der Kosova-Frage (Erwin Lewin) • Sergej Iwanowitsch Tjulpanow. Brückenbauer zwischen Russen und Deutschen (Inge und Michael Pardon) • Tagungen und Konferenzen • Neues aus der Forschung • Aus dem Vereinsleben • Aktivitäten der Vereinsmitglieder • Informationen • Buchbesprechungen & Literaturhinweise

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**no. 55 (2019)**

• Jugend – bewegt und voller Geschichte(n). Das Archiv der deutschen Jugendbewegung (Susanne Rappe-Weber) • Ein Ort für die Geschichte von unten: das Archiv für alternatives Schrifttum (Jürgen Bacia) • The Marxists' Internet Archive. Deutschsprachiger Teil (Rainer Holze) • Recherchen in den Archiven zur ostzonalen Bodenreform 1945/46 und ihren Folgen. Ein Erfahrungsbericht (Siegfried Kuntsche) • Manfred von Ardenne's Beitrag zur Friedenssicherung im Jahre 1957 (Siegfried Prokop) • „Selbstorganisation und Demokratie

am Arbeitsplatz: Partizipation, ArbeiterInnenkontrolle und Selbstverwaltung in globaler Perspektive“. Bericht von der 54. ITH-Konferenz vom 6.–8. September 2018 in Linz (Holger Czitrich-Stahl) • Die 49. Konferenz der International Association of Labour History Institutions (Mailand, 12.–15. September 2018) (Christian Koller) • Kein „Erlösungstag der Deutschen“: Der 9. November als schicksalsträchtiges Datum der deutschen Geschichte (Holger Czitrich-Stahl) • 100 Jahre Arbeiterparlament – Bericht von der Festveranstaltung im Abgeordnetenhaus am 17. Dezember 2018 (Holger Czitrich-Stahl) • 100. Jahrestag der Ermordung Rosa Luxemburgs. Bericht von der Konferenz am 9. Januar 2019 im Bundesarchiv Berlin (Redaktion) • Arthur Stadthagen (1857–1917): Anwalt der Armen und Wegweiser des Arbeitsrechts (Holger Czitrich-Stahl) • Aus dem Vereinsleben • Nachruf auf Prof. Dr. Annelies Laschitza (Günter Benser) • Andere über uns • Informationen • Buchbesprechungen & Literaturhinweise

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### **Neuer Nachrichtenbrief der Gesellschaft für Exilforschung e.V.**

Amsterdam, The Netherlands

<http://www.exilforschung.de/index.php?p=16>

*This online newsletter is published by the Gesellschaft für Exilforschung (Association for Exile Studies) in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, in German language.*

#### **no. 49 - June 2017**

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**SozialarchivInfo**

Zurich, Switzerland

<https://www.sozialarchiv.ch/sozialarchiv/publikationen/sozialarchivinfo/>

*The Newsletter of the Swiss Social Archive informs about new acquisitions of its archives and library, new publications, and features a longer article on a particular historical topic in each issue. It is not available online, but can be picked up at the archive or received by mail by the members of the Association of the Swiss Social Archive. Here, we list only the thematic articles:*

*no. 2/2018:*

• Vor 40 Jahren: Junta-Generäle werden Fussball-Weltmeister (Christian Koller)

*no. 3/2018:*

• Vor 50 Jahren: Der Globus-Krawall und sein Umfeld (Christian Koller)

• Across the Universe zum algesang: Das Audioarchiv des WWF (Stefan Länzlinger)

*no. 4/2018:*

- 100 Jahre Erinnerung an den Landesstreik: Ein Schweizerspiegel (Christian Koller)

*no. 5/2018:*

- Moskau retour: Ankunft der Russlandschweizer und Abreise der Sowjetschweizer vor 100 Jahren (Christian Koller)

*no. 6/2018:*

- Vor 150 Jahren: Die Demokratische Bewegung pflügt den Kanton Zürich um (Christian Koller)

*no. 1/2019:*

- Vor 40 Jahren: Ein neuer Kanton entsteht (Christian Koller)

*no. 2/2019:*

- Vor 100 Jahren: Gründung der Internationalen Arbeitsorganisation (ILO) (Christian Koller)

*no. 3/2019:*

- Vor 100 Jahren: Die Paramilitarisierung Europas und die Schweiz (Christian Koller)

## **SECTION II. NEWS ON ARCHIVES, COLLECTIONS AND INSTITUTIONS**

### **Hidden Manuscripts of the Left Opposition Found in Verkhneuralsk**

In early 2018, during construction works at the still-functioning jail of Verkhneuralsk in Russia, a sensational discovery was made: a hidden cache with 27 hand-written manuscripts, encompassing over 400 pages and carrying titles such as “The decisive treason of the Stalin clique: On the recent events in Germany“ or „Draft resolution on the theoretical foundations of the Leninist opposition and Stalinist national socialism“. Verkhneuralsk used to be a remand prison operated by the NKVD in the early 1930s, and held over 100 Left Oppositionists, including Ante Ciliga, Viktor El'tsin, Man Nevel'son, and Fedor Dingel'shtedt. The manuscripts found in the jail, over 80 years after having been written, finally provide material proof to the vibrant underground exchange of ideas and opinions described by Ciliga in his memoirs or by Victor Serge in his novel „Midnight of the Century“, and analysed by the French historian Pierre Broué.

Immediately after the story made it into the news, Russian historians of the Left Opposition tried to gain access to the documents. Already in March 2018, historian Aleksandr Fokin (Chelyabinsk State University) was able to publish a first analysis of the manuscripts as well as the transcript of one of them, „The Fascist Coup in Germany“ (1933), in the historical journal *Ab Imperio*:

- Aleksandr Fokin, ‘Tetradi Verkhneuralskogo politicheskogo izoliatora. Predstavlenie istochnika i razmyshleniia o ego znachenii’ [“The Notebooks from the Verkhneuralsk Prison. Presentation of the Sources and Thoughts on Their Importance”], *Ab Imperio*, no. 4 (2017): 177–94, <https://doi.org/10.1353/imp.2017.0080>.
- Aleksandr Fokin, ed., ‘Fashistskii perevorot v Germanii (“Bol'shevik-leninets” No. 2[12], 1933 god)’, *Ab Imperio*, no. 4 (2017): 195–229, <https://doi.org/10.1353/imp.2017.0081>.

In the meantime, project funding has been secured from the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (RFFI) to conduct research based on these manuscripts. The project is led by Aleksei Gusev (Moscow State University), other participants, apart from Aleksandr Fokin, are INCS correspondent Aleksandr Reznik (Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg) and Vladislav Shabalina (Higher School of Economics, Perm). The goal is not only to publish an annotated edition of these texts, but to draw a complex picture of communist opposition in the USSR in the 1930s.

### **Archival Edition Available Online: Komintern y América Latina en documentos del Archivo de Moscú**

A substantial edited volume on the Comintern and Latin America has been published in 2018 by the Institute of World History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Edited by Victor Kheifets and Andrey Schelchikov, with additional annotations by Dainis Karepovs, Lazar Kheifets and Horacio Tarcus, it was published simultaneously in Moscow (by Akvilon) and Santiago de Chile (by Ariadna Ediciones). The Spanish-language volume encompasses over 1300 pages and contains documents from the Comintern archives, sorted by countries. Featured are documents on Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. For a while, the volume was available as a full-searchable PDF e-book in three parts, downloadable from the website of the Institute of World History:

Part 1: <http://ahl.igh.ru/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/1part.pdf>

Part 2: <http://ahl.igh.ru/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/2part.pdf>

Part 3: <http://ahl.igh.ru/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/3part.pdf>

These links are currently (15 February 2020) not working, but might work again in the future. In the meantime, the volume is downloadable through academia.edu (which requires free registration) at <https://www.academia.edu/37379491/>.

### **“Documents of Soviet History”: New Collection on 1917**

The Russian internet platform “Dokumenty sovetskoi istorii” (“Documents of Soviet History”) run by the Russian Federal Archives Agency, which already hosts the digitised holding from the Comintern archive, has now launched a new thematic collection on the 1917 revolutions. It encompasses over 120.000 pages from relevant holdings of the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), including the Military-Revolutionary Committees of Moscow and Petrograd, and the Council of People’s Commissars. The documents can be accessed at <http://sovdoc.rusarchives.ru/#!tematicsection&sectionId=420645>.

### **Digitised Archive Materials on Russian and Early Soviet Diplomacy**

The Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation (AVP RF) in Moscow has digitised and put online over 2000 files on Russian diplomacy in the revolutionary era, from 1917 to the early 1920s. Included are documents from the Foreign Ministry of the Provisional Government in 1917, files from the secretariats of Leonid Krasin, Georgii Chicherin, Lev Karakhan and Maksim Litvinov, files on the peace talks in Brest-Litovsk, the Genoa Conference (1922), documents on Soviet foreign economic policy, and many other important materials. The digitised documents are accessible free of charge at <http://1917.mid.ru/>.

### **Digitised Archive Materials on WW2 Soviet Foreign Policy**

Already in 2015, to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Allies’ victory over Germany, the Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation (AVP RF) in Moscow has digitised and put online a selection of documents concerning the relations between the Soviet Union and



the Allies. The documentary complex encompasses over 3900 archival files with over 370.000 pages and includes documents from the secretariat of Molotov and other selected holdings. The documents are not only related to immediate war and diplomacy matters, but also, for example, shed light the fate of former International Brigades fighters in France. The documents can be accessed free of charge at <http://agk.mid.ru/>.

### **Bundesstiftung Aufarbeitung: Nachlass von Hermann Weber erschlossen**

Der Nachlass des Mannheimer Historikers und „Nestors“ der bundesdeutschen Kommunismusforschung, Hermann Weber (1928–2014), wurde von ihm der Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur vermacht, die er 1998 mitbegründet hatte. Im August 2018 wurde die Erschließung abgeschlossen. Laut Pressemitteilung der Bundesstiftung (<https://www.bundesstiftung-aufarbeitung.de/de/stiftung/pressemitteilungen/neue-quellen-zur-kommunismusgeschichte-erschlossen>) stehen nun 95 Laufmeter Archivmaterialien der Forschung zur Verfügung, die Webers Wirken und Arbeiten dokumentieren.

### **Istoriia Stalinizma Book Series Available Online**

180 volumes of the Russian *Istoriia Stalinizma* („History of Stalinism“) book series, published by ROSSPEN (Moscow), are now available online at <http://test8.dlibrary.org/ru/nodes/42-glavnaya>.

### **MEGAdigital: Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe als Online-Version**

Die Internationale Marx-Engels-Stiftung, unterstützt von der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, baut nach und nach eine Online-Version der historisch-kritischen Gesamtausgabe von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels (MEGA) aus. Aktuell ist „Das Kapital“ samt Vorarbeiten sowie der Briefwechsel von 1866 abrufbar. Die Einpflegung der „Krisenhefte“ 1857/58 ist im Aufbau. Das Projekt ist unter <http://megadigital.bbaw.de> erreichbar. Allerdings sollen in Zukunft die Papierausgaben der MEGA eingeschränkt werden, sodass es eine Gesamtausgabe in Buchform nicht geben wird.

### **“The Stalin Digital Archive” als DFG-Nationallizenz verfügbar**

Die vom Anbieter EastView bereitgestellte kommerzielle Digitalisat-Sammlung “The Stalin Digital Archive” ist seit geraumer Zeit als DFG-Nationallizenz verfügbar und somit in allen teilnehmenden deutschen Forschungseinrichtungen und -bibliotheken abrufbar. Es handelt sich um rund 28.000 Dokumente aus dem “Stalin-Fonds”, dem *fond 558* im Russischen Staatsarchiv für Soziale und Politische Geschichte (RGASPI) in Moskau. Weitere Informationen und Zugangsdaten finden sich unter <https://www.fid-lizenzen.de/angebote/nlproduct.2017-04-26.2573546566>.

### **Nachlass von Karl Hofmaier im Schweizerischen Sozialarchiv**

Das Schweizerische Sozialarchiv in Zürich hat 2016 den Nachlass des Schweizer Kommunisten Karl Hofmaier (1897–1988) übernommen. Hofmaier war 1921 Mitbegründer der KP Schweiz, wirkte in den 1920er Jahren als Komintern-Instrukteur in Belgien, Italien und Frankreich, und war von 1944 bis 1947 Zentralsekretär der Partei der Arbeit der Schweiz (PdA). Der 0,6 Laufmeter umfassende Nachlass enthält neben persönlichen Dokumenten und Notizbüchern auch Kopien von Hofmaiers Staatsschutzakte sowie seine Korrespondenz mit Umberto Terracini, Wilhelm Pieck und anderen. Das Findbuch ist unter <http://findmittel.ch/archive/archTec/Ar189.pdf> einsehbar.

### **Teilnachlass von Elsa Rutgers-Fausch im Schweizerischen Sozialarchiv**

Ebenfalls im Schweizerischen Sozialarchiv ist seit 2018 ein Nachlasssplitter von Elsa Rutgers-Fausch (1912–2004) aufbewahrt. Die Zürcher Jungkommunistin und Tochter des KPS-Politikers Jakob Fausch (dessen Nachlass ebenfalls im Sozialarchiv liegt) zog 1932 mit ihrem Ehemann, Wim Rutgers, nach Moskau, wo sie als Deutschlehrerin arbeitete. 1941 wurde sie verhaftet und zu fünf Jahren Deportation nach Kasachstan verurteilt. Nach Verbüßung der Haft bemühte sie sich um eine Ausreisegenehmigung, die sie erst 1957 erhielt. Der Bestand beinhaltet ihre umfangreiche Korrespondenz mit ihrem 1953 aus der PdA ausgetretenen Vater, der sie unterstützte, sowie Tagebuchnotizen und einzelne Dokumente. Das Findbuch ist unter <http://findmittel.ch/archive/archTec/Ar1016.pdf> einsehbar.

### **Now Online: The Russian Empire and Soviet Union. A Guide To Manuscripts and Archival Materials in the United States**

The archival guidebook „The Russian Empire and Soviet Union. A Guide To Manuscripts and Archival Materials in the United States“, compiled by Steven A. Grant and John H. Brown and originally published in 1981 by the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, has now been turned into an online database by the University of Illinois Library. It lists over 500 archives, libraries and research institutions in the United States which hold materials on Russian and Soviet history, and provides detailed descriptions of these holdings. The database can be accessed at <https://quest.library.illinois.edu/RussianManuscripts/>.

### **Nachlass von Hans Stierlin im Archiv für Zeitgeschichte der ETH Zürich**

Das Archiv für Zeitgeschichte (AfZ) der ETH Zürich hat den 2015–2016 übernommenen Nachlass des schweizerischen Unternehmers und Trotzisten Hans Stierlin (1916–1998) katalogisiert und zur Nutzung freigegeben. Stierlin war Gründer und langjähriger Direktor des Kühlschranks Herstellers *SIBIR-Kühlapparate GmbH* und zugleich zentrales Mitglied der *Proletarischen Aktion* (später: *Sozialistischer Arbeiterbund*), der schweizerischen Sektion der IV. Internationale. Im über fünf Laufmeter umfassenden Nachlass spiegelt sich sowohl das unternehmerische als auch das politische und private Leben dieser spannenden Persönlichkeit der Schweizer Zeitgeschichte. Das Findbuch der Bestände ist unter

<https://www.afz.ethz.ch/bestaende/ec7a5334ce3747c2ad7120655ff4dc88.pdf> online einsehbar. Ein auf den neuen Archivmaterialien basierender Beitrag zu Stierlin ist von Nicolas Hermann in der Ausgabe 2 der Zeitschrift *Æther* publiziert worden (siehe Buchpräsentation auf S. 211). Neben dem Nachlass Stierlins befinden sich im AfZ seit geraumer Zeit ebenfalls die Nachlässe der Trotzlisten Heinrich Buchbinder, Ernst Erdös, Alexander Euler und Erwin Ackerknecht.

### **Russian Edition of “Communist International” Journal and Comintern Publications Digitised**

The Russian State Public Historic Library (GPIB) in Moscow has digitised and put online the first six years (1919–1925) of the Russian-language edition of the Comintern’s official journal, “Kommunisticheskii Internatsional“. The scanned issues are accessible at <http://test7.dlibrary.org/ru/nodes/346-kommunisticheskii-internatsional>. Also, a digitized collection of 78 Russian-language publications from the Comintern’s publishing house is available online at <http://elib.shpl.ru/ru/indexes/values/126664>.

### **Stalin’s Funeral: Materials Rediscovered at RGASPI, Moscow**

While reorganising the papers of Lazar’ Kaganovich at the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI) in Moscow, previously unknown documents of the *Commission for the Organisation of the Funeral of I.V. Stalin* have been found. The commission was founded 5 March 1953 and was headed by Nikita Khrushchev. Information on the new findings as well as some of the documents can be read (in Russian) at <https://rg.ru/2018/03/05/rodina-stalin-pohorony.html>.

### **ZZF-Vortragsreihe zur Kommunismusgeschichte: Vorträge online**

Die Vortragsreihe „Nach dem Ende der Illusion: Was bleibt vom Kommunismus im 21. Jahrhundert?“ des Zentrums für Zeithistorische Forschung Potsdam, des Centre Marc Bloch und der Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur fand zwischen Februar und November 2017 statt. Nun sind die Vortragstexte auf der Plattform Dokupedia-Zeitgeschichte online verfügbar: <http://docupedia.de/zg/Kommunismusvortragsreihe>

### **Nachlass von Bernhard von Brentano im Literaturarchiv Marbach**

Im Mai 2018 erwarb das Deutsche Literaturarchiv (DLA) Marbach den gesamten Nachlass des Schriftstellers Bernhard von Brentano (1901–1964), nachdem ein Teil des Nachlasses bereits 1984 dem Archiv übergeben worden war. Brentano engagierte sich in der Weimarer Republik u.a. im *Bund proletarisch-revolutionärer Schriftsteller* und war Mitarbeiter der Literaturzeitschrift *Die Linkskurve*. Nach Angaben des DLA gehören zum übernommenen Bestand „Brentanos Korrespondenzen mit Weggefährten aus Literatur und Wissenschaft, u.a. mit Theodor W. Adorno, Gottfried Benn, Josef Breitbach, Alfred Döblin, Hans Fallada, Lion Feuchtwanger, Sigmund Freud, André Gide, Hermann Hesse, Theodor Heuss, Ödön

von Horváth, Carl Gustav Jung, Ernst Jünger, Alfred Kantorowicz, Marie Luise Kaschnitz, Sinclair Lewis, Thomas Mann, Erwin Piscator, Joseph Roth, Carl Schmitt, Anna Seghers, Friedrich Sieburg, Upton Sinclair, Peter Suhrkamp, Gabriele Wohmann und Carl Zuckmayer. Zum Nachlass gehören außerdem Tagebücher und eine größere Sammlung von Fotografien.“ Die Pressemeldung des DLA findet sich unter <https://www.dla-marbach.de/presse/presse-details/news/pm-35-2018/>.

### **Radical History Online: A List of Collections**

In his blog „Hatful of History“, the Australian historian Evan Smith has compiled a useful list of online collections, both from research institutions and enthusiasts, containing digitised materials and publications of radical political movements, many of them relevant to the history of communism: <https://hatfulofhistory.wordpress.com/2018/11/03/radical-history-online-a-list-of-collections/>

### **Balazs Nagy (Michel Varga) Papers at Senate House Library, London**

The papers of Balazs Nagy (1927–2015), also known as Michel Varga, are held at the Senate House Library, University of London, and have been catalogued online in August 2018. Nagy, a young intellectual in the student organisation of the Hungarian Working People's Party, participated in the 1956 revolution, fled to France, and became active in Trotskyist organisations. His papers, spanning 52 boxes, contain materials on the international Trotskyist movement, particularly in Eastern Europe. The finding aids can be consulted at <http://archives.urls.lon.ac.uk/Details/archive/110053215>.

### **Lexikon des deutschen Rätekommunismus 1920–1960**

Das von Philippe Bourrinet zusammengestellte biographische Lexikon der deutschen rätekommunistischen Bewegung ist 2017 vom Verlag Moto Proprio als frei verfügbares E-Book publiziert worden. Es enthält Biographien von mehreren hundert Personen, die zwischen 1920 und 1960 in deutschen links- und rätekommunistischen Organisationen aktiv waren – sowohl Führungspersönlichkeiten als auch weniger bekannte Aktivistinnen und Aktivisten an der Basis. Die Biographien verfügen über einen Quellenapparat. Das Buch ist unter [https://libcom.org/files/KAPD.AAU\\_..Mitglieder.2017.pdf](https://libcom.org/files/KAPD.AAU_..Mitglieder.2017.pdf) abrufbar.

### **UB Gießen: Digitale Sammlung Frühe Holocaustliteratur**

Im Rahmen der Digitalen Gießener Sammlungen (DIGISAM) der Universitätsbibliothek Gießen ist im Dezember 2018 die Sammlung „Frühe Holocaustliteratur“ aufgeschaltet worden. Darin finden sich über 120 Digitalisate von zwischen 1933 und 1949 gedruckten Dokumentationen und Erlebnisberichten aus deutschen Konzentrationslagern, darunter auch viele Berichte politischer Häftlinge. Die laufend erweiterte Sammlung ist unter <http://digisam.ub.uni-giessen.de/ubg-ihd-fhl> abrufbar.

### **Rosa Luxemburg & Karl Liebknecht Papers at IISG Online**

To mark the 100th anniversary of the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the International Institute of Social History (IISG), Amsterdam, has digitised and made available the papers of both socialist politicians held at IISG.

Karl Liebknecht Papers:

<https://search.iisg.amsterdam/Record/ARCH00822>

Rosa Luxemburg Papers:

<https://search.iisg.amsterdam/Record/ARCH00842>

### **Historical US Communist Newspapers Available at Proquest**

Proquest, a US company offering access to digitized historical sources and available at many US university libraries, is, since early 2018, offering the collection “Communist Historical Newspapers. Publications of the Communist Party USA, 1919–2013”. It includes, among other titles, the CPUSA newspaper *Daily Worker* from 1924 onward, as well as its successor periodicals. More information available at <https://media2.proquest.com/documents/hnp-communistnews.pdf>. (Source: *H-HOAC Mailinglist*)

### **Annotated Bibliography of Esther Frumkina**

An annotated bibliography of the writings of Maria Yakovlevna (Esther) Frumkina has been published by Australian researcher Suzanne Sarah Faigan, submitted in 2018 as a PhD thesis at the Australian National University. Frumkina (1880–1943), one of the leaders of the Jewish Labour Bund, joined the Bolsheviks in 1921 and became leader of the Yevseksiia, the Jewish Section of the Communist Party. She was a crucial figure in Early Soviet Jewish cultural policy and published extensively. Arrested in 1938, she died in the Karaganda labour camp in 1943. The bibliography lists 357 publications by Frumkina, providing provenance and summaries of contents, including on her publications in Yiddish, and is a valuable research tool for Soviet Jewish history. It is available in open access at <https://doi.org/10.25911/5c6e70b3b187d>.

### **“Left History” Journal Goes Open Access**

In April 2019, it has been announced that *Left History: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Historical Inquiry and Debate*, a peer-reviewed bi-annual scholarly journal run out of York University (Canada) since 1993, and featuring many articles relevant to the study of communism and other political and social movements of the Left, has been transferred into open access. This concerns future issues as well as previous ones. The current issue as well as the journal archive can be accessed at <https://lh.journals.yorku.ca/>. A free registration is required.

### **Digitized Newspapers from the Russian Civil War**

The Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences of the Russian Academy of Sciences (INION RAN) in Moscow has launched an online portal containing over 200 scanned newspaper titles from the period of World War I and the Russian Civil War (1914–1922). Included are numerous Bolshevik newspapers from the Russian provinces, as well as publications of other left parties and “white” forces. The newspapers can be accessed at <http://www.newspapers.historyrussia.org/>.

### **Biografisches Lexikon Widerstand und Opposition im Kommunismus 1945–91**

Die Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur hat 2019 in Zusammenarbeit mit der polnischen KARTA-Gesellschaft und der Robert Havemann Gesellschaft ein Online-Lexikon zu Dissidenten im Ostblock lanciert. Es versammelt ausführliche biographische Artikel zu dissidenten Akteuren aus 14 Ländern und ist unter <https://dissidenten.eu> benutzbar.

### **Bundesarchiv: Akten der Kunst und Antiquitäten GmbH online recherchierbar**

Die 1973 in der DDR gegründete „Kunst und Antiquitäten GmbH“ (KuA) war Teil von Alexander Schalck-Golodkowskis Firmenimperium „Kommerzielle Koordinierung“ (KoKo) und diente zur Valuta-Beschaffung für das SED-Regime durch den Export von Antiquitäten und Kunstwerken ins kapitalistische Ausland. Die 74 Laufmeter umfassenden Akten der KuA im Bundesarchiv sind nun erschlossen und lassen sich über die Findmitteldatenbank „Invenio“ online recherchieren. Die Pressemeldung des Bundesarchivs ist abrufbar unter <https://www.bundesarchiv.de/DE/Content/Meldungen/20170621-kunst-und-antiquitaeten.html>.

### **Rosa Luxemburg in the 1918 Revolution: A Timeline**

The Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung produced a very detailed interactive timeline on Rosa Luxemburg’s involvement in the German Revolution of 1918, including a large number of textual and visual sources. It can be accessed at <http://www.rosalux.de/novemberrevolution-chronik>.

## **The Ephemera Archive (Vila da Marmeleira, Portugal)**

Ephemera (<https://ephemerajpp.com/>) is the result of the work of a group of archivist citizens, in conjunction with the largest private archive in Portugal belonging to the historian and politician José Pacheco Pereira. It is an archive with a library of nearly 200,000 titles, dedicated to the social, economic, cultural and political history of Portugal and an international collection of original documents, manuscripts, posters, iconographic material, objects, photos, videos and records, on contemporary history.

The Ephemera archive is international in its content, with the intention of filling a gap in the other Portuguese archives, which do not have this type of documents and, at the same time, tries to create a collection of materials, including books prohibited in Portugal during the long dictatorship with a rigorous censorship of 48 years (1926–1974). In the archive there is a very good collection of original documents related to the history of communism in Portugal and its former colonies, left wing groups, and clandestine resistance to the dictatorship.

Based on voluntary work (about 150 people in all country), the project has no state funding, and is based on a non-profit Cultural Association. It maintains several places in eleven Portuguese cities to receive documents, books, periodicals, posters, objects, manuscripts. In the last 10 years, it has been able to save thousands of documents that would have disappeared, digitize them and publish online about 24,000 folders organized by title (periodicals), organization or event (<https://ephemerajpp.com/>). The final archive is open to researchers, journalists, students and local historians.

In addition to collecting and saving documents, Ephemera publishes a collection of books in the “Tinta da China” publishing house and runs a television program on TVI24 based on its funds (<https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLuYPQRe9XEIqaK1BcPqoR7rt9XY18XWof>). It also organized a number of exhibitions with archival materials in various Portuguese cities. Based on volunteer teams, Ephemera actively covers all public events, in particular demonstrations, collecting photos, pamphlets, posters, videos, etc.

It is currently the largest and only repository of this type of documentation in Portugal.

Facebook : <https://www.facebook.com/ArquivoEphemera/>

Email: [jppereira@gmail.com](mailto:jppereira@gmail.com) or [ephemera.arquivo@gmail.com](mailto:ephemera.arquivo@gmail.com)

Address: José Pacheco Pereira  
Rua Brito Camacho, 6  
20140-158 Vila da Marmeleira - Rio Maior Portugal

## **Das Manès-Sperber-Archiv (Berlin)**

Das Manès-Sperber-Archiv wurde 1982 von Hans-Rudolf Schiesser gegründet und wird seitdem von ihm betrieben. Es ist ein privates Dokumentationsarchiv, das ohne Fremdmittel arbeitet, aber von Frau Jenka Sperber (Paris, 1913–2000) in vielfältiger Weise unterstützt wurde. Es hat die Aufgabe, Werk und Wirken Manès Sperbers systematisch und so lückenlos wie möglich zu sichern bzw. zu dokumentieren. Eingang findet neben Primär- und Sekundärtexten alles, was sich auf Person, Werk und Wirkung Manès Sperbers bezieht, somit auch Vorträge, universitäre Arbeiten, lexikalische Eintragungen, Veranstaltungshinweise, Zitierungen, Briefe, Bildmaterial sowie Rundfunk- und Fernsehsendungen. Da die Dokumentation nicht nur Lückenlosigkeit anstrebt, sondern auch den unterschiedlichsten Forschungsinteressen und Fragestellungen dienen will, wird dabei bewußt auf jegliche Selektionskriterien verzichtet.

Die meisten Buchveröffentlichungen Manès Sperbers liegen in ihren jeweiligen Ausgaben (incl. Übersetzungen) als Originalexemplare vor. Beiträge, Abdrucke, Interviews in Anthologien, Almanachen, Zeitschriften und Zeitungen befinden sich als jeweilige Originalexemplare und/oder als Fotokopien im Archivbestand. Soweit Primärtexte nur als Fotokopien vorhanden sind, werden die Originalpublikationen antiquarisch gesucht. Der Bestand der Primärliteratur ist nach einer chronologischen Systematik archiviert. Die Sekundärliteratur – vorwiegend in Fotokopieform, sofern es sich nicht um Monographien handelt – ist nach einer Systematik archiviert, die formale, inhaltliche und chronologische Kriterien umfasst. Der Bestand der Sekundär- und Tertiärtexte weist z.Zt. ca. 8.700 Positionen auf, der der Primärtexte ca. 700 Positionen. Hinzu kommen Ton- und Bildträger (Rundfunk, Fernsehen, Film, Fotos).

Da weder Manès Sperber (1905–1984) noch eine andere Person oder Institution sein Werk und Wirken zu dessen Lebzeiten ausreichend dokumentiert bzw. archiviert hat, und zudem – durch die gesellschaftlichen und biographischen Umstände (Orts- und Landeswechsel, NS-Verfolgung, Illegalität, Krieg, Exil) bedingt – vieles verschollen ist, betreibt das Archiv zugleich Forschungsarbeit. Diese besteht wesentlich in der Rekonstruktion bestimmter Lebensabschnitte und Tätigkeiten sowie im Auffinden entsprechender publizistischer Niederschläge. Gemäß der Biographie und des Engagements Manès Sperbers erstreckt sich dabei der Forschungsbereich besonders auf die Gebiete 'Psychologie', 'Politik', 'Exil', 'Judentum' und 'Literatur'.

Das Manès-Sperber-Archiv steht mit folgenden Personen bzw. Institutionen, die jeweils unterschiedliche Aufgabenstellungen verfolgen, in enger Zusammenarbeit:

- dem gemeinsamen Sohn von Manès und Jenka Sperber, Herrn Prof. Dr. Dan Sperber, Paris (u.a. Publikationsrechte)
- der Manès-Sperber-Gesellschaft, 1010 Wien, Herrengasse 5 (organisatorische, vermittelnde, fördernde Aufgaben)
- der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Literaturarchiv, 1010 Wien, Josephsplatz 1 (Nachlassverwaltung)



- der Dokumentationsstelle für neuere österreichische Literatur im Literaturhaus Wien, 1070 Wien, Seidengasse 13 (teilweise Sekundärliteratur)

Da das Manès-Sperber-Archiv als Privatarchiv betrieben wird, ist es auf die Hilfe anderer Menschen, die an dessen kontinuierlicher und möglichst lückenloser Weiterführung interessiert sind, angewiesen. Aus diesem Grund bin ich für alle Manès Sperber betreffenden Hinweise auf Veranstaltungen, Veröffentlichungen, Zitierungen, Pressemitteilungen, Vorträge, universitäre Arbeiten, etc. dankbar – unabhängig von deren eingeschätzter Bedeutsamkeit!

Unterstützte Ausstellungen:

17.1. – 10.3.2006 "Die Analyse der Tyrannis – Manès Sperber" im Jüdischen Museum Wien

16.9. – 19.10. 2008 "Manès Sperber, Ketzer, Renegat, Humanist" im Literaturhaus Berlin

*Kontakt:*

Manès-Sperber-Archiv  
Hans-Rudolf Schiesser  
Politische Erwachsenenbildung  
12101 Berlin  
Manfred-von-Richthofen-Str. 16  
Tel.: ++49/+30/26079586  
[dolfschiesser@arcor.de](mailto:dolfschiesser@arcor.de)

## Personal Papers of Scholars of Communist Studies: A Preliminary List

*compiled by Gleb J. Albert  
University of Zurich*

### Introduction

Scholars in the humanities and the social sciences who work with written sources produce numerous sources themselves over the course of their lifetime: notes, manuscripts, diaries, oral history interviews, copies of archival documents, etc. The collections they leave behind are meaningful for further generations of researchers in at least two ways: They contain materials which allow future scholars to continue their (often unfinished) paths of enquiry, and they provide materials for the historiography of particular disciplines, developments and trends of research. Both aspects are of particular importance for communist studies. On the one hand, it is a discipline shaped by the tectonic shift of the international “archival revolution” in the 1990s, resulting in the sudden availability of massive amounts of new data which can, in its unprecedented scope, only be assessed in a collaborative and intergenerational way: What was begun by the generation of scholars who were part of the “archival revolution”, must be continued by the younger generation, and the formers’ research materials are an essential resource. On the other hand, the field of communist studies has itself a rich history which is intensely intertwined with broader themes of 20th century history, and thus the personal papers of scholars of communism are a fertile ground to study the intellectual history of the Cold War, the political history of the humanities and the social sciences, and, last not least, the history of the communist movement itself.

This list comprises personal papers of scholars of communism (historians, political scientists and others) which are preserved in publicly accessible archives and research institutions. It is compiled from public sources and is certainly incomplete. Readers who are aware of personal papers of scholars of communism which are not listed here, or know of such collections which are still in private hands and have not been donated to an archive yet, are kindly asked to contact me at [gleb.albert@uzh.ch](mailto:gleb.albert@uzh.ch), so that this information can be included in future issues of this list.

### **Robert J. Alexander (1918–2010)**

*Research areas:* International Trotskyism, the International Right Opposition, Maoism, Latin America

*Publications (selection):*

- Communism in Latin America. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1957.
- The Right Opposition: The Lovestoneites and the International Communist Opposition of the 1930s. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981.

- International Trotskyism 1929–1985: A Documented Analysis of the Movement. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991.

*Obituaries (selected):*

- *Home News Tribune*, 19 June 2010,  
<https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/mycentraljersey/obituary.aspx?n=robert-j-alexander&pid=143630100>

*Papers hosted by:*

Rutgers University Archives, New Brunswick NJ, USA  
<https://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/scua>

*Finding aids / information:*

<http://www2.scc.rutgers.edu/ead/manuscripts/alexanderf.html>

*Status:* open for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* Manuscripts, correspondence with Jay Lovestone, oral history interviews, photographs, biographical materials

*Publications related to the papers:*

- Victor G. Devinatz, "Robert J. Alexander's U.S. Left-Wing Interview Collection and Archaeology of Dissident Communism," *Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society* 15 (2012), pp. 153–175.

### **Siegfried Bahne (1928–2004)**

*Research areas:* German inter-war communism; Communist International; Trotskyism; labour history

*Publications (selection):*

- Archives de Jules Humbert-Droz. Dordrecht: Reidel, 1970ff.
- Die KPD und das Ende von Weimar. Das Scheitern einer Politik 1932–1935. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1976.
- Das Ende der Parteien 1933. Darstellungen und Dokumente. Königstein: Athenäum, 1979 (with Erich Matthias and Rudolf Morsey).

*Obituaries (selected):*

- Peter Friedemann, „Zur Erinnerung an Siegfried Bahne“, *Mitteilungsblatt des ISB* (2005), 24, pp. 257–259, <https://moving-the-social.ub.rub.de/index.php/MTS/article/view/7784/6956>

*Papers hosted by:*

Universitätsarchiv Bochum, Germany  
<http://www.archiv.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/>

*Finding aids / information:*

<http://www.archiv.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/bestaende/bestand00030.html.de>

*Status:* open for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* correspondence; administrative materials

**Simone Barck (1944–2007)**

*Research areas:* Literature in the GDR; German communist exile in the USSR; left-wing exile literature; women's history

*Publications (selection):*

- Kunst und Literatur im antifaschistischen Exil 1933–1945. Leipzig: Reclam, 1989 (2nd ed., with Klaus Jarmatz).
- Fenster zur Welt. Die Geschichte des DDR-Verlages Volk & Welt. Berlin: Ch. Links, 2003.
- Antifa-Geschichte(n). Eine literarische Spurensuche in der DDR der 1950er und 1960er Jahre. Köln: Böhlau, 2003.

*Obituaries (selected):*

- Siegfried Lokatis, „Ende unseres Kollektivs. Nachruf auf Simone Barck“, *Potsdamer Bulletin für Zeithistorische Studien* (2007), 40/41, pp. 7–8, [https://zzf-potsdam.de/sites/default/files/Bibliothek/lokatis\\_barck.pdf](https://zzf-potsdam.de/sites/default/files/Bibliothek/lokatis_barck.pdf)
- Helmut Peitsch, „Fenster zur Welt“, *der Freitag*, 27 July 2007, <https://www.freitag.de/autoren/der-freitag/fenster-zur-welt>

*Papers hosted by:*

Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung, Potsdam, Germany

<https://zzf-potsdam.de/>

*Finding aids / information:*

[https://zzf-potsdam.de/sites/default/files/Bibliothek/nl\\_simone\\_barckv5.pdf](https://zzf-potsdam.de/sites/default/files/Bibliothek/nl_simone_barckv5.pdf)

*Status:* preliminarily processed / open for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* working materials on several (incl. unfinished) projects, correspondence, copies of archival documents

**Theodor Bergmann (1916–2017)**

*Research areas:* Right Opposition in the Communist Party of Germany (KPO); international communism; Nikolai Bukharin; socialism in China; agrarian history

*Publications (selection):*

- "Gegen den Strom". Die Geschichte der Kommunistischen-Partei-Opposition. Hamburg: VSA, 1987.

- (ed.) "Liebling der Partei". Bucharin – Theoretiker des Sozialismus. Beiträge zum Internationalen Bucharin-Symposium, Wuppertal 1988. Hamburg: VSA, 1989.
- (ed.) Ketzler im Kommunismus. Alternativen zum Stalinismus. Mainz: Decaton, 1993 (with Mario Keßler).
- Im Jahrhundert der Katastrophen. Autobiographie eines kritischen Kommunisten. Hamburg: VSA, 2000.

*Obituaries (selected):*

- Tom Strohschneider, „Theodor Bergmann ist tot“, *Neues Deutschland*, 13 June 2017, <https://www.neues-deutschland.de/artikel/1053965.theodor-bergmann-ist-tot.html>
- Clemens Jürgenmeyer, Reinhart Kößler, „Theodor Bergmann (1916-2017)“, *PERIPHERIE* (2017), 3, <https://www.budrich-journals.de/index.php/peripherie/article/view/29966>

*Papers hosted by:*

Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg, Germany  
<https://www.zeitgeschichte-hamburg.de>

*Finding aids / information:* none

*Status:* ongoing indexation

*Summary contents of the papers:* unknown

**Pierre Broué (1926–2005)**

*Research areas:* Communist International; German Revolution; Spanish Revolution & Civil War; Leo Trotsky & Trotskyism; Soviet history; Communism in France

*Publications (selection):*

- Le parti bolchevique. Histoire du P.C. de l'U.R.S.S. Paris: Ed. de Minuit, 1963.
- Révolution en Allemagne 1917–1923. Paris: Ed. de Minuit, 1971.
- Trotsky. Paris: Fayard, 1988.
- Histoire de l'Internationale communiste 1919–1943. Paris: Fayard, 1997.
- Communistes contre Staline. Massacre d'une génération, Paris: Fayard, 2003.

*Obituaries (selected):*

- Michael Eaude, „Pierre Broué. Revolutionary Historian who Probed Stalinism“, *The Guardian*, 31 August 2005, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2005/aug/31/guardianobituaries.obituaries>
- Bernhard H. Bayerlein, „Pierre Broué (1926–2005)“, *Jahrbuch für historische Kommunismusforschung* (2006), pp. 461–463.

*Papers hosted by:*

Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine (BDIC), Nanterre, France  
<http://www.bdic.fr>

*Finding aids / information:* none

*Status:* ongoing indexation

*Summary contents of the papers:* correspondence (over 1500 letters), copies of archival documents (including a large amount of photocopies from the Trotsky archive at Harvard), vast materials on the history of French Trotskyism

*Publications related to the papers:*

- Sonia Combe, „Pierre Broué (1926–2005). Les archives d’un universitaire militant“, *The International Newsletter of Communist Studies Online* 26/27 (2016/2017), 29–30, pp. 25–26, <https://inco.us.rub.de/index.php/INCS/article/view/696/654>

*Additional note:* Broué’s private library was donated to the University Library of the University of Grenoble.

### **E. H. Carr (1892–1982)**

*Research areas:* Soviet political history; Communist International

*Publications (selection):*

- A History of Soviet Russia, 14 vols., London: Macmillan, 1950–1978.
- The Russian Revolution: From Lenin to Stalin (1917–1929), London: Macmillan, 1979.
- The Twilight of the Comintern, 1930–1935, London: Macmillan, 1982.
- The Comintern and the Spanish Civil War, 1984.

*Papers hosted by:*

Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, UK  
<https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/facilities/cadbury/index.aspx>

*Finding aids / information:*

<http://calmview.bham.ac.uk/GetDocument.ashx?db=Catalog&fname=E+H+Carr.pdf>

*Status:* open for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* research materials, manuscripts, correspondence; incl. draft and materials for unpublished book „Comintern and the Popular Front, 1935–1938“ (Box 15–16), and research materials of Tamara Deutscher (as Carr’s research assistant)

### **Robert Conquest (1917–2015)**

*Research areas:* Stalinism; Soviet political history

*Publications (selection):*

- The Great Terror. Stalin's Purge of the Thirties. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968.

- The Harvest of Sorrow. Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Stalin and the Kirov Murder. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

*Obituaries (selected):*

- Eric Homburger, „Robert Conquest Obituary“, *The Guardian*, 5 August 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/aug/05/robert-conquest>
- William Grimes, „Robert Conquest, Historian Who Documented Soviet Horrors, Dies at 98“, *The New York Times*, 4 August 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/05/arts/international/robert-conquest-historian-who-documented-soviet-horrors-dies-at-98.html>

*Papers hosted by:*

Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, USA  
<https://www.hoover.org/library-archives>

*Finding aids / information:* <http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/hoover/2015C33.pdf>

*Status:* open for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* research materials, manuscripts

**Robert V. Daniels (1926–2010)**

*Research areas:* Soviet political history; Left Opposition

*Publications (selection):*

- The Conscience of the Revolution. Communist Opposition in Soviet Russia. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Red October. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967.
- The Rise and Fall of Communism in Russia. New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2007.

*Obituaries (selected):*

- Denise J. Youngblood, „Robert V. Daniels (1926–2010)“, *Perspectives on History*, November 2010, <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/november-2010/in-memoriam-robert-v-daniels>
- Erik P. Hoffmann, „Robert V. Daniels“, *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44 (2011), 1, pp. 156–260.

*Papers hosted by:*

Special Collections Library, University of Vermont, USA  
<http://scfindingaids.uvm.edu/>

*Finding aids / information:* <http://scfindingaids.uvm.edu/repositories/2/resources/225>

*Status:* unprocessed / open for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* unknown

### **Isaac Deutscher (1907–1967)**

*Research areas:* Soviet history; Stalinism; Leo Trotsky

*Publications (selection):*

- Stalin. A Political Biography. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949.
- The Prophet Armed. Trotsky 1879–1921. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- The Prophet Unarmed. Trotsky 1921–1929. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- The Prophet Outcast. Trotsky 1929–1940. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- The Unfinished Revolution. Russia 1917–1967. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967.

*Papers hosted by:*

International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, The Netherlands  
<https://iisg.amsterdam/en>

*Finding aids / information:*

<https://search.iisg.amsterdam/Record/ARCH00462/Export?style=PDF>

*Status:* open for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* correspondence with historians and revolutionaries (incl. Alfred Rosmer, Roman Rosdolsky, Ernest Mandel, Heinrich Brandler, Max Eastman); 23 pre-war letters from Trotsky to his followers; book drafts; lectures; personal documents; photographs and audio recordings

### **Ossip K. Flechtheim (1909–1998)**

*Research areas:* German communism; international communism

*Publications (selection):*

- Die Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands in der Weimarer Republik. Offenbach: Bollwerk-Verlag Karl Drott, 1948.
- Bolschewismus 1917–1967. Von der Weltrevolution zum Sowjetimperium. Wien: Europa-Verlag, 1967.
- Karl Liebknecht zur Einführung. Hamburg: Junius, 1985.

*Obituaries (selected):*

- Hertmut Jaeckel, „Auf der Suche nach einer besseren Welt“, *DIE ZEIT*, 12.3.1998,  
[https://www.zeit.de/1998/12/Auf\\_der\\_Suche\\_nach\\_einer\\_besseren\\_Welt](https://www.zeit.de/1998/12/Auf_der_Suche_nach_einer_besseren_Welt)

*Papers hosted by:*

Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, Frankfurt am Main, Germany  
<https://www.dnb.de>



*Finding aids / information:* <http://kalliope-verbund.info/de/ead?ead.id=DE-611-BF-68840>

*Status:* open for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* correspondence, research materials, manuscripts, photographs

### **Willi Gautschi (1920–2004)**

*Research areas:* Swiss labour history; Lenin in Swiss exile

*Publications (selected):*

- Der Landesstreik 1918. Zürich: Benziger, 1968.
- (ed.) Dokumente zum Landesstreik 1918. Zürich: Benziger, 1971.
- Lenin als Emigrant in der Schweiz. Zürich: Benziger, 1973.

*Obituaries (selected):*

- Andreas Steigmeier, „Willi Gautschi“, *Badener Neujahrsblätter* 80 (2005), pp. 222–224.
- „Historiker der eigenen Zeit“, *NZZ*, 11 February 2004, <https://www.nzz.ch/article9EF46-1.212694>

*Papers hosted by:*

Staatsarchiv Aargau, Aarau, Switzerland

<https://www.ag.ch/staatsarchiv/>

*Finding aids / information:* none

*Status:* unprocessed? (the acquisition of the papers in 2005 is mentioned in [https://www.ag.ch/media/kanton\\_aargau/bks/dokumente\\_1/kultur/staatsarchiv/jahresberichte/BKSSTAR\\_jahresbericht\\_2005.pdf](https://www.ag.ch/media/kanton_aargau/bks/dokumente_1/kultur/staatsarchiv/jahresberichte/BKSSTAR_jahresbericht_2005.pdf) but there are no finding aids available)

*Summary contents of the papers:* unknown

*Publications related to the papers:*

- Séveric Yersin, „Willi Gautschi (1920–2004) et la Grève générale. Une oeuvre historiographique dans son contexte“, *traverse* (2018), 2, pp. 63–78.

### **Eric J. Hobsbawm (1917–2012)**

*Research areas:* 20th Century history; labour history

*Publications (selection):*

- Primitive Rebels. Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959.
- The Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century, 1914–1991. London: Michael Joseph, 1994.

- Interesting Times: A Twentieth-Century Life. London: Allen Lane, 2002.

*Obituaries (selected):*

- Martin Kettle, Dorothy Wedderburn, "Eric Hobsbawm obituary. Historian in the Marxist tradition with a global reach", *The Guardian*, 1 October 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/oct/01/eric-hobsbawm>

*Papers hosted by:*

The Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, UK  
<https://warwick.ac.uk/services/library/mrc>

*Finding aids / information:* <https://mrc-catalogue.warwick.ac.uk/records/EJH>

*Status:* open for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* correspondence, research materials, manuscripts, audio recordings, diaries, personal papers

**Fritz Klein (1924–2011)**

*Research areas:* Soviet-German diplomatic relations; German imperialism; World War I

*Publications (selection):*

- Die diplomatischen Beziehungen Deutschlands zur Sowjetunion 1917–1932. Berlin (East): Rütten & Loening, 1952.
- et al.: Deutschland im Ersten Weltkrieg. 3 vols. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1968–1970.
- Drinnen und Draußen. Ein Historiker in der DDR. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2000.

*Obituaries (selected):*

- Jörn Schütrumpf, "Fritz Klein", *Das Blättchen*, 25 July 2011, <https://das-blaettchen.de/2011/07/fritz-klein-6053.html>

*Papers hosted by:*

Archiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, Germany  
<http://archiv.bbaw.de/>

*Finding aids / information:* <https://www.archiv-bbaw.findbuch.net>

*Status:* open for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* correspondence, manuscripts, personal papers

### **Moshe Lewin (1921–2010)**

*Research areas:* Political and social history of the Soviet Union

*Publications (selection):*

- Russian Peasants and Soviet Power. A Study of Civilization. London: Allen & Unwin, 1968.
- Lenin's Last Struggle. London: Faber & Faber, 1968.
- The Soviet Century. London: Verso, 2005.

*Obituaries (selected):*

- Arfon Rees, "Moshe Lewin Obituary", *The Guardian*, 27 September 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2010/sep/27/moshe-lewin-obituary>
- Omri Eytan, "A Dedicated and Moving Spirit", *Haaretz*, 22 October 2010, <https://www.haaretz.com/1.5129212>
- Bernhard H. Bayerlein, "In memoriam Moshe Lewin", *The International Newsletter of Communist Studies Online* 27(2011), 24, pp. 293–294, <https://incs.ub.rub.de/index.php/INCS/article/view/326/284>

*Papers hosted by:*

University of Pennsylvania, University Archives & Records Center, Philadelphia, USA  
<https://archives.upenn.edu>

*Finding aids / information:* <https://archives.upenn.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/upt501672.pdf>

*Status:* open for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* conference materials, correspondence (1977–1994), teaching materials

### **Richard Löwenthal (1908–1991)**

*Research areas:* Political history of communism; exile politics; fascism

*Publications (selection):*

- Chruschtschow und der Weltkommunismus. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1963.
- Die Widerstandgruppe "Neu Beginnen". Berlin: Informationszentrum, 1982.
- Faschismus – Bolschewismus – Totalitarismus. Schriften zur Weltanschauungsdiktatur im 20. Jahrhundert (ed. by Mike Schmeitzner). Göttingen: V&R, 2009.

*Obituaries (selected):*

- *Der Spiegel*, 18 August 1991, <https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13488823.html>

*Papers hosted by:*

Archiv der sozialen Demokratie, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bonn, Germany  
<https://www.fes.de/archiv-der-sozialen-demokratie/>

*Finding aids / information:* [http://archiv2.fes.de/dok\\_start.fau?prj=fes&dm](http://archiv2.fes.de/dok_start.fau?prj=fes&dm)

*Status:* open for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* correspondence, manuscripts, political materials

### **Erhard Lucas (1937–1993)**

*Research areas:* Labour history; German revolution; German March uprising of 1920

*Publications (selection):*

- Frankfurt unter der Herrschaft des Arbeiter- und Soldatenrats 1918/19. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Neue Kritik, 1969.
- Märzrevolution 1920, 3 vols. Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld, 1973–1976.
- Zwei Formen von Radikalismus in der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Roter Stern, 1976.

*Papers hosted by:*

Stadt- und Vestisches Archiv, Recklinghausen, Germany

*Finding aids / information:*

no detailed finding aids available / short description of contents at:

[http://www.archive.nrw.de/LAV\\_NRW/jsp/bestand.jsp?archivNr=341&tektId=57&expandId=30](http://www.archive.nrw.de/LAV_NRW/jsp/bestand.jsp?archivNr=341&tektId=57&expandId=30)

*Status:* open for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* correspondence, card catalogue, newspaper clippings, teaching materials, microfilms

### **Erich Matthias (1921–1983)**

*Research areas:* Social Democracy; Labour history; German revolution; Anti-Nazi resistance

*Publications (selection):*

- Zwischen Räten und Geheimräten. Die deutsche Revolutionsregierung 1918/19. Düsseldorf: Droste, 1970.
- Die Stellung der Kommunistischen Internationale und der Sozialistischen Arbeiter-Internationale zur Einheitsfront, in: Internationale Tagung der Historiker der Arbeiterbewegung (XI. Linzer Konferenz 1975). Wien: Europaverlag, 1978, pp. 41–57 (with Hermann Weber).

*Obituaries (selected):*

- Hermann Weber, "Nachruf: Erich Matthias (1921–1983)", *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 24 (1983), 2, pp. 235–236.

*Papers hosted by:*

Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany

*Finding aids / information:*

[http://www.nachlassdatenbank.de/viewsingle.php?category=M&person\\_id=9077&asset\\_id=9838&sid=68bb989c5d8ffdca59d3c](http://www.nachlassdatenbank.de/viewsingle.php?category=M&person_id=9077&asset_id=9838&sid=68bb989c5d8ffdca59d3c)

*Status:* unprocessed

*Summary contents of the papers:* correspondence

**Richard Stites (1931–2010)**

*Research areas:* Soviet cultural history; feminism and utopianism in Russia; Aleksandr Bogdanov

*Publications (selection):*

- The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism and Bolshevism. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

*Obituaries (selected):*

- New York Times, 12 March 2010, <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/13/books/13stites.html>
- Anton Fedyashin, "'I'm a Classic': In Memory of Richard Stites", *The Russian Review* 70 (2011), 1, pp. 175–178.

*Papers hosted by:*

Booth Family Center for Special Collections, Georgetown University, Washington DC, USA  
<https://www.library.georgetown.edu/special-collections/about>

*Finding aids / information:*

<https://findingaids.library.georgetown.edu/repositories/15/resources/10457>

*Status:* unprocessed, closed for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* unknown (50 boxes)

**Jürg Ulrich (1930–2017)**

*Research areas:* Lev Kamenev; Lev Trotsky

*Publications (selection):*

- Leo Trotzki als junger Revolutionär. Mainz: Decaton, 1995.
- Kamenev. Der gemäßigte Bolschewik. Das kollektive Denken im Umfeld Lenins. Hamburg: VSA, 2006.

- Trotzki an der Goldküste. Ein Schweizerbürger bei der revolutionären Linken. Hamburg: VSA, 2018.

*Papers hosted by:*

Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv, Zurich, Switzerland

*Finding aids / information:* <http://findmittel.ch/archive/archNeu/Ar1014.html>

*Status:* open for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* manuscripts, personal documents, notes from Russian archives, copies

### **Hermann Weber (1928–2014)**

*Research areas:* German communism; Stalinism; Communist International; GDR history

*Publications (selection):*

- Die Wandlung des deutschen Kommunismus. Die Stalinisierung der KPD in der Weimarer Republik. 2 vols. Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1969.
- Geschichte der DDR. München: dtv, 1985.
- „Weiße Flecken“ in der Geschichte. Die KPD-Opfer der Stalinschen Säuberungen und ihre Rehabilitierung. Frankfurt am Main: isp-Verlag, 1990.
- Deutsche Kommunisten. Biographisches Handbuch 1918–1945. Berlin: Dietz, 2004 (with Andreas Herbst).

*Obituaries (selected):*

- “Hermann Weber (1928–2014)”, *The International Newsletter of Communist Studies Online* 20/21 (2014/15), 27–28, pp. 331–333, <https://incs.ub.rub.de/index.php/INCS/article/view/484/436>
- Ulrich Mählert, “Statt eines Vorworts: Nachruf auf Hermann Weber”, *Jahrbuch für historische Kommunismusforschung* (2015), pp. VII–XI, <https://kommunismusgeschichte.de/jhk/jhk-2015/article/detail/statt-eines-vorworts-nachruf-auf-hermann-weber/>

*Papers hosted by:*

Archiv der Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur, Berlin, Germany

*Finding aids / information:* not available yet, short descriptions at <https://www.bundesstiftung-aufarbeitung.de/aktuelles-1230,764,9.html> and <https://www.bundesstiftung-aufarbeitung.de/hermann-weber-1464.html>

*Status:* preliminarily processed, open for research

*Summary contents of the papers:* working materials, copies of archival documents, a.o.

## **SECTION III. RESEARCH PROJECTS AND DISSERTATIONS – WORK IN PROGRESS**

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### **Fordlândia: The Needle in the Haysack of the Comintern's Struggles in Brazil over the Black Question. Research Project**

The racial question within the International Communist movement is one of the rising topics in Latin America and the United States in the past decade. Brazilian communists have a long history of denial of the racial issue as a major component of Brazil's history of inequalities and as a probable revolutionary trigger. During the Comintern period, it can be very fairly argued that Moscow drew pressure over the Communist Party of Brazil to dismantle this regional cadre resistance to adopt race as driving force to revolution. In 2015 I finished my Ph. D. thesis on the matter. Besides all, I have come to realize that this is a very long and – possibly – a never-ending story yet to be properly understood by Brazilian left history specialists.

This current project has a very precise objective. It can be unfolded in two ways: empirical and methodological. If my assumptions are right, then I may be able to argue that Brazilian historians must move out from a certain chauvinist and exceptionalist approach towards the history of the Communist Party. Moreover, it is not only fashionable to reach out to new empirical evidence; it is mandatory. As a consequence, an analysis of Fordlândia may also prove that as far as empirical paths lead to a transnational plot, analytical methods should also convey such broad traces.

It all started with an aggressive entrepreneurial action taken by Henry Ford which led to promote an unimaginable scenario: in the middle of the Amazon basin, workers from local areas as well as from a relatively broad array of origins came to share the same workplace, contracted by one of the largest companies of the world. Periphery suddenly could become the world center of the rubber industry.

Amidst an intense redefinition over the rubber market during the 1920s and after a large myriad of governmental concessions, Henry Ford decided to endeavor to create a new factory town such as Detroit, except without unionist “contamination”, in his words. The location of this enterprise was chosen accordingly to its suitability to the rubber culture. On the left bank of the Tapajós River (a tributary of the Amazon River), about 1200 km far from Belém (state capital of Pará) and over 300 km down the river from Santarém, the most important city of the region, Aveiro City hosted Henry Ford's project. It was a challenge from scratch. Most of all, the civilizational task self-given by the moralist and reactionary Henry

Ford was unbearable to Brazilian amazon culture and, not less important, to working-class culture.

After 1927, Ford's rubber crop in the Amazon basin was operational. The timing coincides with a hot topic within the International Communist movement in Brazil, which was "the black question". Since 1924 there has been major disagreements between the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) and the Comintern over the racial issue. "Fordland" was a symbol of this misencounter.

One of the main triggers for the disagreement among PCB leaders and Comintern cadres concerning the black question was a forever obscure event: an alleged conflict between Brazilian and Jamaican workers in 'Fordland'. During the discussion of the Brazilian question in Moscow in late 1929, Brazilian communists argued that this was not a matter of race between blacks and whites, but a misunderstanding caused by the different nationalities. However, the Comintern cadres, in spite of not allowing themselves a thorough evaluation of the matter, supported that there must have been some racial component overlooked by the PCB, as in relation to all the remainder of the country. Through the Comintern's lenses, the PCB had neglected work among Brazilian blacks as for the party's Central Committee there was no "black question" in Brazil.

As far as Fordland is concerned, Jules Humbert-Droz blamed the lack of information Comintern had about the subject. He reported that the statement 'We have been told by telegram that the whites were on strike against the blacks' was their only source of information. He agreed with other Comintern comrades that, once there had been a clash between blacks and whites or even between blacks and blacks, the racial question was a fact. According to him, the same had taken place in Cuba and in the Antilles when the indigenous people had been dislocated from their working positions to be replaced by black workers. The Swiss communist had painted a scenario in which the racial question was uncovered 'under a new shape, connected to the policies of great yankee companies in order to divide the proletariat'. He added 'this doesn't mean that workers make up a distinct race, it means that the imperialists – foremen – employ workers of a certain race in order to cause another one to be out of work or to have their pay decreased.' He finished by suggesting ways through which Brazilian communists could tackle the question.

Lastly, another Comintern responsible, Samuel Guralsky, restated how the PCB's omission in relation to the Fordland question had triggered even more distrust among the different race groups in the proletariat. Going deeper, he supported that, with such omission, the PCB missed an opportunity to show black workers their white companions fight for black causes.

Our empirical bottom line is the Fordlândia's papers in The Henry Ford Foundation as well as the State Archives of Pará. There is evidence of the United Kingdom's Foreign Office that there was surveillance of the labor force migration from Central America to the Amazon basin. The monitoring of the Panamá Channel already was a constant by intelligence organizations. Therefore, I intend to cross all sort of sources and build this story from the bottom up. By the end should be clarified the existence of international bonds between workers of Fordlândia as well as what, indeed, the Comintern and the PCB knew of the "Aveiro" struggles and, most of all, how they handle it until it was abandoned in the mid 1940s.

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## **The Involvement of the Lower Classes in the Making of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine, 1918–1921: A Research Project**

The birth of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine is usually described as the making of a bureaucratic apparatus meant to ensure control over Ukraine from the outside. Thus, historians would tell about the development of the *nomenklatura* élite and of its power.<sup>1</sup> Also focusing on the party élite, others would consider the CP(b)U as a stronghold for opposition to Moscow leadership, be it leftist or national.<sup>2</sup>

However, one must not forget that the CP(b)U was not only a group of leaders but a mass party, too. In late 1917, although it was by far not the main political force in Ukraine, the RSDLP(b) had 33,000 members in the Ukrainian Governorates. During the German occupation, the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine was formally founded in Moscow in July 1918 and claimed some 4,000 underground activists. The membership grew from 9,000 in October 1918 to 23,000 in March 1919, despite the harsh conditions of the Civil war. By 1920 it had become a 75,000 member-strong state party.<sup>3</sup>

Who were the Party's rank-and-file members? In early 1919, the Party claimed to "prepare and educate leaders and skilled organizers drawn from the Socialist proletariat and the poorest peasantry for all fields of the Commune's economy".<sup>4</sup> Some poor peasants involved at that time in collective farming responded by asking for Party membership cards and official stamps in order to "unite with all passion with the CP(b)U".<sup>5</sup> They considered themselves as fully entitled *communists* as they were already *communards*.

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<sup>1</sup> V. Lozyts'kyy: Politbiuro TsK Kompartii Ukraïny 1918–1991. Istoriiia, osoby, stosunky, Kyiv, CDAGO-U, Geneva, 2005; M. Doroshko: Nomenklatura, kerivna verkhivka Radians'koï Ukraïny (1917–1938 rr.), Kyiv, Nika Centr, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> James Mace: Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation. National Communism in Ukraine 1918–1933, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1983. About Pyatakov and leftism, see Andrea Graziosi: G.L. Piatakov (1890–1937). A Mirror of Soviet History. In: *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 16 (1992), 1–2, pp. 102–165; Valerii Soldatenko: Georgii Piatakov. Opponent Lenina, sopernik Stalina, Moskva, ROSSPEN, 2017.

<sup>3</sup> I.F. Kuras (ed.): Velykyy Zhovten' i hromadyans'ka viyna na Ukrnayini. Entsyklopedichnyy dovidnyk, Kyiv, Hol. red. URE, 1987, pp. 271–274.

<sup>4</sup> B. Ivanov: Organizuite partiiu, Kharkov, 3-ia Sovetskaia Tipografiia, 1919.

<sup>5</sup> Minutes of the General Assembly of the Communists-Bolsheviks under the name of Kronstadt, 22.04.1919, quoted in: Éric Aunoble: « Le communisme tout de suite ! ». Le mouvement de communes en Ukraine soviétique 1919–1920, Paris, Les Nuits Rouges, 2008; Komunars'ki revoliutsii 1919 roku v

This momentum towards communism emerging from the poorest layers of rural Ukrainian society in 1919 should be compared to other similar processes, such as workers' radicalism in Donbass and Eastern Ukraine in 1917 or individual emancipatory trajectories among other subaltern groups such as women<sup>6</sup> or Jews. Another question is the fate of these grassroots activists in the course of the four-year civil strife. The way they participated in the construction of the Party, state and Red Army apparatus<sup>7</sup> in Ukraine left an imprint on Soviet institutions as well as it changed the course of their lives and their social status. Studying how plebeian activists participated in these processes will allow insight into the stakes of the Civil War, the entanglement of social and national matters, but will also shed light on the making of bureaucracy and the implementation of a new authoritarianism.

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Ukraïni. In: *Revoliutsiia 1917 roku: frantsuz'kyy pohliad – 100 rokiiv tlumachen' i reprezentatsiy*, Kyiv, Nika Centr, 2016.

<sup>6</sup> Éric Aunoble: *Femmes et communistes. Un engagement dans la guerre civile en Ukraine (1918–1919)*. In: L. Colantonio et al. (eds.): *Genre et utopie avec Michèle Riot-Sarcey*, St Denis, Presses universitaires de Vincennes, 2014.

<sup>7</sup> Éric Aunoble: « Communistes, aux armes! » : les unités à destination spéciale (TchON) au sortir de la guerre civile en Ukraine (1920–1924). In: *Hispania Nova* (2015), 13 / *Amnis* (2015), 14, Special issue « Les guerres civiles : réflexions sur les conflits fratricides à l'époque contemporaine. Europe-Amérique ».

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## **Producing Ideology in Yugoslavia During the 1960s and 1970s. PhD Project**

That socialist Yugoslavia was in many ways a highly ideologized society is a common assessment.<sup>1</sup> Yet, studies focussing on the intricate realities of ideology in Yugoslavia are rare.<sup>2</sup> This is especially the case regarding the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's hallmark policy of worker's self-management. In recent years, detailed historiographical studies have added to the thorough engagement of contemporary observers, improving our understanding of a range of topics, including worker self-management's origins.<sup>3</sup> However, as a mainstay of the ruling party's ideology and preferred research subject of the nascent social sciences, the increasingly complex theory of worker self-management remains insufficiently well illuminated.<sup>4</sup>

I wish to shed light on the question of how party ideology was created and contested in Yugoslavia. To do so, I focus on the debates of the 1960s and 1970s that shook both party and society and resulted in a reform process that culminated in the 1974 Constitution and the accompanying Law on Associated Labour of 1976. Apart from purporting to structure the present constitutional framework and economic order, they promulgated the vision of a society that would ensure economic development, personal autonomy and, ultimately, the withering away of the state.

One part of my research attempts to depict how particular elements of this system were developed, the socio-economic knowledge the debate was founded upon and how the debate was publicly staged. Second, I analyse how actor groups conceptualized, negotiated and accepted different visions of self-management and how they in turn were also constituted by them. My aim is to reconstruct the field in which a plethora of actors engaged in authoring this blueprint for a socialist society. Furthermore, I ask what the every-day development of Yugoslav socialist theory can tell us about the inner workings of the League

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<sup>1</sup> Ideology has even been called the prime factor contributing to Yugoslavia's disintegration, see Dejan Jović: *Yugoslavia. A State that Withered Away*, West Lafayette, Purdue University Press, 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Studies that do not restrict themselves to discussing ideology solely as a factor shaping policy or impacting a social sphere do exist. See, as an example, on the development of the personality cult of Tito: Marc Halder: *Der Titokult. Charismatische Herrschaft im sozialistischen Jugoslawien*, München, Oldenbourg, 2013.

<sup>3</sup> Still, the historiographic standard work is more than two decades old, see: Susanne L. Woodward: *Socialist Unemployment. The Political Economy of Yugoslavia 1945–1990*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1995. For the newer historiography, consider for example on the origin of worker self-management: Vladimir Korica-Unkovski: *Economic Struggle for Power in Tito's Yugoslavia. From World War II to Non-Alignment*, London, I.B. Tauris, 2016.

<sup>4</sup> On how Yugoslav experts engaged with the economy's consumer and market attributes, see Patrick Hyder Patterson: *Bought and Sold. Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2011; and the chapter on Yugoslavia in Johanna Bockman: *Markets in the Name of Socialism. The Left-Wing Origins of Neoliberalism*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2011.

of Communists of Yugoslavia, the practices of politically crucial actors and the relationships between them. What, in the end, was ideology in Yugoslavia?

My research is mainly based on documents of pertinent party and state bodies on the federal level, memoirs and contemporary professional, academic and party publications dealing with self-management.

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## **Periodical Forms of Theory. New Left Journals, 1950s to 1980s. PhD Project**

What is the function of a periodical? In editorial practice, one would expect that such a crucial question is addressed when a journal, a review or a little magazine is founded, or when changes in policy or style occur during its life span. Yet, in the case of the West German Marxist journal *alternative. Zeitschrift für Literatur und Diskussion*, the most thorough discussion of its use and purpose was documented in its last issue in autumn 1982. At that point, the political energies of the student New Left had long since been dispersed and absorbed by the so-called new social movements. Consequently, the function(s) of a journal such as *alternative*, and more generally of publications identified with the ›1968‹ generation, had become less self-evident. In the wake of political landslides and experiences of defeat, the theoretical approach of *alternative*, in the interpretation of its makers, had lost its link to any kind of movement or practice. As chief editor Hildegard Brenner metaphorically testified in the pages of this last issue, their output had become “placeless”. Although some loyal readers remained, Brenner found that her journal lacked relevance to those who were active in the new social movements: “We have readers, but we do not have an audience anymore”. Without the audience, the journal would also lose its function.<sup>1</sup>

Functions of *Zeitschriften* – journals, reviews and (little) magazines – and historical debates about these functions are at the core of my research project. The comparison of the West-German *alternative* (1958–1982) to other, rather academic New Left publications such as the British *New Left Review* (1960–today) or the US-American *Studies on the Left* (1958–1967) shows the entanglement of scientific, literary, journalistic and documentary forms and specific modes of how theoretical work is contextualized, mediated and stored. On the one hand, in a rather classical way, I understand these periodicals as networks or sites of transfer, dissemination and intellectual gathering. But in contrast to their simplistic representation as “cargo trucks” for intellectual freight, journals have played a significant role not only with regard to the propagation, but also to the epistemological formation of theory.<sup>2</sup> Thus, on the other hand, I am interested in material forms and textual practices that are specific to ›theory journals‹ and thus allow to speak of a genre of its own. I suggest to call some these forms and practices “documentary” and “archival”, since these journals can be characterized by the fact that they not only printed documents for discussion, but also actively documented leftist theory and practice itself, and thus turned their own labour, its

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<sup>1</sup> Redaktion *Alternative*: Zu Diesem Heft. In: *alternative* 25 (1982), 145/146, p. 133 and Karl Heinz Roth: ‘Alternative’: Das Ende einer kulturellen Klasse. Aus einem Gespräch. In: *alternative* 25 (1982), 145/146, pp. 134–42, here: p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Jeffrey Williams: The Rise of the Theory Journal. In: *New Literary History* 40 (2009), 4, pp. 683–702, here: p. 687.

context and conditions, into a subject of discussion, and the journal itself into “little archives” of intellectual and political experience.<sup>3</sup>

*alternative*, based in the environs of Berlin’s Free University, is one specimen of this genre of ›theory journals‹. It was linked with other New Left groups, journals and publishing houses, and yet a theoretical microcosm of its own. Since 1963 it was led by Hildegard Brenner, a literary scholar and journalist who was 36 years old when she took over, being one of the few leading female journal makers of the time. She turned the former literary little magazine into a literary theory review. In its heyday in the early 1970s, *alternative* had a peak circulation of 10.000 copies, its contents being first and foremost relevant to students and scholars in the humanities and social sciences, but also to activist journalists, teachers or playwrights. The journal was deeply committed to a tradition of materialist aesthetics within so-called Western Marxism and participated in the ongoing rediscovery of thinkers such as Karl Korsch, Bertolt Brecht, Walter Benjamin, Carl Einstein, Georg Lukács, Lu Märten and others. It helped pave the way for West German adoptions of French structuralism, critically discussed Russian formalism and, in a later phase, introduced its readers to feminist psychoanalysis, Cultural Studies and Operaism. Addressing the theoretical avantgarde within the humanities, *alternative* was still highly tradition-conscious in its regard to the history of labour movement intellectuals. This was already indicated by the journal’s red and black visual appearance, not far from that of *Die Weltbühne* or *Die Linkskurve*, which was the publication of the *Union of Proletarian-Revolutionary Writers (Bund proletarisch-revolutionärer Schriftsteller)* in the Weimar Republic. This “ancestral claiming”<sup>4</sup> of the socialist tradition allowed journal makers to inscribe themselves into a continuum, historic and imaginary at the same time, that provided orientation for their own intellectual endeavour. Fittingly, Helga Gallas, the second important woman in the editorial board, wrote her dissertation on *Die Linkskurve* while she was part of *alternative*. Other cases of ancestry in the New Left are not hard to find, if one thinks of the role model of *Left Review* in Great Britain, *Partisan Review* in the US or of the orientation that Sartre’s *Les Temps Modernes* provided to New Left editors in general.

Following media theorist and former revolutionary Régis Debray, the „ecosystem of socialism” as a print culture falls into the last stage of the so-called graphosphere, the era of the printed word, and designates the continued attempt to establish “a counter-medium of dissemination within a hostile milieu”.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, the importance of the craft formation of print, of newspapers, journals or pamphlets, has been highlighted by many historians of socialist and communist movements. Literary historian Patrick Eiden-Offe recently demonstrated how in the German Vormärz period between 1830 and 1848, concepts and self-perceptions of „class” came to life and were filled with content through literature and theory, most often published in journals which served as loci of a political “Wir-Konstitution”.<sup>6</sup> Even if the New Left’s promotion of self-consciousness took place under very different circumstances, analogies can be drawn in regards to the formatory function of media. New

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<sup>3</sup> For the concept of „little archives” cf. Gustav Frank, Madleen Podewski, Stefan Scherer: Kultur – Zeit – Schrift. Literatur- und Kulturzeitschriften als ›kleine Archive‹. In: *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 34 (2010), 2, pp. 1–45.

<sup>4</sup> For this concept cf. Elisabeth K. Chaves: Reviewing Political Criticism. Journals, Intellectuals, and the State, Ashgate, Farnham, 2015, p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> Régis Debray: Socialism. A Life Cycle. In: *New Left Review* 46 (2007), pp. 5–28, here: p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Patrick Eiden-Offe: *Die Poesie der Klasse. Romantischer Antikapitalismus und die Erfindung des Proletariats*, Berlin, Matthes & Seitz, 2017.

journals, Ernst Osterkamp writes, are often meant to give form to new a “consciousness of historical transition”.<sup>7</sup> This holds true again, I argue, for the late 1950s and early 1960s, when a new wave of young academics became journal makers. Stuart Hall, himself co-founder and editor of *Universities and Left Review* and *New Left Review*, wrote in 1961 that “there is nothing that I know of to match the flood of university journals which have been irrigating the newsstands in recent months”.<sup>8</sup> Against the shared background of a critique of capitalist consumer society on the hand, of communist bureaucratic rule on the other, the New Left publishing activities were not only concerned with theory and strategy, but also with self-assurance and self-education.

Even if the breaking down of the barriers between intellectual and manual work was proclaimed by many New Left academics as a (distant) goal, the publications studied here are decidedly highbrow. In the example of *alternative*, even the less theoretical issues and documentations of practice, with reportage on or analysis of school tuition or prison theatre, were not so much written for pupils or prisoners but rather for their educators, while the journal makers, educating themselves, could perceive themselves as the educators of the those working in educational institutions (as many of them did). Looking back, former editors often describe their editorial contributions as a formative episode of their intellectual biographies, testifying that they learned more in making a journal than in studying at university.

From the mid-1970s on, the tone in *alternative* changed from self-evident educational practice to critical self-evaluation: Now, it both reflected and reflected upon a permanent discourse of crisis within the Left itself. The journal kept on publishing new theoretical inputs, introduced readers to Althusser’s structuralist Marxism or French feminist psychoanalysis. But the focal point shifted to an ongoing documentation of the recurring crisis of Marxism and the fragmentation of the student movement. Among the topics of the late 1970s and early 1980s, there were: the struggle with the anti-intellectual orthodoxy of the Maoist and Leninist K-Groups; state repression against of leftists in universities and schools; deaths and tragedies of left-wing icons and theorists such as Pier Paolo Pasolini, Nicos Poulantzas, Rudi Dutschke or Louis Althusser; a growing hostility against theory among students and activists. In this later phase, the editors became increasingly doubtful about their own work and legacy. In an editorial from 1978, *alternative* collectively wrote: “It is becoming terrifyingly clear, how a strict commitment to conceptual rigour (including our own) [...] has neglected the transformations at the social base”.<sup>9</sup>

Thanks to this reflexive and documentary style that *alternative* kept throughout its publication span from 1958 to 1982, this specific journal’s 146 numbers reflect large parts of the rise and decline of the German New Left, as well as the history of the student movement and its collapse. Journals like *Studies on the Left* and its successor *Radical America*, or the early *New Left Review* and its forerunners, have had similar yet distinct “functions” which I compare in my research project. I aim to show that the journals’ roles in the making of the New Left as an intellectual and political movement, as well as their different reactions to

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<sup>7</sup> Ernst Osterkamp: Neue Zeiten – neue Zeitschriften. Publizistische Projekte um 1800. In: *Zeitschrift für Ideengeschichte* 1 (2007), 2, pp. 62–78, here: p. 71.

<sup>8</sup> Stuart Hall: Student Journals. In: *New Left Review* 1 (1961), 7, pp. 50–51, here: p. 50.

<sup>9</sup> Redaktionskollektiv Alternative: Zu diesem Heft. In: *Alternative* 21 (1978), 119, p. 65.

crises and their forms of critical self-evaluation are fruitful sources for a history of ideas which considers the material forms of ideas. Moreover, investigating functions of periodicals – and perceptions of these functions, including hopes, expectations and deceptions – might be useful not only within the scope of an intellectual history, but also for a contemporary debate on the possibilities and limitations of leftist intellectual publishing between academic and public spheres.

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## **Research Project I**

### **Local Street Politics and Transfer of Global Awareness in Sweden, 1917–1939**

The project focus on the use and characteristics of streets as a venue for local politics to raise awareness on issues connected to fascism, colonialism and social injustice during the interwar period in Sweden. By analyzing public demonstrations, meetings and campaigns, organized and carried out by sympathizing organizations, existing and identified on the scale of the political far left and right, the project aims at situating these currents as resistance movements and subversive in juxtaposition to the standards of society. Thus, the primary aim is to trace, analyze and discuss the level and scale of local street politics in Sweden, and how and if it reached any impact. This involves looking at *the city* as representative of space and place, and if the city assumed the role of raising global awareness in the context of local street politics. Hence, street politics is a question of discerning the global in the local. In conclusion, the project wants to discover differences and similarities between the established form of practicing politics, the parliamentary method, from the method of taking politics to the streets as a means to practice politics.

## **Research Project II**

### **Biographical Project: Willi Münzenberg. A Red Visionary in a Changing World (working title)**

The project is the writing of a biography on Willi Münzenberg, the German pacifist and communist (1889–1940). The primary reason for doing so is to connect with recent research results and opinions on Münzenberg as a historical topic and figure, but primarily, to situate Münzenberg's life and career in a different context in comparison to other biographical works on him, most prominently the works of Babette Gross, Sean McMeekin and Stephen Koch. Further, it is a monograph that shall be written in Swedish, and it will raise the issue of Münzenberg's involvement in the German communist movement and the Communist International, and how this was connected to the development of anti-fascism, anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, and other topics linked to Münzenberg's Internationale Arbeiterhilfe. And, it is a project that aims at going into dialogue with Münzenberg as a research object, based on archival sources collected in Moscow, Berlin, Amsterdam, London, and Stockholm. In conclusion, the biography shall connect Münzenberg's life and career in the international communist movement within the context of the interwar period from a global perspective.

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## **Against the Détente! The Formation of a Global Anti-Communist Community during the ‘Long’ Sixties (1955–1980). PhD Project**

### **Subject of the Dissertation project and analytical levels**

The subject of this PhD project is the up until today only barely analysed transnational cooperation between diverse anti-communist actors and organizations from Asia, West Europe, the United States and Latin-America. Focusing primarily on the genesis and evolution of the *World Anti-Communist League* (WACL), this project will study the formation of a global anti-communist community during the ‘Long’ Sixties (approximately 1955–1980) as a reaction to the concept of peaceful co-existence promoted by First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev and Chinese Foreign Minister Chou En Lai since the mid nineteen-fifties and the Détente policy adopted by the American government and some Western European states in response. By following WACL’s evolution, this project seeks to combine the history of Cold War and Globalization in a transnational and global perspective.

WACL was founded in 1966 in Seoul, South Korea, as a global anti-communist umbrella organization. Its founding was made possible by a long process of rapprochement between various anti-communist groups and actors from East Asia, Latin-America, Europe and the United States. Driving forces of this process were two transregional anti-communist organizations from East Asia and Latin America: The *Asian People’s Anti-Communist League* (APACL), jointly founded in 1955 by the South Korean and Taiwanese and Philippine presidents, Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai Shek and Elpidio Quirinho and the Latin American *Confederation Interamericana de Defensa del Continente* (CIDC). CIDC came to life one year prior to APACL’s founding on the initiative of the former mayor of Mexico City, Jorge Prieto Laurens, and the Brazilian Admiral, Carlos Penna-Botto. As an advocate for an active liberation from communism, WACL adopted a clear position against the Détente policy led by the USA and their Western European allies and became a global platform for the critics of Détente.

The project is based upon the assumption that Détente did not lead to a decline of anti-communism but rather to a shift, reorientation and adaption of anti-communist actors, ideas and practices. As a platform for the global networking of anti-communist actors, WACL provides an ideal entry point to examine the mechanisms of transnational entanglements as well as the transformation of anti-communism on a global scale during the ‘Long’ Sixties by intercultural and international transfer of ideas. Thus, this period will be understood as a transformative phase of anti-communism.

Using the history of WACL as a starting point, this project attempts to find new insights on three intertwined levels: The History of anti-communism, the History of the Cold War and the History of Globalization. Anti-communism shall be understood in this project as a complex historical phenomenon. Therefore, it will not be evaluated from a normative position nor will it be reduced to its intellectual underpinnings. Following Andreas Wirsching's typology, anti-communism shall be defined as a dynamic interaction of empirical, ideological and functional logics.<sup>1</sup> It will be therefore analysed in its dimension as a social movement; as an intellectual and rhetoric frame of reference; and, finally, as a political practice.<sup>2</sup> Anti-communism will be viewed being more than the simple negation of a certain political current, a political and socio-economical teaching or a ruling system. Rather, it will be seen to have had not only a destructive but also a creative dimension: it created new ideas, gave new meaning to contexts and new policies and had, as well, an integrative and community-forging effect which will constitute the core of the analyses that will be offered in this project.

Beyond this analysis, this project will also challenge concepts that underpin Western European and American Cold War Studies. The project will focus on non-state actors and the inclusion of anti-communist actors from the Global South. Based on recent work on the Cold War in Latin America, East Asia and Africa<sup>3</sup> this project will ask how actors from the so-called periphery of the Cold War saw and considered their own role and possibilities of agency as independent and equal partners pursuing their own national interests in the international concert of nations during the 'Long' Sixties. Further, by focusing on the history of WACL and its predecessors the project will also examine the interplay between the processes of decolonisation and anti-communism and refer to the emergence of the 'Third World' as a new actor in the enfolding Cold War dynamics.<sup>4</sup> This will challenge the reduction of the Cold War as a bipolar confrontation between the two superpowers, between East and West and the classical assumption of centres and peripheries. It therefore challenges the Eurocentric interpretation of the Cold War as a purely bipolar conflict between two homogenous blocs.

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<sup>1</sup> Andreas Wirsching: Antikommunismus als Querschnittsphänomen politischer Kultur, 1917–1945. In: Stefan Kreuzberger, Dierk Hoffman (eds.): „Geistige Gefahr“ und „Immunsierung der Gesellschaft“. Antikommunismus und politische Kultur in der frühen Bundesrepublik, München, Oldenbourg, 2014, pp. 14–28.

<sup>2</sup> Johannes Großmann: „Die Grundtorheit unserer Epoche“? Neue Forschungen und Zugänge zur Geschichte des Antikommunismus. In: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 56 (2016), pp. 549–590.

<sup>3</sup> For example: Tsuyoshi Hasegawa (ed.): *The Cold War in East Asia 1945–1991*, Washington DC/Stanford, Woodrow Wilson Center Press/Stanford UP, 2011; Sue Onslow (ed.): *Cold War in South Africa. White Power. Black Liberation*. London, Routledge, 2009. Yangwen Zheng, Hong Liu, Michael Szonyi (eds.): *The Cold War in Asia. The Battle for Hearts and Minds*, Leiden, Brill, 2010. Patrick Iber: *Neither Peace nor Freedom. The Cultural Cold War in Latin America*, Cambridge MA/London, Harvard UP, 2015. Masuda Hajimu: *Cold War Crucible. The Korean Conflict and the Postwar World*, Cambridge MA/London, Harvard UP, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> See for example: Sandra Bott et al. (eds): *Neutrality and Neutralism in the Cold War – Between or within the Blocs?* London, New York, Routledge, 2016; Christopher J. Lee (ed.): *Making a World After Empire. The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives*, Athens, Ohio UP, 2010; Christopher Kalter: *Die Entdeckung der Dritten Welt. Dekolonisierung und radikale Linke in Frankreich*, Frankfurt/New York, Campus Verlag, 2011.

Finally, this project will analyse how the members of the WACL contributed to the production of globality by an active initiation of transnational processes of cultural and intellectual transfer, rapprochement and interdependence. Based on Johannes Großmann's approach of *biographies croisées*,<sup>5</sup> the concept of the production of globality considers persons as the main bearer of ideas and ideals and as such as main actors of cultural transfer and cross-border integration processes. Following Henri Lefebvre's<sup>6</sup> theory of space, the 'Globe' in this project will be understood as a seemingly absolute space that needs to be produced and reproduced by actors. A process which happens in a dynamic interaction of practises, conceptions and representations. Globalisation, therefore, will be more understood as a process created and advanced by humans and less as an independent and unstoppable impersonal force driving humanity. In order to examine the production of globality by WACL members, the project strives to analyse their understanding of the world, how they created worldwide relationships and connections as well as their self-perception and stage themselves as a global community by using WACL as their platform. In this project the WACL will be identified as an instrument as well as the location of transnational approach and intercultural transfer and as the location of a global anti-communist communitarisation.

### **Sources and archival research**

The analysis of the mechanisms of the formation of a global community of anti-communist actors as well as the transformation of a globally circulating anti-communism by intercultural contact and transfer of ideas is based on the evaluation of the correspondence of former WACL members, their publications as well as the minutes of the annual WACL conferences. Additional sources looked at will be printed and televised media material such as the journals published by WACL and its associated organizations as well as media reports on the annual WACL congresses. Further, reports on leading members of the WACL and their global interaction with other active anti-communists groups as well as the observation of their global anti-communist activities by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs from Germany, France, Great Britain as well as the US, Mexico, South Korea and Taiwan allow the analysis of different points of view of state actors on the global interaction of anti-communists and their evaluation of WACL. The materials for this global historical project have to be collected from different private and national archives in the US, Europe, Mexico, South Korea and Taiwan.

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<sup>5</sup> Johannes Großmann: Die Internationale der Konservativen. Transnationale Elitenzirkel und private Außenpolitik in Westeuropa seit 1945, München, Oldenbourg, 2014.

<sup>6</sup> Henri Lefebvre: La production de l'espace, Paris, Anthropos, 1974.

## **SECTION IV. STUDIES AND MATERIALS**

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### **The International Oppositions in the Communist International. A Global Overview**

#### ***Editors' introduction***

*This unpublished text by Pierre Broué (1926–2005), eminent French historian of international communism and Leo Trotsky, and avid contributor to the International Newsletter, was written under the title “The International Oppositions in the Comintern” in the 1990s for a planned, yet not implemented publication project of the International Institute of Social History (IISG) in Amsterdam. It was translated into English by British historian Brian Pearce (1915–2008). The typescript survived in Bernhard H. Bayerlein’s private collection, and as this text is not available anywhere in English, we decided to publish it here for the first time. Broué’s contribution is much more than the modest title suggests. His essay is not just a history of the oppositions within the Comintern, but a global overview and synthesis of oppositional currents in international communism in the 1920s, from the US to Indochina, from Switzerland to South Africa. Even though it has been written before the opening of several archives which are accessible today, such a global overview, combined with Broué’s poignant analysis, still can greatly benefit today’s researchers.*

*We have left the text and the footnotes intact, merely adjusting the references to the International Newsletter’s citation style, correcting minor typos, and adding page numbers to the references to contributions in Cahiers Léon Trotsky, the scholarly journal edited by Pierre Broué. In this regard, Wolfgang and Petra Lubitz’s Pierre Broué Bibliography, available at [http://www.trotskyana.net/Trotskyists/Pierre\\_Broue/Pierre\\_Broue\\_Bibliography.html](http://www.trotskyana.net/Trotskyists/Pierre_Broue/Pierre_Broue_Bibliography.html), has proven very helpful. Additional footnotes by the editors are marked with \* and set in italics.*

A history of the oppositions in the Communist International (Comintern) would call for several volumes. I shall confine myself to the international oppositions.

An *international* opposition I define as being an opposition which is based on an international programme and which carries on its activity, if not in all sections of the Comintern, at least in several, and aims to organise itself in all of them.

Two oppositions fit this definition: the Left opposition and the Right opposition. The Left opposition existed as a reality for ten years. It functioned not only as a tendency, at its beginning, but subsequently as a faction within the Comintern, and figured in all the important moments of the Comintern's history down to 1933. Born later, the Right opposition was more of a federation of groups, did not always have a clear-cut position, and gradually disappeared.

There are no specific archives for the history of these oppositions, and the relevant documents are to be found in the archives of the Comintern and its sections. Particular mention, though, must be made of the Trotsky Archives at Harvard and the Sedov Archives at Stanford,<sup>1</sup> and also, perhaps, when they become accessible, the Lovestone Archives at Stanford.\* The essential information concerning the Left opposition is given in works devoted to Trotsky.<sup>2</sup> I shall allow myself merely to refer to two of my own articles<sup>3</sup> and to the only work that deals with the question on the international scale, the book by Damien Durand,<sup>4</sup> which, however, is unfortunately restricted in the period it covers. The only synthetic work on the Right opposition is Robert J. Alexander's.<sup>5</sup>

### 1. *The Left Opposition*

Born of the prestige and inspiration of Leon Trotsky, at first it simply followed in his wake, and some of its groups were no more than "letter-boxes".

The Russian Left opposition is the best known. It began in 1923 with the "Letter of the 46", which has recently been published in the USSR.<sup>6</sup> This was written by a group of people who were close to Trotsky and knew of his concern about the regime in the Party. This opposition functioned until the XIIIth conference of the Russian Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) (*Rossijskaja kommunističeskaja partija (bol'shevikov)*; RKP (b)) as a tendency, refraining from any sort of factional conduct – which made easier the task of the apparatus, especially in

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<sup>1</sup> Most of the information concerning the Left opposition is based on these archives, and no detailed references will be given, when the source is Harvard, as such notes would take up many pages.

\* *The papers of Jay Lovestone, located at the Hoover Institution in Stanford, are open for research by now, see <https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf4q2nb077/>.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pierre Broué: *Trotsky*, Paris, Fayard, 1988.

<sup>3</sup> Pierre Broué: *Les trotskystes en Union soviétique (1929–1938)*. In: *Cahiers Léon Trotsky* (hereafter: CLT) (1980), 6, pp. 5–65; and id.: *Compléments à un article sur les trotskystes en U.R.S.S.* In: *CLT* (1988), 24, pp. 63–72.

<sup>4</sup> Damien Durand: *Opposants à Staline. L'opposition de gauche internationale et Trotsky 1929–1930*, Grenoble, Pensée Sauvage, 1988. = *La Pensée*

<sup>5</sup> Robert J. Alexander: *The Right Opposition. The Lovestoneites and the International Communist Opposition of the 1930s*, Westport CT, Greenwood Press, 1981.

<sup>6</sup> *Izvestija TsK KPSS* (1990), 6, pp. 190–191.

falsifying election results. After its defeat in 1924 and until the morrow of the "literary discussion", this opposition was merely a network of personal links, "managed" by Trotsky's secretariat. It was reconstituted as a tendency with some features of a faction only after the "Declaration of the 13" and the alliance with Zinoviev and Kamenev in the United Opposition in the first half of 1926, and thereafter became a real faction. The "Trotskyists" soon proved to be more numerous than all the other groups. When they were expelled, at the XVth congress, it was the Trotskyists – henceforth called "the Left opposition" – who survived without surrendering, and gained at the expense of the other oppositional elements.

After the exiling of Trotsky, at the time of Stalin's turn towards forced collectivisation and out-and-out industrialisation, the Left opposition broke apart. Large-scale defections took place in 1928, around Karl Radek, Ivar Tenisovič Smilga and E.A. Preobrazhensky first, and then around I.N. Smirnov, V.A. Ter-Vaganian and S. V. Mrachkovsky. By 1930 the blocking of the left opposition was almost complete, and only a nucleus was left, about whom we are beginning to obtain some information.

In 1932 there seemed for a moment to be a rebirth of an opposition, with the crisis of Stalin's regime and the role played by those whom Sedov called "the ex-capitulator Trotskyists" - I.M. Smirnov, who brought over not only Mrachkovsky and Ter-Vaganian but also Smilga and Preobrazhensky.<sup>7</sup> The "Smirnov group", alleged by Sedov to have "returned to the opposition",<sup>8</sup> was swallowed up in the wave of repression.

At its beginning the international Left opposition was closely dependent on the Russian Left opposition, its envoys, its couriers, its political requirements and even its material means. It was Russians abroad who made the contacts, acted as arbiters, convened, suggested, advised – directed the movement, in fact, down to the end of 1927. From 1929 this role was taken over by Trotsky, aided by his son.

#### *a) The Personnel: the Soviet Citizens*

Leon Trotsky is well-known. Less well known, generally speaking, are the activists who were called, in the USSR, the "oppositionists" (*opposicionery*), and even less well known are those who devoted themselves to work in the International.

At Trotsky's side, as his chief of staff at Alma Ata and then at Prinkipo and his representative in Europe, was his son Lev L'vovič Sedov, a voluntary exile at the age of 23. The generational difference is striking, as is that of the background. Though very Russian, Sedov was also extremely European: he addressed his comrades in the familiar style, which his father never did.

The most important and most imposing of the other oppositionists abroad was "Rako", Khristian Rakovsky, Trotsky's friend (they addressed each other in the familiar style), one-time activist in seven European parties, former political functionary in the Red Army, former

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<sup>7</sup> Pierre Broué: Trotsky et le bloc des oppositions de 1932. In: *CLT* (1980), 4, pp. 5–37. Information on the Smirnov group from the Sedov papers, Stanford.

<sup>8</sup> Léon Sedov: "La situation des B.L. en 1934". Archives of the International Secretariat. In: *CLT* (1985), 24, pp. 116–120.

head of the government of the Ukraine, diplomatic representative in London and then Paris, where he maintained friendly relations with a number of Communist activists. Others who were exiled along with him played a part, which was not negligible, in the birth of the French opposition: let us mention O.K. Aussem, Alexander Shliapnikov, Budu Mdivani, Preobrazhensky, Juri Piatakov.

However, there were exiles everywhere. Thus, in Vienna N.I. Ufimtsev and his companion Aleksandra Simachko ("Sasha") brought together the first oppositionists in the Austrian CP.<sup>9</sup> Jacob Frank, of the trade delegation, played an important part, Raissa Epstein, a schoolfellow of Trotsky's and wife of the psycho-analyst Alfred Adler, provided for a time a centre for communication with the USSR.

In the years of the United Opposition the Soviet embassy in Berlin was the private preserve of the Zinovievists, whom Ruth Fischer listed along with Shklovsky, who supervised them.<sup>10</sup> The 1923 opposition enjoyed the goodwill of Ambassador N.N. Krestinsky at least until 1928. G.I. Safarov, of the Constantinople embassy, frequented Communist circles in Berlin. S.A. Bessonov, formerly of the Institute of Red Professors, carried on clandestine activity there for some years.<sup>11</sup>

In Prague the Zinovievist S.I. Kanachikov was ambassador and influenced critically-minded Communists. His successor Aleksandr Jakovlevich Arosev married the sister of the oppositionist Harry Freund. Family relationships were dominant here.<sup>12</sup>

Two wanderers played an important role, namely, E.B. Solntsev and N.N. Perevertsev. They were young men, of the October generation. The former was one of the bright stars of the Institute of Red Professors, as historian and economist. He held various positions in Europe before being sent to the United States, to work in Amtorg. Against Trotsky's advice<sup>13</sup> he chose to return to the USSR at the end of 1928, and thereafter passed from one prison to another. He died in January 1936, at Novosibirsk, on hunger-strike in protest against an "administrative" sentence.<sup>14</sup> Perevertsev worked in Geneva in the international railways organisation. Known as "Pierre", he was in touch with the Germans of the group of Hugo Urbahns and with the French groups, which contended for his "enrolment". Arrested on his return to the USSR and exposed as the addressee of instructions from Trotsky, he, too, disappeared into prison.<sup>15</sup>

Stalin was not unaware of the role played by these exiles. But he infiltrated their circles, either by "turning" some or by sending in agents. To the first category belonged Salomon Kharin, called "Joseph", who was also from the Institute of Red Professors, a member of the trade

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<sup>9</sup> Hans Schafranek: *Das kurze Leben des Kurt Landau. Ein österreichischer Kommunist als Opfer der stalinistischen Geheimpolizei*, Wien, Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1988, p. 138.

<sup>10</sup> Ruth Fischer: *Stalin and German Communism. A Study in the Origins of the State Party*. With a preface by Sidney B. Fay, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1948, p. 587; MS of Ruth Fischer's memoirs in the Houghton Library, Harvard.

<sup>11</sup> Testimony of Pierre Naville.

<sup>12</sup> Memoirs of Ruth Fischer and testimony of Jiří Kopp.

<sup>13</sup> Letter from Trotsky, 1929, to Kharin. Stanford, Hoover Archives.

<sup>14</sup> *Biulleten' Opozitsii* (1936), 50 (May).

<sup>15</sup> Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*. He is called Pierre in the Sedov papers.



delegation in Paris. He negotiated his capitulation, but was unable to pay the price for it. Called home, he disappeared.<sup>16</sup> To the other category belonged M. Lepoladsky, an employee of the Soviet consulate in Berlin, who used the pseudonym "Melev". We are still not certain about Jakob Frank, who rejoined Stalin's camp after two years' activity as an oppositionist.<sup>17</sup>

Among other supporters who were Soviet citizens, we can name Pedro Manulis, in Argentina, who was active under the name "Dvorkin"; Kuroedov, in Norway, until his premature death; Tsurupa, son of the old Bolshevik of that name, who worked in the trade delegation in London;<sup>18</sup> another diplomat *en poste* in London who signed letters as "Tensov";<sup>19</sup> and the mysterious "Vetter", who worked as a translator under the name of Jacques Reynaud, was called "the Frenchman", and was named Iakov Kocherets.<sup>20</sup> All these men were swallowed up in the repression.

#### *b) Pioneers of the Communist Parties*

The nuclei of the opposition in the capitalist countries were also made up of Communist activists: former socialists or anarcho-syndicalists, they belonged to the generation that had pioneered the CPs and the Comintern.

Some of these had joined the opposition when they were still leaders of their parties. This was the case with the Belgians War van Overstraeten, general secretary of the Belgian CP, Adhémar Hennaut, its secretary for organisation, and Léon Lesoil, who was won for Communism in 1918 in Vladivostok, where he landed with an Allied contingent, and who became leader of the Knights of Labour among the coal-miners of Charleroi.<sup>21</sup>

This was also the case with the Americans: James P. Cannon, who came from the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), was joint leader of the Foster-Cannon tendency and a member of the national committee of International Labour Defense; Max Shachtman, former youth leader, and those men who, with a past record of activity sometimes in Europe, had led the Socialist Party in the days of its ascent – Arne Swabeck, Martin Abern and also Hugo Oehler, who clandestinely "organised" workers' struggles, moving from one region to another, an itinerant professional revolutionary worthy of a novel by Steinbeck. This was the case, too, with a very young Canadian who was linked with them: Maurice Spector, chairman at 21 of the Communist Party of Canada and elected to the Executive Committee of the Comintern (ECCI) at the Sixth Congress in 1928.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Pierre Broué: Un Capitular à Paris. L'affaire Kharine. In: *CLT* (1981), 7/8, pp. 29–36.

<sup>17</sup> For the point about Frank, see Schafranek, *Das kurze Leben des Kurt Landau*, pp. 138–140.

<sup>18</sup> Testimony of Harry Wicks.

<sup>19</sup> "Tensov" file, Sedov papers, Hoover Archive, Stanford.

<sup>20</sup> "Vetter" file, *ibid.*; biographical indications in letter from Serge (V. Serge: *Les déportés d'Orenbourg* [1]. In: *CLT* [1981], 7/8, p. 227).

<sup>21</sup> Nadya de Beule: *Le trotskisme belge. L'histoire d'un groupe de communistes oppositionnels 1925–1940*, Bruxelles, Éd. de la Fondation Léon Lesoil, 1986.

<sup>22</sup> William Rodney: *Soldiers of the International. A History of the Communist Party of Canada 1919–1929*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1968, p. 71.

Others were not party leaders when they joined the opposition, either because their party had been destroyed by repression or because they had already been expelled from it.

Former leaders of CPs were numerous in the opposition. The "three" Italians who joined in 1930 had led the Italian Communist Party (*Partito Comunista Italiano*; PCI) in the underground and then in exile. Pietro Tresso (Blasco), close to Amadeo Bordiga, had been secretary for organisation. Alfonso Leonetti (Feroci), a comrade of Gramsci, had been editor of *Ordine Nuovo* and director of the Italian Communist press at the start of the Fascist regime. Paolo Ravazzoli (Santini) was the Party's professional trade-union organiser. Along with them came the professional revolutionaries Mario Bavassano (Giacomo), who had been an officer in the Red Army, and Deborah Stretelsky (Barbara), a former functionary of the Communist Youth International (CYI).<sup>23</sup>

With Chen Duxiu, the former general secretary, and Peng Shuzi, the former secretary for organisation of the Chinese CP, both of whom were made scapegoats for the failure of the Stalin-Bukharin policy during the second Chinese revolution, a whole generation of Chinese Communist cadres came over to the Left opposition at the beginning of the 1930s. They were reinforced by young Communists who joined the opposition in Moscow in 1927, along with another of the Chinese CP's founders, Liu Renjing. However, there was probably nowhere a man with such prestige as Chen Duxiu enjoyed in his own country as creator of the modern Chinese language and father of the national and democratic movement.<sup>24</sup>

From the very heart of the Communist Party of Germany (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands*; KPD) came Anton Grylewicz, a worker in the steel industry and member of the famous secret cell of "revolutionary shop-stewards" (*Revolutionäre Obleute*) who organised strikes in Berlin armaments factories in the midst of the war. Deputy to Emil Eichhorn at the Police Prefecture in 1918–19, this worker-cadre joined the KPD in 1920 with the working-class wing of the Independent Social-Democrats (*Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*; USPD). He was a member of the commission which, in 1923, prepared in detail in Moscow what was called the German October. Werner Scholem joined the USPD in 1917 and went to prison for organising an anti-war demonstration. Elected to the Reichstag, he went over to the KPD and, being apparently possessed of exceptional talent in this domain, he was for a year its secretary for organisation.

The Communist Party of Austria (*Kommunistische Partei Österreichs*; KPÖ) gave to the opposition a man of still higher prestige, Josef Frey, a reserve captain in the army who became commander of the Red Guards and then chairman of the Soldiers' Council in Vienna, and founder and leader of the KPÖ in 1921. He entered into opposition against Zinoviev's faction. Along with him was a journalist (a former horsebreaker), the editor-in-chief of the party's organs, Kurt Landau.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Silverio Corvisieri: *Trotsky e il comunismo italiano*, Roma, Samonà e Savelli, 1969.

<sup>24</sup> Lee Feigon: *Chen Duxiu. Founder of the Chinese Communist Party*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1983; Wang Fan-hsi: *Chinese Revolutionary. Memoirs 1919–1949*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980; Durand, *Opposants à Staline*.

<sup>25</sup> Schafranek, *Das kurze Leben des Kurt Landau*.

In Spain it was the first generation of Communists who joined the opposition. Andrés (in Catalan, Andreu) Nín, former secretary of the National Confederation of Labour (*Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*; CNT), had been secretary of the International Red Aid (IRA)\* and joined the Left opposition and its international commission in Moscow. Francisco García Lavid, known as Henri Lacroix, of the staff of the CI, engaged in editorial work on *Inprekorr*, was recruited by Nín in Moscow before he went off to gather support in Luxemburg and Belgium. Juan Andrade, leader of the Young Socialists and then of the first Spanish CP, the Spanish Workers Communist Party (*Partido Comunista Obrero Español*; PCOE), joined him when conditions made this possible. The former leader of the Young Communists Luis García Palacios caused a scandal in Moscow in 1927 when he applauded Trotsky at the Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI.<sup>26</sup>

France was the specially favoured sphere of the oppositionists. Not only had Trotsky lived there for years, retaining solid connexions, personal and political, he had been given by the Comintern the task of watching over the first steps taken by the Communist movement in France. Two men came to the fore here, Alfred Rosmer and Albert Treint. Rosmer, a friend of Pierre Monatte and one of the inner circle of *La Vie ouvrière*, had been a member of the "small bureau" of the Comintern even before a Communist Party was born in France. For Trotsky he was a personal friend both very sure and very dear and, with his partner Marguerite, his "trusted representative". Rosmer's generation – Monatte, Boris Souvarine and many others - had been removed from leading positions in the French Communist Party (*Parti Communiste Français*; PCF) by the man known as "the Captain". This man, Treint, had joined the United Opposition in Zinoviev's wake but had not followed him into capitulation. The antagonism between Rosmer and Treint weighed heavily on the beginnings of the opposition in France.

The same problem existed in Czechoslovakia. The founder of the Slovak CP, a mass orator and a sufferer from tuberculosis, Hynek Lenorovič, embodied the revolutionary tradition of the CP of Czechoslovakia. He looked with disfavour on the Zinovievist faction whose embodiment was Alois Neurath, who had come over with the majority of the Sudetenland Social-Democrats and was also a former secretary of the Comintern.

To all these "historic" leaders of the Communist movement must be added, of course, younger men who were, politically, its pure products. The second generation was also made up of pioneers.

### c) *The Pregnancy: the Nebula*

The Left opposition took a long time to get born, for reasons both political and material. Only bit by bit, through correspondence and meetings amid the circle around Trotsky, did it take shape as an international Communist tendency. The militarisation introduced by Zinoviev under the pseudonym of "bolshevisation", as well as surveillance by the GPU, made international contacts difficult.

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\* Andrés Nín was secretary not of the IRA, but of the Red International of Labour Unions (RILU).

<sup>26</sup> Pelai Pagès: *El movimiento trotskista en España (1930–1935). La izquierda comunista de España y las disidencias comunistas durante la Segunda Republica*, Barcelona, Península, 1977; Léon Trotsky: *La Revolution espagnole 1930–1940*, ed. by Pierre Broué, Paris, Minit, 1975.

Should we regard as Left oppositionist the Poles around Wera Kostrzewa who protested in 1924 against the thrusting aside of Trotsky? No. Dismissed by Stalin in the Polish commission of the Fifth Comintern Congress, they then agreed to everything. Ten years had to pass before the international Left opposition made contact with Polish activists.

In France the conditions for building an opposition were at once favourable and terribly hard. Two trends appeared in the PCF in 1923. Expelled one after the other, Souvarine, Monatte and Rosmer formed an "old guard" who refused to defame Trotsky and thereby bury democracy in the party. The opposition was led by Maurice Paz. It included a certain number of revolutionary Paris workers, defended, also, internal democracy in the Russian CP and protested against the measures taken against Trotsky. But a certain opportunism, actual weakness in relation to colonial questions (the Rif war), kept the more militant elements away from it. The Zinovievists were represented by Treint.

In Germany the Lefts who were at the head of the Party in 1924 thanks to Zinoviev had been trained in enmity towards Trotsky, and the preparations for the "German October" had worsened their relations with him. Regarding this group as "Leftist", Trotsky had supported against it the leadership of the KPD around Heinrich Brandler, a working-class leader in whom he felt confidence. After October 1923, however, being terrorised by the leadership's offensive against Trotsky, Brandler and his group hastened to repudiate him and, when exiled in Moscow, turned towards support for the Soviet Right led by Bukharin and A.I. Rykov.<sup>27</sup> Only a few isolated individuals like Hans Weber, of the Wedding opposition in Berlin, the half-Russian Sasha Muller and the Palatinate activist Max Frenzel showed, in the KPD, some personal sympathy with Trotsky during the "literary discussion" around *Lessons of October*. The Zinovievist Left failed, moreover, to retain the leadership of the KPD which the Comintern had conferred on it in 1924, and was removed in 1925.<sup>28</sup>

The Frey opposition developed within the KPÖ and sent Trotsky its political documents.<sup>29</sup>

Circumstances brought party functionaries over to the positions of Trotsky and the Left opposition. Thus, the spectacle of Germany on the eve of revolution gave Trotsky two valuable supporters: Maurice Spector, who was arrested in Berlin while on his way to Moscow in the summer of 1923,<sup>30</sup> and the Bulgarian Dimitar Gatchev, who went there in the same year, in the military apparatus of which he was to become the head in his own country.<sup>31</sup>

Other Communist activists throughout the world sympathised with the Russian opposition. To be mentioned is the interest taken by the Dutch veteran Henk Sneevliet, the man who, having

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<sup>27</sup> Pierre Broué: *Revolution en Allemagne 1917–1923*, Paris, Minuit, 1971.

<sup>28</sup> Id.: *Gauche allemande et opposition russe de 1926 à 1928*. In: *CLT* (1985), 22, pp. 4–25.

<sup>29</sup> Schafranek, *Das kurze Leben des Kurt Landau*, passim.

<sup>30</sup> Rodney, *Soldiers of the International*, pp. 71–72.

<sup>31</sup> Testimony of Dimitar Gatchev and Archives of the international Secretariat of the Fourth International.

implanted socialism in the Dutch East Indies and represented the Comintern in China, had become the leader of an important trade union.<sup>32</sup>

d) *The United Opposition in Europe*

We know that the unification, in the opposition inside the USSR, of its two main components, the "Trotskyist" one called "the opposition of 1923" and the "Leningrad" or "New" (Zinovievist) opposition, was far from easy. Among the "Trotskyists" there was reticence and even resistance, especially in Leningrad, where they had been the first to suffer from Zinoviev's fist. Protracted negotiations, many promises and, above all, determined goodwill on the part of the leaders of the two factions had been needed – for them this policy was dictated by their interests both immediate and long-term.

This was not the case outside of Soviet Russia. "Zinovievists" and "Trotskyists" had at their disposal not even the slightest part of the apparatus, nor did they enjoy even limited support among the Communist workers. They were little groups subject to their own laws, their own motivations and, in particular, their own grudges, in which their short history was rich. The "Zinovievists" had hounded, calumniated and expelled the "Trotskyists" during the years of Bolshevisation, and in the eyes of their victims they incarnated Evil and the bureaucratic regime which had murdered democracy in the party. For their part, the Zinovievists did not hesitate to defend their past policy and denounce the (often real) opportunism of their adversaries – their tendency to conciliation with the Social-Democrats, their concessions to the syndicalists, and so on.

France offers a caricatural example of this dispersed character of the oppositions. Monatte and Rosmer, followed by trade-union activists who had previously been grouped around *La Vie ouvrière* and were still firmly rooted in the trade-union movement, had founded the review *La Révolution prolétarienne*, which tended towards revolutionary syndicalism. It published documents from the political struggle in the USSR, and Trotsky considered it necessary, for reasons of tactics within the USSR, to disavow those responsible – for which he remained unforgiven by many.

Souvarine had disapproved of the "unnatural" alliance made by Trotsky with Zinoviev and other Bolshevists, and he never thereafter abandoned a certain sarcastic attitude towards Trotsky. He had revived the *Bulletin Communiste* for several years, collecting in it documents of the Russian opposition and publishing correspondence, in particular by Pierre Pascal, and also discussion articles. He conducted a Marx-Lenin Communist Club which drew in, though not for long, a number of Communist activists and Cadres such as the CGTU functionary Barozine (Pierre Gourget). He refused to have any contact with Treint and Kharin. "This enkharnated bloc seems to me to be valueless", he wrote.<sup>33</sup>

Two of the young men who had spent some time with him after being active among the Surrealists, Pierre Naville and Gérard Rosenthal (Francis Gérard), revived in 1927 *La Lutte des Classes*, which also offered a platform to Trotsky and his comrades, notably Victor Serge.

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<sup>32</sup> Fritjof Tichelman: Henk Sneevliet, Montreuil-sous-Bois, PEC-La Brèche, 1988.

<sup>33</sup> *Bulletin Communiste* (1929), 32–33.

Treint had managed, along with a small Zinovievist faction, to remain in the CPF, from which he was not to be expelled until 1928. He brought back from Moscow documents he had obtained while in the USSR in order to publish them in France, such as the famous "Letter from Shanghai", a crushing exposure of the consequences of the Stalin-Bukharin policy. Associated with him on *L'Unité Léniniste* were the metal worker Henri Barré, the printer Gaston Faussecave and Suzanne Girault, a former schoolteacher in Russia whom many suspected of belonging to the "services".

It was in these years that there appeared among the little groups that were forming in the PCF the one led by the brothers Henri and Raymond Molinier and the chemical engineer Pierre Frank, men who, though unknown at that time, were to play an important role later.

Finally, whereas the Paz group seemed in 1925 to have everything in its favour for assembling and representing the opposition when, with Fernand Lorient, it brought forth the "Letter of the 250", it suffered from the conflict with Treint. Nevertheless, in 1927 it was Maurice Paz who moved, at the CP's Paris region conference, a resolution calling for publication in France of the theses of the Russian Left opposition. In November 1927, with, apparently, money from the oppositionists exiled in Paris,<sup>34</sup> he founded the periodical *Contre le Courant*, which became the letter-box of the United Opposition, taking the place of the *Bulletin Communiste*.

The United Opposition in Germany was purely Zinovievist, not only in its ideas but also in its methods. Did it not present the Russian United Opposition as the continuation of the new opposition in Leningrad, which Trotsky had allegedly joined, acknowledging his mistakes?<sup>35</sup> This opposition emerged from the junction between Urbahns, when he left prison, with Arkadi Maslov and Ruth Fischer, on their return from the USSR, and from long conversations in which they perfected their agreement with Zinoviev. When it learnt of these factional encounters the KPD's Central Committee made a pre-emptive strike, expelling Ruth Fischer and Maslov.

It was on the basis of protest against the stifling of democracy and repression of criticism that the first manifesto of the German United Opposition was composed: condemnation of the theory and perspective of building socialism in a single country, demand for information and publication of all the documents of the Russian opposition, condemnation of the bureaucratic methods that threatened to split the party, cancellation of all disciplinary sanctions. Signed by 700 well-known functionaries and activists, cadres of the KPD, this document was published on 11 September 1926. The affair had been managed from beginning to end, in the face of the apparatus, by Scholem.<sup>36</sup>

Though a possible starting-point for organising a solid faction, this document nevertheless had the flaw of being exclusively devoted to Russian matters. Yet at this same time the defeat of the attempt by the Left opposition to "come out" at the beginning of October, the "peaceful declaration" of 16 October by which the leaders of the United Opposition, in order

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<sup>34</sup> Testimony of Maurice Paz, naming Piatakov.

<sup>35</sup> "Manifeste des 700". See: Broué, *Gauche allemande et opposition russe*.

<sup>36</sup> Broué, *Gauche allemande et opposition russe*.

to prevent their expulsion or the break-up of their unity, acknowledged the error of all, including themselves, who had taken up a factional attitude, obviously struck a blow at the Germans' initiative. The large number of votes obtained by the opposition at party meetings could not prevent expulsions, which began with the signatories of the letter of the 700. More than 1,300 members were expelled altogether in 1927.

The German opposition struggled to break out of its isolation and that of the United Opposition. Grylewicz met Antonín Zápotocký and Viktor Stern, leaders of the Czechoslovak CP, in Prague, and made contact with the opposition around Neurath and the Young Communist leader Michalec (Karel Fischer). Ruth Fischer was received in Paris by two secretaries of the PCF, Paul Marion and Roland Dallet, and also met the Treint group. During his journey back to the USSR Rakovsky met Frenzel and Friedrich Baumgärtner, delegates of the Wedding opposition which had spread to the Palatinate and was a component of the United Opposition. Actually, despite Trotsky's reservations, the German opposition was following the path which was at that time favoured by Zinoviev's friends, the proclamation of a "public faction". When they put up "Left Communist" candidates in the September 1927 municipal elections at Altona, as a concrete expression of this line, they met with defeat. It seemed, though, that, under pressure from Safarov, the opposition in Germany was moving towards the creation of a "second party" when the break-up of the United Opposition at the end of 1927 changed the factors in the problem.

In Austria the United Opposition arose in the party under the leadership of Josef Frey and Karl Tomann: the latter broke away very soon. Frey and his companions – 200 of whom were expelled in January – founded the Opposition, which launched the journals *Arbeiterstimme* in Vienna and *Der Neue Mahnruf* in Graz. A few months later there was a split and the "war of the chiefs" between Frey and Landau.<sup>37</sup>

The situation was better in Czechoslovakia. There the Slovak group led by Lenorovič held aloof from the United Opposition in the party led by Michalec and Neurath. The latter group was impressive in that it included a number of party cadres. But Lenorovič had recruited young activists who were to play a vital role in the 1930s: Wolfgang Salus, Jiří Kopp and, especially, Jan Frankel.

In Greece Pantelis Pouliopoulos, the Party's secretary, circulated the materials of the Russian opposition and called for their publication. He was expelled in 1929 and founded an oppositional group which began publishing *Spartakos*.

Other links were formed in this period when activists spent time in Moscow. For example, the Czech V. Burian was won for the Left opposition in Moscow, where he was working for the International Red Aid (IRA). Wang Fanxi was recruited in the dormitory of the Chinese students at the Sun Yatsen University.<sup>38</sup> Sandalio Junco, a Cuban Communist baker, was convinced by Nín, whom he met in the RILU. Contact between the Peruvian José Carlos

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<sup>37</sup> Schafranek, *Das kurze Leben des Kurt Landau*, passim.

<sup>38</sup> Wang Fan-hsi, *Chinese Revolutionary*.

Mariátegui and Pierre Naville came to nothing, but the opposition in Brazil originated from the relations Naville established with the art critic Mário Pedrosa.<sup>39</sup>

Some important persons in the Comintern's apparatus also secretly joined the Left opposition. Victor Serge mentions in his memoirs the Bulgarian Stojan Minev, known as Lorenzo Vanini, Chavaroche and Stepanov, and we know that one of the most active was Haifisz, better known under the names of Guralsky, August Kleine or Lepetit. It was probably at this time that a functionary of the CYI named A. Golod (nationality not known) joined the Left opposition in Mexico.

e) *The Explosion*

The break-up of the opposition in the USSR into "Trotskyists" and "Zinovievists" sounded the knell of the United Opposition everywhere. Thereafter only oppositions linked with the "Trotskyists" in the USSR would come into being.<sup>40</sup>

The Zinovievists had imparted to the conference held in Berlin in November 1927 a line favorable to the constitution of a second party. It was on precisely the opposite basis that they decided to carry through to the point of denunciation their break with Trotsky after the publication of two letters from him to Perevertsev giving directives for the organisation of the opposition.

Whereas, straight away, the Trotskyists were unanimous in resolving to stand firm and confront the repression which threatened and then burst upon them, the ranks of the Zinovievists were very soon shaken in different directions. Eventually a large section of them, inspired by Safarov and O.S. Tarkhanov and including the cadres of the Leningrad Young Communists, refused to follow Kamenev and Zinoviev in their capitulation at the beginning of 1928.

The German oppositionists, following the earlier line of the Zinovievists, began to form, at the beginning of January 1928 – going against the view of Trotsky and his representatives in Germany – the "Lenin League" (*Leninbund*), a veritable "public faction" comprising several thousands of members, many workers and young people among them. However, the capitulation of Zinoviev and Kamenev and the Comintern's promise to take back those of its members who would repudiate the *Leninbund* in good time caused Ruth Fischer and Maslow to abandon it. Led thereafter by Urbahns, the *Leninbund* followed a hazy line, hesitating between "opposition" and "new party", and this caused the departure of supporters of a real "opposition" in the KPD like Scholem. Supporters of Trotsky in it could be counted on the fingers of one hand, even though Solntsev had entertained the hope of winning over Urbahns.<sup>41</sup>

In France the men of the "inner circle" of *La Revolution prolétarienne* turned their backs on the Communist movement and founded the Syndicalist League. The Treint group split, with

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<sup>39</sup> Centre Mário Pedrosa (CEMAP), São Paulo.

<sup>40</sup> Durand, *Opposants à Staline*.

<sup>41</sup> Rüdiger Zimmermann: *Der Leninbund. Linke Kommunisten in der Weimarer Republik*, Düsseldorf, Droste, 1978.



the former general secretary abandoning Zinoviev to found *Le Redressement communiste*, while Suzanne Girault went back into the CPF. Polemic continued to rage, but it is hard to discern what the political differences were. Treint said that he was supported by "Pierre" (Perevertsev), while Paz claimed the backing of "Joseph" (Kharin)! *Contre le Courant* alleged that it was the unifying centre of the Opposition in France, which evoked protests from the others, angered by this "pretension".

Van Overstraeten and the majority of the Central Committee of the Belgian CP carried out a test of strength in connection with the oppositionists who had been deported to the remote parts of the USSR. When they were expelled they began publishing a periodical, *Le Communiste*. Francisco García Lavid took over leadership of the Spanish language groups in the CPs of Belgium and Luxemburg and linked them with the Russian Left opposition.

A different possibility emerged in the Netherlands. There a break took place in June 1927 between the IRA and the National Labour Secretariat (*Nationaal Arbeidssecretariaat*; NAS) led by Henk Sneevliet. The NAS published in *Klassenstrijd* (Class Struggle) the documents of the Left opposition and articles by Henriette Roland Holst, a respected activist who sympathised with the Russian opposition.

The *Leninbund* took the initiative. Despite reservations voiced by Solntsev, it prepared an international conference at Aachen. Alongside the *Leninbund*, which was represented by Urbahns, the conference was attended by Sneevliet's group, by *Contre le Courant* and by German syndicalists. Treint was not represented, alleging lack of money. There was nobody from the USSR. In spite of its ambitions the international conference had only a meagre outcome: a fund set up to help Trotsky and the Soviet transportees. This "failure", which marked the end of the first phase of the Left opposition, lost importance, however, in the context of Trotsky's expulsion from the USSR and his intervention, direct from now on, in the work of building the international opposition.

E.B. Solntsev drew the conclusion of this period, in which he played a foremost role, when he wrote to Trotsky on 8 November 1928: "We are undoubtedly witnessing the beginning (the very beginning) of the formation of a left wing in the Comintern. In the light of the events which have taken place up to now we can state definitely that this process will be long, hard and very painful. It will be accompanied by harsh battles, disputes and even splits."

#### f) *The New Axis*

The crisis undergone by the Russian opposition in 1929 eventually proved to be a factor of acceleration. The defection of most of the Old Bolsheviks helped to increase the weight of Trotsky and the "exterior" as compared with that of those "in the country", and all the more so because the leaders who had not capitulated – Rakovsky, L.S. Sosnovsky, Solntsev – were confined in rigorous isolation.<sup>42</sup>

On Prinkipo Trotsky received many visitors. At the beginning there were the French: the Rosmers, Henri and Raymond Molinier and the latter's wife, Jeanne Martin des Pallières, Pierre Frank and Gourget, together with Lucien Marzet, Dr. Louis Bercher and Robert Ranc,

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<sup>42</sup> Pierre Broué: Les trotskystes en Union soviétique.

three persons from Rosmer's circle, Pierre and Denise Naville, Gérard Rosenthal and Maurice Paz. Marzet, Ranc and Frank stayed as secretaries until the arrival in 1923\* of young Jean van Heijenoort, who had never belonged to the CP. Young Salus, who came to offer his services, brought along Jiří Kopp and František Kohout. Raisa Adler sent Jan Frankel at the beginning of 1930: he stayed for three years. It was she, too, who sent Jakob Frank, who acted as secretary for several months.

Americans came to Constantinople: Max Shachtman, Arne Swabeck, Albert Glotzer. The Chinese Liu Renjing, who came from Moscow on his way back to China, stayed. From the German section, apart from the two brothers Sobolevicius, concealed agents of the GPU, known as Roman Well and Adolf Senin, there came only persons with no responsibilities – the young historian Heinz Schürer, the Hamburg student Rudolf Klement and the Saxon worker Otto Schuessler, the last two as secretaries. This was one of Trotsky's great disappointments. Neither Urbahns nor any leader of the *Leninbund*, nor Sneevliet, nor Josef Frey, all of whom had been urgently invited, took the trouble to come – any more than did, later, the Spanish leaders.

The "axis" chosen by Trotsky was Alfred Rosmer, with a re-grouping on a clear foundation. Rosmer was a personal friend, a man deserving of full confidence by virtue of his loyalty and moral rigour. He was also a veteran of struggles "against the stream", the indomitable opponent of the *union sacrée*, one of the pillars of the internationalist nucleus in 1914, and one of the first Frenchmen to come to Moscow to put himself at the service of the Revolution – in short, a man with a "life-story of trail-blazing". He was no acrobat or mass orator, no theoretician and not, either, a "machine politician". Expelled from the CPF in the days when Zinovievism prevailed, he was not one of the inner circle and knew little of the disputes within the apparatus, but he was very well informed about the labour movement in France and internationally. What was awkward was that those who considered themselves true "Communists" because they had won their stripes in the party that was born at Tours and then "bolshevised" looked condescendingly on this "fellow-traveller" who was "very syndicalist", not very noisy, and disdainful of the boxing and intrigue that went on between petty chiefs. The principal leaders of the other groups were ready to accept him among themselves as a lieutenant, but none could agree that he should be the commander-in-chief, and each showed this in his own way.

Trotsky, for his part, began by defining the criteria which should demarcate the Left opposition: attitudes to the Anglo-Russian trade-union committee, to the Chinese revolution, and to economic policy in the USSR. It was a question of breaking with political opportunism and treating the "Russian question" and that of "socialism in one country" as a class problem, the refraction in the USSR of the world-wide class struggle. His clear-cut position, which was often labelled "ultimatumist" by functionaries to whom it was inconvenient, was actually to be revealed as less decisive than the debate which broke out concerning the fate of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Trotsky analysed this conflict in terms of the international class struggle and sided with the Soviet state and the Chinese revolution against the nationalist counter-revolution of Chiang Kai-shek.

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\* The correct year is 1932.

Among his opponents on this issue were Robert Louzon and *La Révolution prolétarienne*, Paz and *Contre le Courant*, Urbahns and *Die Fahne des Kommunismus*. Political resentments were added to personal ones, to bitterness at not having been chosen to serve as the "axis" or fear of now being reduced to playing secondary roles. In the end it were minorities in the various trends that got together. Rosmer took with him some personalities from the "inner circle", such as Charbit and Marthe Bigot, but neither Monatte nor Louzon, who continued to bring out *La Révolution prolétarienne*. From the Souvarine trend came Naville and Rosenthal, who had already long been independent, together with Gourget. From *Le Redressement communiste* came Jean-Jacques Chernobelsky. They were joined by the members of the group led by Raymond Molinier, whom Trotsky thought well of on account of his enterprising spirit, initiative and efficiency. So began *La Vérité*.

A tour of Central Europe made by Rosmer revealed the difficulties that were to arise with Frey, a furious factionist, and with Urbahns and his circle, who could not tolerate the idea of international supervision of their activity and who had used for their own organisation's benefit the funds collected for the Russian transportees. It was going to be possible, though, to organise, with Grylewicz and others a "*Leninbund* minority", although Landau, who had come to Germany from Austria, where his relations with Frey were poisoned, established himself in the Wedding opposition. However, the reasonable hopes that existed for developing a genuine Left opposition in Germany shrank visibly with the debates on the Russian opposition, the obvious temptation to create a "new party" which tormented Urbahns, and his irritation at the factional work of the "Trotskyists" in his organisation, which led him to expel them at the moment when he began to affirm that capitalism had been restored in the USSR.

The situation in Czechoslovakia, though different, was no better. There were plenty of able men there, but rivalries festered and machine-politics flourished. A sizeable section of the opposition moved in 1929 from Zinoviev's positions to those of Brandler, on the grounds of struggle for democracy in the party. Trotsky himself supported the group formed by Salus which gave backing to Lenorović, with whom he corresponded at length and seriously. In this way the Jískra group came into being, alongside local groups implanted in the Czechoslovak CP – Otto Friedmann in Prague, Burian in Brno, Juskievic in Plzen.

Links by correspondence were established in Sofia with the Bulgarian activists Stefan Manov and Sider Todorov, veterans from the Rakovsky period: the second-named was the father of a member of the Russian opposition, Vassil Sidorov. In Yugoslavia a small group began work under the leadership of Mikola Popović, one of the leaders of the Young Communists who had been in contact since 1923.

On the other side of the world there appeared in December 1929 an appeal signed by Chen Duxiu, Peng Shuzi and more than 80 leaders and cadres of the Chinese CP who had been expelled after the 1927 defeat. Much resistance was shown by the other groups, who regarded Chen as an "opportunist", Liu Renjing taking the lead on this theme. Trotsky considered that the fact that Chen had acknowledged his mistakes was enough for confidence to be accorded to him. The Chinese opposition progressed towards unification, which was accomplished in April 1931. Meanwhile the apparatus of the Comintern had betrayed to the police a group of new oppositionist cadres around He Mengxiong, who were executed.

The PCI was practically annihilated inside the country itself. In France it had lost the "Italian language groups" to the Bordiga tendency led by Enrico Russo, who had been expelled from the PCF. Together with the "three" (Pietro Tresso, Alfonso Leonetti, Ravazzoli), this was all that was left of the *Ordine Nuovo* leadership, the successors of Gramsci who had opposed the sectarian and adventurist policy of the "third period" in the history of the Comintern.

Relations with Sneevliet were damaged during the discussion about the Chinese Eastern Railway. By founding a new party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party (*Revolutionaire Socialistische Partij*; RSP), and thereby renouncing the struggle to rectify the Dutch CP he had tacitly turned his back on the opposition.

Most of the members of the Belgian CP had been expelled and the opposition driven out. In contrast to a number of other national groups the opposition here was markedly working-class in character, though it lacked much of a base in Brussels.

The Spanish opposition around García Lavid had left Belgium for Spain. Reinforced for several months by Julian Gorkín, a former functionary of the Comintern, and rooted in the *Agrupación* of Madrid, it had absorbed an oppositionist group in the Asturias, "the Bolsheviks of Nalón", led by José Loredo Aparicio, and drew in numerous activists and cadres, including Juan Andrade. Trotsky placed much reliance on Andres Nín, a former oppositionist in the USSR who had been expelled in 1930 and returned to Spain, where he was very well known in the party and in working-class circles under its influence.

James P. Cannon and Maurice Spector had come upon Trotsky's *Criticism of the Draft Programme of the Comintern* when they were in Moscow for the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, and had been convinced by it. They managed to bring it out of Russia and met first Urbahns, then Solntsev and Max Eastman, who was to help them financially. Thus began, in 1928, the opposition in the CP of the United States (CPUSA), with Shachtman, Cannon, Abern, Swabeck, Oehler and dozens of other pioneers. When they were expelled they began publishing *The Militant* and then established officially the Communist League of America.

From North America the opposition spread to Latin America. In Mexico the American Russell Blackwell, known as Rosalio Negrete, who was connected with Golod, made contact with a group of Mexicans led by the Cuban Julio Antonia Mella (who was murdered soon afterward) and which included the future writer José Revueltas. The opposition developed in Brazil under the impetus of Pedrosa and Rodolfo Coutinho, who had made contact with the Russian opposition. The activists of the first wave in Argentina were brought together by *The Militant*, and a second wave arrived with students returning from Spain.\*

In Greece Raymond Molinier had contacted the Archaeo-Marxist organisation, two of whose leaders, the journalist Mitsos Yotopoulos and the actor Vitsoris, Trotsky met. This organisation, which dated from 1923, was *de facto* a "new party". When it declared for the

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\* On Trotskyism in Argentina, see the following publication contemporary to Broué: Osvaldo Coggiola: *El trotskismo en la Argentina (1929-1960)*, Buenos Aires, CEAL, 1985.

opposition, this evoked sarcastic comment from the Pouliopoulos group, which stood for rectification of the Greek CP, but it embraced and organised hundreds of workers.

It was also under the influence of the Americans that the first oppositionists came together in London, around the Englishman F.A. Ridley and the Indian Chandu Ram (Agarwala), with several brilliant students from Ceylon, including Colvin da Silva and Leslie Goonewardene. This was true also of the second wave of the British oppositionists – Harry Wicks, Hugo Dewar, Reg Groves – who formed what became known as "the Balham Group". A nucleus originated by Frank Glass, from Britain, was established in South Africa.

Paris also spread its influence abroad. The oppositionists round *La Vérité* made contact with the Hungarian Communists in Paris led by Karolý Szilvassý and, through Lenorović and the Bratislava Hungarian Terebassy, got in touch with the clandestine opposition in the Young Communists led in Budapest by Peter Hartstein. In the same period the French activists contacted the young émigré leaders of the Independence Party of Annam, which was close to the CP, and won over two of them, Ta Thu Thau and Huynkh Van Phong. The Paris "Jewish Group" joined the opposition, and one of its youngest members, Pavel Okun, known as Mill, acted as administrative secretary: he was to try to sell himself to Stalin.

#### *g) Reconstruction*

One of the first tasks to be undertaken, in Trotsky's view, was building an international leadership for the opposition, and he devoted himself to this task from the moment of his arrival abroad. The first "international bureau", made up of Rosmer, Nín and Landau, looked well on paper but never actually met. Soon the actual work passed into the hands of a secretariat, the membership of which changed, however. We can mention Pierre Frank, the Greek Rosencweig (Myrtos), Leonetti, Roman Well and Senin, Eugen Bauer, the Greek Yotopoulos (Vitte) and the Soviet citizen Mill. Much of the work was also performed, though, by Lev Sedov and Trotsky's close collaborators, such as Jan Frankel. Trotsky paid much attention to this work, strove to strengthen it, and was rarely satisfied with it. One of the achievements he was proud of in the succeeding period was that he personally persuaded Ruth Fischer to join.

The Left opposition stood for rectifying the Comintern and therefore opposed any move to create a "second party", and this question caused the break with Sneevliet and Urbahns, as well as underlying the political difficulties experienced with the Spanish section, now called *Izquierda Comunista*, which was convinced of a Spanish "exceptionalism" that, in its view, ruled out any prospect of development in the Spanish CP.

From their comrades of the Russian opposition the French oppositionists took over and retained with pride the exotic title of "Bolshevik-Leninists", which summed up their aim, a "return to Lenin" and emphasised the point that it was on the basis of the Russian revolution that they had broken away and taken shape. On the programmatic and theoretical plane the heritage of the International did not wholly derive from Lenin and not everything in it must be sought there. The Left opposition saw as politically mistaken the decisions of the Fifth and Sixth Congresses of the Comintern and it intended to recast the Programme, drafted by Bukharin, which the Sixth Congress had accepted. Its programmatic foundation was thus that of the first four congresses of the Communist International.

In the name of the need for independence of the workers' party the opposition condemned as opportunist the policy followed in China with the Guomindang, the Anglo-Russian trade-union committee and the "workers' and peasants' parties".

In the name of the international character of the proletarian revolution, the opposition rejected the theory of "building socialism in one country" and its corollaries like "National Bolshevism" in Germany. The USSR it saw, despite its degeneration, as a workers' state which must be defended against imperialism.

The opposition condemned Stalin's economic policy as a whole, in both its variants and in all their intermediate forms – both the economic opportunism of the years 1923–1928 (not, as is too often said, of the New Economic Policy, 1921–1928) and the economic adventurism of out-and-out industrialisation and forced collectivisation from 1928 onward.

Like Lenin, the opposition declared for active work in mass organisations, in the first place the reformist trade unions, and denounced the "Red trade unions". It rejected the formula of "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants" which the Comintern put forward instead of "dictatorship of the proletariat". It advocated the use of transitional slogans, with a view to clarifying the consciousness of the masses through their experience, and, in particular of democratic slogans. Taking up again Lenin's formulations in favour of the workers' united front, the opposition condemned the interpretation thereof as "united front from below" and the Stalinist pseudo-theory of the transformation of Social-Democracy into "Social-Fascism". Finally, it called for restoration of democracy in the party as in Lenin's time, in rules and in practices.

A select force with tempered cadres and a prestigious leader, the international Left opposition thought that history reserved for it in the coming revolution, at the head of a regenerated International, the role that the Bolshevik Party had played in 1917...

#### *h) A Severe Repression*

Part of this edifice collapsed under the blows of repression from the beginning of the 1930s. Everywhere the organisation came under attack. The Soviet activists were cut off from the rest of the world. They were also deeply penetrated by provocateurs. Nevertheless, the situation in the USSR favoured them, as can be observed through the political evolution of I.N. Smirnov's group. He it was who, having established relations with Trotsky *via* Sedov, took the initiative of forming, in 1932, a bloc of oppositions, with the Zinoviev and Lominadze groups and the former leadership of the Komsomol.<sup>43</sup> However, the repression unleashed by Stalin in connexion with the Riutin affair brought this effort to naught.

A similar development took place in China. Three weeks after the unity conference and the establishment of the Communist League of China, the bulk of the oppositionist organisation, of which Chiang's police had knowledge, fell into their hands. Few of those arrested left

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<sup>43</sup> Broué, Trotsky et le bloc; Id.: Party Opposition to Stalin (1930–1932) and the First Moscow Trial. In: John W. Strong (ed.): Essays on Revolutionary Culture and Stalinism. Selected Papers from the Third World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, Columbus OH, Slavica, 1990, pp. 98–111.

Chiang's prisons alive. Chen Duxiu escaped this first wave of arrests and also the second, which came a few months later, but in the end, in 1932, he was taken, and thereafter all that survived was a little group of oppositionists existing in precarious clandestinity thanks to Frank Glass and to the American journalist Harold R. Isaacs, who hid Liu Renjing.<sup>44</sup>

The Indochinese oppositionists in France, arrested after a demonstration outside the Elysée in support of the mutineers of Yen-Bay in their home country, were expelled from France. Months had to pass before they were able to reorganise themselves in Indochina.

The Bulgarian oppositionists were arrested, and Gatchev began a prison term which lasted until the war. Clandestine like the party in which they were the opposition, the Yugoslav oppositionists did not escape the harsh repression directed against the Communist party.

These were serious losses. But they are not the only items on the debit side of the internal opposition's balance-sheet, for internal political crises did comparable damage.

#### *i) Permanent Crises*

Certain episodes remind one of the Day of Dupes. For example, the adhesion to the international opposition of the "three" members of the leadership of the PCI worsened relations with the Bordiga group, clenched in sectarian reclusion and faith in their leader, silent in Italy. The New Italian Opposition (NOI) was cut off from the base of the Communist émigrés, all of whom were very close to Bordiga's followers, and had the greatest difficulty in publishing a bulletin.

The choice of Rosmer as the "axis" for grouping the French opposition around *La Vérité* antagonised Paz. Souvarine broke with Trotsky, condemning his "precipitancy". Monatte "crossed the Rubicon" by supporting trade-union reunification with a section of the CGT bureaucracy. Soon, though, it was Rosmer himself who took off, blaming Trotsky for not supporting him against Raymond Molinier, whom he saw as an "adventurer" and possibly an "agent". Relations with Naville were very bad. The organisation was unable to keep Treint for more than a few months and petty splits grew frequent. The French section of the opposition was breaking up, and no longer commanded the authority which the moral rigour of someone like Rosmer had conferred on it.

A disaster of the same sort was experienced by the opposition in Germany, though that country held, as Trotsky wrote, "the key to the world situation." The United Left Opposition (Vereinigte Linke Opposition, VLO), born of the merger between the minority in the *Leninbund*, the small Bolshevik Unity group and what was left of the Wedding opposition, lasted for less than a year. Kurt Landau, who became its principal leader, showed himself to be a furious factionist, and the Stalinist agents inside the opposition, such as Roman Well and Jakob Frank, poured oil on the flames. It was Landau who, by his expulsions, took the initiative in bringing about the split that Well prayed for, to Trotsky's great indignation. The

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<sup>44</sup> Pierre Broué: Chen Duxiu et la IV<sup>e</sup> Internationale de 1937 à 1942. In: *CLT* (1983), 15, pp. 27–39; Damien Durand: La Naissance de l'Opposition de gauche chinoise. In: *CLT* (1983), 15, pp. 15–26.

German opposition was not, alas, strong enough to wage a victorious fight against the Stalinist line which opened the road to power for Hitler.<sup>45</sup>

In Czechoslovakia, when Neurath in 1932 recognised his mistake and broke with Brandler to draw close to the Left opposition, he was very badly received by the youngsters, and no good came of the years when thousands of German-speaking workers in Czechoslovakia who had followed him either went over to the Social-Democrats or gave up all activity.

#### *k) The Dead-End*

Down to the last moment Trotsky thought he would be able to revive in the Comintern and in some at least of its sections a few sparks of willingness to combat Nazism, and did not despair of a reawakening of the KPD, bound tight as it was by its bureaucracy and a policy of division covered by a vocabulary that was at once sectarian and opportunist, symbolised by the formula which turned Social-Democracy into "Social Fascism".

Will-power was not lacking among the German oppositionists, who went from meeting to meeting, calling on the workers to impose the united front on their leaders. They obtained a few successes, as at Oranienburg, where Helmut Schneeweiss organised united workers' militias that were to keep the Nazis out of the working-class districts for weeks after they had come to power.

Veterans like Oskar Seipold and Grylewicz toiled unsparingly. High quality was shown by young men like Erwin H. Ackerknecht, known as Bauer, a young doctor who led the organisation from the end of 1932; Oskar Hippe, one of the best organisers;<sup>46</sup> Heinz Epe, known as Walter Held, who came from the Ruhr; and Paul Wassermann, who led the work in the Left-wing Socialist Workers' Party (*Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei: SAP*). At the end of 1932 the German Left opposition received the help of Scholem and won over an old activist who had organised a clandestine opposition in the party in Berlin, Karl Ludwig, former editor of the *Volkswille*.<sup>47</sup> At the same moment, however, Well and Senin tried to organise a split and bring the oppositions into Stalin's camp – an operation which failed to come off but which was to weigh heavy in terms of discredit and discouragement.

In reality, the opposition lacked the capacity to organise the Communist activists whom it influenced, or the strength to effect a junction with those who turned at the last moment against the KPD's suicidal policy, so that such hardened Stalinists as Heinz Neumann and Hermann Remmele clashed with the party apparatus.

The picture was the same in Czechoslovakia. The influence of Trotsky and his writings on Germany and the tragic confirmation given them by events and Hitler's successes affected the very top ranks of the Czechoslovak CP, reaching not only Jan Šverma, who was a member of the opposition at the end of the 1920s, but the party's leader himself, Klement

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<sup>45</sup> Schafranek, *Das kurze Leben des Kurt Landau*.

<sup>46</sup> Oskar Hippe: *...und unsere Fahn' ist rot. Erinnerungen an sechzig Jahre in der Arbeiterbewegung*, Hamburg, Junius, 1979.

<sup>47</sup> Sedov papers, Stanford.



Gottwald, and the party's theoretician at that time, Josef Guttman, who was expelled as a "Trotskyist" and actually became one at the end of the 1930s.

The German opposition was, in fact, unable to reverse the KPD's line of capitulation to the Comintern apparatus, which opened the door to Hitler for a victory won without a fight. Even if we think that the German working class, divided, misled, bewildered, had no time to organise a struggle to survive, it remains true that the opposition was not able to "save" the KPD. And this is what constituted the decisive factor in the turn that Trotsky made in 1933.

When Trotsky proclaimed the "bankruptcy" of the KPD and then that of the Comintern and the other CPs, and took up a position in favour of new Communist parties and a Fourth International, he acknowledged the failure of his policy of "rectification". The opposition had failed to check the degeneration of the organisations which had been founded for and by the revolution.

A certain number of oppositionists clung to a policy and analyses that were clearly outdated. This was the case with the Archaeo-Marxists and with Spaniards such as Arlen, Vela and García Lavid, whom we know from recent discoveries to have entered the service of the Spanish Stalinists. It happened, too, with the Paris "Jewish group", the Italian Mario Bavassano, who supported it in 1933, and the "Balham group", who refused to enter the Independent Labour Party (ILP).

The fresh enthusiasm that Trotsky now showed corresponded to what he saw as a "new stage". The stage of "opposition" was definitely over. For him the Comintern and its parties were dead as revolutionary organisations.

#### *1) Balance Sheet and Explanation*

It remains to try and provide an explanation which is not a mere *post-mortem* or worship of the accomplished fact.

In the first place, it is not possible to draw up a balance sheet of an opposition in the CPs and the Comintern without taking account of the specific conditions of these bodies. It was no accident that Trotsky accorded such importance to the "old-timers", to Chen Duxiu, Rosmer, Grylewicz, Sneevliet. Not only had these men been pioneers of the Communist movement, their past was rooted in socialist, syndicalist and even national-democratic movements.

In the epoch of the opposition's struggle the CPs had achieved as yet only a superficial implantation: they hardly formed part of the traditions of their respective working classes, to which in contrast to the case with Bolshevism in Russia, they more often than not ran counter. And it was in this setting, which was artificial in that it was determined by relations with an external element, "Moscow", that the opposition tried to insert itself or to develop its influence.

In the period beginning in 1928, when the opposition was building its organisational cadre, the CPs pursued, at the instigation of the Stalinised Comintern, a leftist policy which alienated them from the broad mass of the workers, so that the KPD came to be a party made up of passers-by and of unemployed. What was more serious, the economic and social crisis put

the party apparatus – its functioning, but also the salaries of its officials – in a situation of tight dependence on financial "aid" from Moscow.

The oppositionist thus had to confront several repressions: as a Communist, that of the state and its police; as a trade-union activist, that of the Social-Democratic apparatus in the major groupings and that of the Stalinist apparatus in the "Red trade Unions"; and that of the employers, who put him on their "black lists".

Even though the situation was less grave than in Germany, the same features were to be found in France and in the United States. It was no accident that many activists were recruited among the immigrant workers, who were traditionally victims of super-exploitation but were also outside "the big battalions of the class." The members of the "Jewish group", influential in the opposition in Paris, were craftsmen who had been forced by poverty to leave their home countries and who were not subject to the pressure of the traditions, national and working-class, of the country where they had found refuge. The Jewish Communist activists of New York who published *Klorkheit* were at first in the same situation, but proved able to integrate themselves better into the work of the opposition, soon ceasing to operate as a "language group". The "Trotskyist" who was denounced in the USSR as a cosmopolitan and a Jew really was a cosmopolitan and often a Jew in the rest of Europe and the world, and that did not make life easier for him.

Everywhere the opposition bore the features of a sect. The corresponding ways and state of mind sometimes came from the CP itself. Thus, the KPÖ, favourite homeland of "factionism", bequeathed this tiresome characteristic to its opposition, for which Jan Frankel invented the disparaging term "Austro-oppositionism."

For most of the time, however, it was the conditions of existence and activity of these groups which determined their state of mind and their practices. Little groups gathered around a "chief" whom they regarded as being infallible – and who was only rarely Trotsky, he being rather in the position of God, but "so poorly informed"! – they were not so much factions or tendencies as cliques or clans.

The history of the national groups is that of a succession of crises and splits, sometimes of unifications, and rarely of reunifications. Splitting became a feature of everyday life. There was, indeed, no fear of material damage occurring, since the situation thus created, though certainly not any better, could not be any worse. Thus we see continuing to exist groups made up of a dozen members, drawing up "theses" and "platforms" and expecting the masses to be so good as to "recognise" them on the basis of their theorising: an attitude described by Trotsky as "propagandism".

On such foundations it was obviously not easy to maintain an effective barrier against "penetration" and, in particular, against the placing by Stalin of his agents, whether as *agents provocateurs* or not. There are plenty of examples of this, even if we are still far from knowing everything in this sphere. When the first split took place in Austria the "efforts" of Jakob Frank to bring about reunification resulted in the creation of a third organisation which he led for a few months before publicly requesting readmission to the CP. The two Soviet agents who were specially trained for this purpose, Abraham Sobolevicius, known as Adolf Senin, and his brother Ruvin, known as Roman Well, Schmidt or Sobolev, played an important role. Both

were members of the International Secretariat and, with Mill, constituted the majority in it. Activists who enjoyed Trotsky's confidence opened doors for them: thus, Raymond Molinier, in the fury of his fight against Rosmer, organised a "faction" with Mill, Well and Senin. Lev Sedov, who knew what was going on, did not inform Trotsky, because he shared the aim of the "faction", which was to get rid of Rosmer, whom he saw as protecting Pierre Naville and the "navillism" which he loathed.

The feature common to the policy of the "agents" was their desire to intensify internal disputes, to carry on as little political activity as possible, to pour oil on the flames of personal relations and to make their own contribution to an atmosphere poisoned with calumny and rumour, of which, though they had no monopoly, they were often the source. Thus, Pierre Frank presented to Trotsky as having been proved a diversion of correspondence with the Russians with which he charged Landau. Thus, Senin and the Soviet citizen Lepoladsky-Melev combined to assert to Trotsky that Landau was threatening to cause a scandal with letters from the USSR which he had managed to get hold of. There was no truth in all this, but Trotsky very soon became worried because Well had concluded so quickly in favour of expelling Landau, which meant, of course, a split, and so it was vital to transfer from Well to him the accusation of "splittism".

How can we be surprised, given these circumstances, at the rapid wearing-out and discouragement of the "old men". For many of these their entry into Communism, their joining a CP, had been a decision as important as their first step in the labour and revolutionary movements. And that had happened only ten years earlier. The correspondence of Rosmer exhibits this fatigue, this rejection of the methods and even the manners of younger activists who did not respect him and of whom he had no high opinion. How, after seeing his life's work twice destroyed, could he face a third such process unrolling before his eyes, with its ritual of ridiculous accusations and false charges, a spectacle which could only arouse in him a feeling of disgust?

Serious oppositionists consoled themselves by saying that they were not the first to know such demoralising conditions of life and struggle, that the Bolsheviks had also been a little group torn by splits before becoming in 1917 the mass party of the workers, triumphing in the first victorious revolution of the century.

To be sure, they were living in the ebb-tide that followed the defeat of the revolution in Europe after the German fiasco of 1923. They had no control over the factors of possible success – a fresh wave of workers' struggles that would bring hopes of revival. No such upsurge occurred between 1923 and 1933. True, the Chinese revolution coincided with the organisation and early development of the United Opposition, particularly in the USSR, but the defeat of the former announced the defeat of the latter and thrust back still further those who wanted to be the "vanguard".

After 1929 the world situation was wholly dominated by the crisis in Germany, the rise of Nazism and the joint efforts of the Social Democrats and the Stalinists to prevent any united front against this mortal danger. A change of policy by the KPD on this crucial question would doubtless have made it possible to begin a serious struggle for "rectification" and perhaps to reverse the situation. But that did not happen.

It seems, indeed, that Trotsky realised then that abandoning the prospect of "rectification", and so of opposition within the Third International, meant that definitive "victory" over capitalism and Stalinism was put off until an historical period which he would not live to see. The brief rise of the opposition had altogether proved, contrary to his forecast in *The New Stage*, to be just a "mere ripple" after the breaking of the wave in October.

## 2. *The Right Opposition*

The Right opposition was the other international trend in the Comintern. It, too, had its ideological source in the USSR, in the ideas of Bukharin and the trend led by him, Rykov and Tomsky.

This movement developed from the apparatus of the Comintern, into which Bukharin's presidency had brought a number of men who were devoted to his ideas and to him personally, and from the leadership of several national sections, including the KPD and the CP of the United States.

Its men were also old-timers, less distinguished, perhaps, than those of the Left opposition, but with more positions and more experience in the apparatus. To be mentioned are Jules Humbert-Droz, secretary of the International, and Thomas, his representative in Germany, and also the Italian Tasca, the Americans Lovestone and Bertram D. Wolfe, the Canadian MacDonald, the Swede Kilbom, the Spaniards Maurín and Gorkin, the Indian M.N. Roy and the Germans Brandler and Thalheimer, of course, together with Paul Fröhlich and Jakob Walcher, Rosa Luxemburg's old pupils.

In the period of Stalin's alliance with Bukharin the "Right" was rather a somewhat loose network, except in Germany, where it fought in 1928 for power in the party. It was Stalin's offensive in 1929 that compelled the personnel of the international apparatus to make a choice.<sup>48</sup>

One of the two parties that were still at this time controlled by Right oppositionists was the Swedish CP: a unique case, since it resisted the decree of the International and continued as a party for years after its expulsion. Everywhere else the "Rights" who did not agree to abjure found themselves expelled and made targets for attack by the reorganised parties.<sup>49</sup>

### a) *The German Right: the Brandlerists*

It was in 1921 that Heinrich Brandler was put at the head of the KPD, following the "leftist error" of the March Action. The selection was made by the leaders of the International and it was well-advised. Brandler was a solid worker-activist, an excellent organiser, a simple and popular man who had been one of the *Spartacus* group. He had a good entourage of men of his own age and of different experience, such as August Thalheimer, a talented journalist,

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<sup>48</sup> Theodor Bergmann: 50 Jahre KPD (Opposition), 30.12.1928 – 30.12.1978. Der Beitrag der KPD zur marxistischen Theorie und zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung. Versuch einer kritischen Würdigung, Hanover, SOAK-Verlag, 1978.

<sup>49</sup> Except where otherwise indicated, hereafter the source is Robert J. Alexander's work.

who was the party's theoretician at this time, and activists who had been tested in class battles, like Jakob Walcher, the trade-union organiser, Paul Böttcher, Paul Fröhlich and the bulk of the working-class Spartacist generation of the KPD, together with some of the "Independents" from the USPD.

For a whole period Brandler had responded to what was expected of him by the Comintern's leaders, with his very firm attitude – some considered it too firm – towards the "Left" of Ruth Fischer and Maslow, which he saw as Leftist and adventurist. Unconvinced that the German October was nigh, he nevertheless let himself be won over in Moscow by the enthusiasm of the Russians, and worked with them, especially Trotsky, in meticulously preparing for it.<sup>50</sup>

His obvious last-minute hesitations and the fact that it was he who gave the signal for retreat nevertheless assigned him the role of ready-made scapegoat for the terrible fiasco of 1923. Bewildered, Brandler thought he could extricate himself by blaming Trotsky. However, this recantation did not save him from removal from the party's leadership. In drawing the lesson of 1923 he and those close to him thereafter denied that revolution had been possible at that time, thereby setting up a wall between themselves and the Trotskyists.<sup>51</sup>

Exiled in Moscow, Brandler did not lose contact with his comrades, but rallied to the "wisdom" of the Russian Right. In November 1928 he thought the moment had arrived for his comeback. The KPD's Central Committee had discovered that one of the party's treasurers, Wittorf, had dipped into the till for personal ends and that the affair had been covered up and the guilty man protected by the all-powerful general secretary of the party, Stalin's protégé Ernst Thälmann. The Central Committee suspended Thälmann from his responsibilities, which Stalin saw as an act of *lèse-majesté*. The Central Committee was called upon to repudiate and break with the "Rights" who had led it into revolt. The majority bowed. Those who refused to bow were expelled and formed themselves into a party opposition (*KPD-Opposition*; KPO).<sup>52</sup> They did not manage to carry with them the "old lady", Rosa Luxemburg's comrade in arms, who had cautiously protected and encouraged them until then, Clara Zetkin, but they did succeed with "Comrade Thomas". The Right Opposition in the Comintern was born.

#### b) *The Lovestoneites*

Jay Lovestone (Jakob Liebshtein), the son of immigrants from Eastern Europe, had joined the CPUSA when very young and had at once plunged into the fight that was raging between the three rival factions. This man had remarkable abilities as an organiser and acquired the reputation of a redoubtable manoeuvrer, experienced in the quarrels within the party apparatus. Having become general secretary in 1927, receiving the endorsement of the party congress only later, he dominated the party for two years. Associated personally with Bukharin, he acted as his advisor on American affairs. He distinguished himself in 1928 by

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<sup>50</sup> Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*, pp. 305–328.

<sup>51</sup> Broué, *Revolution en Allemagne*, p. 792.

<sup>52</sup> Karl Hermann Tjaden: *Struktur und Funktion der KPD-Opposition (KPO). Eine organisationssoziologische Untersuchung zur Rechts-Opposition im deutschen Kommunismus zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik*, Meisenheim am Glan, Hain, 1964; Bergmann, *50 Jahre KPD (Opposition)*; and id., "Gegen den Strom". *Die Geschichte der Kommunistischen-Partei-Opposition*, Hamburg, VSA, 1987.

organising violence against the "Trotskyists", whose homes were broken into and ransacked and themselves assaulted and beaten, hundreds being expelled from the party.

But his own turn came, seemingly unexpected by him. He did not agree to Stalin's "proposals" when the latter wanted to bring him to Moscow to work in the Comintern, so as to isolate him from the American party. The resistance put up to this scheme by the American party's delegates in Moscow only made things worse. Stalin himself led the onslaught during the session of the Comintern's Presidium in May 1929. The disgraced leader had not even had time to leave Moscow when he was supplanted as head of the party, and he learnt two days after returning home that he had been expelled as one of a tumbril of between 150 and 200 activists, with whom he proceeded to found the CPUSA (Majority Group), which went on to publish first *Revolutionary Age*, then *Workers' Age*.

### c) *Other Groups*

Born in the apparatus, around men whose authority was also derived from the methods of the apparatus, the Right opposition, unlike the Left opposition, succeeded in taking out whole sections, regional organisations and even an entire party.

The PCI educated in the polemic against the Bordighist Left had been very close to Bukharin, and Ercoli (Palmiro Togliatti) did not hide this at the Sixth Congress. But Stalin knew how to overcome resistances from a party of émigrés. Togliatti capitulated. Angelo Tasca (Serra) was expelled, along with Ignacio Silone (Pasquini). Togliatti bowed.

It was from the Swiss Communists that resistance came to Stalin's decision – taken without even convening the Presidium of the Comintern – to compel the German Central Committee to restore Thälmann to his functions. Humbert-Droz wired his disagreement and stood firm in face of Stalin when the Presidium met. He was supported by Clara Zetkin. For reasons unknown Stalin spared him and kept him under close supervision in the Comintern apparatus.

In this way the damage in Switzerland was kept within limits. All it amounted to was that the CP's Schaffhausen organisation, led by Walter Bringolf, refused to follow Humbert-Droz's advice and was expelled. The Swiss Communist opposition formed around Schaffhausen, with its press, apparatus and deputies, had for a time an influence, electoral and social, that was much greater than that of the official party in this region.

There was no Humbert-Droz in Sweden. The CP, led until now by Karl Kilbom, followed almost in its entirety the leaders who were expelled, taking with it the apparatus, the press, positions in the trade unions and elsewhere and the majority of the Communist electorate. The Norwegian opposition group of Erling Falk, with the review *Mot Dag*, and the Finnish and Danish groups followed from afar the example of Stockholm. They all threw themselves into trade-union work which brought them positions that they maintained on a line of "loyal opposition" to the reformist bureaucracy. The influence of the Brandlerists was at the outset the determining factor for all these groups.

In Spain a whole section of the CP – one-third of its members – left the party after the expulsion of its Catalan-Balearic Federation headed by Joaquín Maurín. This Federation was

soon joined by a small party which was in trouble with the Comintern because of its "Catalanist" tendencies, the *Partit Comunista Catalá*. Maurín and his comrades also blamed the Comintern for an opportunist line which called on the Communists to participate in the parody of a Cortes under Primo de Rivera. Nevertheless, they were classified as "Rights" because their international contacts and Maurín's personal friendships – he was Souvarine's brother-in-law – were on the Right.<sup>53</sup>

It was likewise on the national question that the CP of Alsace found itself embattled on the side of the Right opposition, owing to the PCF's refusal to take account of partial national demands. It carried with it the overwhelming majority of the Alsatian Communists and those who voted for them.

The Right opposition in Czechoslovakia no longer had with it, when it came into being in October 1929, a sector of the party apparatus, but it did control the "Red trade unions" of the International All-Trade Union Organisations, which had 40,000 members. With a membership of 6,000 at the start, through the adhesion of men like Neurath from the Left, it controlled the People's Houses and other labour-movement institutions. Trotsky fought hard against his comrades in Czechoslovakia who thought that the Right opposition could provide a common shelter for different political "families" in the party.

The Indian M.N. Roy was one of the stars of the Comintern in its early days, before becoming an admirer of Stalin – who looked on him, however, as a "Bukharinist" and began persecuting him quite soon. Expelled in Moscow in 1927 and established in Berlin, Roy linked up with Brandler and, especially, with Thalheimer, who became, as Roy put it, his *guru*. He was to return to India to form there a Communist opposition which he wanted to follow the original Communist line in China, by working within the Congress Party.

A faction in a faction that was small already, the Right opposition in Austria, founded in 1929, is worth mentioning only because it was headed by the former youth leader Willi Schlamm, who, after 1933, edited in exile for some months the journal *Die Neue Weltbühne*.

The persons in the Communist movement in Canada who led the Montreal and Toronto groups, Jack MacDonald and William Moriarty, played no role independent of Lovestone's opposition. Willem van Ravesteyn and David Wijnkoop formed in 1926 an opposition CP in the Netherlands.<sup>54</sup> Diego Rivera, a personal friend of Bertram D. Wolfe, gave money to the Right opposition but did not join it.

#### *d) The Programme of the International Right Opposition*

The United International Communist Opposition (UICO, or *Internationale Vereinigte Kommunistische Opposition*, IVKO) was born in 1930 at a congress in Berlin at which the

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<sup>53</sup> Victor Alba, Stephen Schwartz: Spanish Marxism versus Soviet Communism. A History of the P.O.U.M., New Brunswick, Transaction Books, 1988, pp. 1–88.

<sup>54</sup> The Communist Party of Holland Central Committee (Communistische Partij Holland-Centraal Comite; CPH-CC). Robert J. Alexander (The Right Opposition, p. 272) is mistaken when he confuses this party with the Revolutionary Socialist Labour Party (Revolutionair Socialistische Arbeiderspartij; RSAP), which was founded in 1935 through a merger of the RSP and the Independent Socialist Party (Onafhankelijke Socialistische Partij; OSP).

report was presented by Lovestone. He described the movement "not as a new Comintern" but as "the organisational centre for the restoration and reconstruction of the Communist International".<sup>55</sup>

The programmatic "Platform" recalled the "basic principles" of "Communism", "the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat, in the form of a Soviet state, as the necessary transition to a classless socialist society" and "defence of the Soviet Union as a workers' state." The means was to be a united world-wide party, governed by the rules of democratic centralism. It was defined for the moment as a "tactical tendency organised within the Comintern". To achieve its aim, a relentless struggle must be waged against both open reformism and the hidden reformism of the centrists. The programme criticises the Stalinist theory of the "third period" which, it claimed, "results not from a real analysis of world capitalism but from a schematic transference of the main stages of socialist construction in the Soviet Union." The programme positioned itself for the united front, the aim of which "is to win for Communism the majority of the working class" and to organise the workers' struggle. It condemned the policy of splitting the trade unions and advocated reunification wherever there had been a split. As regards the party's internal regime, the programme emphasised the need for an international leadership which should be "united and centralised, based on representatives of the parties who are able to make their own evaluation of class relations in their respective countries and who are not mere functionaries of the international leadership but representatives who actually enjoy the confidence of their own sections." It called for election of officials, organisation of genuine discussions, free discussion before action was decided on, and expulsion of corrupt elements. It demanded restoration of party membership for "everyone expelled for opposing the present ultra-left line."<sup>56</sup>

One is surprised by the programme's absolute silence on policy within the USSR. The leaders of the Right opposition were known as Bukharinists, and some of them were even personal friends of Bukharin. It would be childish to imagine that their silence was due to fear of compromising their Soviet friends. They account for it themselves, even though in a rather formal way, by their care to let those concerned have the first say on the affairs of each country. The Brandlerists, they said, had not allowed the Russian party to interfere in Germany, and it was precisely for that reason that they were refraining from any comment on the policy of their Russian comrades. The Left opposition people said that Brandler, in particular, always hoped that Stalin would come to his senses and that, faced with the imminent disaster brought on by his henchmen, would appeal again to those who had been loyal and discreet opponents of his policy and the enemies of his enemies. This was, in any case, an attitude which led Brandler to denounce loudly "the Trotskyists" and to approve of the first two of the Moscow trials.

#### *e) Rise and Decline*

The Right opposition began by scoring successes everywhere that it possessed firm bases of support, in so far as it attracted those who were disgusted with the sectarianism and absurdity of the "third period" policy. But, while refusing to distance itself from Stalin's policy

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<sup>55</sup> *Revolutionary Age*, 7 March 1931.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 April 1931.



in the USSR, it also had great difficulty in differentiating itself from the Left Social Democrats who were also fighting for the united front.

There are, of course, unsettled questions regarding membership numbers. Were there 1,000 or 6,000 Brandlerists in 1929? Did the Lovestoneites number 300 or 1,500? The truth is hard to establish.

Brandler's German KPO had, to start with, a solid organisation with eight weeklies printing a total of 25,000 copies and a daily paper, *Arbeiterpolitik*. In its strongholds, such as Thuringia, the KPO got some good electoral results, down to 1932, when it had 21 municipal councillors and the KPD had 38. It had activists in the trade unions, especially in the steel industry union (*Deutscher Metallarbeiter-Verband*; DMV). Its propaganda was centred on the need for a united front against the Nazis and criticism of the divisive policies of the SPD and KPD.

The Swiss KPO had practically taken over the inheritance of the official party in Schaffhausen, with sufficient support in that area to ensure in 1932 the election of Walter Bringolf as Mayor of Schaffhausen. The Swedish CP had stood up bravely to the attacks by the "official" CP which the Comintern had reconstituted, and won even more votes than that party in the elections of 1932, although its position in the trade unions was rather weak.

Lovestone's group in the United States was distinguished by its exceptional skill in the field of organisation. It published a good weekly, *Workers' Age*, and some specialised organs, including a journal in Yiddish. It established close relations with intellectuals who leaned towards Marxism, such as V.F. Calverton, and played a considerable role in *Modern Monthly* and *Marxist Review*. Above all, it very soon placed its activists in the trade unions, starting with Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and was able to give confidence to a number of officials who were rebelling against the AFL bureaucracy. Convinced of "American exceptionalism", it knew how to adapt itself to the circles it penetrated, and acquired an influence well beyond its actual size.

A man on his own, M.N. Roy was undoubtedly the Right-wing Communist who effected the most impressive breakthrough. He sent out from Berlin a manifesto which explained that the CP of India was unable to attract the masses and that India could not become a Soviet Republic in the near future. The Communists' duty was to free the revolutionary independence movement from bourgeois influence and, to this end, they had to lay siege to the national mass organisations, primarily the Congress party. The few months of activity that Roy enjoyed between his return to India at the end of December 1930 and his arrest at the end of July 1931 enabled him to lay some foundations. Having entered the Congress Party, the Royists formed within it the Action Committee for Independence and, later, the League for Independence. Roy himself achieved a position of hegemony in the wings of the Central Peasants' League. After his arrest his comrades gained important positions – two vice-presidencies – in the All India Trade Union Committee (AITUC), which they sought to lead towards unity.

Connected only very remotely with the Right opposition, the members of Maurín's Catalan-Balearic Federation, which had become the *Federación Comunista Ibérica*, with, grouped around it, the Workers and Peasants Bloc (*Bloque Obrero y Campesino*; BOC), also had big successes, with their Barcelona journal *La Batalla* and their activists well placed in the trade

unions, especially in Catalonia. They were to play an important part in 1934 with the slogan of "Alianza Obrera", which was taken up by wide sections of the labour movement and with the part played by their people in the revolt in the Asturias.

Yet these promising developments failed to produce the fruits that were counted on at the beginning of the 1930s. This was because, first, recruitment, which had been effected at the start from the ranks of the party memberships, was not renewed to any great extent, and also because these oppositions seemed to be so many coteries, each with its own language and look, at the very moment when there was a new stirring of activity among the masses. Then, because the attitude of the leaders towards the internal policy of the USSR was less and less comprehensible to many, above all in the opposition's own ranks. Brandler hoped to be taken back and, as we have seen, defended the verdicts in the Moscow trials of 1936 and 1937. The Lovestoneites had the same attitude, though perhaps a little more aggressively, with Lovestone joining in 1934 in the shouting against "Kirov's murderers", denouncing Trotsky's statements about "Thermidor", "civil war" and Stalin's crimes, and insisting in 1936 that no-one could doubt the confessions of the accused in the trials. What at the start had given them an advantage over a Left opposition that was too "Russian" now turned into a weakness, since they had nothing to say on the question around which the principal differentiation was taking place.

Fundamentally, the sections of the Right opposition were very soon torn apart by centrifugal trends. Where they enjoyed mass influence, as in Czechoslovakia, Sweden and Schaffhausen, they were tempted to "regularise" a situation which made them a reasonable socialist alternative to Stalinism by joining the Social Democrats and their Left wing, which was starting to develop on a serious scale. Elsewhere the activists of the Right Opposition turned towards solutions that might have enabled them to approach the most militant and youngest sections and "win them for Communism". This was the case with the minorities in Germany and in the United States. As Hitler's accession to power drew nigh, since the "rectification" had not been accomplished, more and more numerous were the activists who wanted to take the path of creating a "new party", coming round to the point of view adopted by Trotsky in 1933.

Unhappy with Brandler's openly pro-Stalinist position and considering that it was not possible to remain silent on the USSR while criticising the Comintern's policy in Germany, Alois Neurath went over in 1932 to the Left opposition. In January 1933 most of the Right opposition in the Czech lands, led by Muna and Berger, decided to join the Social-Democratic Party.

After the failure of Humbert-Droz's negotiations with the Comintern for reintegration of the Schaffhausen group in the Swiss CP, Bringolf joined the Socialist Party, into which he was soon to be followed by... Humbert-Droz.

From this time forward Maurín's comrades concerned themselves little with struggle inside the Spanish CP and dreamt of creating a new party. This was formed in September 1935 by a merger of the BOC with a whole series of smaller organisations, including the *Izquierda Comunista*, which had emerged from the Left opposition. The new party was the Workers Party of Marxist Unification (*Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista*; POUM). The history of the POUM, murdered during the civil war on the charge of "Trotskyism", obviously falls

outside the limits of this study, for it cannot be linked historically in an exclusive way with either the Left or the Right opposition.

Actually, the Right opposition, like the CPs themselves in the 1920s and like the Left opposition from its birth, was subject to successive splits. In the United States it was abandoned by Ben Gitlow and then by Herbert Zam, who joined an "all-inclusive" Socialist Party. Others were to be attracted by the regrouping which the Trotskyists tried to bring about after giving up their "opposition" line, in particular, first of all, with A. J. Muste's American Workers Party (AWP) which became the Workers' Party of the United States. The Right opposition in the USA survived only as a "network" and perhaps a group of friends, down to the war, when Lovestone made his turn to the *union sacrée*. The line was drawn.

In Germany the Walcher-Fröhlich minority raised much earlier the question of attitude towards Stalinism and the need to create a new party, even a new International. At the beginning of 1932 this group left the KPO and joined the SAP, an organisation with several tens of thousands of members which had broken away to the Left from the SPD and which Walcher was hopeful of "winning for Communism". Checked in its new advance by Hitler's victory, the SAP (led by Walcher after 1933) was to work with the Trotskyists, signing the "Letter of the Four" in favour of a new International in 1934, and then to join the Popular Front.<sup>57</sup> The KPO shook off its pro-Stalinist routine in the Spanish war. At the end of the world war, however, Brandler, returning from exile in Cuba, still thought he might be readmitted to the KPD.

In 1933 the Swedish CP, which was also attracted by the power of the Social-Democratic parties in Scandinavia, broke with the international opposition and became a "socialist" party. The Alsatians ended up in a much worse way. Their deputy J.P. Mourer voted in 1935 for the Doumergue Government, and the group itself, in its "autonomist" zeal, linked up with groups that were manipulated by the Nazis, which carried it very far out during the war. The opposition in Czechoslovakia remained restricted to the Asch region down to 1938, and vanished when Hitler's troops entered.

M.N. Roy, released in 1936, came almost at once up against a group that was operating on his own territory, the Congress Socialist party, which he called a "petty-bourgeois group" and blamed for talking too much about its "socialist" aim. Attached to Stalin, he kept his distance from the international opposition, which he considered too anti-Stalinist in 1938, and broke with Communism, taking his followers with him.

In February 1938 the remains of the Right opposition took part in a regrouping of organisations, most of whom belonged to the London Bureau initiated by the British ILP and the German SAP, with a view to "gathering together, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, all forces ready to co-operate in the revolutionary struggle against all imperialist forces, against the so-called democratic capitalist powers as well as against the fascist

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<sup>57</sup> Hanno Drechsler: Die Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (SAPD). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung am Ende der Weimarer Republik, Meisenheim am Glan, Hain, 1965.

powers, against imperialist exploitation, war and poverty." The revolutionary Marxist international, formally constituted in April 1939, did not survive the war.<sup>58</sup>

It is difficult to give a date for the disappearance of the Right opposition. Its historian, Robert J. Alexander, wonders about what seems to him a paradox: "... although the Right opposition as a group remained loyal to the formal 'Communist Opposition' idea much longer than did Trotsky and his followers, when they finally broke with the notion they went much further than the Trotskyists in repudiating the whole of Marxism-Leninism."<sup>59</sup> The explanation given by the American historian is that the "Rights" had no body of doctrine around which to rebuild themselves, whereas "Trotskyism" existed, meaning the theoretical corpus around which the former Left-oppositionists and their successors gathered.

The difference between the two oppositional groups would thus, in this view, consist simply in the fact that Trotsky, expelled from the USSR, was able to express himself, develop and adapt his teachings, whereas Bukharin, *de facto* a prisoner in the USSR, was unable either to theorise or to make this known, although there was potentially present in his ideas a questioning of "Leninism" that was not to be found in Trotsky.

This explanation, though ingenious, fails to convince. It even seems to me to be too sophisticated. It was its neutrality on the matter of the Soviet Union's policy that constituted the "Achilles' heel" of the Right opposition. One may think what one likes of Trotsky's system of ideas. It cannot be denied, though, that it offered a coherence in the domain of ideas, a dialectical link with the development in progress, and that it contributed, on the way, those thousand-and-one verifications which have caused Trotsky to be described, wrongly, as a "prophet". And on the USSR he expressed himself clearly. What credit could be claimed for those Communist leaders (even in the realm of coherence of ideas, let alone in respect of honesty and morality) who for years approved or were silent about the crimes committed by Stalin against his own party and Lenin's comrades?

Recent experience shows, after all, that Stalinism and the demoralisation which it engenders, whether one is executioner or victim, are the quickest road for passing from Communism to the hardest anti-Communism. Was that not the fate of Lovestone, to take the most extreme case?

At all events, it is in this sense that the history of the oppositions in the Comintern, even though expelled from it, is an integral part of the history of the Communist International itself.

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<sup>58</sup> Willy Buschak: Das Londoner Büro. Europäische Linksozialisten in der Zwischenkriegszeit, Amsterdam, IISG, 1985.

<sup>59</sup> Alexander, The Right Opposition, p.12.

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## **“I have no qualms about ... having shown Soviet Russia just like it is”: Aleksandr Lozovskii’s 1920 Reports About Travels with Foreign Delegates**

### **Introduction**

Travel reports were among the first texts published outside Soviet Russia about the Bolshevik regime. They have shaped the Western debates about Bolshevik power from the very beginning, and have resulted in an extensive research literature.<sup>1</sup> More recently, historians have begun to focus on the visits that produced these speculative and often spectacular reports. Older historiography tended to focus on the elements of deception by the Soviet authorities in orchestrating visits for foreign intellectuals, artists and politicians.<sup>2</sup> More recent research, however, fuelled by the opening of the archives after the collapse of the Soviet Union, has painted a more detailed and nuanced picture. Michael David-Fox, in his recent monograph on early Soviet cultural diplomacy, shows how the intentions of the Soviet authorities were to “showcase” not Soviet reality, but models of a near future to such visitors. Similarly, David-Fox examines the effects of such encounters within the Soviet Union itself.<sup>3</sup> Most recently, Anne Hartmann has analysed Lion Feuchtwanger’s 1937 journey to Stalinist Russia, which resulted in his infamous travel report “Moscow 1937”. By examining Soviet internal documentation of this journey, such as surveillance reports on the German writer, Hartmann not only shows that Feuchtwanger’s outlook on Stalin and the Great Terror was more ambiguous than his published report suggests, but also highlights the choreography and logistics of such visits, and the different levels of agency involved.<sup>4</sup> All in all, the ‘archival

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<sup>1</sup> Bernhard Furler: *Augen-Schein. Deutschsprachige Reportagen über Sowjetrusland 1917–1939*, Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1987; Herta Wolf: *Glauben machen. Über deutschsprachige Reiseberichte aus der Sowjetunion, 1918–1932*, Wien, Sonderzahl, 1992; Christiane Uhlig: *Utopie oder Alptraum? Schweizer Reiseberichte über die Sowjetunion 1917–1941*, Zürich, Rohr, 1992; Ludmila Stern: *Western Intellectuals and the Soviet Union, 1920–40. From Red Square to the Left Bank*, London, Routledge, 2007; Inka Zahn: *Reise als Begegnung mit dem Anderen? Französische Reiseberichte über Moskau in der Zwischenkriegszeit*, Bielefeld, Aisthesis-Verlag, 2008. I am highly indebted to Brendan McGeever for proofreading and valuable feedback.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Hollander: *Political Pilgrims. Travels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba, 1928–1978*, Lanham MD, University Press of America, 1990.

<sup>3</sup> Michael David-Fox: *Showcasing the Great Experiment. Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to the Soviet Union, 1921–1941*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012. See also: Michael David-Fox: *The Fellow Travelers Revisited. The “Cultured West” through Soviet Eyes*. In: *Journal of Modern History* 75 (2003), 2, pp. 300–335.

<sup>4</sup> Anne Hartmann: „Ich kam, ich sah, ich werde schreiben“. Lion Feuchtwanger in Moskau 1937. Eine Dokumentation, Göttingen, Wallstein Verlag, 2017.

revolution' had a profound impact on researching not only the arcana of Soviet politics, but also such assumingly well-worn topics as foreign travels to the 'land of the Soviets'.

This new historiography on foreigners' visits to the Soviet Union has mostly focussed on either prominent intellectuals or 'bourgeois' specialists. What has received comparatively less attention, however, are the visits of so-called 'workers' delegates' to Russia. During the early period of Bolshevik rule, from Civil War to New Economic Policy (NEP), visits by foreign workers and labour movement activists were of considerable political importance to the regime. While convincing international bourgeois intellectuals of the superiority of the Soviet state was certainly important, winning over international labour movement activists was of significantly more value to the regime, not just in terms of striving for Communist hegemony within the international labour movement, but also given the initial focus of Soviet politics on world revolution. A worldwide revolutionary transformation required proletarian allies, not bourgeois sympathisers. Those foreign workers and revolutionaries visiting Soviet Russia represented a direct link to both imagined and real class allies abroad. Although workers' delegations were a popular topic in the largely uncritical historiography produced in the Eastern Bloc,<sup>5</sup> the subject has received little attention since the opening of the archives. Studies of the structures and practices of the Soviet authorities in relations to these workers' delegations are few and far between.<sup>6</sup>

In the second half of the 1920s, invitations to 'Workers' delegations' and the orchestration of their journeys through the Soviet Union became a staple feature of Soviet cultural diplomacy, or, to be more precise, the wing of Soviet cultural diplomacy directed towards the international labour movement and its organisations. Beginning in 1925 with an invitation for a German workers' delegation to visit the Soviet Union at the behest of the workers of Leningrad's Putilov factory (though on the instructions of the Politburo)<sup>7</sup>, these visitations evolved into a veritable "industry": Between April 1925 and October 1926 alone, 25 foreign workers' delegations visited the USSR, encompassing several hundred participants. The high point was the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution in 1927, when numerous workers'

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<sup>5</sup> For just some examples, see: Claus Remer: *Deutsche Arbeiterdelegation in der Sowjetunion. Die Bedeutung der Delegationsreisen für die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung in den Jahren 1925/1926*, Berlin(-Ost), Rütten & Loening, 1963; K. T. Luk'ianov: *Nemetskie rabochie delegacii v SSSR, 1925–1932 gg.* In: *Ezhegodnik germanskoi istorii* (1974), pp. 113–136. Despite this interest in workers' delegations in the 1960s and 1970s, the topic received next to no attention on the other side of the Iron Curtain. For a few exceptions: Albert S. Lindemann: *The 'Red Years'. European Socialism Versus Bolshevism, 1919–1921*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1974; Daniel Calhoun: *The United Front. The TUC and the Russians, 1923–1928*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1976.

<sup>6</sup> Hans Schafranek: *Die Avantgarde der Einäugigen. Österreichische Arbeiterdelegationen in der UdSSR*. In: Barry McLoughlin, Hans Schafranek, Walter Szevera (eds.): *Aufbruch – Hoffnung – Endstation. Österreicherinnen und Österreicher in der Sowjetunion, 1925–1945*, Wien, Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1996, pp. 13–48; Matthias Heeke: *Reisen zu den Sowjets. Der ausländische Tourismus in Russland 1921–1941*, Münster, LIT Verlag, 2003; Aleksandr V. Golubev: *'...Vzgliad na zemliu obetovannuiu'. Iz istorii sovetskoi kul'turnoi diplomatii 1920–1930-kh godov*, Moskva, IRI RAN, 2004; David-Fox, *Showcasing the Great Experiment*, p. 102ff; Kevin Morgan: *Bolshevism, Syndicalism, and the General Strike. The Lost Internationalist World of A.A. Purcell*, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 2013. My contribution draws from my own engagement with the historical practices of workers' delegations. See: Gleb J. Albert: *Das Charisma der Weltrevolution. Revolutionärer Internationalismus in der frühen Sowjetgesellschaft 1917–1927*, Köln, Böhlau Verlag, 2017.

<sup>7</sup> Albert, *Das Charisma der Weltrevolution*, p. 502.

delegations were invited for the celebration.<sup>8</sup> Over the course of the second half of the 1920s, these tours through the Soviet provinces took on a highly standardised form, with preferred routes, mandatory precautions and enthusiastic coverage in both the Soviet and foreign communist press.<sup>9</sup>

However, the first delegation of this type was far from routine for the Soviet authorities. In 1920, the British Labour Party announced their wish to send a fact-finding mission to Soviet Russia. Despite the Labour Party having been denounced as reformists by the Bolsheviks, the Soviet authorities accepted the request, though not without a heated internal debate about how to treat these delegates. Lenin stressed the importance of giving the Labour delegates a hostile reception; Georgii Chicherin and Karl Radek, meanwhile, argued for a more courteous approach. Radek and Chicherin won the day,<sup>10</sup> and thus the Soviet authorities had to come up with a full programme that would provide the delegates with as positive an outlook on Soviet Russia as possible – especially given the prominence of the members of the delegation.

The visiting group comprised the three party delegates – Ethel Snowden, Tom Shaw and Robert Harris –, the chairman Ben Turner, and the joint secretaries Charles Roden Buxton and L. Haden Guest. In addition, the delegation included three representatives of the Trades Union Congress (including the future leader of the 1926 general strike, A.A. Purcell), two delegates from the Independent Labour Party, a number of journalists, and the well-known philosopher Bertrand Russell.<sup>11</sup> The group arrived in Petrograd on 11 May, only to leave for Moscow the next day, where they would remain until 28 May, before travelling to Nizhnii Novgorod to board the steamship “Belinskii” for a cruise down the Volga River, towards Saratov. Part of the delegation returned to Moscow to visit the frontline of the Soviet-Polish war near Smolensk, while others continued by ship to Astrakhan.<sup>12</sup> All in all, the British delegates spent more than six weeks in Soviet Russia.

On their arrival in Petrograd, the Labour delegation had been met at the train station by Aleksandr Lozovskii and Anzhelika Balabanova,<sup>13</sup> two high-ranking Bolsheviks with years of personal experience – and, in the case of Balabanova, a figure with an outstanding reputation – in the international labour movement. Lozovskii was entrusted by the Party to accompany the delegation on their trip down the Volga.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 501; Jean-François Fayet: Preface. In: Jean-François Fayet, Valérie Gorin, Stefanie Prezioso (eds.): *Echoes of October. International Commemorations of the Bolshevik Revolution 1918–1990*, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 2017, pp. 6–27, here pp. 8–9.

<sup>9</sup> Schafranek, *Die Avantgarde der Einäugigen*; Christoph Mick: *Sowjetische Propaganda, Fünfjahrplan und deutsche Rußlandpolitik*, Stuttgart, Steiner, 1995; Jürgen Zarusky: *Die deutschen Sozialdemokraten und das sowjetische Modell. Ideologische Auseinandersetzung und außenpolitische Konzeptionen 1917–1933*, München, Oldenbourg, 1992; Ulrich Eumann: *Eigenwillige Kohorten der Revolution. Zur regionalen Sozialgeschichte des Kommunismus in der Weimarer Republik*, Frankfurt am Main, Lang, 2007; Albert, *Das Charisma der Weltrevolution*.

<sup>10</sup> Stephen White: *British Labour in Soviet Russia, 1920*. In: *The English Historical Review* 109 (1994), 432, pp. 621–640, here p. 635; Jonathan Davis: *Left Out in the Cold. British Labour Witnesses the Russian Revolution*. In: *Revolutionary Russia* 18 (2005), 1, pp. 71–87, here p. 76.

<sup>11</sup> Davis, *Left Out in the Cold*, p. 74.

<sup>12</sup> *British Labour Delegation to Russia 1920. Report*, London, Trade Union Congress, The Labour Party, 1921, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Davis, *Left Out in the Cold*, p. 75.

Shortly after their guided tour through the Volga region, another group of foreign labour movement activists began to pour into Soviet Russia: the delegates of the Second World Congress of the Communist International (Comintern). The Second Congress, which was to take place from 19 July through to 7 August, was a crucial moment in Comintern history: not only was it its first “real congress” (Pierre Broué),<sup>14</sup> featuring delegates from real mass parties and movements, it was also its politically most diverse gathering, with groups and parties sending representatives and observers from the left social-democratic USPD through to council communist and even anarcho-syndicalist organisations. At the same time, from the Bolshevik perspective, this was the congress tasked with separating the wheat from the chaff in the international communist movement: it was there that the famous “21 Conditions” were put forward.

The treatment of the diverse group guests arriving for the congress was therefore of utmost strategic importance for the Bolsheviks. They had to win sympathetic, yet wavering labour movement leaders for the cause; at the same time, they had to marginalise those candidates deemed unreliable. Albert S. Lindemann has analysed these careful manoeuvres with respect to the Italian and French delegates. The delegates of the French SFIO and the Italian Socialist Party – both parties yet unaligned to the Comintern – arrived several weeks prior to the congress, and their treatment could not have been more contrasting. While the Italian group around Giacinto Serrati was met with warmth and fanfare, French delegates, Ludovic-Oscar Frossard and Marcel Cachin – the latter still being widely viewed as a reformist and war supporter –, were not even welcomed at the train station.<sup>15</sup>

A few weeks before the congress, Balabanova wrote a letter to the Small Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Congress delegates, she wrote, “strongly desire to go on a trip to Nizhnii Novgorod and down the Volga, just like the English delegation”. It was, as Balabanova stressed, of utmost political importance to grant the Comintern delegates their wish, as “[t]hey had been promised such an opportunity, and a non-fulfilment would have a rather negative impact on their relations [with us].” According to her, Lenin had already approved of this plan and had commanded Lozovskii with the organisation of the trip.<sup>16</sup>

Lozovskii was, on one hand, the perfect candidate for such an undertaking. Having spent almost a decade in European exile and having been active in the French trade unions, he spoke various languages and had first-hand knowledge of the European labour movement. Also, after overseeing the British Labour delegation, he had a certain degree of routine in organising such tours. On the other hand, however, he was not exactly known as a steadfast follower of the Party line. Having joined the Bolsheviks only in mid-1917, he had been expelled from the Party only a few months later, in December, and it was only in December 1919, not even a year before the events described here, that he was allowed to rejoin.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Pierre Broué: *Histoire de l'Internationale Communiste, 1919–1943*, Paris, Fayard, 1997, p. 160.

<sup>15</sup> Albert S. Lindemann: *Socialist Impressions of Revolutionary Russia 1920*. In: *Russian History* (1974), 1, pp. 31–45; Albert S. Lindemann: *Entering the Comintern. Negotiations Between the Bolsheviks and Western Socialists at the Second Congress of the Communist International 1920*. In: *Russian History* (1974), 2, pp. 136–167.

<sup>16</sup> Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI), Moscow, 489/1/51, 1: Letter from Anzhelika Balabanova to the Small Bureau of the ECCI, undated.

<sup>17</sup> On Lozovskii's biography, see Reiner Tosstorff: *Alexander Lozovsky. Sketch of a Bolshevik Career*. In: *Socialist History* (2009), 24, pp. 1–19.



Perhaps this still precarious position is one of the reasons Lozovskii left such detailed reports of the Volga journeys: he had to prove himself anew as a reliable Party member.

This second Volga trip, with a steamer full of Comintern delegates (the full list of passengers has not yet been uncovered), began on 1 July and continued for twelve days. Lindemann characterises the journey as “a standard ‘prepared’ tour for foreign visitors to Russia [... ] undoubtedly designed to mask some of the most unpleasant or damning aspects of Bolshevik rule.”<sup>18</sup> Elsewhere, Lindemann stresses that the transformation of the Italian and French delegates in their attitude towards the Comintern and Soviet Russia cannot be explained without taking into account their experiences and treatment in Russia<sup>19</sup>. However, the Volga journey is only covered by Lindemann in passing. The reports by Lozovski published here show, for the first time, that both this journey and its predecessor (for Labour Party delegates) were far more than “standard ‘prepared’ tour[s]”.

Firstly, the reports shed light on the roots of certain ‘conversion moments’ of European labour movement leaders. One can take the example of Angel Pestaña, the representative of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT). His Moscow journey played a crucial role in the CNT’s decision not to join the Comintern and Pestaña’s distancing from communism. His report from the Moscow journey which he gave in Spain mentions the cruise on the Volga only briefly.<sup>20</sup> As Lozovskii’s report shows, however, this briefness might have been caused by the fact that the journey was a personal embarrassment for Pestaña, having been forced, as an anarcho-syndicalist, into giving a speech against ‘backward workers’. Another example is Cachin, who underwent the quite astonishing transformation from a ‘social patriot’ fiercely denounced by the Bolsheviks to a founding figure and doyen of French communism. Lozovskii’s report hints at the importance of this journey in the political evolution of Cachin: Lozovskii’s role as ‘tour guide’ appears to have contributed greatly to Cachin’s conversion to Communism.

Secondly, and even more importantly, the reports show in great detail the very early development of “orders of seeing and showing” (Anne Hartmann) and the “technology of hospitality” (G. B. Kulikova) in relation to foreign delegates.<sup>21</sup> Lozovskii’s guided tours, in contrast to *ex-post* images of tough Bolshevik control, appear largely improvised, with decisions taken on the spot, occurrences of local confusion, and a large portion of self-will on behalf of the foreign delegates. Also, the reports lay bare the importance that such visits had on the lower strata of the regime – the party, soviet and trade union activists and officials at the local level. Lozovskii details that the delegations “received invitations from all over. Every town wanted to show us around.” Moreover, “everywhere we were told that our arrival made the work of the local organisations easier [...] and showed the non-believers that the

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<sup>18</sup> Lindemann, *The ‘Red Years’*, p. 181.

<sup>19</sup> Lindemann, *Socialist Impressions*, p. 45.

<sup>20</sup> Angel Pestaña: Report on the Action Taken by the Delegate Angel Pestaña at the Second Congress of the Third International Which Was Presented by Him to the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, ed. by Francisco J. Romero Salvadó. In: *Revolutionary Russia* 8 (1995), 1, pp. 39–103.

<sup>21</sup> Anne Hartmann: Ordnungen des Zeigens und Sehens. Westliche Intellektuelle und ihre sowjetischen Guides Mitte der 1930er Jahre. In: Stefan Lampadius, Elmar Schenkel (eds.): *Under Western and Eastern Eyes. Ost und West in der Reiseliteratur des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2012, pp. 91–108; G. B. Kulikova: “Tekhnologiia gostepriimstva” v Sovetskom Soiuze, 1920–1930-e gody. In: A. Iu. Poliakov (ed.): *Problemy istorii servisa. Zdravookhranenie, kul’tura, dosug*, Moskva, MGOU, 2004, pp. 149–158.

international proletariat and its support [for Soviet Russia] is not a myth dreamt up by the Bolsheviks[.]” The visits by the foreign delegates to the towns and villages of provincial, hunger-ridden and war-torn Russia had a special significance for those who had to uphold both Bolshevik rule and their own belief in the communist project in these remote locations. The visits refuelled their belief in the international importance and transnational nature of their political work – in other words, they reinforced the “charisma of world revolution”.<sup>22</sup>

Lozovskii likely assumed that his fellow Bolshevik leaders might disapprove of his tour-guiding style – otherwise he would not have had the urge to defend his approach so vehemently. In the conclusion of his first report, he stresses that he does have “no qualms about having picked random villages and shown Soviet Russia just like it is.” After their return, the Labour delegates stated that they were satisfied with the journey and were able to see everything they had wanted to see.<sup>23</sup> Thus, Lozovskii’s strategy seemed to have initially paid off. The report produced and published by the delegation shortly after their return to Britain, however, tells a different story. In addition to detailing the faint social progress they were able to observe in Soviet Russia, the authors did not hide from laying bare the harsh realities of Soviet provincial life. Moreover, the report provided space for statements by non-Bolshevik socialist organisations such as the Socialist Revolutionary Party, whose Central Committee’s manifesto was included in English translation.<sup>24</sup>

Similarly detailed feedback from the participants of the second trip involving Comintern delegates has yet to be found. However, it appears that Lozovskii’s improvised handling of the tour did not sit well with his fellow Bolshevik leaders. A year later, on the eve of the Third World Congress of the Comintern, the Communist Party’s Politburo resolved to elect a commission to produce a strict itinerary for congress delegates which explicitly let it be known “that sightseeing [destinations] outside this list are out of question.”<sup>25</sup> Lozovskii’s strategy of “pick[ing] random villages” proved to be unpalatable for the Comintern and party bureaucracy. Nevertheless, the tours led by him served as trial runs for countless guided tours for foreign workers and revolutionaries through Soviet Russia.

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The two reports, published here for the first time, are held in the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI) in Moscow. The first report, dealing with the Labour delegation, is kept in the papers of the Communist Party Fraction of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions (*fond* 95); the second, on the Comintern delegates, is located in the papers of the Second World Congress of the Comintern (*fond* 489). Neither come with a cover letter. The first report has no explicit addressee, while the second is broadly addressed to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party and the Communist International (presumably its Executive Committee). They are standard reports which were usually made

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<sup>22</sup> Albert, *Das Charisma der Weltrevolution*.

<sup>23</sup> Davis, *Left Out in the Cold*, p. 75f.

<sup>24</sup> British Labour Delegation to Russia 1920. Report.

<sup>25</sup> RGASPI, Moscow, 17/3/183, 3–4: Resolution of the Politburo of the CC of the RCP(b), 2 July 1921. Published in: G. M. Adibekov et al. (eds.): *Politbiuro TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b) i Komintern. 1919–1943 gg. Dokumenty, Moskva, ROSSPEN, 2004*, p. 87f.

after completing a particular party task, and were designed to be read and evaluated by party colleagues and/or superiors.

While I have done my best to annotate the documents on the subject of the Soviet contexts described here, time and language constraints have prohibited me from systematically checking them against the personal documents and recollections of the foreign delegates, most importantly Frossard's diary (kept at the Hoover Institution) and the contemporary recollections of the Italian participants. However, these documents have been quoted and analysed in length by Lindemann, and the archival and bibliographical references for them can be obtained from his work.

### Document 1

#### **Aleksandr Lozovskii: Report on the Volga journey of the British Labour delegation, [June 1920]**

*Typescript with hand-written corrections, Russian language. Russian State Archive for Social and Political History (RGASPI), Moscow, f. 95, op. 1, d. 14, l. 1–8.*

#### REPORT ON THE JOURNEY DOWN THE VOLGA (28/V – 5/VI 1920)

##### 1. COMPOSITION OF THE DELEGATION

The inclusion of bourgeois journalists in the delegation was doubtlessly an error.<sup>26</sup> It was impossible to create special arrangements for them, so we had to transport the delegates of the labour organisations and the journalists together – not just on the steamboat, but also [on the trips to] the workers' organisations in the provinces. It was impossible to explain in every town that this or that person is a journalist of a bourgeois newspaper and that he has to be subjected to different treatment, thus the provincial comrades cheerfully greeted all foreigners who arrived together. Also, to create special arrangements and warn [the locals] every time that they are not "ours" would have been inconvenient, as all journalists, be it bourgeois, yellow,<sup>27</sup> or bourgeois sympathisers, and even the socialist ones, are to a certain degree bound together by professional solidarity.

Another major inconvenience of the delegation was due to the fact that, apart from the English delegates, it included a number of representatives of different organisations, and the Executive Committee of the Third International, while delegating these comrades (German syndicalists, [members of] Australian Industrial Workers of the World etc.), did not bother to

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<sup>26</sup> Ethel Snowden describes the steamship passengers in her travel report as consisting, besides the delegates themselves, of "interpreters, agents, secretaries and journalists, a party of 30 to 40 people, all anticipating a good time" (Ethel Snowden: *Through Bolshevik Russia*, London, Cassell & Co., 1920, p. 164). For an analysis of Snowden's travelogue, see most recently: Nadine Menzel: *Nach Moskau und zurück. Die Reiseschriften von Ethel Snowden, Sylvia Pankhurst und Clare Sheridan über das postrevolutionäre Russland im Jahr 1920*, Wien e.a., Böhlau, 2018. pp. 89–185.

<sup>27</sup> The term "yellow", originally used to characterise blackleg trade unions, refers in Bolshevik political language to reformist political bodies, and not, as one might assume today, to boulevard journalism.

tell me who they were, whom they represent, why they came, what they want to know and observe, and how, according to the Executive Committee of the 3<sup>rd</sup> International, they are to be treated.<sup>28</sup> All these comrades, considering themselves representatives of workers' organisations, demanded equal treatment. They wanted the [festive] receptions organised for the English delegation to be directed at them, and were highly offended when they were refused the floor at the rallies and assemblies. Here, the Executive Committee of the 3<sup>rd</sup> International complicated the matter by failing to provide definite directives concerning each of its guests. This is visible from the diary entry of one of the delegates of the Australian [Industrial] Workers of the World, which says that "both in Moscow and on the road his work has been sabotaged".<sup>29</sup> The lack of preparatory information on the treatment of the delegates of workers' organisations, and the purely mechanical inclusion of journalists and representatives of the yellow press, confused the situation and made our steamship more akin to a Noah's Ark than a delegation of workers' organisations. Such a conflation of bourgeois journalists and workers' organisations could not but cause consternation among the latter. If it is necessary to cart bourgeois journalists around Russia, then they need to be carted separately.

## 2. THE MOOD OF THE DELEGATION

From the very first moment, the English delegates declared that they would like to explore the situation in the provinces on their own and learn about what is happening there without spending time with receptions etc. Completely unambiguously they claimed that festive receptions are arranged in order to steal their time and keep them away from exploring the situation in the provinces. To these direct and indirect accusations by the secretary of the delegation, I answered: "The comrades in the provinces want to receive you as the representative of the English workers. They care little for you personally. They are interested in the English proletariat, and want to greet it by greeting its representative. If you consider visiting a town without getting in touch with local workers' organisations, then, firstly, you will not see anything and not get to know anything, and secondly, the workers' organisations in the provinces will not understand such a treatment, which may cause them to distrust the English workers. However, – I said to them – you are free to do as you please." As they approached me with the request to have a look at a Russian village, I told them that it would come at the expense of any excursions into the towns, and concerning the [choice of the] village, that we will stop every day at a random destination. They met this idea with broad approval. They saw that we are not afraid to show them any village and to stop at any point of our journey.

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<sup>28</sup> The full list of the participants of the Labour delegation's trip to the Volga, apart from the Labour and TUC delegates themselves, is yet still to be found. Yet this is an interesting hint towards the fact that the ECCI apparently sent some Comintern congress delegates who were already in Russia on this trip as well.

<sup>29</sup> The Australian IWW delegate is Paul Freeman (1884?–1921), who, despite his quarrel with Lozovskii, went on to become a Comintern functionary, before being killed in the ill-famed experimental monorail train accident in Russia in 1921, together with several Russian and German communists. Freeman's critical attitude of the Volga journey is confirmed by an internal memorandum written by the Russian-Australian Comintern emissary Aleksandr Zuzenko, in which he testified that during the journey, "Comrade Freeman quarrelled and almost came to blows with Comrade Lozovsky" (see: David W. Lovell, Kevin Windle: *Our Unswerving Loyalty. A Documentary Survey of Relations Between the Communist Party of Australia and Moscow, 1920–1940*, Canberra, ANU Press, 2008, p. 71). For Freeman's biography, see: Frank Farrell: *Freeman, Paul (1884–1921)*, in: *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/freeman-paul-6245>. I am very thankful to Evan Smith for bringing these sources to my attention.

### 3. THE SOVIET PROVINCES

The first town we made a stop at was Nizhnii [Novgorod]. The rally at the Sormovskii factory, where 10,000 workers adopted a very good resolution, turned out very well.<sup>30</sup> The banquet forced upon us by the Nizhnii Novgorod trade fair and organised by the people of Nizhnii Novgorod cannot be considered a success: Too many delicacies were dished up despite our hunger-ridden times. The Nizhnii-Novgoroders clearly overdid it. At the same time, the rally in the theatre went down very well, despite the fact that, when one of the English delegates started to talk about the special path of the British labour movement, I had to take the floor for a concluding speech to explain to the Nizhnii Novgorod workers what this “special path” meant. The following fact speaks volumes of the local customs: The day we arrived, the chair of the *Ispolkom*<sup>31</sup> abolished a commission made up by the representatives of the trade union council, the *Ispolkom*, and the *Gubkom*,<sup>32</sup> and instead appointed a dictator [sic!] for our reception.

#### KAZAN’.

In Kazan’ we only spent two hours, something that deeply offended the Kazan’ comrades, who had prepared a huge parade and a series of festive sessions for the following day.<sup>33</sup> However, we made very good use of those two hours. As soon as we got off the ship, we were surrounded by a huge crowd of Tatars and Russians, so we made an improvised rally on the spot, at which we unleashed [*vypustili*] the English,<sup>34</sup> the Germans and even the French. We conducted this rally without the representatives of the *Ispolkom* and the trade unions council, who arrived only later. The organisation of the Tatar Republic caused great interest on behalf of the delegates, but, unfortunately, we did not have enough time to invite any of the local Tatars, so we had to explain to them the core of the Tatar autonomy by ourselves on behalf of the Tatars.<sup>35</sup>

#### NOVODEVICH’IA PUSTYN’.

The first village that we visited, completely randomly, was Novodevich’ia Pustyn’. This is a vast and rich Volga village, quite kulak-ish, but nevertheless I decided to stop over and show them our village just like it is.

In Novodevich’ia, they all split into groups and started wandering around the village. From talking with peasants they were left with a rather curious set of impressions. Firstly, they encountered hostility towards the English proletariat for the blockade, and were told that the

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<sup>30</sup> On the practice of adopting internationalist resolutions, see Albert, *Das Charisma der Weltrevolution*, p. 234–256.

<sup>31</sup> „Ispolkom“: „ispolnitel’nyi komitet“, executive committee.

<sup>32</sup> „Gubkom“: „gubernskii komitet“, guberniia committee (guberniia being the second-largest measurement of territorial division in Soviet Russia).

<sup>33</sup> This is described in Ethel Snowden’s travel report: Snowden, *Through Bolshevik Russia*, p. 175.

<sup>34</sup> In colloquial Russian, the terms „English“ („angliiskii“) and „British“ („britanskii“) are often used synonymously, with a preference for the former.

<sup>35</sup> The Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, with Kazan’ as its capital, was established in 1920.

Entente is to blame for the lack of goods and agricultural machinery in the countryside. This made a huge impression [on the delegates]. Also, a delegate found out from a *muzhik*<sup>36</sup> that a peasant only lived on two *funt*<sup>37</sup> of bread a day, which is supposedly too little. When a delegate asked how an urban worker lives on half a *funt* or one *funt*, the peasant replied that [a worker] toils less hard and thus can live on less bread. The journalists wandered off to the huts, where they found pies, white bread, eggs, lard and other goods that are rare in the city. The overall impression [they were left with] is as follows: the *muzhik* is well off, and has no intention to hand over any foodstuffs to the cities voluntarily. We organised a 5000-strong rally, where the *muzhiks*, with their beards on display, listened with grim faces to the speeches in English, French and German, and furiously shouted "hoorah" to the English proletariat. Also, [the delegates] could observe that our modern countryside has a number of cultural facilities (school, peoples' house etc.). I do not know what the Triapichkin<sup>38</sup> observers from the bourgeois newspapers will write about this village, but I assume that for the delegates, the sight of a real Russian village was very useful.

#### SIMBIRSK.

In Simbirsk, we sat for three hours. Representatives of the *Ispolkom* and the [trade] unions council came on board. An exchange of speeches and greetings took place, and afterwards an excursion into town.

Our stay in SAMARA went well.

Here, we went directly from the ship to the *Ispolkom*, where the chairman explained in detail the work of provincial Soviet institutions, the composition of the congresses of the *ispolkom* etc. During the day, we looked at the factories and mills, and in the evening there was a festive session of the *guberniia* Soviet Congress, which had a huge impact on the delegates.

As well as the chairman of the *Ispolkom* and the Soviet Council, a number of other speakers delivered their greeting speeches. A representative of the Mordvinian-Chuvashian population<sup>39</sup> detailed the suffering of the peasants from the Czechoslovaks<sup>40</sup> and called for a struggle against the imperialists and for the support of the 3<sup>rd</sup> International. A peasant woman from the Melekesskii *uezd*<sup>41</sup> called the English women into the ranks of the social revolution. A representative of the Muslims talked about the English politics towards the Muslims in oriental expressions, very colourful and vividly. A 14-year-old boy called for the creation of a Children's International. Finally, a Menshevik took the floor and admitted that the Menshevik

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<sup>36</sup> „Muzhik“: colloquial Russian term for a male peasant.

<sup>37</sup> „Funt“: traditional Russian measure of mass, equivalent to approx. 400 grams.

<sup>38</sup> Triapichkin is a minor character from Nikolai Gogol's play "The Government Inspector" (1836), used here as an allegory for a ruthless boulevard journalist.

<sup>39</sup> The Mordvin and Chuvash peoples are the native inhabitants of the Volga region around Samara.

<sup>40</sup> This refers to the uprising of members of the Czechoslovak Legion, who were kept as prisoners of war in Russia, in the summer of 1918, at the very beginning of the Russian Civil War. A large part of them was held in captivity in the Samara region, and in June 1918, the Czechoslovaks were able to defeat the Red Army units and temporarily capture the city of Samara.

<sup>41</sup> Uezd: local unit of territorial division in Soviet Russia

support for the Czechoslovaks was a crime,<sup>42</sup> and finished by exclaiming: “Long live the social revolution”.

The speeches by the Tatar-Chuvash and by the Menshevik made the biggest impression on the delegates, and in later speeches they referred to the atonement speech of the Menshevik and the speeches of the national minorities [*inorodtsev*].<sup>43</sup>

Before reaching Samara, the journalist Buxton asked me whether he could stay in Saratov in order to visit some people in the Buzulukskii *uezd* on request of the Quaker mission which used to be located there.<sup>44</sup> I replied that permission for foreigners to stay in the provinces depended on the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and the VChK,<sup>45</sup> and that one could correspond with Moscow over that matter after arriving in Samara. But in Samara it turned out that he already received a permit from Sverdlov<sup>46</sup> and, furthermore, from the depute commander of the military district. I immediately told Buxton that it is not possible to stay without a permit without receiving an answer from the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, but Buxton nevertheless remained there. Moreover, when I told him before the ship set sail that there was no permit, he replied that he “would manage”. From Marksstadt and Samara I sent instructions to the Samara *Gubispolkom*, the contents of which are known.<sup>47</sup>

Our time in the village VOSKRESENSKOE was also well-spent.

This is a village with 12,5 thousand inhabitants, where a year ago a kulak uprising took place, but where not even a thought of such an uprising remains. The village has a Party organisation of 175 people, and 100 members of the youth union [Komsomol]. There is a theatre, a people’s house, three schools etc.

[The delegation] split into small groups, some of which managed to end up with Old Believers, while others visited the local teacher (a female communist, who received us all very warmly).<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> The so-called KOMUCH government, formed by supporters of the Constituent Assembly, among them Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, were able to temporarily come to power in Samara thanks to the military efforts of the Czechoslovak Legion.

<sup>43</sup> It is peculiar that Lozovskii uses not the Soviet term for national minorities (*natsional'nye men'shinstva, natsmeny*), but the Tsarist one.

<sup>44</sup> Charles Roden Buxton (1875–1942), Labour Party politician, journalist, and secretary of the Labour Delegation, apparently spoke Russian, as he functioned as an interpreter for the delegation besides the ones provided by the Soviet authorities. See: White, *British Labour*, p. 628.

<sup>45</sup> VChK: All-Russian Commission to Fight Counter-Revolution and Sabotage, Russian: *Vserossiiskaia chrezvychainaia komissiia po bor'be s kontrrevoliutsiei i sabotazhem*, founded in December 1917 at the Council of People’s Commissars as the first Soviet secret police organisation.

<sup>46</sup> The person mentioned here is not Iakov Sverdlov, but his younger brother Veniamin Sverdlov (1886–1939), who, after having lived in the US before the revolution, was an official in the People’s Commissariat of Transport between 1918 and 1921.

<sup>47</sup> Buxton split from the party near Saratov and visited several villages on his own. He describes his experiences in the “Report on the Village of Ozero”, included in the delegation report: *British Labour Delegation to Russia 1920. Report*, pp. 130–136. The contents of the instruction sent by Lozovskii could not be found.

<sup>48</sup> This encounter is vividly described in Snowden, *Through Bolshevik Russia*, p. 179, even though she describes it as something that happened in Samara.

This authentic village made a huge impression on everyone, even on the correspondents of the bourgeois newspapers. I have no qualms about having picked random villages and shown Soviet Russia just like it is.

MARKSSHTADT made an even better impression.

This is a clean little German town<sup>49</sup> which, especially after Samara, felt like the pinnacle of cleanliness. Here, a rally on the square was organised with [speeches in] English and German. Speeches were made. The delegates had a hard time understanding the organising principles of this Volga German region which lacks any territorial integrity. The Marksstaders even organised a parade and displayed German diligence together with pure Russian hospitality.

SARATOV.

In Saratov, the delegation visited the *Gubispolkom* and *Gubprofsovet*,<sup>50</sup> the 2<sup>nd</sup> *Sovtrudarmii*,<sup>51</sup> the House of Labour and Enlightenment, some hospitals, and finally the festive joint session of all workers' organisations of the city of Samara.

Since the speeches, all in all, resembled those given at previous destinations, I will not dwell on them.

The regional committee of the Socialist-Revolutionary party presented the delegation with a rather long letter, in which the S-R standpoint on the current situation was expressed. The letter was rather skilfully composed, as it made use of our weaknesses (the events in Astrakhan where the leaders of the metal workers' union were shot,<sup>52</sup> the tariff policy, etc.), and it ended with a call to the English proletariat to intervene in our affairs and learn from our example of how not to make a social revolution.<sup>53</sup>

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the following should be noted.

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<sup>49</sup> The town of Markshtadt (Marxstadt), a town founded as Ekaterinenshtadt (Katharinenstadt) by German colonists in the 18th century, and in 1920 renamed in honour of Karl Marx, was the administrative centre of the Autonomous Region of the Volga Germans from 1919 to 1922.

<sup>50</sup> Gubprofsovet: trade union council of a *guberniia*.

<sup>51</sup> Sovtrudarmii: Soviet Labour Army. The eight Soviet Labour Armies, existing between 1920 and 1921, were a militarized labour force, formed on the basis of Red Army units at the end of the Civil War. They were involved in aiding with industrial and agricultural work, but also in the fight against banditry and uprisings.

<sup>52</sup> Most likely this is a reference to the heavy unrest in Astrakhan in March 1919, where armed workers clashed with the authorities. There was a large number of casualties on both sides, and numerous assumed leaders of the uprising were shot in the aftermath. See: Dmitrii Churakov: *Buntuiushchie proletarii. Rabochii protest v Sovetskoi Rossii*, Moskva, Veche, 2007, p. 232f.

<sup>53</sup> No mention of this letter is preserved in the Labour delegation's travel report, but a similar letter, passed by socialist oppositionists from Tambov to the British delegation, is preserved in the International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam) and was published in Russian by: Iurii Fel'shtinskii (ed.): *Obrashchenie Tambovskoi okruzhnoi organizatsii trudovogo krest'ianstva k predstaviteliam angliiskikh rabochikh*. In: *Minuvshee* 4 (1987), pp. 253–273.



1. Due to the chequered nature of the delegation and some ambiguities concerning the functions of those who accompanied it, there were some misunderstandings which had a negative impact on the progress of our work. Sverdlov apparently did not know that he is responsible purely for the technical side of things, and, for example, granted Buxton a permit to use on all railroads, as well as conducted direct negotiations with the secretary of the delegation concerning who is to stay with the sick,<sup>54</sup> etc. This created a very unpleasant situation, a duplicity of command, and inevitable stress [*derganie*] for some delegates.<sup>55</sup>

2. The [Labour] delegation attempted to stress several times that it represents millions of workers, while the other delegates are just representatives of small groups. When they started to utter such thoughts, I pointed out to them that we cannot divide delegates into rich and poor, and at meetings I began to send onto the floor, after the official trade union delegates, the representative of the London Shop Stewards, [Jack] Tanner.<sup>56</sup>

3. The tour of this delegation into the provinces gave a boost to our provincial organisations – even more than to the delegates themselves. Particularly in those villages where we stopped by, comrades told us: “We have been telling workers and peasants for such a long time that we have support from workers in other countries, that they stopped believing our words; [but] now they have seen the living representatives of the foreign proletariat, our influence is growing again.”<sup>57</sup>

4. For the future, it is not advisable to water down the delegations of workers’ organisations with representatives of the bourgeois press, and representatives of organisations which have no clear relation to us yet (industrialists,<sup>58</sup> syndicalists, etc.), because it causes confusion at the local level, since one cannot polemicise with them about the stupid ideas they utter, while at the same time one cannot bar them from speaking altogether, as they are participants of the journey.

5. Everyone in the provinces complains about the lack of personnel. This is particularly felt in Samara where the whole work rests on the shoulders of literally a couple of individuals. It is absolutely necessary to send party backup to Samara, otherwise the Samara *guberniia* might deliver an unwelcome surprise. [...] <sup>59</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Clifford Allen (1889–1939), British politician and leading member of the Independent Labour Party, contracted pneumonia on the journey and could only debark in Astrakhan’, while most other delegates already debarked in Saratov, except for a few who stayed to tend to him. See: Snowden, *Through Bolshevik Russia*, p. 166; White, *British Labour*, p. 632.

<sup>55</sup> The confusing situation regarding the chain of command on the ship did not remain hidden from the delegates. Ethel Snowden noted: “The organisation of the steamship [...] was mystifying to us. First there was the recognised commander. Then there was Sverdloff, the Acting-Commissar for Ways and Communications, who appeared to be the highest authority; then came the Trade Union Delegate who travels with the ship; then the man in charge of our party, who seemed to be armed with authority over the crew as well. There were occasions when orders conflicted, and the result was very funny.” (Snowden, *Through Bolshevik Russia*, p. 166).

<sup>56</sup> The British trade unionist Jack Tanner (1889–1965), a syndicalist, attended the Second Congress of the Comintern and briefly joined the Communist Party of Great Britain.

<sup>57</sup> For the positive impact such visits could have for local Bolshevik authorities, see Albert, *Das Charisma der Weltrevolution*, pp. 495–528.

<sup>58</sup> Here, Lozovskii refers to the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

<sup>59</sup> The omitted part of the paragraph deals with squabbles within the party and trade union organisations of Samara.

A. Lozovskii

Attached: Protocols of all sessions, meetings and rallies which took place during our journey from Nizhnii [Novgorod] to Saratov.<sup>60</sup>

## Document 2

### **Aleksandr Lozovskii: Report on the Volga journey of the Comintern delegates, 13 July 1920**

*Typescript with hand-written corrections, Russian language. Russian State Archive for Social and Political History (RGASPI), Moscow, f. 489, op. 1, d.514, l. 2–5.*

#### REPORT TO THE CC OF THE RCP AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

[hand-written:] (Journey to the Soviet Provinces)

13 July 1920

The delegation left Moscow on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July and spent 12 days en route. During this time, we visited Nizhnii Novgorod, the village Il'inka, Cheboksary, Kazan, Viten'ga – a Tatar village ten *verst*<sup>61</sup> from the [banks of the] Volga –, Udory, where we looked at the schist pits, Simbirsk, Samara, Marksstadt, Saratov, Tambov, Tula, and Ivanovo-Voznesensk. The overall impression from the journey is the following: The journey had an enormous impact on everyone without exception; even the elements most remote from us, such as Frossard and Cachin, stated repeatedly that only now they understand the might of Soviet Russia.<sup>62</sup>

Our usual working method was the following. After arriving in a town, we would organise a discussion with the [local] *Ispolkom*, *Gubkom*, and *Gubprofsovet*. After two to three hours of talks, we would organise rallies in every town, either in closed facilities or on the streets, and the whole province was electrified by the arrival of real, non-Russian-speaking foreigners which had a miraculous impact on the proletarians. In Saratov and Tambov, in Kazan and in Cheboksary – everywhere we were told that our arrival made the work of the local organisations easier, poured energy into the workers' [...] <sup>63</sup>, and showed the non-believers that the international proletariat and its support [for Soviet Russia] is not a myth dreamt up by the Bolsheviks; and that now the work in Party and trade union spheres will take a giant leap forward. So electrified were the provinces by our arrival, that we received invitations from all

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<sup>60</sup> These materials are located in RGASPI, 95/1/14, 9–32.

<sup>61</sup> *Verst* (sg. *versta*): old Russian unit of length, approx. 1,06 km.

<sup>62</sup> Frossard and Cachin travelled to Moscow to discuss the relationship of the SFIO with the Comintern and to be admitted to the Second Congress as observers. On June 19, 1920, they met with the ECCI to discuss this, and afterwards with Lenin personally, who gave them a lukewarm welcome, while not dismissing them completely and thanking them for coming to Moscow. While Frossard wanted to head back to France immediately, Cachin was more inclined to stay. In the end, several Comintern officials convinced them to stay, and the stay in Russia, including the Volga journey, made such a deep impression on both socialists that they returned to France completely transformed. See Lindemann, *The 'Red Years'*, pp. 174–180.

<sup>63</sup> One illegible word omitted.

over. Every town wanted to show us around. Of course, we had to pick and choose only the most important and necessary [destinations], and concentrate on organising mass meetings where representatives of all European countries would speak.

The delegation took a long time to understand the principle of our Autonomous Regions,<sup>64</sup> and this is why we stayed in the capital of Chuvashia – Cheboksary –, in Kazan, and in Markshtadt, so that, through experience and practice, they could see how we conceive the rights of the peoples of Russia for self-determination. The talks with representatives of the Chuvash, Tatar and German peoples in these towns were very useful for the whole delegation, as they saw, or rather heard, from the mouths of the former *inorodtsy*, their loyalty to Soviet Russia and the Russian proletariat.

We left Saratov for Tambov, even though I did not expect Tambov to be of any interest to the foreigners. It turned out, however, that Tambov made a wonderful impression due to its good organisation, its simplicity and its cleanliness, which made an impression first and foremost on Cachin, who had expected to find total chaos and decay in the provinces.

Following requests from some of the delegates, we visited Tula. I knew that they had a hidden agenda to find out about the strikes that took place there recently.<sup>65</sup> I assumed that we had nothing to hide concerning the strikes, or the measures we took to put an end to them, and so I gave orders to head towards Tula, and made an agreement en route with c[omrade] Osinskii that we would reveal everything.<sup>66</sup> My expectations were entirely fulfilled. The fact that we did not conceal anything about the strike and that we spoke openly about its suppression did disconcert some, but it guided others towards taking a firm standpoint [*napravilo na opredelennuiu liniuu*]. The results showed instantly. At a big rally that we organised at the weapons factory, the representative of the Spanish Confederation of Trade Unions, an anarchist, dedicated half of his speech to the topic of backward workers, pointing out that workers' backwardness and egotism [*shkurnichestvo*] were the fiercest enemies of the working class and communism.<sup>67</sup> Also, Serrati declared in his speech in the name of the Italian Socialist Party and the Italian working class that the Italian socialists fully and unconditionally stand behind Soviet power and the communists when it comes to the

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<sup>64</sup> Autonomous regions and “republics” were erected in several regions of early Soviet Russia to grant a stronger degree of territorial and cultural autonomy to non-Russian peoples if they constituted a majority in a particular region.

<sup>65</sup> In the beginning of April 1919, a massive city-wide strike took place in Tula, a town famous for its arms industry. It was caused not only by the bad living conditions of the workforce, but also by the arrest of 32 well-known local trade unionists, many of them Mensheviks. In the course of the strike, 290 more people were arrested. See: Churakov, *Buntuiushchie proletarii*, p. 229f.

<sup>66</sup> The well-known Bolshevik revolutionary Valerian Obolenskii (nom de guerre: N. Osinskii, 1887–1938) headed the *Ispolkom* of Tula in 1920.

<sup>67</sup> The Spanish representative mentioned by Lozovskii can only be Angel Pestaña, as he was the only representative of the anarcho-syndicalist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) who came to Moscow in 1920. See: Romero Salvadó: The Views of an Anarcho-Syndicalist on the Soviet Union. The Defeat of the Third International in Spain. In: *Revolutionary Russia* 8 (1995), 1, pp. 26–38, here p. 35. In his travel report, Pestaña mentions the whole Volga journey only very briefly (Pestaña, Report on the Action, p. 56), and makes no reference to himself speaking at public assemblies during the trip. For the changing attitudes of South European syndicalists towards the Bolshevik state, see: Reiner Tosstorff: Die Syndikalisten und die Oktoberrevolution. Die südeuropäische Perspektive. In: Wladislaw Hedeler, Klaus Kinner (eds.): “Die Wache ist müde”. Neue Sichten auf die russische Revolution von 1917 und ihre Wirkung, Berlin, Dietz, 2008, pp. 222–241.

measures taken to liquidate the senseless strike at the weapons factory.<sup>68</sup> Ivanovo-Voznesensk made an enormous impression on the delegates, even though one has to add that the people of Ivanovo-Voznesensk, due to their proletarian frankness and straightforwardness, told [the delegation] about the immense suffering of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk textile industry.

Of the whole delegation, the Dutch were the ones who stood in sharp opposition to everything.<sup>69</sup> The whole time they stressed that they were being cheated, that they were not being shown the real Russia, that they would not receive translations of what was said to them. All in all, this opposition took on such an idiotic character that they became the laughing stock of the whole delegation. Things went so far that one of the Dutch delegates threatened to file a complaint against me to the Executive Committee of the 3<sup>rd</sup> International because I would not behave as they wanted me to. Concerning the French, Cachin certainly turned several degrees to the left. Before we reached Tula, he told me: "I do not understand the Mensheviks. They should have come to Soviet power, saying: yes, we erred, we want to redeem our errors, give us some, even the most modest, work to build up Soviet Russia. I do not understand these idiots!".

All in all, about 95% of this journey was a success, since in just 12 days we managed to look at an enormous number of towns, a mass of organisations in these towns, and we became acquainted with Soviet economy and local life, and, in the best sense of this word, stirred up the backward Soviet provinces.

One has to point out the lack of personnel at the local level. All talks begin with [complaints about] hardly anyone having remained [in the provinces]. [The local cadres] tear themselves apart and are not able to do even a tenth of the work that has to be done. But since this lack of people is a consequence of the war, there is hardly anything that can be done about it right now.

Summing up, the following needs to be said: It is necessary to use the presence of foreign comrades to have them touring the provinces. The speeches of the foreigners in the name of the communist parties of their home countries make a bigger impact on the local workers than hundreds of proclamations and thousands of wonderful newspaper articles. Since there are scores of representatives of the foreign proletariat right now in Russia due to the congress, once it finishes we should send those to the provinces who haven't yet been. This will be useful for the delegates and even more so for the Soviet proletarian provinces.

A. Lozovskii  
Moscow 13/VII 1920

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<sup>68</sup> Giacinto Serrati (1872–1926) headed the delegation of the Italian Socialist Party to the 2nd Congress of the Comintern.

<sup>69</sup> The majority wing of the Communist Party of the Netherlands was represented at the Second Congress by David Wijnkoop and Jan Proost Jansen, but Herman Gorter, leader of the left-communist minority, was also present in Russia at that time, trying to get his position heard by Lenin and the Comintern. It is unclear whether the latter was part of the Volga trip. On the relations between the different wings of Dutch communism and the Comintern, see: Gerrit Voerman: *From Lenin's Comrades in Arms to "Dutch Donkeys"*. The Communist Party in the Netherlands and the Comintern in the 1920s. In: Tim Rees, Andrew Thorpe (eds.): *International Communism and the Communist International 1919–43*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1998, pp. 127–142.

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## **Comunismo y Universidad. El Frente de Agrupaciones Universitarias de Izquierda (FAUDI-PCR) frente a la “Revolución Argentina” (1966–1973)**

### *Abstract*

One month after the 1966 coup that brought the retired General Juan Carlos Onganía to the presidency in Argentina, public universities were intervened. The government of the self-proclaimed "Argentine Revolution" (1966–1973), overwhelmed its university autonomy by curtailing the democratic freedoms that made possible the development of a growing political activity. Far from silencing dissent, the intervention enhanced it. This article focuses on young people who in 1968 broke with the PC to give life to the PCR. Various sources, with a focus on the press and other party materials, will serve to reconstruct its career at the University of Buenos Aires.

### **1. Introducción**

La ruptura que condujo a la creación del Partido Comunista Revolucionario (PCR) en la Argentina se inició en septiembre de 1967.<sup>1</sup> Su epicentro estuvo en el sector universitario que masivamente abandonó las filas del PC. Según el futuro líder partidario, Otto Vargas, la escisión arrancó 4.000 militantes, aunque otros testimonios arrojan una cifra bastante menor.<sup>2</sup> El Partido Comunista Comité Nacional de Recuperación Revolucionaria conformado a comienzos del año siguiente devino en marzo de 1969 en el definitivo PCR.<sup>3</sup> En ese periplo, los universitarios que adhirieron al nuevo partido fundaron el Frente de Agrupaciones Universitarias de Izquierda (FAUDI).

Todos los testimonios apuntan a la centralidad de la Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA) en este proceso. Esta universidad albergaba a mediados de los años sesenta no menos de un

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<sup>1</sup> Sobre el proceso véase Juan Sebastián Califa: Del Partido Comunista al Partido Comunista Comité Nacional de Recuperación Revolucionaria en la Argentina de los años sesenta. Una escisión con marca universitaria. En: *Revista Izquierdas* 24, (2015), pp. 173–204 e Isidoro Gilbert: La Fede. Alistándose para la revolución. La Federación Juvenil Comunista 1921–2005, Buenos Aires, Sudamericana, 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Para lo primero, Jorge Brega: ¿Ha muerto el comunismo? El maoísmo en la Argentina. Entrevista con Otto Vargas, Buenos Aires, Ediciones Brega, 1990, p. 34. El testimonio divergente con éste pertenece a Sergio Rodríguez, recogido por Gilbert, op. cit., p. 542.

<sup>3</sup> No todos lo que rompieron con el PC terminaron allí. Hubo quienes tomaron otros caminos, como aquellos que confluyeron en las Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación. Al respecto véase Stella Grenat: Una espada sin cabeza. La FAL y la construcción del partido revolucionario en los '70, Buenos Aires, Razón y Revolución, 2010, p. 131 y ss.

tercio del cuarto de millón de alumnos incorporados en la educación superior. Sus autoridades, tras el golpe de Estado de 1966, revistaban en sus cargos en carácter de interventores designados por la dictadura. Desde esos cargos se desligaron de los docentes díscolos y atacaron a los estudiantes opositores. En esta atmósfera, los comunistas escindidos de la UBA, núcleo duro de la resistencia, se quedaron con media docena de centros de estudiantes (más de treinta en el país), y con la dirección de la Federación Universitaria Argentina (FUA). En este artículo se dará cuenta del derrotero posterior de esta organización en tal institución bajo la autoproclamada “Revolución Argentina” que se prolongó hasta 1973. A los fines expositivos, la narración se divide en dos: una primera parte dedicada a reconstruir lo sucedido a fines de los años sesenta y una segunda abocada a los tempranos setenta, momento donde se produjo un quiebre en la trayectoria del FAUDI-PCR.

## 2. Los primeros pasos (1968–1969)

A principios de 1968 el rector interventor de la UBA, Raúl Devoto inició su labor con aires renovadores. En su ceremonia de asunción Mariano Astigueta, secretario de Educación y Cultura, se esperanzó en que la Universidad acaudillara el desarrollo nacional. El nuevo rector de la UBA debía poner en marcha para ello la más rápida integración de los claustros, adaptando lo establecido por el Decreto-Ley 17.245 vigente.

Las primeras manifestaciones públicas en su contra –actos relámpagos– tuvieron lugar desde principios de mayo de 1968 tras una frustrada entrevista con el rector, en la que los jóvenes opositores, movilizados por la FUA, retomaron sus críticas a las normas de promoción y regularidad.<sup>4</sup> Tras un mes de lucha, el 29 de mayo esta federación organizó una manifestación frente al rectorado “para reclamar contra las limitaciones que establece el actual estatuto de la alta enseñanza”. Como corolario, resultaron detenidos 26 estudiantes, entre ellos Jorge Rocha, presidente fuista y militante del FAUDI.<sup>5</sup> Manifestaciones como ésta relanzaron las luchas estudiantiles en el país. En ese trance, el FAUDI se propuso reconquistar el protagonismo que en medio de la ruptura partidaria había resignado.

Este movimiento estudiantil combativo estuvo acompañado por un resurgimiento de las luchas obreras, comandadas por la Confederación General de Trabajo de los Argentinos (CGTA) al frente del gráfico bonaerense Raimundo Ongaro. Esta central se lanzó a confrontar en las calles con la dictadura, desafiando tanto a la Nueva Corriente de Opinión (Construcción, Luz y Fuerza, vitivinícolas, etc.) identificada con el “participacionismo” adicto al gobierno como a la timorata CGT mayoritaria “dialoguista” capitaneada por el metalúrgico Augusto Vandor. La nueva central promovió una participación más horizontal que requería de los estudiantes.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Los hechos que siguen se reconstruyen con la BDB (Base de datos construida por Pablo Bonavena a partir de más de veinte diarios argentinos), sección mayo de 1968, y también con la nota “Argentina: las luchas recrudecen”, en *Vocero de la FUA*, mayo-junio de 1968, N° 2, p. 5 (Archivo Arturo Frondizi Biblioteca Nacional, caja 20) (de aquí en adelante AAFBN).

<sup>5</sup> Este último episodio es narrado a partir de la nota “Argentina 1968: el poder estudiantil”, en *Primera Plana*, 11 al 17 de junio de 1968, año VI, n° 285, pp. 53–56, p. 53 y ss.

<sup>6</sup> Mónica Gordillo: *Protesta, rebelión y movilización: de la resistencia a la lucha armada, 1955–1976*. En Daniel James (dir.): *Nueva Historia Argentina. Violencia, proscripción y autoritarismo (1955–1976)*. Tomo IX, Buenos Aires, Sudamericana, 2007, pp. 329–380, aquí: p. 345 y ss.

En ese contexto, la FUA impulsó un paro y movilización nacional el viernes 14 de junio, frente al cincuenta aniversario de la Reforma Universitaria de 1918. La primacía de las organizaciones que como el FAUDI se reclamaban reformistas fue aplastante puesto que entre las corrientes adversas, particularmente el peronismo, guiadas por su diagnóstico que planteaba el agotamiento histórico de dicha corriente, eligieron no participar.

Al mediodía, tras registrarse dos detenciones en Buenos Aires, la FUA comunicó el "éxito rotundo" de la jornada. En el centro se produjeron actos relámpagos. Esta dinámica de enfrentamientos se replicó en otras ciudades, alcanzando particular virulencia en La Plata y Rosario. El Centro de Estudiantes de Filosofía y Letras dirigido por el FAUDI concluiría que el movimiento estudiantil había comenzado su pasaje a la ofensiva.<sup>7</sup>

Tres días después, la CGTA llamó a los estudiantes a coordinar acciones de cara a un acto en Plaza Once frente al segundo aniversario del golpe. Sin embargo, pese a confluir a través de la FUA, el FAUDI no se privaba de criticar a la dirección de la central sindical que "cerraba el camino a la alternativa revolucionaria" y porque "boicoteó el paro universitario del día 14 para finalmente respaldarlo."<sup>8</sup> Finalmente, el 28 de junio se sucedieron actos relámpagos con fuerte presencia estudiantil. No obstante el enorme operativo policial, los altercados se repitieron apuntalando la unidad obrero-estudiantil.<sup>9</sup>

A pesar del embate opositor, durante los meses siguientes el Ejecutivo evitó que el '68 argentino adquiriera los bríos que asumió en otras latitudes. En este contexto, la dirección de la FUA realizó a fines de ese año la Convención Nacional de Centros que reunió a cincuenta entidades, siendo apoyada por treinta y dos.<sup>10</sup> La consigna "la Universidad abierta al Pueblo" trocó en otra: "Universidad del pueblo liberado". El FAUDI, impulsor del viraje, argumentaba que si bien reconocían aspectos positivos de la Universidad anterior al golpe, no se trataba de volver a ella, sino de construir una alternativa superadora.<sup>11</sup> El gobierno, se razonaba, no conseguía hundir en la sumisión a los estudiantes.<sup>12</sup> No obstante el horizonte abierto, las corrientes competidoras en el cónclave criticaron que la dirigencia fuista preservara su dominio a pesar de su incapacidad para dinamizar y organizar la lucha.<sup>13</sup>

En esta atmósfera convulsionada, la irrupción del movimiento estudiantil de 1969 marcó un punto de inflexión. Al conocerse el asesinato en protesta del estudiante Juan José Cabral en la nordestina provincia de Corriente, el 15 de mayo, en la UBA se registraron fuertes turbulencias. Los mayores altercados se vivieron en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras durante

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<sup>7</sup> "CEFYL FUA. Centro de Estudiantes de Filosofía y Letras. Adherido a la Federación Universitaria Argentina. Asamblea general del 16-6-68" (AAFBN, caja 20).

<sup>8</sup> "Informe del Comité Nacional", en Comité Nacional de Recuperación Revolucionaria, p. 4 y ss.

<sup>9</sup> BDB, sección junio de 1968, p. 19 y ss.

<sup>10</sup> "C.N.C.", en *Nueva Hora*, N° 18, diciembre de 1968, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> "C.N.C.", en *Nueva Hora. Órgano del Partido Comunista (Comité Nacional de Recuperación Revolucionaria)*, N° 19, diciembre de 1968, pp. 2 y 4.

<sup>12</sup> "C.N.C.", en *Nueva Hora. Órgano del Partido Comunista (Comité Nacional de Recuperación Revolucionaria)*, año 1, N° 9, 2° quincena de 1968, p. 2 y 4.

<sup>13</sup> Véase, por ejemplo, "Movimiento estudiantil. El Consejo Nacional de Centros: un debate sin consecuencias", en *Política Obrera*, N° 41, 25 de noviembre, pp. 13-18.

la noche siguiente, cuando una concentración estudiantil resultó dispersada por la policía con gases, siendo apresados 13 alumnos.<sup>14</sup>

El 21 de mayo, tras días ajetreados, tuvo lugar el paro convocado por la FUA. En la ciudad de Rosario, una de las tres urbes más grandes del país, el obrero y estudiante secundario Luis Alberto Blanco vio cegada su vida por un disparo policial, siguiendo el destino de su par Adolfo Bello. Dos días más tarde, ambas CGT decretaron paro. En esa jornada tuvieron lugar nuevos incidentes entre la policía y los estudiantes en el centro porteño, arrojando 71 detenidos.<sup>15</sup>

Entre tanto, en Córdoba obreros y estudiantes protagonizaron a partir del 29 de mayo uno de los mayores levantamientos urbanos latinoamericanos. Como contracara, en la Capital Federal, donde el movimiento obrero no había mostrado tal actitud aguerrida, una marcha de la FUA a la fábrica Alpargatas fue rápidamente desbaratada por la policía.<sup>16</sup>

Pese al freno momentáneo de la conflictividad social general, en Buenos Aires las aulas seguían encendidas. En ese contexto, la dirección comunista revolucionaria de la FUA expuso en junio su línea de acción basada en la coordinación con los nucleamientos estudiantiles intercentros, coordinadoras y centros. Realizó además un pedido de paro nacional a la “clase obrera y organizaciones populares”. El último punto del programa presentado a la CGTA aludía a la visita oficial que el magnate y gobernador de Nueva York, Nelson Rockefeller, realizaría a la Argentina a fin de mes.

Dos semanas más tarde, en vísperas a la llegada del emisario estadounidense, las protestas se reanudaron. El 23 de junio por la noche la toma simbólica de Ciencias Económicas en la UBA dio el puntapié. En Filosofía y Letras, los incidentes, que también alcanzaron otras facultades, derivaron unos días después en 80 detenidos, entre ellos el presidente del Centro de Estudiantes de Filosofía y Letras (CEFYL) Francisco Ferrara y su secretario general Hugo Goldsman, militantes del FAUDI, que debieron afrontar una prolongada estadía en la cárcel de Devoto. Los disturbios alcanzaron su pico el viernes 27 de junio, fecha en que la CGTA había dispuesto un nuevo paro. El acto principal en Plaza Once fue dispersado por una cruenta represión en la que falleció el exsecretario general del gremio de prensa Emilio Jáuregui. Según la prensa del PCR: “lamentablemente sólo se registró la presencia de estudiantes”.<sup>17</sup> Para entonces, de acuerdo a esas páginas partidarias, la masividad era el rasgo sobresaliente de las acciones estudiantiles.

El 30 de junio, horas después del asesinato de Vandor, líder de la CGT, los principales sindicatos de la CGTA fueron intervenidos, siendo Ongaro apresado. En este clima tenso el Ejecutivo declaró el estado de sitio. Mientras tanto, en la UBA el rector Devoto presentaba su

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<sup>14</sup> BDB, sección mayo de 1969, p. 15 y ss.

<sup>15</sup> Además de las fuentes consultadas puede verse “Crónica de una gran lucha”, en *Nueva Hora*, 1° quincena de 1969, año 2, N° 29, pp. 2-3 y BDB, sección mayo de 1969, p. 64 y ss.

<sup>16</sup> BDB, sección mayo de 1969, p. 79.

<sup>17</sup> “Lo nuevo en el movimiento estudiantil”, en *Nueva Hora*, 2° quincena de junio de 1969, año 2, N° 32, p. 2. Una nota periodística corrobora esto: “Las variaciones del tiempo borrascoso”, en *Primera Plana*, 1 al 7 de julio de 1969, año VII, n° 340, pp. 10-14, p. 12.



renuncia. Como sostiene Pablo Buchbinder, después de tres años de intervención universitaria, la dictadura carecía de resultados.<sup>18</sup>

El balance anual del FAUDI quedó registrado en las resoluciones del IX Congreso de la FUA de diciembre de 1969, que ratificó su conducción y designó a Jacobo Tieffemberg presidente.<sup>19</sup> Las mismas se iniciaban aclarando que las protestas de mayo-junio significaron un duro golpe a la dictadura, pese a lo cual seguía en pie. ¿Cómo alcanzar entonces “la Universidad del Pueblo Liberado” parte inseparable del programa popular liberador? Ante todo, se advertía que:

“La FUA, es necesario reconocerlo autocríticamente, no estuvo en Mayo y Junio a la altura de las circunstancias y fue superada por el proceso de lucha abierto... En muchos lugares, se reemplazó a las organizaciones de masas por coordinadoras de tendencias, incapaces de conducir procesos de lucha, en otros se perdió de vista la necesaria coordinación antidictatorial en nombre del resguardo organizativo, que en muchos casos fue la defensa de lo viejo y desbordado.”<sup>20</sup>

Para contrarrestar esa situación, el FAUDI se planteaba reforzar los centros y la federación impulsando la renovación de los estatutos de la FUA. Innovaciones como la organización de “comandos antirepresivos”, de comisiones de enlace con el movimiento obrero o dotar de mayores atribuciones al consejo de presidentes de centros de la federación se imponían. La masificación de los centros que se buscaba, se argüía, requería anteponer el combate contra la dictadura frente a diferencias ya secundarias como el rechazo o aceptación de la Reforma.<sup>21</sup>

El hecho de que el FAUDI se planteara en el documento fuista encontrar las modalidades organizativas aptas, puede ser interpretado como un reconocimiento de su desconcierto acerca de cómo encarar este proceso, pero también como un modo de encauzar un debate impostergable con adversarios cada vez más peligrosos. La convocatoria que debió pactar con tales organizaciones reformistas a un Congreso Extraordinario de la FUA que debía concretarse antes del 15 de noviembre de 1970, rompiendo con la secuencia imperante de congresos cada dos años, muestra que la presión estaba vulnerando al FAUDI, tras años de controlar sin inconvenientes la federación.

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<sup>18</sup> Véase Historia de las Universidades Argentinas, Buenos Aires, Sudamericana, 2005, p. 192.

<sup>19</sup> Noveno Congreso de FUA Resoluciones” (SJMP/CMS R2/5-1. Centro de Documentación e Información de la Cultura de izquierdas) (de aquí en adelante CEDINCI).

<sup>20</sup> Idem, p. 29.

<sup>21</sup> Respecto a su postura en relación a la Reforma Universitaria en la revista teórica del PCR se postulaba “Tras esa nueva ‘reforma universitaria’, tras ‘la reforma de la revolución popular, social y nacional’, la ‘reforma popular’ de la universidad frente a la reforma empresarial de la dictadura y la reforma burguesa del cientificismo y el oportunismo, la intelectualidad y el estudiantado deben agruparse en el frente de liberación social y nacional, junto a las capas medias urbanas y los trabajadores de la ciudad y el campo, bajo la égida del proletariado industrial. Es decir, no negamos la Reforma, su significado histórico, el significado histórico del 18 en el 18: lo superamos en una nueva síntesis revolucionaria.” Pablo Valle: “Trabajo intelectual y lucha de clases”, en *Revista Teoría y Política*, marzo-abril de 1969, N° 2, pp. 1-32, p. 28.

### 3. Los setenta y una nueva realidad (1970–1972)

Durante el verano de 1970, nuevas protestas volvieron a conmover los cimientos universitarios. El “limitacionismo” con sus primeras manifestaciones en Córdoba, es decir la crítica a las restricciones para acceder a la Universidad, se convirtió en el tópico a través del que la izquierda estudiantil desplegó su ascenso en todo el país.<sup>22</sup>

El FAUDI vivía horas muy difíciles, con muchos de sus dirigentes encarcelados y una bomba colocada en la casa familiar del presidente fuista Tieffemberg que mató a una trabajadora doméstica e hirió a otra.<sup>23</sup> En medio de lo que esta fuerza consideraba un “verano violento”, la Junta Ejecutiva de la FUA difundió el folleto “Impulsemos la lucha contra los cursos y exámenes de ingreso por el libre acceso de la Universidad”.<sup>24</sup>

Tras meses y meses de lucha, las protestas, que incluyeron un paro nacional de la FUA, cedieron. Pese a que se mantuvo el ingreso, se había ampliado el acceso universitario. ¿Qué balance extrajeron las agrupaciones estudiantiles opositoras? En términos globales, todas celebraron lo obtenido. Empero, las críticas no faltaron. El FAUDI se autocriticaba por su bajísima atención a la problemática específica de las masas y su franca debilidad en la dirección del proceso de lucha.<sup>25</sup> Añadían que sólo entre febrero y marzo lo habían abordado con intensidad, lo que atribuían a una desviación izquierdista. En medio de esos balances, Onganía declinó a su cargo asumiendo la primera magistratura el general Roberto Levingston, agregado militar y delegado en la Junta de Defensa Interamericana, siendo avalado para dar inicio al “segundo ciclo de la Revolución Argentina”.

Iniciado noviembre de 1970, los rivales del PC relanzaron la Federación Universitaria de Buenos Aires (FUBA), extinta en 1963.<sup>26</sup> El avance en los comicios de centros locales, donde conquistaron en 1970 más de 4.000 de los 6.531 votos emitidos, desplazando al FAUDI, permitió tal reconstrucción.<sup>27</sup> A nivel nacional, de los más de 20.000 sufragios, los “bolches” obtuvieron el 36%, rebasando al FAUDI que cosechó la mitad.<sup>28</sup> Finalmente, el 15 de noviembre el Movimiento de Orientación Reformista (MOR) comunista convocó al Congreso Extraordinario de la FUA, iniciado en Buenos Aires para luego trasladarse a La Plata. Según proseguía la versión partidaria, 130 delegados y 17 observadores, surgidos de 46 facultades, rodeados de 1.000 personas en la barra, proclamaron el regreso del

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<sup>22</sup> Respecto a lo acaecido en la UBA véase Guadalupe Seia: La lucha del Movimiento Estudiantil por el ingreso directo: Una aproximación al caso de la Universidad de Buenos Aires entre 1969 y 1973. En: Mariano Millán (comp.): Universidad, política y movimiento estudiantil en Argentina (entre la “Revolución Libertadora” y la democracia del '83), Buenos Aires, Final Abierto, 2014, pp. 77–107.

<sup>23</sup> “El FAUDI frente a la represión decretada por la dictadura contra el movimiento popular”, volante firmado por el FAUDI Capital fechado el 30-3-70 (AAFBC, caja 20). Francisco Ferrara y Hugo Goldsman, presidente y secretario general del CEFYL, Armando Schapiro presidente del Centro de Estudiantes de Física, Matemática y Meteorología junto a Alberto Sladogna y Carlos González, presidente y secretario general del Centro de Derecho, permanecían detenidos.

<sup>24</sup> AAFBC, caja 20.

<sup>25</sup> “Universidad. Balanceando el semestre”, en *Nueva Hora*, N° 49, agosto de 1970, pp. 2 y 6.

<sup>26</sup> “Capital”, en *Vocero de la FUA. Órgano de la Federación Universitaria Argentina*, N° 2, marzo de 1971 (SJMP/CMS C/15-0 CEDINCI).

<sup>27</sup> Jorge Pereyra: “Hacia el IX Congreso de la Federación Juvenil Comunista”, en *Nueva Era*, N° 1, enero de 1971, pp. 70–74, p. 72.

<sup>28</sup> “Volvió la Reforma a la dirección de la FUA”, en *Nuestra Palabra*, N° 1064, 24 de noviembre de 1970.

reformismo a la federación. De este modo, afirmaron cumplir con la convocatoria lanzada en el pasado IX Congreso de la FUA. Para el FAUDI, en cambio, el MOR apenas reunió ocho centros de estudiantes, no consiguiendo que ninguna corriente significativa los acompañe, pretendiendo “regresar a la FUA reformista (aunque se la maquille de ‘nueva FUA’), con viejas y perimidas formas de organización, como parte de un reordenamiento liberal del aparato estatal en su conjunto”.<sup>29</sup>

Mientras tanto, las organizaciones que gravitaban en la FUA se congregaron a comienzos de diciembre de 1970 en Córdoba, tras culminar las elecciones de centros que convocaron finalmente 30.000 universitarios. Según la revista *Panorama*, el X Congreso de la federación, que desconoció el cónclave organizado por el MOR comunista, congregó 130 delegados de 45 centros, siendo la delegación porteña la menos nutrida.<sup>30</sup> Para el FAUDI: “Tal Congreso Extraordinario, fruto de un necesario acuerdo para la ampliación de la FUA en su IX Congreso ha sido relegado por la fuerza de los hechos a un segundo plano.”<sup>31</sup> Se añadía “En la medida que hemos dejado vacíos en la lucha reivindicativa, o que hemos postergado la organización para la lucha en aras de la agitación, por esa brecha, apelando al reivindicativismo y organizando a su estilo, el reformismo ha logrado avances.” La autocrítica, sin embargo, llegó tarde. La unión entre los franjistas no radicales junto a los militantes de la izquierda nacional de la Agrupación Universitaria Nacional (AUN) se impuso por tres votos, 49 a 46, al FAUDI, acabando con años de dominio fuista.<sup>32</sup> La Tendencia Universitaria Popular Antimperialista Combatiente (TUPC), brazo universitario de Vanguardia Comunista, primer partido maoísta de Argentina fundado en 1965, se había retirado antes de la votación. Este grupo, que con respecto al PCR mantenía una postura ambivalente, le restó así decisivos votos. El FAUDI empezaba a acentuar su pérdida de centralidad e incapacidad para construir alianzas.

Entre tanto, la crisis nacional arreciaba. El 26 de marzo de 1971, el general Agustín Lanusse, representante de la fracción más ilustrada del ejército y la burguesía, asumió la presidencia. La expulsión de Levingston se vio precipitada a partir de los hechos ocurridos en Córdoba conocidos como “Viborazo” o “segundo Cordobazo”, que volvieron a unir a estudiantes y obreros en las calles, carcomiendo la poca legitimidad que detentaba el poder militar. El nuevo mandatario propugnó un plan de apertura política a nivel general, con la colaboración directa del nuevo Ministro del Interior, el radical Arturo Mor Roig, autorizando el funcionamiento de los comités de los partidos políticos e impulsando el denominado “Gran Acuerdo Nacional” (GAN) – fracasado – como salida pactada a la dictadura que restauraba el orden democrático-burgués. Según sus palabras: “... la política consistía, por un lado, en la represión de los irrecuperables, pero, por otro, en privar de oxígeno político a la subversión.”<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> “El oportunismo contra la FUA”, en *Nueva Hora*, 1° quincena de diciembre de 1970, año 2, N° 56, sin más datos.

<sup>30</sup> “Estudiantes. Los chicos de la FUA”, en *Panorama*, 15 al 21 de diciembre de 1970, año VIII, N° 190, p. 17.

<sup>31</sup> “Ante el Congreso Nacional de Estudiantes Convocado por la F.U.A.”, fechado el 5 de diciembre de 1970, p. 1 (SJMP/CMS C13/5-3 CEDINCI).

<sup>32</sup> Al respecto, “El congreso de la FUA”, en *Nueva Hora*, 2° quincena de diciembre de 1970, N° 57, pp. 2 y 7 y “Estudiantes. Enigma para iniciados”, en *Primera Plana*, 15 de diciembre de 1970, año IX, n° 411, pp. 18–19.

<sup>33</sup> Mi testimonio, Buenos Aires, Lasserre, 1977, p. 163.

En ese clima, surgieron los cuerpos de delegados estudiantiles, como una alternativa a los centros y un desafío a las autoridades.<sup>34</sup> Estos organismos de lucha estaban conformados por delegados electos en cada curso que se plegaba. El FAUDI, entra tanto, criticado por la dirección de su partido, se encontraba enfrascado en un laberinto.<sup>35</sup> Su propuesta para recuperar protagonismo pregona:

“La lucha por la asamblea estudiantil-docente es una herramienta decisiva para conquistar la autonomía y el gobierno igualitario estudiantil-docente. Porque crea centros de decisión movilizadora, basados en la democracia directa, que implica conquistar en la práctica posiciones de poder en la Universidad... El objetivo de asambleas estudiantiles-docentes es profundizar la crisis universitaria y crear condiciones para que en su interior cristalicen alianzas que empalmen con la formación de un frente de liberación nacional y social.”<sup>36</sup>

En este marco, la politizada Facultad de Filosofía y Letras se erigió como “bastión rebelde”. El 10 de junio su cuerpo de delegados resolvió en una asamblea de 2.500 participantes asumir el gobierno de la facultad, desconociendo al decano y ocupando el edificio para garantizar el desarrollo de las tareas académicas. El FAUDI se volcó de lleno a esta experiencia, que tuvo otro hito porteño en la Facultad de Arquitectura. Desde sus filas se alentó la confluencia de estudiantes y docentes en tanto centro de poder efectivo.<sup>37</sup>

Sin embargo, pese a su potencia inicial, los cuerpos de delegados resultaron efímeros. En simultáneo, con menos vocinglería, los centros habían vuelto a ocupar la escena. A fin de 1971 los comunistas ya controlaban en la UBA los centros de Económicas, Derecho, Medicina, Ciencias Exactas y Naturales, Ingeniería y Farmacia y Bioquímica. Esta situación, sumado al hecho de que este año en todo el país se concretarían unos sesenta comicios de centros, les permitía sentenciar de muerte la idea de que estas entidades junto a la Reforma en la cual se inspiraban estaban perimidas. Con ese impulso, desde la “FUA La Plata” se planteaba no dilatar más la unificación de ambas federaciones.

El Congreso de la FUA “Córdoba”, sin embargo, más que ocuparse de la unidad sirvió para ajustar cuentas internas. La actual conducción fue desplazada por una conjunción de grupos reformistas cuyos 51 delegados vencieron a los 42 del FAUDI y a los 43 de AUN.<sup>38</sup> Como se observa, si bien los comunistas revolucionarios habían conservado sus representantes, les

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<sup>34</sup> El trabajo más pormenorizado sobre este asunto pertenece a Pablo Bonavena. ¿Centros de estudiantes o cuerpos de delegados? La génesis del ‘doble poder’ estudiantil en Buenos Aires durante la década del ‘70. En: Actas de las V Jornadas de Estudio y Reflexión sobre el Movimiento Estudiantil Argentino y Latinoamericano, Departamento de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Nacional de Luján, 6 y 7 de septiembre de 2012 [en línea: <http://mov-estudiantil.com.ar/cuartas-jornadas.htm>] [consultado abril de 2017].

<sup>35</sup> “En definitiva, si bien los pasos en la corrección del izquierdismo han sido importantes, en muchas circunstancias hablar de revolución a las masas se redujo a la salida política y no a programa y salida política.” “Universidad. Balance y perspectivas del ingreso”, en *Nueva Hora*, 1° quincena de marzo de 1971, N° 63.

<sup>36</sup> “Gobierno y autonomía”, en *Nueva Hora*, 2° quincena de mayo de 1971, N° 68, p. 5.

<sup>37</sup> “Explosión: Filosofía a la cabeza”, en *Nueva Hora*, 2° quincena de junio de 1971, N° 70, pp. 2 y 6.

<sup>38</sup> Los datos electorales fueron extraídos de “FUA. Las reglas de juego”, en *Confirmado*, 7 al 13 de diciembre, año VII, N° 338. Sobre este congreso también puede verse “FUA. Los radicales al poder”, en *Primera Plana*, año X, N° 462, 7 de diciembre de 1971, p. 15 y “Universidad. Nueva FUA para nueva ley”, en *Panorama*, año IX, N° 241, 7 al 13 de diciembre de 1971, p. 12.

seguía resultando imposible constituir una alianza que pudiera reinstalarlos en la dirección federativa. Un primer balance partidario del congreso concluía:

“¿Por qué si estuvimos a la cabeza de tal lucha perdimos las elecciones?, debemos reemplazarla por: ¿De qué manera encabezamos la lucha?, ¿cuál fue nuestra orientación de unidad estudiantil?, ¿cómo manejamos la relación con la masa?, ¿con qué idea de acumulación de fuerzas operamos?, ¿cómo construimos partido en este proceso?”<sup>39</sup>

Durante marzo de 1972, tras un verano apacible, las universidades nacionales recibieron la nueva Ley Universitaria. Frente a ello, las agrupaciones de izquierda lanzaron sus diatribas. El FAUDI sostenía que a diferencia de la ley vigente este proyecto buscaba hacer participar a los estudiantes (15 profes, 1 auxiliar docente y 3 estudiantes).<sup>40</sup> Para esta agrupación, el gobierno se proponía revertir el proceso de lucha vigente, buscando tanto generar un movimiento de apoyo, como uno de oposición moderada, que aislara a la izquierda revolucionaria. La autonomía pregonada era una farsa, ya que mantenía la posibilidad de intervención del Poder Ejecutivo y condicionaba los estatutos universitarios a su aprobación, además de liquidar la gratuidad al imponer al graduado el pago de sus estudios.

Tras meses de debates y luchas cada vez más aisladas, que no obstante dieron por tierra con el proyecto de ley, el movimiento estudiantil convergió ante el sexto aniversario de la “Revolución Argentina”. Ese 28 de junio se adoptaron en todo el país medidas para impedir las protestas programadas por las Juventudes Políticas, una coalición en la que sobresalían comunistas, radicales y peronistas.<sup>41</sup> El FAUDI, por su parte, cada vez más aislado, organizó su propio acto junto a la TUPAC. La jornada finalizó con 262 detenidos.

Para el PCR, se estaba frente a un ascenso general de las luchas estudiantiles.<sup>42</sup> Desde el punto de vista de los revolucionarios, la situación se calificaba buena, ya que el “granacuerdismo” había sido roto por las luchas populares registradas entre abril y julio.<sup>43</sup> La perspectiva revolucionaria seguía abierta, estando latente la guerra civil. Sin embargo, tal pronóstico expondría un gran desacierto al contrastarse con una realidad donde las luchas sociales, bajo la órbita de un GAN cada vez más apabullante, empezaban a ceder.

Entre tanto, desde octubre hasta noviembre de 1972 se realizaron nuevas elecciones en los centros. Toda la prensa destacó la fuerte tendencia a la reconstrucción de estas entidades y al desplazamiento de su seno de los grupos insurreccionalistas. Según *Confirmado*, los votantes se incrementaron un treinta por ciento, alcanzando en la UBA 18 mil votantes.<sup>44</sup> En esta universidad los comunistas arrollaron, dando Incluso un batacazo en los “baluartes de la

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<sup>39</sup> “Balance del XI Congreso de la FUA. Primera Parte”, en *Nueva Hora*, 2° quincena de diciembre de 1971, N° 82, sin más datos.

<sup>40</sup> “El proyecto de ley universitaria”, en *Nueva Hora*, N° 86, marzo de 1972.

<sup>41</sup> BDB, sección junio de 1972, p. 24 y ss. y “Agitación. Los fuegos fatuos”, en *Confirmado*, 4 al 10 de julio de 1972, año VIII, n° 368, pp. 20–21.

<sup>42</sup> “Organizar a las masas”, en *Nueva Hora*, 1° quincena de agosto de 1972, N° 96, sin más datos.

<sup>43</sup> “¿Argentinazo?”, en *Nueva Hora*, 2° quincena de agosto de 1972, N° 97, p. 2 y 3.

<sup>44</sup> “Universidad. El congreso del retorno”, en *Confirmado*, año VIII, N° 387, 14 al 20 de noviembre de 1972, pp. 32–33.

ultraizquierda” comandados por el FAUDI: Arquitectura y Filosofía y Letras.<sup>45</sup> De este modo, el MOR totalizó 8.020 sufragios, casi el 10 por ciento de los alumnos, mientras que sus ex compañeros del FAUDI cosecharon apenas 2.199 votos.

Tras reveses como éstos, el FAUDI-PCR terminó de colisionar. Ya en octubre desde su prensa se había anunciado que pese a estar casi muerta la política del GAN Perón la había revivido.<sup>46</sup> Pese a ello, se avizoraba que las masas impedirían el acuerdo. En tres semanas esta ilusión se vino abajo. Ante la inminencia electoral, coronada por la breve visita de Perón, el partido ahora se proponía un objetivo más prolongado: acumular fuerzas junto a las “corrientes revolucionarias del peronismo” en pos de la liberación nacional y social.<sup>47</sup>

## Conclusiones

El PCR nació como producto de la ruptura con el PC en medio de la intervención dictatorial a las universidades. En un principio se planteó ampliar las posiciones conquistadas. Pero este objetivo se hizo cuesta arriba. Cuando la “Revolución Argentina” rozaba su fin en 1972, el FAUDI, aunque aún conservaba cierta fuerza universitaria, secundaba a los comunistas, otrora una minoría.

Esta pérdida de injerencia ha sido explicada por Otto Vargas, el secretario general del PCR hasta la fecha, como producto de las múltiples tareas que supuso la constitución partidaria, con eje en el movimiento obrero, labores que en Buenos Aires se potenciaron restándole importancia al trabajo universitario.<sup>48</sup> En ese lapso, el maoísmo se plasmó como identidad partidaria, tras un primer viaje a China en 1972, formalizándose dos años después en el tercer congreso del PCR. A ello podría agregársele la represión que recayó sobre sus dirigentes, llevando a muchos a la cárcel.

Sin descartar por completo estos argumentos, considero que el problema del FAUDI-PCR estuvo sobre todo en sus diagnósticos políticos. La agrupación, sin rechazar por completo la Reforma Universitaria, fue persuadida por otros grupos universitarios acerca de su agotamiento. En ese giro estratégico, apoyaron iniciativas como los cuerpos de delegados, descuidando los centros de estudiantes. Su accionar estaba motivado por la idea de la inminencia revolucionaria. Bajo los sucesivos levantamientos populares que en la Argentina se conocen como “azos”, se creía cada vez más próxima la insurrección que le daría inicio.

En ese trance, su tardío maoísmo, comparado con el más tempranamente asumido por Vanguardia Comunista, advierte sobre una delicada identidad de izquierda que en medio de sus giros políticos iba achicando su base militante. Las propias declaraciones partidarias aquí recogidas, dan cuenta de la autocrítica como un procedimiento constante para reflexionar sobre los errores políticos cometidos. Desde allí, se resalta, resulta pertinente explicar el derrotero precursor de esta organización.

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<sup>45</sup> *La Opinión*, 23-11-1972.

<sup>46</sup> “Para reivindicar el GAN”, en *Nueva Hora*, 20 de octubre de 1972, N° 102, sin más datos.

<sup>47</sup> “El PCR ante el regreso de Perón”, en *Nueva Hora*, 14 de noviembre de 1972, N° 104, p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Mariano Andrade (entrevistador): Para una historia del maoísmo argentino. Entrevista con Otto Vargas, Buenos Aires, Imago Mundi, 2005, p. 39.

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## **The Last Hurrah: Hanna Wolf's and Wolfgang Schneider's May, 1989 Defense of Stalinism**

### *Abstract*

In May, 1989 the political power monopoly of the Communist parties in Eastern Europe was eroding. Political reforms in Poland and Hungary had essentially ended the rule of the Communist parties there. In the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost* had fundamentally changed the face of Communist rule, in Czechoslovakia, Romania, and East Germany did the hardliners hold on. True, in the German Democratic Republic there were also calls for reforms from both inside and outside the ruling Communist party, the Socialist Unity Party (SED), but the party's Politburo, led by Erich Honecker and Günter Mittag, resisted all calls for reforms and innovation. They were supported in this stance by an article entitled "On the History of the Comintern (*Zur Geschichte der Komintern*)" which appeared in the May 6/7 of *Neus Deutschland*, the SED's official newspaper,

The authors of this contribution, Hanna Wolf and Wolfgang Schneider, were well-known figures among the SED's intellectual establishment. Wolf had been rector of the *Parteihochschule "Karl Marx"* from 1950 to 1983, and in 1989 she was a personal advisor to Erich Honecker. Schneider was a long-time faculty member at the *Parteihochschule*. The authors' article was a response to a number of Soviet publications, which, using the new freedoms under *glasnost* were critically analyzing Stalin's dictatorship. In their rebuttal Wolf and Schneider insisted, on the contrary, Stalin had never been a dictator; he was always subject to the democratic control of the CPSU's Central Committee. And even if Stalin had been guilty of some shortcomings, exposing them was counterproductive in the on-going class struggle. Any *Fehlerdiskussion* (discussion of [past] mistakes) only served as ammunition for the imperialist enemy. Instead of indulging in self-critical research, Soviet historians should underscore that throughout history the Communists had always been on the right side of the barricades.

The reaction to Wolf's and Schneider's article was mixed. Most East German historians were predictably appalled. They feared that their historical research was being thrown back to the dark days of the Zhdanovchina. In contrast, the SED's Central Committee passed a resolution praising the article as "exemplary." Needless to say, Wolf's and Schneider's publication did nothing to halt the unravelling of Communist rule in East Germany.

After the fall of Communism in the GDR Wolf and Schneider went on decidedly different ways. Wolf, who died in 1999, spent her last years a bitter and disappointed woman. She blamed Gorbachev for destroying the socialist society which Lenin, Stalin, and Brezhnev had so gloriously built. Schneider, on the other hand, in 2008 published a self-critical analysis of the failure of Marxism-Leninism. In his book, entitled, *Die Marxsche Vision—Ansprüche, Scheitern, historisches Schicksal: Theoriegeschichtliche Reflexionen* (The Marxist Vision – Claims, Failure, Historical Fate: Historical-theoretical Reflexions), he came to the conclusion that socialism in the GDR failed because of the economic crisis in the country, the paralysis of the SED's leadership in the fall of 1989, and, interestingly enough, the regime's violations of human rights.

The May 6/7 1989 weekend edition of *Neues Deutschland* (New Germany, ND), the official newspaper of East Germany's ruling Communist party, the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (Socialist Unity Party of Germany, SED), contained a two-page long article entitled, in the pedestrian manner of Communist publications, "Zur Geschichte der Komintern" (On the History of the Comintern).<sup>1</sup> The piece was buried on pages 9 and 10 of the paper, and the type-face discouraged all but the most motivated readers,<sup>2</sup> but the publication created a minor sensation that, contrary to the authors' intentions, further eroded the SED's political power monopoly in the German Democratic Republic.

The authors, Hanna Wolf and Wolfgang Schneider, were well-known figures in the SED's intellectual establishment. Wolf was born in 1908, the daughter of a merchant and rabbinical teacher. She described her family background as "Zionist-bourgeois." Wolf studied philosophy at Berlin's Humboldt University, but, as she put it one of her autobiographical sketches that were periodically required for the personnel records of Communist functionaries, her real life began in 1932, when, following in the footsteps of her sister, she moved to the Soviet Union. She stayed in the USSR until after World War II, becoming a fervent Stalinist. As the SED established itself as the ruling party in the GDR, Wolf moved back to Germany and became a full-time party functionary. She served in the Central Committee's bureaucracy, but in 1950, she assumed the position with which she was to be associated for most of the rest of her professional life. She was appointed rector of the *Parteihochschule "Karl Marx"* (Advanced Training Institute for Party Cadres, PHS). She retired as rector in 1983, and from 1983 to 1989, she was a "personal advisor" to Erich Honecker, the SED's general secretary and the GDR's de facto strongman since 1971.<sup>3</sup>

Schneider also had a long relationship with the PHS. By training, he was a "textile engineer," but his career was more that of a party functionary. Schneider joined the SED in 1947. He attended the PHS and, in 1961, obtained his PhD at the school. His dissertation was entitled, in the stilted manor of communist publications, "Der Kampf der SED um die Erziehung der Arbeiterklasse zur Freundschaft mit der Sowjetunion: Eine objektive Bedingung für den Übergang zur sozialistischen Revolution in der DDR (1948–1959)" ("The SED's Struggle for Educating the Working Class about Friendship with the Soviet Union: An Objective Pre-Condition for the Transition to the Socialist Revolution in the GDR (1948–1959).") After obtaining his doctorate, Schneider stayed at the PHS, becoming a full professor in 1969 and,

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<sup>1</sup> *Neues Deutschland*, 6/7 May 1989. An excerpt is reprinted in, Andreas Herbst, Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan, Jürgen Winkler (eds.): *Die SED. Geschichte, Organisation, Politik. Ein Handbuch*, Berlin, Dietz, 1997, pp. 808–812.

<sup>2</sup> Hermann Weber: *Die SED und die Geschichte der Komintern*. In: *Deutschland Archiv* 22 (1989), 8, pp. 890–903.

<sup>3</sup> See the various autobiographical statements in her *Kaderakte*, Bundesarchiv Berlin, Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR (hereafter: SAPMO-BArch), DY 30/IV/2/ 11 vorl. 5533. Incidentally, not all of Wolf's siblings were drawn to Communism and the Soviet Union. She had a brother who lived in Nebraska and a sister in Tel Aviv. Wolf noted proudly and pointedly that she had no contact with either of her siblings. See also, Rudolf Herrstadt: *Das Herrstadt-Dokument. Das Politbüro der SED und die Geschichte des 17. Juni 1953*, Reinbek b. Hamburg, Rowohlt, 1990, pp. 213–14 n. 120; Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan: *Vom Mauerbau 1961 bis zur Wende 1989*. In: Herbst e.a., *Die SED*, pp. 56–100. For an early example of these questionnaires see, Christel Dowidat: *Personalpolitik als Mittel der Transformation des Parteiensystems der SBZ/DDR (1945–1957)*. In: Hermann Weber (ed.): *Parteiensystem zwischen Demokratie und Volksdemokratie. Dokumente und Materialien zum Funktionswandel der Parteien und Massenorganisationen in der SBZ/DDR, 1945–1950*, Köln, Verlag für Wissenschaft und Politik, 1982, pp. 470–471.



in November 1970, head of research at the school. The evaluation in his *Kaderakte* from this period are overwhelmingly positive. They described Schneider's "deep attachment to the Soviet Union," and attest that "he possesses great abilities" to conduct scientific research about Marxism-Leninism.

In 1970, Schneider was sent out into the "field" as the SED's party secretary at the *Textilkombinat* Cottbus. Here, things did not go well. The entries in his *Kaderakte* note essentially that he was not qualified to lead a party collective. The commentators also wrote that Schneider recognized his failings and tried to improve, but in the end to no avail. The problem seems to have been that Schneider was unable to motivate the employees and managers at the *Kombinat* to enthusiastically carry out the decisions of the SED's party congresses and the Central Committee's resolutions. In July 1973, Schneider was dismissed "because of insufficient leadership activities." He returned to the PHS and stayed there for the rest of his career.<sup>4</sup>

There was a long-range and a short-range background to Wolf's and Schneider's publication. The long-range issue concerned the SED's historic self-image. Officially, of course, the SED was the union of the Communists and the Social Democrats in the Soviet Zone. There was an iconic picture from the SED's founding congress in April, 1946. Entering from the left, was Wilhelm Pieck, the leader of the East German Communists, and from the right of the stage Otto Grotewohl, the chairman of the Social Democrats. They met in the middle of the stage and shook hands. That handclasp remained the center of the SED's emblem for the all of the party's existence.<sup>5</sup>

The SED's hardliners, Erich Honecker and Hanna Wolf foremost among them, had never liked the symbolism of that picture. From their perspective – and essentially they were right – the SED was not the union of two equal parties, but the takeover of the Social Democrats by the Communists. From the Communists' point of view, the Social Democrats' only contribution to the union was their acknowledgement – finally – that "Social Democratism" had always been wrong-headed, and that only what in 1946 was still called Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism could pave the way for the establishment of true socialism in Germany. Over the years the SED had increasingly emphasized its Communist heritage, and in 1987 the hardliners could celebrate a particular triumph. On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Germany (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands*, KPD), the SED published a series of "36 Theses," which did indeed proclaim that the SED was the true successor organization to the KPD.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Schneider *Kaderakte*, SAPMO-BArch, DY 30/J IV/ 3 A/1951, 1746, 2022, and 2362; and Tiedke to Hager, 20 Dec. 1988, SAPMO-BArch, Bestand Büro Kurt Hager (hereafter: Best. Hager), DY 30/26474.

<sup>5</sup> Werner Müller: Der Transformationsprozess der SED. In: Weber (ed.), *Parteiensystem*, pp. 91 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The "Theses" were published in *Neues Deutschland*, 14 June 1988, and *Einheit*, 43 (no. 7, 1988), 586ff. On Wolf's fervent identification of the SED and Leninism see, Hanna Wolf: *Ausgewählte Reden und Aufsätze*, Berlin, Dietz, 1979, pp. 223, 234, 343, and 430–431. See also Hermann Weber: *Geschichte als Instrument der Politik. Zu den Thesen der SED zum 70. Jahrestag der Gründung der KPD*. In: *Deutschland Archiv* 22 (1988), 8, p. 873; and Oskar Anweiler e.a.: *Wissenschaft und Bildung in der DDR. Politische Instrumentalisierung und deren Folgen heute*. In: *Deutscher Bundestag, Enquête-Kommission SED (ed.): Überwindung der Folgen der SED-Diktatur im Prozess der deutschen Einheit*, Baden-Baden, Nomos, 1999, IV/1, p. 131.

But that triumph was jeopardized by developments in the Soviet Union. Under Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* Soviet historians were now permitted to engage in what the East Germans called *Fehlerdiskussion* (discussion of [past] mistakes). Not surprisingly, Soviet revisionists concentrated their critical researches on the Stalin era, exposing the dictator's crimes and errors in a variety of publications. Included in these narratives of Stalin's rule was the Soviet leader's ironfisted control of the Comintern, the international organization of Communist parties. Soviet historians now exposed the manner in which Stalin had used the Comintern to purge the international Communist movement of his presumed enemies and establish control over the Communist parties outside of the Soviet Union, just as he had subjected the Soviet Communist party to his personal rule.<sup>7</sup> Incidentally, the hardliners in the Soviet Union were also free to publish their views. In April, 1988, a historian named Nina Andreeva published an article in *Sovetskaia Rossiia* which proclaimed that the name Stalin "evokes a great accomplishment that has no equal for a whole generation of Soviet people".<sup>8</sup>

The immediate trigger for Wolf's and Schneider's article was an interview by two Soviet historians, Fridrikh Firsov and Kirill Shirinia, entitled (in German translation) "*Komintern—Zeit der Prüfungen*" (Comintern – the Time of Testing). The interview was published in the April 4<sup>th</sup>, 1989 edition of *Pravda*, the official organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Firsov and Shirinia were well known historians, who had previously written widely on the history of the Comintern. The authors' central thesis was that Stalin controlled all important decision making in the Comintern, and that he used the organization not to advance the Socialist revolution or to benefit the working classes, but solely to enhance his personal power. Firsov and Shirinia also demanded that Communist historians had to "overcome entrenched stereotypes" in pursuing their research. Incidentally, it is indicative of the widespread reception of *glasnost* among Soviet intellectuals that the *Pravda* interview was edited for publication by G. L. Smirnov, the director of the Soviet Communist Party's Institute for Marxism-Leninism.<sup>9</sup>

It should be recalled that this line of revision fit in well with the tumbling of the old verities in the Communist bloc. Poland had just elected a government not dominated by the Communists for the first time since 1945. Hungary was about to embark on political pluralism. But in East Germany, widespread voting fraud by the authorities during the recent local elections, and, above all, the prohibition of the German language edition of the Soviet revisionist periodical *Sputnik* demonstrated that the hardliners were determined to keep *glasnost* out of the GDR despite the unpopularity of their actions.<sup>10</sup>

The SED's agitprop functionaries countered the wave of *glasnost* writing in the Soviet Union as best they could. For example, in November, 1987, there appeared a publication "for official use only" that was to be used as part of the SED's schooling for functionaries. It was

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<sup>7</sup> Weber, *Komintern*, p. 892–893.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Fred Oldenbourg: *Das entgleiste Bündnis. Zum Verhältnis DDR-Sowjetunion im Zeichen von Perestroika und ‚neuem Denken‘*. In: Eberhard Kuhrt e.a. (eds.), *Die SED-Herrschaft und ihr Zusammenbruch*, Opladen, Leske und Budrich, 1996, p. 209.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

<sup>10</sup> In one of his memoirs the economic historian Jürgen Kuczynski called the *Sputnik* prohibition the "greatest stupidity under Honecker". See Jürgen Kuczynski: *Ein linientreuer Dissident. Memoiren 1945–1989*, Berlin, Aufbau Verlag, 1992, p. 377.

entitled "Handout (*Handreichung*) for the Course of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", and attempted to "correct" the *Fehlerdiskussion* among Soviet historians.<sup>11</sup>

Wolf's and Schneider's primary purpose in writing their diatribe was not only to answer the *Pravda* article, but, more importantly, to fortify the eroding verities of Marxism-Leninism. They began their rejoinder in the traditional manner of Communist intellectual writings: by citing the classics of Marxism-Leninism. They quoted Marx to the effect that history is the most important of all the "sciences" because it can predict the future. Then, turning to Lenin, they cited the Soviet leader's dictum that history must be written the right way: from an unwavering class perspective, using the methodology of historical materialism, and grounded in *Parteilichkeit* (partisanship, loyalty to the party doctrine). From this it followed that only true Communists can write the history of Communism; contributions by "reactionary, bourgeois historians" could not contribute anything positive to the historiographic discourse. As a sort of preemptive strike against any hopeful revisionists among their GDR colleagues Wolf and Schneider reminded them that the history of the SED would be written by the party itself, not by any self-proclaimed independent historians.

Next the authors turned to the issue of the *Fehlerdiskussion* itself. Here Wolf was in her element. For many years she had consistently objected to any discussion of past mistakes. She argued that the real question was not what mistakes the Communist movement had made in the past (and she would insist there were no significant ones), but *cui bono*, who benefitted from any such *Fehlerdiskussion*? The answer was the class enemy, the imperialists, because they would use any admission of past errors as ammunition in their relentless struggle against the truths of Marxism-Leninism. As Wolf and Schneider put it, "We must not give the enemy any additional arguments for his falsification of our glorious (*ruhmreichen*) history."<sup>12</sup>

Turning to the historiographic controversies of the day, the authors vehemently rejected the totalitarianism and convergence theories, which were popular in some quarters at this time. They insisted Communism and fascism were not both forms of totalitarianism; Stalin and Hitler were not comparable. Nor would Marxism-Leninism and capitalism evolve together into some sort of Social Democratic welfare state. The class struggle was constantly intensifying, and would end only with the inevitable victory of the working class as predicted by Marxism-Leninism. Similarly, any dialogue with bourgeois historians was a useless enterprise. Dialogue there should be, but only among historians who accepted the methodological and historiographic premises of Marxism-Leninism.

Wolf and Schneider did eventually get to the issues raised by the authors in the *Pravda* interview, and when they did their counter arguments were a series of preposterous distortions and falsifications of the historical record. According to the authors, the Comintern was not an organization dominated by Stalin's hand-picked apparatchiks, but an institution with an independent, collective leadership that reached decisions on the basis of democratic procedures. Moreover, the Comintern did not invariably endorse the policies of the

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<sup>11</sup> Oldenbourg, Bündnis, p. 208.

<sup>12</sup> See esp. her remarks at the December, 1965 meetings of the SED's Central Committee, SAPMO-BArch, SED/ ZK Sitz. 15.-18.12.1965, DY 30/IV/2/1/336. Excerpts from the discussion at the meeting were published in Günter Agde (ed.): Das 11. Plenum des ZK der SED 1965. Studien und Dokumente, Berlin, Aufbau Verlag, 1991<sup>2</sup>.

Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Comintern supported the Soviet Union as the model of a socialist society, and because it was the best hope for success in the class struggle.

When Wolf and Schneider turned to Stalin as the leader of the Soviet Union and the Russian Communist party, the picture of the Soviet dictator that emerged was certainly one that no independent historian would have accepted. To begin with, they once again denied that Stalin was a dictator. His decisions as leader of the USSR and CPSU were always subject to the approval and vote of the CPSU's Central Committee. As for Stalin's crimes and errors, for Marxist-Leninist historians that was the wrong focus. For a *parteilich* historian, the emphasis should be on the manner in which Stalin led the Soviet Union to become a socialist society that was able to resist and eventually defeat the fascist-imperialist aggressor.

The authors did admit that crimes and errors had occurred during the Stalinist purges, but these events also needed to be put into perspective. The CPSU had dealt with this topic at its 1956 congress. Subsequently all of the truly innocent victims had been posthumously rehabilitated, so this matter was closed. Moreover, whatever misdeeds were committed under Stalinism, they paled in comparison with the "*unermesslichen Verbrechen*" (immeasurable crimes) which the imperialists had committed against the world's proletarians and continued to commit against the workers. In good Marxist-Leninist fashion, Wolf and Schneider concluded that history showed the Communists were always right, and the imperialists were always wrong. Or to use their melodramatic image, the Communists had always been on the right side of the barricades.

The reaction to the article was mixed. The overwhelming number of the GDR's professional historians were outraged. The economic historian Jürgen Kuczynski, a long-time curmudgeon among East German intellectuals, (he called himself a "loyal dissident") and frequent critic of Hanna Wolf, asked if the postulate that the Communists had always been right included Stalin's pronouncement in 1939 that France and Great Britain had started the Second World War?<sup>13</sup> The historians had hoped that under *glasnost* they would be free from the shackles of *parteilich* history writing, and this piece, which they assumed was published on direct orders of Erich Honecker, threatened to put them back to the darkest days of the 1940s and 1950s. They were also very much afraid that as reforms were the watchword in the other countries of the Eastern bloc, the GDR's historians would become increasingly isolated. Not surprisingly, the Soviet historians who were the target of Wolf's and Schneider's diatribe (although Firsov and Shirinia were never mentioned by name in the *N.D.* article) were also severely critical of the German authors' piece. So were political circles in Gorbachov's Soviet Union.<sup>14</sup>

In contrast, the SED's reaction was far more positive. The party's Central Committee passed a resolution, praising the article as "exemplary." The piece was also reprinted in the July,

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<sup>13</sup> Jürgen Kuczynski: *Schwierige Jahre – mit einem besseren Ende? Tagebuchblätter 1987–1989*, Berlin: Tacheles Verlag, 1990. See also Günter Benser: *DDR. Gedenkt ihrer mit Nachsicht*, Berlin, Dietz, 2000, p. 414.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Joachim Petzold: *Parteinahme wofür? DDR-Historiker im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Wissenschaft*, Potsdam, Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2000, p. 358; Fritz Klein: *Drinnen und Draussen. Ein Historiker in der DDR. Erinnerungen*, Frankfurt am Main, S. Fischer, 2000, p. 333; Markus Wolf: *Im eigenen Auftrag. Bekenntnisse und Einsichten. Tagebuch 1989*, Berlin, edition berolina, 2016, p. 97; and Weber, *Komintern*, pp. 899 and 903.

1989 edition of the pedagogical journal *Geschichtsunterricht und Staatsbürgerkunde* (History Teaching and Civic Education.)<sup>15</sup> Hanna Wolf wrote to Honecker that she had received about 100 spontaneous reactions from readers. She claimed most of these were positive, although some exhibited what she called an anti-party attitude. Among the latter group, she identified specifically the well-known East German historians Fritz Klein and Eberhard Czichon.<sup>16</sup>

Wolf's and Schneider's attempt to put Stalin back on a pedestal had no effect on the larger scheme of things, of course. Throughout 1989 Communist rule in Eastern Europe was relentlessly unravelling. But the piece did have an aftermath of sorts in that the two authors took quite divergent paths after the *Wende* in the GDR and German re-unification.

Hanna Wolf remained true to her convictions and loyal to Erich Honecker. On October 18, 1989 the SED's Politburo forced Honecker out as the party's general secretary and replaced him with Egon Krenz. The general secretary's closest associates, Günter Mittag and Frank-Joachim Herrmann, were also dismissed. (Officially Honecker asked to be relieved of the burden of the office for health reasons.) The next day the Politburo presented the decision to the full Central Committee (some 200 members and candidates), and asked for that body's endorsement of the personnel changes. The Politburo expected a unanimous decision, and this was almost true. There was only one member of the CC voting against Honecker's dismissal: Hanna Wolf.<sup>17</sup>

As her world crashed about her, Hanna Wolf spent the last years of her life a bitter and disappointed woman. Along with several other hardliners (including Honecker), the SED's successor organization, the Party of Democratic Socialism (*Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus*, PDS) expelled Wolf from its ranks, ironically for "anti-party activity". Wolf was particularly disappointed by developments in the Soviet Union. Or to be more precise, by the role played by Mikhail Gorbachev. She blamed the originator of *glasnost* and *perestroika* for destroying the successful socialist society that Lenin and Stalin had built.<sup>18</sup> Although throughout her career Wolf had consistently celebrated the friendship between East Germany and the USSR, after the collapse of the GDR, she concluded that, "[i]n the final analysis, until the end, the Soviets looked upon us and treated us as a colony."<sup>19</sup> As a final act of defiance in 1992, she joined one of the groups calling itself a resurrected KPD (Honecker was also a member). This KPD was a pathetic attempt to resurrect the supposedly glorious Stalinist past of the Weimar-era German Communist Party. It was also

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<sup>15</sup> *Geschichtsunterricht und Staatsbürgerkunde* 31 (1989), 7/8, pp. 551–562; and Stephan, Mauerbau, p. 96. See also, Wolfgang Leonhard: *Meine Geschichte der DDR*, Berlin, Rowohlt, 2007, p. 171; and Manfred Uchner: *Die zweite Etage. Funktionsweise eines Machtapparates*, Berlin, Dietz, 1993, p. 135.

<sup>16</sup> Hanna Wolf to Honecker, 7 July 1989, SAPMO-BArch, Bestand Büro Erich Honecker (hereafter Best. Honecker), DY 30/ 2559.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Kunze: *Staatschef a. D. Die letzten Jahre des Erich Honecker*, Berlin, Ch. Links Verlag, 2001, p. 37.

<sup>18</sup> Alfred Neumann: *Poltergeist im Politbüro*, ed. by Siegfried Prokop, Frankfurt an der Oder, Frankfurter Oder-Edition, 1996, p. 65.

<sup>19</sup> Gerhard Fricke: *Geschichte und Politik der KPdSU als Lehrfach in der Parteihochschule „Karl Marx“*. In: Uwe Möller (ed.): *Die Parteihochschule der SED. Ein kritischer Rückblick. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Parteihochschule „Karl Marx“*, Scheunitz, GNV Verlag, 2006, p. 44.

a dismal failure; the KPD never had more than 40 members.<sup>20</sup> Hanna Wolf died in Berlin in 1999.

In contrast to Wolf, Schneider wrote a *mea culpa* book of sorts. Entitled *Die Marxsche Vision: Anspruch, Scheitern, Historisches Schicksal – Theoriegeschichtliche Reflexionen* (The Marxist Vision: Claims, Failure, Historical Fate – Theoretical Historical Reflections), it was brought out by an obscure publisher and did not contain any particularly original insights or profound conclusions, but Schneider did attempt to explain why, in his view, Marxism-Leninism failed. Rather than relying on the *ad hominem* argument of simply blaming Gorbachev and the “revisionists,” Schneider went out of his way to depersonalize Marxism-Leninism. The Marxist leaders, – Ulbricht, Honecker, even Lenin – appear only on the margins of the argument. It was as though the one thing that the author learned from the fall of communism was not to overburden his account with quotations from the “classics”.<sup>21</sup>

In assigning blame and shortcomings Schneider began by criticizing the cult of the classics. He attacked the assumption, no, certainty, that the classical thinkers of Marxism-Leninism – Marx, Engels, and Lenin – had provided valid answers to any societal problems that might arise. Intricately related to the cult of the classics was the citation syndrome. Especially at the PHS, research on Marxism-Leninism essentially consisted of searching for and finding an appropriate citation from the classics to prove – once again – that they had been absolutely right. (Jürgen Kuczynski called this form of “research” the “citation disease.”<sup>22</sup>) During his years at the PHS no one had been a more enthusiastic practitioner of the cult of the classics than Wolfgang Schneider,<sup>23</sup> but in his retrospective analysis, he now realized that Marxism-Leninism had been a cult-like ritual. Schneider admitted that socialism had become an abstraction devoid of any link to reality.

Schneider also criticized the SED’s version of Marxism-Leninism for its failure to create the “new socialist man”. Despite cradle to grave indoctrination programs (Schneider called them political-pedagogical measures), the selfless, self-collectivized human being was never the norm in the GDR. Worse, the regime’s leaders deluded themselves that they had succeeded in their quest. They insisted that the thousands who marched past the reviewing stands did so because they embodied the new socialist man. In reality the demonstrators were there because they had been ordered to be there. In 1989, even many SED members, who presumably had internalized the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism most fervently, readily abandoned the faith. In the course of the year literally hundreds of thousands of party members quietly turned in their party books. As Schneider summed it up: The pedagogy did not create a new human being.

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<sup>20</sup> Henrik Eberle: Anmerkungen zu Honecker, Berlin, Schwarzkopf und Schwarzkopf, 2000, p. 131.

<sup>21</sup> Wolfgang Schneider, *Die Marxsche Vision. Anspruch, Scheitern, historisches Schicksal. Theoriegeschichtliche Reflexionen*, Hamburg, Kovacz Verlag, 2008, p. 329.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted in Horst Haun: *Kommunist und „Revisionist“*. Die SED-Kampagne gegen Jürgen Kuczynski (1956–1959), Dresden, Hannah-Arendt-Institut für Totalitarismusforschung, 1999, p. 16.

<sup>23</sup> See Schneider’s contribution in Kurt Tiedke e.a.: *Die führende Rolle der SED bei der weiteren Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft*, Berlin, [PHS], 1989, p. 86. See also, PHS (ed.): *Kaderschmiede der Partei, Schule für das Leben*, Berlin, [PHS], 1986, pp. 76–77 (Heinz Wedler); Tiedke to Hager, 3 Feb. 1987; and Tiedke, „Forschungsarbeit“, Dec. 1988, SAPMO-BArch, Best. Hager, DY 30/26472.

Since there was no new socialist man, the party had to deal with the old specimen, but that ran counter to the premise of Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, the ruling elite in the GDR decided the individual and his or her needs were less important than the over-arching societal goals. The individual's desires were subordinated to the needs of the collectivity. Or, as Schneider put it, Marxism-Leninism "paid too little attention to the tensions between [individual] freedom and [societal] justice [*Gerechtigkeit*]". As a result, "the people of the GDR saw the political demands that the welfare of the individual had to be subordinated to society's needs as constraints on their individual well-being". And this feeling eventually became an "existential danger for the socialist system."<sup>24</sup> Non-Marxists agreed with Schneider's conclusions. In his memoir, Joachim Gauck, before 1989 a dissident theologian in the GDR and after reunification head of the Stasi archive and from 2012–2017, Germany's federal president, wrote that Marxism-Leninism was an experiment imposed on real human beings. "And we, imprisoned behind the Wall, had no choice but to cooperate".<sup>25</sup> But that was true only as long as the regime remained firmly in control. As the events of 1989 showed, once the East German people had a choice they decisively rejected Marxism-Leninism and its societal experimentations.

Like virtually every other commentator Schneider also discussed the problems of the East German economy. After all, there was general agreement after the *Wende* that the regime's economic problems contributed in a major way to its downfall. Schneider's take on the economy was rather interesting. Unlike other Monday morning quarterbacks, the author did not simply blame Günter Mittag's decisions to ignore economic reality or Honecker's massive social welfare programs for the GDR's economic difficulties. Instead, Schneider pointed to a fundamental flaw in the regime's running of the economy. The primary goal of the SED's economic decision-making, Schneider argued, was not increased productivity and efficiency, but to maintain the party's political power monopoly. The last chairman of the GDR's Central Planning Bureau, Gerhard Schürer, reached the same conclusion. He also criticized the "priority of politics over the economy in the GDR".<sup>26</sup>

Like many other commentators, Schneider belatedly recognized the profound and negative impact which the digital revolution – what the East Germans called the "scientific-technical revolution" – had upon the East German economy. Until the fall of the regime, the researchers at the PHS, Schneider among them, trumpeted the official line that the digital revolution was part of the laws of history as predicted by the classic thinkers of Marxism-Leninism.<sup>27</sup> Hanna Wolf vehemently denied the argument advanced by some Soviet scholars in the 1980s that the scientific-technical revolution had superseded the significance of the social revolution as proclaimed by Marx and Lenin.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Schneider, *Vision*, p. 291.

<sup>25</sup> Joachim Gauck: *Winter im Sommer, Frühling im Herbst. Erinnerungen*, Berlin, Siedler, 2009, p. 333.

<sup>26</sup> Schneider, *Vision*, p. 260. Schürer is quoted in Gerhard Wettig: *Niedergang, Krise und Zusammenbruch der DDR*. In: Kuhrt (ed.), *SED-Herrschaft*, p. 438. See also, Carl-Heinz Janson: *Totengräber der DDR. Wie Günter Mittag den SED-Staat ruinierte*, Düsseldorf, Econ Verlag, 1991, pp. 135–137 and 257–258.

<sup>27</sup> Schneider, *Vision*, pp. 349–350.

<sup>28</sup> Wolf, „Information... Konferenz... Internationale... Lenin... Schule... 18. 25.5.1982...Moskau," and Wolf to Hager, 25 May 1989, SAPMO-BArch, Best. Hager, DY 30/26468.

Part of the “evidence” for the superiority of the digital revolution in the socialist countries lay in the distant past, notably the early success of the Soviet space program, symbolized by the launching of the *Sputnik* satellite in 1956.<sup>29</sup> Kurt Hager, the member of the Politburo responsible for culture and education wrote in January 1958 that “*Sputnik* proved the correctness of our scientific ideology. Today the question is no longer that socialism must catch up with capitalism, but rather that the imperialists cannot compete with socialism”.<sup>30</sup> Interestingly, Jean Monnet, the long-time president of the European Commission, predicted as early as the 1960s that the digital revolution would lead to the collapse of the Soviet empire.<sup>31</sup>

After the fall of the GDR Schneider was honest enough to recognize that the old Communist beliefs were nonsense. He concluded that the SED’s leaders ignored the significance of the digital revolution for far too long. When they did appreciate the significance of the new technologies, Western capitalism had achieved a head start that the socialist economies could not overcome. The digital revolution, wrote Schneider, was the “actual gravedigger of socialism”.<sup>32</sup>

In summing up his arguments, Schneider listed three fundamental reasons for the final failure of socialism in the GDR: the “manifestations of the economic crisis”, the self-imposed paralysis of the SED’s leadership in the fall of 1989, and, interestingly, the regime’s violations of human rights.<sup>33</sup>

What, then, was the significance of Wolf’s and Schneider’s article? The piece had consequences, but they were the opposite of what the authors had attempted to achieve. The effort to resurrect Stalin’s reputation certainly did not help to stabilize the regime’s rule. Rather, it further alienated the country’s intellectual elite because the publication of the article demonstrated that the hardliners were still in charge. Evidence for that was readily at hand. Not only was it obvious that *Neues Deutschland* would not have published the piece without approval from the highest levels of the regime, but the SED Central Committee’s formal endorsement of the article showed that, in May 1989, Honecker and his allies firmly rejected *glasnost* and any political and economic reforms. They stood firmly for the “dogmatic narrowing” of the concept of Marxism-Leninism. A few months later, they would be swept from power.

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<sup>29</sup> August H. Leugers-Scherzberg: Die Wandlungen des Herbert Wehner. Von der Volksfront zur Grossen Koalition, Berlin, Propyläen, 2002, p. 227.

<sup>30</sup> Hager is quoted in Haun, Kommunist, p.114.

<sup>31</sup> Brigitte Seebacher-Brandt: Willy Brandt, München, Piper, 2004, p. 258.

<sup>32</sup> Schneider, Vision, pp. 251–252 and 349–350.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, pp. 10 and 229.



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## The Use of Lenin in Chinese Sovietology after 1989

### *Abstract*

In 1989, China faced global criticism due to the brutal military crackdown ordered by its ruling Communist party over civilians during the pro-democratic Tiananmen demonstrations in the summer of that year. The article examines how Chinese Soviet-watchers manipulated the symbol of Vladimir Lenin and his post-1917 foreign policy, to support Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping's post-Tiananmen agenda of buying time and keeping a low profile; while finding a way out of isolation and re-connecting with the world. After the Tiananmen Incident in 1989, interpretation of Lenin's writings by Chinese scholars generally supported Deng's reformist policies and legitimized his position at home against the comeback of the leftist offensive. Chinese scholarship put Deng and Lenin on the same level and stated that Deng had long followed Lenin's principle of building socialism. Moreover, Lenin's foreign policy and his rule during the early Soviet Union were selected as they had meshed well with the stance and interest of China after Tiananmen, since both regimes were bound by the common aspirations of rising to be global powers amid international hostility. Chinese scholars praised Lenin's agenda that embraced reforms and learning from the West, while persisting with communist dictatorship, as the key to saving China from the setback of Tiananmen and to keeping socialism vital in the future.

### **Introduction**

The breakup of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1991 has had a profound impact on the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Soviet dissolution has had a variety of significant repercussions on Chinese politics, foreign policy, and other aspects. However, some myths about post-1991 Chinese research on the Soviet Union have been circulated and perpetuated by a body of secondary literature written by Western scholars. Some issues have been unclear or misunderstood in previous studies, and one of these inaccuracies has to do with the Chinese perceptions of the role of the last Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

A number of the secondary sources written by Western scholars seem to have exaggerated the impact of Gorbachev on China.<sup>1</sup> Previous scholarship indicates that most Chinese

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<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Rozman: China's Concurrent Debate about the Gorbachev Era. In: Thomas Bernstein, Huayu Li (eds.): China Learns from the Soviet Union, 1949–Present. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2010, pp. 464–470; Christopher Marsh: Unparalleled Reforms: China's Rise, Russia's Fall, and the Interdependence of Transition. Oxford: Lexington Books, 2005, p. 111; David Shambaugh: China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008, pp. 48–56; Jeanne Wilson: The Impact of the Demise of State Socialism on China. In: David Lane (ed.): The Transformation of State Socialism: System Change, Capitalism or Something Else?. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p. 272.

Soviet-watchers after 1991 considered Gorbachev and his liberalisation to be the fundamental catalysts in spelling the collapse of the Soviet Union. The literature seems to agree that Chinese Soviet-watchers were univocal in assessing Gorbachev's individual actions and failings, and that they overstated the implications of Gorbachev and his liberal programs for China, both in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>2</sup>

In fact, apart from Gorbachev, Chinese debates on the Soviet Union were focusing on different Soviet leaders in and after 1991, particularly on the first Soviet leader Vladimir Lenin, who featured prominently in Chinese writings and claimed equal importance to Gorbachev. This article will present another issue that has been rarely mentioned by the aforementioned existing scholarship on post-1991 Chinese research on the USSR and examine the use of Lenin by Chinese scholars in the early 1990s.

Another problem is the assumption of most secondary literature mentioned above that Chinese Sovietology has taken on a mere "lesson-drawing" approach since 1991,<sup>3</sup> designed and authorized by the PRC regime. Within this perspective, previous literature has often selected and analysed a full range of Chinese articles on Soviet studies published in and after 1991. The major concerns of those chosen papers mostly involve the causes of the Soviet demise, and how China might avoid making the same errors as did the USSR. From these Chinese articles, one gets the sense that since 1991, the "lesson-drawing" approach has become the sole avenue for Chinese research on the former USSR. Many of the quoted Chinese publications focus on discovering the inherent problems of Soviet socialism and the mistakes of Gorbachev's reforms.

Contrary to the descriptions in the secondary literature, it is incorrect to say that Chinese Sovietology after 1991 was only concentrating on the dark sides of the Soviet Union, studying its negative lessons for China's use in preserving its own communist regime. After the 1989 Tiananmen Incident, China became the target of global outrage, due to the brutal military crackdown over civilians ordered by its ruling *Chinese Communist Party (CCP)* during the pro-democratic demonstrations in the summer of 1989. After Tiananmen, Chinese scholars manipulated the symbol of Lenin and his post-1917 foreign policy, in an attempt to support the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping's post-Tiananmen agenda of buying time and keeping a low profile – all while finding a way out of international isolation and re-connecting with the world. This article demonstrates that Chinese scholars had drawn parallels between the early Soviet Union and China after Tiananmen, when both regimes were facing international sanctions. Those scholars argued that China might learn from those of Lenin's teachings that encouraged engagement in formal relations with the West, while concentrating on economic development and maintaining a proletarian dictatorship.

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<sup>2</sup> For a survey on Chinese perception of Gorbachev before and after the Soviet collapse, see Jie Li: Gorbachev's Glasnost and the Debate on Chinese Socialism among Chinese Sovietologists, 1985–1999. In: *Journal of the British Association for Chinese Studies* Vol. 6, No. 4 (December 2016), pp. 35–65.

<sup>3</sup> The term "lesson-drawing" is produced by Marsh, see *Unparalleled Reforms*, p. 107.

## Methodology and Sources

With respect to primary sources, it should be mentioned here that this research is based primarily on the “national core journals” (*Guojiaji hexin qikan*) published in the PRC, and mainly on the following four categories of journals:

The first are those journals focusing on research in the humanities and social sciences in general (*Shehui kexue yanjiu* or *Social Science Research*, *Shijie jingjiyu zhengzhi* or *World Economics and Politics*). Second are those journals dealing with problems of socialism or communism in the world (*Dangdai shijie shehui zhuyi wenti* or *Problems of Contemporary World Socialism*, *Shehui zhuyi yanjiu* or *Socialism Studies*). The third group forms the core of this study; they concentrate on questions and issues relating to the former Soviet Union (later the Russian Federation and other Commonwealth Independent States after 1991) (*Sulian dongou wenti* or *Matters of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, *Eluosi yanjiu* or *Russian Studies*). Lastly, the research scope also included relevant articles in various university journals (*Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yanjiu shengyuan xuebao* or *Journal of the Graduate School of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences*, *Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao xuebao* or *Journal of the Party School of the Central Committee of the CCP*).

All the journals selected for this research accept submissions from all over China.<sup>4</sup> Most (but not all) of the contributors are academics, and the journals maintain acceptable quality standards and have a good reputation in the Chinese academic world. Some of them, such as *Sulian dongou wenti* (*Matters of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*) and *Shehui zhuyi yanjiu* (*Socialism Studies*), are the very best PRC journals in their fields.

In order to clear up previous misunderstandings about Chinese research on the Soviet Union, the researcher has chosen a different approach to re-examine the field. First, the article will focus on the publications in the bimonthly official journal of *Sulian dongou wenti* (*Matters of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, hereafter, *MSUEE*) as the primary source for analysis. The journal is published by the *Institute of Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies* (*Eluosi dongou zhongya yanjiusuo*, hereafter, *IREECAS*), which is the largest powerhouse of research on the former Soviet Union in the PRC. The institute is affiliated with the *Chinese Academy of Social Sciences* (CASS) – China’s most prominent institution specialising in the humanities and social sciences and under the control of the *State Council* and Party supervision. The *IREECAS* journal not only publishes articles written by the *IREECAS*’ employed scholars, but also accepts submissions by other scholars across China. It can thus be used as a medium that reflects the historical development of Soviet studies in China.

Second, the investigator will also examine other PRC humanities and social science publications regarding the research on the USSR, mostly focusing on the four categories of journals previously classified. By engaging these publications (either from the *IREECAS* journal or others) the study will not be limited to those publications merely learning lessons from the Soviet collapse after 1991. Instead, it will pay attention to various thematic research projects diverging in focus and analysis between the late 1980s and the end of the 1990s.

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<sup>4</sup> For a list of the PRC journals on the Soviet Union, see Gilbert Rozman: China’s Soviet Watchers in the 1980s: A New Era in Scholarship. In: *World Politics* 37, No. 4 (July 1985), pp. 440–441.

Such a methodology may reduce a certain bias on Soviet research in China and instead direct the audience to review the field from a more objective perspective.

Moreover, the article intends to examine the thinking of Chinese Soviet-watchers against the backdrop of political and social changes in 1990s China. The study will be based not only on the analysis of primary sources already undertaken, but will also attempt to locate the developments of Chinese Soviet research amid the rapid changes in the social and political environment of China. Therefore, in order for this research to be successfully located in the rich fabric of the intellectual activities of contemporary China and in the changing environment, the investigator has also identified the following three kinds of documents that may be beneficial to the research:

**Articles in PRC official newspapers and journals concerning aspects of the former Soviet Union:** *Renmin ribao* (*People's Daily*, owned by the CCP Central Committee); *Guangming ribao* (*Guangming Daily*, published by the CCP Central Propaganda Department); *Beijing Review* (China's only national English weekly news magazine published in Beijing by the *China International Publishing Group*), etc.

**Writings and speeches of PRC officials and leaders on the matters of the Soviet state:** Such as those of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, and other contemporary Chinese leaders' related speeches scattered among the Chinese newspapers in the 1980s and 1990s.

**Chinese and English translations of works and speeches of Soviet leaders from Lenin to Gorbachev:** as Chinese scholars always cite the words of Soviet leaders (such as works of Lenin and Stalin and memoirs of Khrushchev and Gorbachev) to support their arguments in articles, it is important for the researcher to check the accuracy of those quotations.

The use of the term "Soviet-watchers" (or Sovietologists) in this article for those who study and research the state of the USSR is based on Christopher Xenakis' definition. Xenakis defines US Sovietologists broadly, to include "political scientists, economists, sociologists, historians, diplomats and policy makers, working in academia, government, private think tanks, and the media."<sup>5</sup> He uses the terms "Sovietologists", "Soviet experts", "foreign policy analysts", "Cold War theorists", and "political scientists" interchangeably, citing the examples of George Kennan, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Richard Pipes, and Strobe Talbott. These individuals are both Soviet-specialists and policy makers, while Hedrick Smith and Robert Kaiser are also Soviet-watchers and journalists simultaneously.<sup>6</sup>

In terms of this elastic definition of the field and the diversity of scholars' backgrounds, the situation in China is generally similar to the situation in the US as described by Xenakis. For example, as we shall see, although some Chinese scholars specialize in either Soviet or world communism, most of those mentioned and quoted in this paper are generalists rather than specialists in Soviet studies. Their articles often express more political zeal than scholarly expertise or analytical insight. Generally speaking, the descriptions by Xenakis of US Sovietologists could also be applied to the Chinese situation. Chinese Soviet-watchers

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<sup>5</sup> Christopher Xenakis: *What Happened to the Soviet Union? : How and Why American Sovietologists were Caught by Surprise*. London: Praeger, 2002, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

are a diverse group, rather than representatives of a single school of thought or central theory. Their publications never imply a complete homogeneity of views. However, although their academic training is rooted in different disciplines and is by no means confined to Soviet studies, their research and publications are relevant to Soviet research in one way or another.<sup>7</sup>

Almost all Chinese Soviet-watchers included in this article come from the following three kinds of institutions: the first is *IREECAS* in *CASS* and it carries a great deal of weight in Soviet studies in China. *IREECAS* is also the headquarter of the *Chinese Association of East European and Central Asian Studies (CAEECAS)*, which administers the membership of Chinese Soviet-specialists across the country. Second, the research scope also pays attention to scholars in Soviet studies from other institutions in *CASS*, such as the *Institute of World History* and the *Institute of Marxism-Leninism*. Last, the investigation includes Chinese Soviet-watchers from provincial academies of social sciences and other universities (including the party schools), particularly those with units, departments, and journals devoted specifically to research on the USSR.<sup>8</sup>

### **Lenin and the fate of Chinese socialism after Tiananmen**

The foreign policy of Lenin started to draw the attention of Chinese scholars in and after 1989, when China became a political pariah owing to the ruling Communist Party's brutal military crackdown on civilians during the pro-democratic Tiananmen demonstrations in the summer of that year. Chinese perspectives in the wake of the Tiananmen Incident argued that the PRC might learn from Lenin's policy in War Communism (1918–1921), when the newly-born Soviet Union was besieged by imperialist military encirclement. At the time, Lenin adopted a foreign policy that encouraged engagement in formal relations with the West, while concentrating on economic development and maintaining a proletarian dictatorship. Such principles were akin to Deng Xiaoping's post-Tiananmen agendas of buying time and keeping a low profile while finding a way out of the Western sanctions and re-connecting with the world.<sup>9</sup> As Yu Liangzao, a lecturer at the *University of Hubei*, summarized in his 1991 article, "China should learn from Lenin's post-1917 peaceful-coexistence strategy, by pursuing the continued economic cooperation with the West and upholding the open door policy," in order to "overcome the international sanctions, change China's global image, and finally restore its rightful place in the world."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Similarly, Robert Desjardins in his book on post-war French Sovietology also includes not only the scholarship of French Soviet specialists but also the writings of French historians, economists and political scientists, whose works are orientated only incidentally towards the USSR. See Robert Desjardins: *The Soviet Union Through French Eyes, 1945–1985*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> For a list of PRC institutes that have facilities for research of the Soviet Union, see Gilbert Rozman: *China's Soviet Watchers in the 1980s*. In: *World Politics* 37, No. 4 (July 1985), pp. 444–445.

<sup>9</sup> Deng Xiaoping: *With Stable Policies of Reform and Opening to the Outside World, China Can Have Great Hopes for the Future* (September 4, 1989). In: *The Bureau for the Compilation and Translation of Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China* (ed. and trans.): *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (Vol. 3). Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1995, p. 311.

<sup>10</sup> Yu Liangzao: *Liening wannian guanyu suetong ziben zhuyi guojia guanxide sixiang shuping* (Lenin's Thoughts on the Relationship between the Soviet Russia and Capitalist Countries in the Evening of His Life). In: *Shehui kexue yanjiu* (*Social Science Research*) No. 2 (1991), p. 21.

In the summer of 1989, a large group of Chinese university students in China's capital city of Beijing took advantage of commemorating the death of former Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang, who died in April allegedly due to a sudden heart attack, and spearheaded the hunger strike demonstrations at the heart of Tiananmen Square. Most of them wanted the Chinese communist regime to reform itself for a more efficient and clean governance. However, some of them demanded the introduction of democracy and rule of law, and the resignation of the party leadership. These requests were absolutely unacceptable to the ruling communist party. The demonstrations were later joined by many Chinese intellectuals, students, and civilians from all over the country. The *CCP* regarded the protests as a humiliation, particularly considering that the incident coincided with the historical Sino-Soviet summit taking place in May, when the leaders of the two largest communist countries in the world – Deng Xiaoping and Gorbachev – met together in front of international journalists. The *CCP* regime decided to take firm action against the uprising at the end of May, and ordered the military force to crack down the demonstrators in the midnight of the Fourth of June.

After the *CCP*'s military crackdown in 1989, China was facing four consequences. First, internationally, many countries in the world endorsed the political and economic sanctions against China, as a form of punishment for its armed suppression over civilians and its infringement upon human rights. Second, domestically, the Tiananmen Incident was followed immediately by an intensified intra-*CCP* power struggle, wherein the conservative Party members attempted to seize the opportunity to criticize Deng Xiaoping's reform and open door policies after 1978, and push China back to the rule of Maoism. Third, the event paralleled the failure of communism in Eastern Europe and the USSR from 1989 onward, and many Chinese people almost entirely lost their faith in socialism. Last, combining all the causes above, China after 1989 was at a crossroad; from the top leadership to ordinary people, all felt deeply puzzled about the future direction of China and had no concrete idea about how China would weather the Tiananmen crisis.

In late 1989, the new Party Secretary General Jiang Zemin gave a warning to Party cadres about hostile international forces and the critical situation of the *CCP*:

At present we must realize that our party is in peril and the international hostile forces are engineering the plot of peaceful evolution to push the *CCP* on the verge of death. We should be acutely aware of the urgency of current situation. All cadres should work together to safeguard our Party and ensure socialism in China will survive the test and remain undefeated.<sup>11</sup>

Deng Xiaoping also expressed his concern about the issue. He believed that the West had "the same attitude towards China as towards the East European countries," and that the West was "unhappy that China adheres to socialism."<sup>12</sup> Deng said that Chinese people did not fear being isolated. He remarked, "No one can shake China's determination to build

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<sup>11</sup> Jiang Zemin: Weibadang jianshecheng gengjia jianqiangde gongren jieji xianfengdui erdouzheng (To Make the Party Become a Stronger Vanguard of the Working Class) (December 29, 1989). In: Renmin chubanshe (People's Publishing House) (ed.): Jiangzemin wenxuan (Selected Works of Jiang Zemin) (Vol. 1). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2006, pp. 87–88.

<sup>12</sup> Deng: We Must Adhere to Socialism and Prevent Peaceful Evolution Towards Capitalism (November 23, 1989). In: The Bureau (ed. and trans.): Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (Vol. 3), p. 333.

socialism,” and “no matter what changes take place in the international situation, China will be able to hold its ground.”<sup>13</sup>

From late 1989, a flood of official articles circulated in China, invoking Lenin and his writings as a model that could be useful in combating Western attacks and safeguarding socialism in China. A commentator in *Guangming ribao* commented that Lenin’s theory about the inevitable death of capitalism had not been outdated in the contemporary era.<sup>14</sup> He said, “It is correct for China to adhere to the socialist path”, and believed that “socialism will replace capitalism in the future.”<sup>15</sup> Another article in *Qiushi (Seeking Truth)* described Lenin’s writings as “a good weapon” for China to employ to “fight with the international vicious tendencies of peaceful evolution.”<sup>16</sup> Li Zhun, vice minister of the *Central Propaganda Department*, wrote in *Renmin ribao* demanding that “comrades working in ideology apply theories of Marx and Lenin in their research works for the battle against the peaceful evolution.”<sup>17</sup> Another article in *Renmin ribao* required all Party cadres to achieve “a high level of understanding of Leninist theories”, with a view to “grasp the world situation, uphold the communist conviction, and cope with the complicated international environment.”<sup>18</sup>

In response to the calls of Party authorities, Chinese scholars started to follow the example of the early Soviet Union when the country was threatened by Western military invasion, and

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<sup>13</sup> Deng: No One Can Shake Socialist China (October 26, 1989). In: The Bureau (ed. and trans.): Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (Vol. 3), pp. 318–319.

<sup>14</sup> For Lenin’s theory, see Vladimir Lenin: Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, a Popular Outline. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965, p. 24.

<sup>15</sup> Chou Qihua: Zhengque lijie liening guanyu diguo zhuyi suisixing deguandian (To Correctly Understand Lenin’s Thesis on the Inevitable Demise of Imperialism). In: *Guangming ribao*, 25. 9. 1989.

<sup>16</sup> Bianjibu (The Editorial Board): Fengfude lilun baoku (A Rich Theoretical Treasury). In: *Qiushi (Seeking Truth)* No. 8 (1991), p. 4. The term “peaceful evolution” was first introduced by George Kennan, US ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1947. US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, made it famous in the 1950s. After 1949, the CCP regime used this term to describe those countries (especially the West and the US in particular) that invoked the banners of human right and democracy to force their values and political systems on the Third World – the so-called “peaceful evolution.” After Tiananmen, the Chinese official and academic analysis tended to argue that the peaceful evolution engineered by the West had played a prominent role in jolting Eastern Europe and the USSR. In reality, the doctrine of peaceful evolution was more a propaganda trick than a genuine academic argument. After 1989, the Party hard-liners had used the threat of peaceful evolution as the justification to shut down reforms. However, 1992 marked the termination of the peaceful evolution thesis, which seemed to be an exaggerated accusation that the Soviet collapse was simply a result of Western subversion. Seen from his 1992 speech transcript during the southern tour, Deng Xiaoping believed that the chief cause of turmoil in socialism was not the imperialist peaceful evolution. The problem lays with the internal factors, such as poverty and the under-developed economies in many socialist countries. In his view, the only way for China to survive after the Soviet dissolution was to continue the open door policy and reform the past economy characterized by centralized control and enforced egalitarianism. He argued that abandoning the path of reform set in 1978 would only lead the country to the sort of catastrophe befalling the USSR. In Deng’s mind, to admit that the socialist system itself has fundamental flaws was more important than to blame foreign machinations. Instead of giving the excuse of the so-called peaceful evolution and ignoring true problems, China after 1991 should face up squarely to reality and meet the challenges ahead. By dispelling the assertion of peaceful evolution, Deng won the power battle over his Party rivals, ensuring a state-wide consensus to embrace his strategy of faster growth, enhanced economic reform, and greater interaction with the outside world. For an analysis on the pre-1992 Chinese short-lived thesis of peaceful evolution, see Shambaugh: China’s Communist Party, p. 55.

<sup>17</sup> Li Zhun: Tigaofan heping yanbiande zizuexing (Be Leery of the Peaceful Evolution). In: *Renmin ribao*, 22. 8. 1991.

<sup>18</sup> Luo Ding: Lingdao ganbuyao daitongxue lilun (Leaders and Cadres Should Take the Lead in Studying Theories). In: *Renmin ribao*, 18. 10. 1991.

asked the PRC to learn from Lenin's wisdom of how to break through foreign encirclement.<sup>19</sup> According to a scholar at the *Guangxi University for Nationalities*:

Today when capitalists are mounting intensive attacks against socialism, the international communist movement is at the moment of low tide. Under such circumstances, to study Lenin's experience and theories on upholding and developing Marxism will have a great practical significance for us to march toward the socialist path unswervingly under today's stormy international climate.<sup>20</sup>

The *IREECAS* scholar Jiang Yi wrote in an article that, when the newly-born Soviet Union was beset by imperial hostility, Lenin still realized that Soviet socialism was in need of peace and respite for economic recovery.<sup>21</sup> After that, "peaceful co-existence with the West became the major principle of Soviet foreign policy."<sup>22</sup> Yu Liangzao in another article argued that China should heed Lenin's strategies during its difficult time; these included strengthening the one-party rule, fighting bloated bureaucracy and corruption, and remaining vigilant of imperialist interventions.<sup>23</sup> Even in the late 1990s, when China had extricated itself from isolation and re-embraced the global society, Li Zhencheng, director of the *Institute of Marxism at the Central Party School*, still remarked that Lenin's counter-encirclement methods in the early 20th century were a useful example for not only Chinese socialism, but also the future of world communism:

At the time, the struggle between the international hostile forces intending for sabotaging the October Revolution and the Soviet communists for safeguarding the fruit of the Revolution, was a life-or-death final showdown between the proletarians and the bourgeoisies. It ended with the victory of the former and the outcome would be honoured by history. The struggle was one of the greatest events in the 20th century and it has been celebrated by peoples from all over the world. We can see that in a non-military battlefield, a war without bloodshed could be more prolonged, intensive, and brutal. Fortunately, at the time the imperialists did not have an effective and systematic strategy of peaceful evolution. It would be helpful for us to seriously study and sum up the lessons from this event, for subsequent campaigns against capitalist rivals.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> For Lenin's measures to combat foreign interventions, see Lenin: The Tasks of the Revolution. In: Vladimir Lenin: Collected Works, September 1917–February 1918 (Vol. 26). Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960, pp. 59–68.

<sup>20</sup> Ye Runqing: Liening zenyang jianchihe fazhan makesi zhuyi (How Did Lenin Uphold and Develop Marxism). In: *Dangdai shijieyu shehui zhuyi (Contemporary World and Socialism)* No. 1 (1991), p. 44.

<sup>21</sup> For Lenin's policies in state administration and economic development when the Soviet Union was experiencing internal and external problems in the early 20th century, see Lenin: The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government. In: Lenin: Collected Works, February–July 1918 (Vol. 27), pp. 257–277.

<sup>22</sup> Jiang Yi: Shizhanluexing decuoshi haishi celuexing deshouduan (Strategic Concerns or Tactical Measures). In: *Sulian dongou wenti (Matters of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe)* No. 2 (1990), p. 66.

<sup>23</sup> Yu Liangzao: Lieningzai ouzhou geming dichao shiqide lilunyu shijian (Lenin's Theories and Practice during the Low Ebb of European Revolution). In: *Dangdai shijieyu shehui zhuyi (Contemporary World and Socialism)* No. 2 (1992), p. 23–25.

<sup>24</sup> Li Zhencheng: Sulian xingwangde chensi (Reflections on the Rise and Fall of the USSR). Beijing: Gaige chubanshe, 1998, p. 67.



Making use of Lenin is not unknown in PRC history. During Lenin's 90th birth anniversary in 1960, the CCP regime under the first PRC leader Mao Zedong's instruction published several harangues in the name of commemorating Leninism in official newspapers. This was an attack on Nikita Khrushchev's détente with the West and was also meant to defend the Chinese struggle against imperialism right through to the end.<sup>25</sup> Lenin's theories developed during War Communism had also been employed by Mao to serve and legitimize his radical policies in the fanatical periods of the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution.<sup>26</sup> After Tiananmen, the contemporary application of Lenin and his policies highlighted China's apprehension regarding the Western peaceful evolution, the implications of European communist demise for China, and concern about the country's position in the world after Tiananmen.

The use of Lenin in Chinese Party organs and Sovietology writings can also be considered as a legacy of traditional Chinese historiography – using the past to serve the present (*yishi weijian*).<sup>27</sup> Chinese are traditionally in the habit of appealing to examples in history to serve the present agenda, and drawing such examples from within Chinese history is only one end of the whole spectrum. As Dorothea Martin remarks:

The main task of Chinese historians in world history since the mid-1950s has been to trace the revolutionary movements of the modern world in such a way as to reveal the inevitable victory of socialism over capitalism and to depict the victory of the Chinese revolution as the logical outgrowth of this global revolutionary trend.<sup>28</sup>

World history in China functions not only to promote China's own desired reading of history, but also to serve the political needs of the state and Party. Gotelind Müller-Saini reveals that in and after the 1990s the CCP regime increasingly focused on ensuring that the official party view of foreign history was transmitted via the official media and textbooks, and that the state agenda guided the audience perceptions toward legitimization of PRC policies.<sup>29</sup> Lenin's foreign policy and his rule during the early Soviet Union were selected as examples, as they had gone well with the stance and interest of China after Tiananmen – that is, since both regimes were bound by the shared traumas of Western sanctions and the common aspirations of rising to be global powers amid international hostility. The Soviet Union under Lenin was viewed as the cherished precedent of a golden age upon which present action of the CCP regime had to be based or rationalized. Chinese scholars' use of Lenin to promote socialism – like exploiting past foreign humiliation in order to fan anti-Western nationalist fervour – was an effective measure to strengthen the Chinese communist regime when it

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<sup>25</sup> Zuo Fengrong: Zhongsu dalunzhan (The Sino-Soviet Big Quarrel). In: *Dangdai shijie shehui zhuyi wenti (Problems of Contemporary World Socialism)* No. 1 (1999), p. 55.

<sup>26</sup> Zhang Wenhuan: Xuexi makesi zhuyi bunengzou jiejing (There is No Short-cut in Learning Marxism). In: *Renmin ribao*, 12. 1. 1981.

<sup>27</sup> On Chinese scholars' use of history to serve their regimes in imperial and contemporary times, respectively, see On-cho Ng and Qing Edward Wang: *Mirroring the Past: The Writing and Use of History in Imperial China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005; Huaiyin Li: *Reinventing Modern China: Imagination and Authenticity in Chinese Historical Writing*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013.

<sup>28</sup> Dorothea Martin: *The Making of a Sino-Marxist World View: Perceptions and Interpretations of World History in the People's Republic of China*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1990, p. 106.

<sup>29</sup> Gotelind Müller-Saini: *Documentary, World History, and National Power in the PRC: Global Rise in Chinese Eyes*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013, pp. 1–2.

was experiencing domestic difficulties. Jin Zenglin, a researcher at the *Heilongjiang Provincial Academy of Social Sciences*, pointed this out quite frankly in his 1992 article on why Chinese Soviet-watchers should review Lenin's foreign policy in the early Soviet Union:

History is a mirror. It can guide people to weep through the old and bring forth the new. Although there has been a great deal of change since more than seventy years ago, the present international environment is different with that the early Soviet Union was facing. However, there are still some similarities between the two periods. So we need to research on Lenin's policy to understand the current grim atmosphere and raise our revolutionary spirits.<sup>30</sup>

### **Lenin and the post-Tiananmen reform and open door policies**

The use of Lenin in 1990s China was not only a political expedient in the face of Western sanctions, it was also a symbol of a long-term strategy for China's economic success and state building after the demise of world communism. After the Tiananmen Incident, Premier Li Peng pledged, "China will not return to the old way of self-isolation under any circumstances," notwithstanding the international sanctions.<sup>31</sup> At the time, Deng Xiaoping was aware of the predominance of the conservative forces within the Party, and their exploitation of the grim international climate to push the PRC back into radicalism and anti-reform. He stepped in and elaborated the vision of China's post-Tiananmen development for outflanking his foes in a series of speeches. In late 1989, Deng demanded that China "double its GNP" amid the turmoil in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, in order to "demonstrate the superiority of socialism." He warned that the PRC "should maintain friendly exchanges" with the West, and "should not criticize or condemn other countries without good reason or go to extremes in our words and deeds."<sup>32</sup> In a subsequent speech publicized in 1990, Deng required China to contribute to the world by promoting "a new international political and economic order." He said, "If we can go on in this way for 50 or 60 years, socialist China will be invincible."<sup>33</sup>

According to the words above, Deng's laying great emphasis on economic development was not only a remedy for breaking the post-Tiananmen deadlock. It was also a political tool for strengthening the CCP regime, and a means to the ultimate end of China achieving a powerful status following the demise of orthodox socialism in the wake of Tiananmen and the collapse of European communist regimes. Further to his attack on the Party old guards, Deng embarked on an ambitious inspection tour in southern China in early 1992. He delivered several landmark speeches along the way, making clear that the greater danger to

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<sup>30</sup> Jin Zenglin: Lunsuweiai zhengquan chuangjian chuqide guoji daqihou helieng deduce (On the International Environment and Lenin's Policies in the Early Days of the Soviet Union). In: *Eluosi dongou zhongya yanjiu* (*Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies*) No. 3 (1992), pp. 7–8.

<sup>31</sup> Li Peng: Gaige kaifang yao yanzhe jiankangde guidao qianjing (The Reform and Open Door Policies Should Be Correctly Implemented) (January 8, 1990). In: 360doc gerentushuguan (360doc Personal Library), URL: < [http://www.360doc.com/content/14/01119/21/9851038\\_346496268.shtml](http://www.360doc.com/content/14/01119/21/9851038_346496268.shtml)>. [Last consulted: 1. 10. 2018].

<sup>32</sup> Deng: With Stable Policies of Reform and Opening to the Outside World, China Can Have Great Hopes for the Future (September 4, 1989). In: The Bureau (ed. and trans.): *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (Vol. 3), p. 310.

<sup>33</sup> Deng: Seize the Opportunity to Develop the Economy (December 24, 1990). In: The Bureau (ed. and trans.): *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (Vol. 3), pp. 350–352.

China came from the left rather than the right, and warning that the people would topple those who opposed reforms. He urged the Party members not to fear “elements of capitalism” and not to argue “whether the road is capitalist or socialist.”<sup>34</sup>

Complying with the tide, the government’s mouthpiece newspapers and journals immediately set off a chain reaction entertaining Deng’s ideas, and clearing the decks for a strong defence for reform and open door policies. At this juncture, the use of Lenin appeared on PRC’s front-pages as a means of keeping abreast of Deng’s call, and gathering support for China’s renewed momentum to resume reforms in full force.

An article in *Renmin ribao* pointed out that “learning from capitalism has absolutely complied with Lenin’s theories,” and the fundamental reason for Soviet economic backwardness and its final demise was because “the post-Lenin leaderships had not correctly handled their relationship with capitalism.”<sup>35</sup> Another article in *Qiushi* put it bluntly, that in Lenin’s mind “socialism should not be an isolated system,” and in fact, “it should be a more open society than capitalism.”<sup>36</sup> Against this backdrop, CASS President Hu Sheng weighed in and rebutted the leftist hostility to capitalism in *Renmin ribao*. He argued that “socialism should inherit the good tradition from capitalism but should not be antagonistic to it.” The author quoted Lenin’s *The State and Revolution* to demonstrate that “proletarian dictatorship could only obtain the fruits of socialist revolution by learning from the achievements of capitalism.”<sup>37</sup> Hu Sheng finally condemned the leftist thoughts as being “utterly absurd and reactionary.”<sup>38</sup>

A number of academic works had predated Deng’s southern tour in early 1992; these articles advocated the acceleration of reforms and mutually beneficial interaction between socialism and capitalism, against the negative example of the Soviet Union.<sup>39</sup> After Deng’s tour and throughout the 1990s, many articles attempted to use both Lenin and Deng to enhance China’s renewed momentum in revitalizing reforms.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Deng: Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai (January 18–February 21, 1992). In: The Bureau (ed. and trans.): *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (Vol. 3), pp. 358–360.

<sup>35</sup> Fang Sheng: *Lunduiwai kaifanghe liyong ziben zhuyi* (On the Open Door Policy and Utilizing Capitalism). In: *Renmin ribao*, 20. 4. 1992.

<sup>36</sup> Lu Luping: *Nuliba duiwai kaifang tigaodao xinde shuiping* (To Promote the Open Door Policy to a New Level). In: *Qiushi* (*Seeking Truth*) No. 8 (1992), p. 19.

<sup>37</sup> For Lenin’s theories on the transition from capitalism to communism, see Vladimir Lenin: *The State and Revolution: Marxist Teaching on the State and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution*. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965, pp. 82–86.

<sup>38</sup> Hu Sheng: *Shehui zhuyihe ziben zhuyide guanxi* (The Relationship between Socialism and Capitalism). In: *Renmin ribao*, 10. 4. 1992.

<sup>39</sup> Zhang Weiyuan: *Liening wanqi sixiang* (Lenin’s Thoughts in His Later Years). In: *Dangdai shijieyu shehui zhuyi* (*Contemporary World and Socialism*) No. 1 (1991), pp. 14–15. Zhang Ji: *Lunlienianing wannian guanyu liangzhong butong shehui zhidu guojia guanxide lilunhe celue* (On the Late Lenin’s Theories and Strategies about Two Different Social Systems and Their Relations). In: *Dangdai shijieyu shehui zhuyi* (*Contemporary World and Socialism*) No. 4 (1991), pp. 43–45. Du Gong: *Duizhuanhuanzhong shijie gejude jidian kanfa* (Some Perceptions of a Changing Pattern of International Relations). In: *Guoji wenti yanjiu* (*Journal of International Studies*) No. 4 (1991), p. 6. Wang Ziqi: *Shilun ziben zhuyi fazhande changqixing* (On the Long-term Nature of Capitalist Development). In: *Shijie jingjiyu zhengzhi* (*World Economics and Politics*) No. 1 (1992), pp. 30–31.

<sup>40</sup> Li Zongyu: *Renzhen qingli guoji gongyun lishishang zuode lilun guandian* (To Earnestly Deal with the Leftist Theoretical Thoughts in the History of the International Communist Movement). In: *Dangdai shijieyu shehui zhuyi* (*Contemporary World and Socialism*) No. 3 (1992), p. 2. Liu Yichang: *Muqian*

On closer inspection, the use of Lenin by Chinese writings was less relevant to the context of contemporary China's international relations. Since 1987 Chinese scholars had argued that both Gorbachev's concepts of New Thinking in international relations and *glasnost* in political liberalization were a return to Lenin's original principle of true socialism. Some of them even demanded that the Chinese government study Gorbachev's programs and imitate his way of reforming the socialist political structure. However, after 1990 and the Soviet demise in 1991 in particular, Gorbachev was no longer a favourite figure owing to the change of the political tide. Chinese scholars increasingly refrained from mentioning his name and taking his programs as an example; instead, they had to forsake Gorbachev.<sup>41</sup> In the eyes of the CCP, on the other hand, Lenin commanded high respect and was one of the most authoritative communist leaders in human history. Compared to Gorbachev and any other communist leaders in the world, using Lenin to mobilize the support of China's reforms would implicate little political risk in Chinese Sovietology writings, particularly in the days after Tiananmen when China was facing the comeback of the Party conservative force.

After Tiananmen, the exemplar of Lenin was invoked to fortify the Party's rule and tighten its grip on power. This time, Lenin was used for defending China's stand of practicing true socialism, but not the socialism perverted by Gorbachev and his followers, who were seen as leading the Soviet Union into chaos and finally, disintegration. The symbol of Lenin was used to legitimate the regime of Deng Xiaoping as a socialist government adhering to the norm of orthodox communism, but not the kind of socialism distorted by Gorbachev.

It is true that many Chinese scholars made reference to Lenin's rule in the early Soviet Union in order to offer guidance to China for coping with hostile Western sanctions after Tiananmen. Still, we need to note some differences between the early Soviet Union and China in the wake of the Tiananmen Incident. First, unlike socialism in the early 20th century, which was a rising political force after the founding of the Soviet Union, communist regimes and ideology in the early 1990s were dying remnants. Western capitalism might have felt the need to nip the early Soviet Union in the bud by force, for fearing its menace would spread across the world and threaten its own survival. However, after the Tiananmen Incident and even in the wake of the Soviet demise, China was not in a perilous situation. The West neither sent troops to threaten China's survival, nor had complicity in working with those whom Party authorities judged as opportunists within the CCP to overthrow the Chinese regime. Second, unlike what it had done with the early Soviet Union, in and after the 1990s, the capitalist West did not show wholesale hostility to the PRC, and did not sever their diplomatic and trade relations with China (although short-term sanctions had been applied).

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guoji guanxide zhuyao tezhenghe fazhan qushi (The Main Characteristics and Development Trends in Present International Relations). In: *Shijie jingjiyu zhengzhi (World Economics and Politics)* No. 4 (1992), p. 31. Gao Fang: Jianchi dangde jiben luxianyu fazhan youzhongguo tese shehui zhuyi lilun (Upholding the Basic Line of the CCP and Developing the Theory of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics). In: *Shehui kexue (Social Sciences)* No. 9 (1992), p. 5. Liu Seqing: Xitong yanjiu shenru linghui dengxiaoping waijiao zhanlue sixiang (Systematic Studies on and Thorough Mastery of Deng Xiaoping's Diplomatic Strategic Thoughts). In: *Xiandai guoji guanxi (Contemporary International Relations)* No. 5 (1994), p. 31. Pang Renzhi: Lunshehui zhuyiyu ziben zhuyide guanxi (On the Relations between Socialism and Capitalism). In: *Shijie jingjiyu zhengzhi (World Economics and Politics)* No. 2 (1997), p. 6.

<sup>41</sup> For a survey on Chinese perception of Gorbachev before and after the Soviet collapse, see Li: Gorbachev's Glasnost and the Debate on Chinese Socialism among Chinese Sovietologists, pp. 35–65.

Afterward, China did not implement another militarized War Communism or adopt autarkic methods to counter the Western attacks.

Indeed, the biggest fear of the CCP regime and Chinese scholars in the early 1990s seemed to be the emergence of the US as the sole superpower in the world, after the demise of world communism. Some considered that Washington would not only seek to prevent China from prospering and restoring its greatness in the world, but also wield its unchecked power to bludgeon other countries into submission.<sup>42</sup> However, after Soviet socialism passed from the scene, the Chinese promptly realized that the post-communist system had spurred greater global competition rather than greater global hegemony. They could not conceal their delight in witnessing the emergence of a multipolar world, in which China would reap the benefits and make itself a crucial factor in the global balance by being integrated into the new world order.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, what most concerned the CCP regime after the eclipse of the USSR was by no means the real military threat from the West (which had been a reality in the early Soviet days), or its modern analogy of the peaceful evolution (which was actually more of a calculated invention and piece of propaganda used to fuel support for the Party after Tiananmen).

In reality, the use of Lenin and his foreign policy in 1990s Chinese writings was less pertinent to China's thinking on its relations with the West and the world at that time. Rather, Chinese Soviet-watchers tended to use the symbol of Lenin and the interpretation of his writings to defend Deng's policies and support his position at home after Tiananmen – that is, when socialism in China was in burgeoning crisis and the Party conservative force attempted to challenge reform and open door directions taken by Deng since 1978. Let us look at several pieces of evidence. First, according to Xiao Feng, a researcher in the *Institute of Contemporary World* at CASS, Lenin and Deng Xiaoping appeared to converge at two pillars: “upholding socialism” and “developing the productive forces and undertaking the open door policy.”<sup>44</sup> In this way, the use of Lenin serves two functions: firstly, it demonstrates China's ruthless determination to resist political liberalization and the pollution of bourgeois thoughts (upholding socialism). Secondly, it symbolizes that the CCP regime would cleave to economic capitalism by learning from the advanced West (developing the productive forces and undertaking the open door policy). The two points deterred the attacks made by the political dissents and the Party conservatives, respectively. This combination of the two directed the path that China would take.

Second, Wei Dingguang, a professor at the *Nanjing Institute of Politics*, argued that after Lenin's death, both Stalin and Mao “had not properly handled Lenin's legacy of opening to

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<sup>42</sup> The point is illustrated by the following sources: Jin Dexiang: Peace and Development. In: *Beijing Review*, 3. 3. 1991. Li Meng: Sulian duiwai huodong yinian huiguyu qianzhan (Retrospect and Prospect of Soviet Foreign Relations). In: *Eluosi dongou zhongya yanjiu (Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies)* No. 1 (1992), pp. 77–78.

<sup>43</sup> The point is illustrated by the following sources: Li Cong: Zhuazhu dangqian youli shiji (To Seize the Present Favourable Opportunity). In: *Shijie jingjiyu zhengzhi (World Economics and Politics)* No. 6 (1992), pp. 2–7. Jiang: Guoji xingshihe junshi zhanlue fangzhen (The International Situation and the Military Strategy) (January 13, 1993). In: Renmin chubanshe (People's Publishing House) (ed.): *Jiangzemin wenxuan (Selected Works of Jiang Zemin)* (Vol. 1), pp. 278–282.

<sup>44</sup> Xiao Feng: Guanyu guoji gongyun xingshide jige wenti (Several Questions about the Situation of the International Communist Movement). In: *Shijie jingjiyu zhengzhi (World Economics and Politics)* No. 10 (1992), p. 50.

the outside world,” and only Deng Xiaoping “has carried through Lenin’s goal” and “upheld the open door direction as part of the socialist state policies.”<sup>45</sup> Liu Min, a scholar at the *University of Nanjing*, went further to put Deng in a higher position than Lenin. She pointed out that unlike Lenin, who had employed the open door policy as “a means to survive” and as “mainly for the contact with the West,” China under Deng had been transformed into “a socialist country that embraces all nations in the world regardless of their political systems.”<sup>46</sup> It is thus evident that quoting Lenin’s writings was more about Deng than Lenin. The authors apparently tried to elevate Deng’s standing and speak for his policies. Deng, not Lenin, was the real focus of the Chinese scholars.

Last, Li Daxin, a scholar at *Shandong University*, indicated that socialist elements “could be drawn from capitalism,” and both socialism and capitalism “could be in complete harmony but not in competition.”<sup>47</sup> To corroborate his argument, the scholar quoted both Lenin’s formula and Deng’s comment during his celebrated southern tour in 1992,<sup>48</sup> in order to emphasize that socialism and capitalism could have positive ties. In particular, he argued that the nature of socialism was to be a hybrid of various institutions and elements, as long as they could enrich the power of the socialist states.<sup>49</sup> In Deng Xiaoping’s mind, there was indeed no specific definition of socialism. For him, socialism and capitalism could be interconnected and it made little sense to label these two systems. It is such examples of Deng’s pragmatism that have produced the famous slogan “constructing socialism with Chinese characteristics,” a very vague slogan that Deng himself was unable to clarify. As he admitted in 1985:

In building socialism, the central task is to develop the productive forces. We are adopting all measures to develop them, including use of foreign funds and introduction of advanced technologies. This is a great experiment, something that is not described in books.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Wei Dingguang: Lundengxiaoping zaishehui zhuyi duiwai kaifang sixiang fangmiande zhongyao gongxian (Deng Xiaoping’s Great Contributions to the Theory of Opening Socialism to the Outside World). In: *Shehui kexue (Social Sciences)* No. 2 (1994), p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Liu Min: Shilun dengxiaoping duiwai kaifang sixiangde tedian (Deng Xiaoping’s Thoughts on the Open Door Policy). In: *Shehui kexue (Social Sciences)* No. 5 (1993), p. 5.

<sup>47</sup> Li Daxin: Shehui zhuyi yinsu nengfouzai ziben zhuyi neibu chansheng (Can Socialist Elements Be Drawn from Capitalism). In: *Kexue shehui zhuyi yanjiu (Scientific Socialism Studies)* No. 6 (1994), pp. 54–55.

<sup>48</sup> Lenin’s formula: Soviet power + Prussian railway management system + US technology and Trust organizations + American national education = socialism. See Vladimir Lenin: ‘Suweiai zhengquande dangqian renwu’ yiwende jige tigang (Several Outlines on the Draft of ‘The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government’) (March–April, 1918). In: Zhonggong Zhongyang Makesi Engesi Lienen Sidalin Zhuzuo Bianyiju (The Bureau for the Compilation and Translation of Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China) (ed. and trans.): Lienen quanji (Complete Works of Lenin) (Vol. 34). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1985, p. 520. Deng’s comment: “In short, if we want socialism to achieve superiority over capitalism, we should not hesitate to draw on the achievements of all cultures and to learn from other countries, including the developed capitalist countries, all advanced methods of operation and techniques of management that reflect the laws governing modern socialized production.” See Deng: Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai (January 18–February 21, 1992). In: The Bureau (ed. and trans.): Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (Vol. 3), p. 361.

<sup>49</sup> Li: Shehui zhuyi yinsu nengfouzai ziben zhuyi neibu chansheng (Can Socialist Elements Be Drawn from Capitalism). In: *Kexue shehui zhuyi yanjiu (Scientific Socialism Studies)* No. 6 (1994), p. 54.

<sup>50</sup> Deng: Reform and Opening to the Outside World Are a Great Experiment (June 29, 1985). In: The Bureau (ed. and trans.): Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (Vol. 3), p. 134.

In a nutshell, it can be said that the biggest purpose of using Lenin's foreign policy in the early Soviet state and his tenet in learning from capitalism in Chinese writings after Tiananmen, was to construct a rallying point in legitimizing and reconceptualising such post-Mao state policy of building an amorphous socialism with a distinctive Chinese way. The scholars put Deng and Lenin together in their articles, demonstrating that Deng was the true disciple of Lenin, and assuring that the Chinese leader had further developed and flourished Lenin's theories along with Chinese reality, and made great strides for socialist modernisation.

To summarize, first, the Chinese method of drawing an analogy between the post-Tiananmen PRC and the early Soviet Union was to create a tense and hostile external environment and to keep the Chinese people in a state of perpetual tension. This was conducive to strengthening the legitimacy of the CCP rule in the wake of the Tiananmen Incident, when the Chinese communist regime was discredited at home and came under strong fire from international society. The crisis became even more evident following the cascade of collapsing European communist regimes in and after 1989. The Chinese leaders feared lest the snowball of the political upheavals shaking Eastern Europe and the USSR should threaten their own survival. Therefore, by invoking the example of the beleaguered early Soviet socialist state under Lenin and the terms "the peaceful evolution" and "the international hostile forces," the CCP regime was able to use the bogey of potential national anarchy and unbridled foreign anti-China sentiment to hang on to power.

Indeed, China had been subjected to Western imperial thrashing in the past. The country's traumatic national experiences still loom large in the Chinese psyche today. In China, a country long suffering from the invasion of others, this defensive fear has not only taken deep roots but also long sponsored appropriate countermeasures, both culturally and politically.<sup>51</sup> As a result, Chinese officials and scholars resolved to exploit and intermingle such sorry historical memories and the precedent of the early Soviet Union that had been similarly falling prey to Western sanctions. In so doing, they were able to appeal to the deep-rooted Chinese victim mentality, and present the communist regime as endeavouring to resist China's victimization in the international community again. They made use of the example of the early Soviet Union to mobilize and enhance the enthusiasm of Chinese people, and directed them to embrace a new wave of self-strengthening reform for getting the better of the post-Tiananmen sanctions. Therefore, they achieved the goal of strengthening CCP legitimacy after the end of the Cold War by playing the cards of the traditional Chinese victim mentality and an exaggerated post-Tiananmen international hostility.

Second, debates over the lessons of the failure of communism in Eastern Europe and the USSR from 1989 onward coincidentally paralleled the intra-CCP power struggle after the Tiananmen crisis. The epochal event in Moscow at the end of 1991 provided a motor for the leftist countercurrent, which questioned many of the fundamental directions taken by China under Deng Xiaoping's leadership. Interpretations of Lenin's writings became a major ideological weapon in the struggle between the forces for and against reforms in the CCP.

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<sup>51</sup> For details, see Susan L. Shirk: *China: Fragile Superpower*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

After Tiananmen, Lenin was used as a device to limit the scope of reform-oriented criticism, and he was seen as a man who had come to appreciate the need for substantial market forces. Chinese scholars argued that Lenin remained fundamentally relevant to China's socialist reform and open door policies. In their opinion, the first Soviet leader did not oppose capitalist elements, though he also was not dependent on them. He advocated establishing a regime with the combination of a strong proletarian dictatorship and market economic mechanism. Chinese Soviet-watchers claimed that Deng's reform and open door agendas after 1978 were emblematic of Lenin's theories. Their conclusion served to defend Deng's post-Tiananmen policy of accelerating reforms and resist the attacks of the Party leftists, who attempted to challenge Deng's position and policies. The use of Lenin after Tiananmen demonstrates that most Chinese officials and scholars had generally stood by on the side of the reformist wing, and largely supported and defended reforms in the communist system. They did not suggest tight controls in China even in the wake of Tiananmen and the Soviet disintegration.

Third, the three year period between the Tiananmen Incident and the disintegration of the Soviet Union was an earth-shaking period that nearly convulsed the CCP regime. The Chinese reformist leadership led by Deng Xiaoping understood very well that only by successfully carrying out the reforms would the Chinese communist state be able to regain the legitimacy that it had lost. They were eager to explore a new way of dispelling tough resistance by the hardliners and make a breakthrough. They needed to regenerate the Party that was still in a coma after experiencing a heavy blow by the Tiananmen crisis and the ensuing collapse of communism in Europe.

As seen in this article, it is apparent that both Chinese officials and Soviet-watchers were trying to use the interpretation of Lenin's writings to create new momentum. They intended for this momentum to revive China's reform and open door policies, and to further the cause of socialist modernization that had been championed since 1978. Lenin was a means to rally support for the forces of pro-reform. Afterward, China was bolder in embracing economic liberalization while still refusing to transform its quasi-Leninist political system. Especially after Deng's southern tour in 1992, the CCP formally adopted the concept of "socialist market economy."<sup>52</sup> China then registered unprecedented economic growth and experienced profound social transformation throughout the rest of the 1990s, a phenomenon that continued in the 21st century. As Jean-Philippe Béja comments, "The Tiananmen tragedy remains a knot that must be untied and a barrier that must be removed in China's continuous advance toward modernity."<sup>53</sup> The use of Lenin after Tiananmen was seen to be the best way for China to untie the "knot" and remove the "barrier."

Last, we may conclude by saying that 1990s Chinese Soviet-watchers' main purpose in quoting Lenin's foreign policy in the early Soviet Union, as well as his willingness to learn from capitalism, was to construct a rallying point. This rallying point was intended to re-legitimize and reconceptualise the post-Mao state policy of building an amorphous socialism with a distinctive Chinese flavour, amid the setback of the Tiananmen crisis when the

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<sup>52</sup> Deng: Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai (January 18–February 21, 1992). In: The Bureau (ed. and trans.): *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (Vol. 3), p. 361.

<sup>53</sup> Jean-Philippe Béja: 4 June 1989: A Watershed in Chinese Contemporary History. In: Id. (ed.): *The Impact of China's 1989 Tiananmen Massacre*. New York: Routledge, 2011, p. 12.



Chinese party-state had become an internationally shunned regime, and worldwide socialism had reached a dead end. Scholars put Deng and Lenin together in their articles, demonstrating that Deng was the true disciple of Lenin, who was seen as the embodiment of post-Mao China's direction. They argued that Deng had further developed and flourished Lenin's theories alongside Chinese realities, and made great strides in socialist modernization.

The use of Lenin demonstrates that Chinese scholars viewed the former Soviet Union as both a warning from the past as well as an image of a possible Chinese state in the future. The example of Lenin's post-1917 open policy reveals that Chinese scholars regarded the continued reform to be the best measure for saving socialism after Tiananmen. In their understanding, only a strong, stable, open, and wealthy state could ensure that the socialist system would survive in the long term. After Tiananmen, Chinese scholars not only demonstrated concern for the survival of the CCP regime, but also attempted to envision the future direction and position of China in the post-communist world.

### **Lenin as a tool for rationalizing Chinese socialism**

The use of Lenin and the discussions of his foreign policy in the writings of Chinese Soviet-watchers after Tiananmen seemed to challenge some predominant views on post-Mao Chinese Sovietology. As noted, first of all, unlike the claim of the secondary literature, which argues that Chinese scholars after 1991 have taken a singular emphasis on Gorbachev's individual actions and failings, and considered Gorbachev and his liberalisation were the fundamental catalysts in bringing down the Soviet state. The use of Lenin after Tiananmen demonstrated that Gorbachev was by no means the preoccupation in post-1991 Chinese Sovietology. Seen from the case of Lenin, Chinese Soviet-watchers presented a much broader historical view and offered a more systemic analysis of the reasons for the collapse, rather than being preoccupied by the so-called "blame game" to merely target at Gorbachev.<sup>54</sup>

While Chinese scholars starting to turn hostile to Gorbachev after March 1990, when the Soviet leader announced to terminate the power monopoly of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the criticism on Gorbachev did not last long. It was rather a short-term phenomenon in the early 1990s. From the mid-1990s, the attack on Gorbachev gradually subsided, not only due to the good relations had been built between China and Russia, but also because Deng's 1992 landmark speech during his southern tour, which emphasized that the problem of communism came from the danger of leftism not the rightist policies, and reiterated the spirit of "seeking truth from facts."<sup>55</sup> The discussion on Lenin seemingly correlated with the guiding message of Deng's 1992 speech. Since then, Chinese Soviet-watchers would be able to study more objectively on the problems of the USSR, to diversify the roots of the collapse, and even to reinterpret and challenge some existing official orthodox views that were largely irrelevant to academic approach and had deep political bias. Chinese writings on Lenin and his post-1917 foreign policy demonstrated that they realized

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<sup>54</sup> The term "blame game" is coined by Shambaugh, see *China's Communist Party*, p. 48.

<sup>55</sup> Deng: Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai (January 18–February 21, 1992). In: *The Bureau* (ed. and trans.): *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (Vol. 3), pp. 369–370.

the internal factor of the moribund Soviet socialist system was also reprehensible for the downfall. The conservative force and rigid communist system, rather than the figure of Gorbachev, were decisive. Chinese Soviet-watchers praised Lenin's policies that embraced open door and learning from the West in order to keep socialism vital, and remarked those still had great significance on the future of world communism.

Secondly, the use of Lenin and the interpretations of his writings in analyzing the Chinese conditions in the 1990s proved that it was also not true that Chinese Sovietology only studied and focused on the negative lessons of the Soviet demise since 1991, for the long-term preservation of Chinese communist system. According to the post-1991 Chinese writings, scholars did not view the collapse of the Soviet state as a sign of the coming downfall of world socialism, but the source of its renewal. Chinese scholars re-invented and re-conceptualized the image and norm of Chinese socialism as not only the tomorrow of world socialism but also the tomorrow of humankind. The use of Lenin demonstrated that Chinese scholars had viewed the former Soviet Union as both guidance from the past as well as an imaginary of a Chinese state in the future. After Tiananmen, Chinese Soviet-watchers concerned not only the survival of the CCP regime, but also attempted to envision the future direction and position of China in the post-communist world, and how China could rise to be a powerful nation under the authoritarian one-party rule, without succumbing to Western democracy and the collapse that doomed the USSR.

In addition, there is an important issue as to why Lenin has been so important to the PRC, and to examine his lasting significance on Chinese Sovietology and China in the wake of Tiananmen and the Soviet collapse.

Mao Zedong once commented:

It was through the Russians that the Chinese found Marxism. Before the October Revolution, the Chinese were not only ignorant of Lenin and Stalin, they did not even know of Marx and Engels. The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism.<sup>56</sup>

Mao's words actually revealed an undeniable truth that although the PRC was created by Mao and his communist acolytes, however, the founding principle and genesis of Chinese communism came from Lenin and the Soviet Union. In the eyes of the CCP, Lenin was an ideological guru and a towering figure. He was perhaps the strongest ideological bond between China and the USSR. It should be noted that after the death of Mao in 1976 and particularly after Deng Xiaoping came to power in 1978, many Chinese Soviet-watchers had made tactical use of the writings of Lenin, in order to grasp the nettle of Chinese socialism in the early 1980s, after the disastrous Cultural Revolution. Those scholars were quite enthralled by the first decade of the PRC administration, when Mao's personal power was subordinated to the collective leadership of the CCP. Under the umbrella of Lenin and his words, some scholars compared the Soviet Union after Lenin and China during the Cultural Revolution. They made it clear that both periods had seriously violated the norms of

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<sup>56</sup> Mao Zedong: On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (June 30, 1949). In: Foreign Languages Press (trans.): Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung (Vol. 4). Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965, p. 413

socialism and resulted in personal dictatorship and factional strife. They demanded that collective leadership be re-enforced for rebuilding intra-party democracy in post-Mao China. In their understanding, Lenin's principle has every signature of the ideological tradition of Chinese communism. Both stress Party discipline and strong collective leadership, while keeping distance from Western liberalization and democracy. Lenin's works were an effective tool used by those Chinese Soviet-watchers in the early 1980s – useful for rebuilding intra-party democracy and erasing the lingering throes of Maoist dictatorship and factional struggle, while making a serious effort to strengthen CCP rule as it drove China into modernization. Those scholars identified the PRC as a legatee of Lenin rather than of Mao. Their arguments redefined the Chinese communist regime as a true Leninist state, the Maoist past being only an aberration but not the nature of the CCP regime.<sup>57</sup>

For example, soon after the death of Mao in 1976, when China was still mired in the after-effects of the disastrous Cultural Revolution, a number of Chinese scholars cited Lenin's debate with the left communists during the early Soviet Union, to serve their purpose in attacking the past Maoist policies.<sup>58</sup> In an article written by Yang Yanjun, a researcher at the Harbin Academy of Social Sciences, although the author did not mention the name of Mao, he remarked that the goal of socialism is “developing the economy” but not aiming at “world revolution and class struggle.”<sup>59</sup> He praised Lenin's stand on “prioritizing the economic development and criticizing the high-sounding style of the left communists,” who opted for “marching toward communism at the time when the Soviet Union was still underdeveloped.”<sup>60</sup> Subsequently, Gao Fang, a professor of the history of communism at Renmin University, outspokenly remarked that both China under Mao and the USSR under Stalin had practiced utopian socialism, which plunged both states into “chaos and darkness.” He, therefore, demanded that post-Mao China returns to the path of scientific socialism set by Lenin.<sup>61</sup> Chun Yuyu, a professor in the Institute of Contemporary Socialism at Shandong University, strongly criticized China's past abuse and mechanical understanding of “continued revolution” (*buduan geming*). Chun brought in Lenin's speech to emphasize that exaggerating the importance of revolution had been destructive for China in the past.<sup>62</sup> In

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<sup>57</sup> On how Chinese Soviet-watchers used Lenin to strengthen the weakening legitimacy of Chinese socialism and to command support for new leader Deng Xiaoping's open door policy and future reforms in the early 1980s, see Jie Li: Lenin in the Early 1980s China. In: *PONS AELIUS: Newcastle University Postgraduate Forum E-Journal* Edition 13, 2016, pp. 48–60.

<sup>58</sup> Gao Tiesheng: Guanyu sulian jianguo chuqi xinjingji zhengce dejidian kanfa (Several Views on the New Economic Policy during the Early Soviet Union). In: *Zhongguo shehui kexueyan yanjiu shengyuan xuebao (Journal of Graduate School of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences)* No. 1 (1979), pp. 27–36. Yu Yuanpei: Liening shiyue geminghou duizuode qingxiangde douzheng (Lenin's Struggle against the Leftist Tendencies after the October Revolution). In: *Fudan xuebao (Fudan Journal)* No. 4 (1980), pp. 19–28. Yang Yanjun: “Zuopai gongchan zhuyizhe” deguonei zhengcehe liening duitade pipan (Lenin's Criticism of the Domestic Policy of the “Left Communists”). In: *Dangdai shijieyu shehui zhuyi (Contemporary World and Socialism)* No. 2 (1981), pp. 1–25.

<sup>59</sup> Yang: “Zuopai gongchan zhuyizhe” deguonei zhengcehe liening duitade pipan (Lenin's Criticism of the Domestic Policy of the “Left Communists”). In: *Dangdai shijieyu shehui zhuyi (Contemporary World and Socialism)* No. 2 (1981), p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>61</sup> Gao Fang: Shenmeshi shehui zhuyi? (What Is Socialism?). In: *Shehui zhuyi yanjiu (Socialism Studies)* No. 1 (1980), p. 19.

<sup>62</sup> Chun Yuyu: Makeside buduan geming lilun jiqizai zhongguode shijian (Theories and Practice of Marx's Continued Revolution in China). In: *Shehui kexue yanjiu (Social Science Research)* No. 2 (1983), pp. 54–55. On Lenin's original, see Lenin: Shiyue geming sizhounian (The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution) (October 13, 1921). In: Zhonggong Zhongyang Makesi Engesi Liening Sidalin Zhuzuo Bianyiju (The Bureau for the Compilation and Translation of Works of Marx, Engels,

some ways, their veiled attack seemed to target Mao's assertions, as the deceased Chairman had been known as a great fan of continuous revolution and class struggle.

Back then, Chinese scholars had wisely used Lenin for symbolizing the Chinese new leader Deng Xiaoping and his new reform programs, whereby they attempted to break down the outdated Maoism and other leftists, and usher the PRC into a new age. According to Zhidong Hao, the goal of the new leadership headed by Deng after the death of Mao coincided with the goal of intellectuals to find out what had gone wrong in the Cultural Revolution. With Deng's support, they first began to pave the way for a climate that tolerated more questioning, in an effort to overcome Mao's dogmatism. From 1978 onward, with the help of intellectuals, Deng began to establish his firm position in the Party. It also guaranteed the government's shift from class struggle to the economy, a policy established in December 1978.<sup>63</sup>

In the early 1980s, several articles also invoked Lenin's words to say that socialism has no fixed model and people should not build socialism using only books and experiences.<sup>64</sup> They urged China to construct socialism based on its own conditions, and to draw lessons from either socialism or capitalism. The authors remarked that Lenin's New Economic Policy (NEP, 1922–1928) would be exemplary for China, and associated War Communism and Stalinism with the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution under Mao.<sup>65</sup> In 1981, Jiang Yihua, a professor of history at Fudan University in Shanghai, described War Communism as being equivalent to the direction under Mao, while the New Economic Policy symbolized Deng's path of reform and open door. In the conclusion of his article, Jiang remarked that the formulation of the New Economic Policy was a result of Lenin having learned from the mistakes of War Communism.<sup>66</sup> According to Gilbert Rozman, in the mind of Chinese Sovietologists in the 1980s, War Communism epitomized a rigid system that aimed to eliminate private property, commodity production, and market exchange. On the other hand, the New Economic Policy represented a moderate approach allowing small businesses, cultural diversity, and faster economic growth under the one-party rule, which is a model of value for present-day China and similar to the economic policy that Deng had carried out after 1978.<sup>67</sup>

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Lenin, and Stalin under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China) (ed. and trans.): Lienen quanji (Complete Works of Lenin) (Vol. 42), p. 172.

<sup>63</sup> Zhidong Hao: *Intellectuals at a Crossroads: The Changing Politics of China's Knowledge Workers*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003, p. 101.

<sup>64</sup> On Lenin's original, see Lenin: *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*. In: Lenin: *Collected Works*, February–July 1918 (Vol. 27), pp. 235–277.

<sup>65</sup> Xia Daoyuan: Yijiu yibanian lieningyu "zuopai gongchan zhuyizhe" zaiguojia ziben zhuyi wenti shangde zhenglun (Lenin's 1918 Debate with the "Left Communists" on the Questions of State Capitalism). In: *Dangdai shijieyu shehui zhuyi (Contemporary World and Socialism)* No. 2 (1981), pp. 52–54. Cui Peihua: Zaizongjiehe jiejiande jichushang bawo weilai (Be Masters of the Future by Summing Up Our Work and Drawing on the Experience of Others). In: *Shehui kexue (Social Sciences)* No. 5 (1981), pp. 10–12. Zheng Biao: Woguo shixing duiwai kaifang zhengcede lilun genju (The Theoretical Basis of Our Country's Reform and Open Door Policies). In: *Shehui kexue zhanxian (Social Sciences Front)* No. 3 (1984), pp. 48–49.

<sup>66</sup> Jiang Yihua: Liening zhuyiyu zhanshi gongchan zhuyi (Leninism and War Communism). In: *Fudan xuebao (Fudan Journal)* No. 1 (1981), p. 20.

<sup>67</sup> Gilbert Rozman: *The Chinese Debate about Soviet Socialism, 1978–1985*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1987, p. 4. On the histories of War Communism and the New Economic Policy, see Chapters 3 and 5 in Geoffrey Hosking: *A History of the Soviet Union*. London: Fontana Press, 1992, pp. 57–92 and pp. 119–48.

Deng Xiaoping once admitted that he did not know what socialism really meant, but he did know that socialism is certainly not pauperism, which was the situation under Mao.<sup>68</sup> To quote his words in 1985:

What, after all, is socialism? The Soviet Union has been building socialism for so many years and yet is still not quite clear what it is. Perhaps Lenin had a good idea when he adopted the New Economic Policy. But as time went on, the Soviet pattern became ossified. We were victorious in the Chinese revolution precisely because we applied the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to our own realities.<sup>69</sup>

Whether the New Economic Policy was the correct model for China under Deng is not relevant in this context. The most important thing is that both Deng and Chinese scholars had been using the symbols of Lenin and his NEP as a public declaration for post-Mao China to renounce its past Soviet and Maoist shackles, and to live up to its claim of building and reforming socialism in a very different way.

Through the enduring lustre of Lenin, scholars attempted to bring vigour to the weakening legitimacy of Chinese socialism after the Cultural Revolution, and to provide a mandate for Deng's policies and future reforms. Interpretation of Lenin thus became a solvent of the old order as well as a catalyst for major changes in early 1980s China. Back then, Lenin's name could be used to help rally Chinese communists against the radical policies that had long prevailed. On many issues, his views were introduced in an effort to justify new policies or rally support behind new proposals in the early 1980s. His stand was invoked to weaken the hold of Maoist remnants in favour of utilizing all possible resources for economic construction, and to support reformers in their pursuit of more sweeping changes. Having said this, the use of Lenin was by no means for leading the attack on Mao, but rather for defending the legitimacy of Chinese socialism founded by the Chairman. His theory was intended to help save the CCP regime that had been paralyzed by the Cultural Revolution. The first Soviet leader was seen by Chinese officials and scholars as an epitome of the new kind of image the Party forged for itself after the maelstrom of the Cultural Revolution.

Since 1987 Chinese Soviet-watchers argued that both Gorbachev's concepts of New Thinking and *glasnost* were a return to Lenin's original principle of true socialism. Some of them even demanded that the Chinese government study and imitate Gorbachev in launching the reform of socialism.<sup>70</sup> However, as noted, since 1990 and after the Soviet demise in 1991 in particular, Gorbachev was no longer a favourite figure due to the change of the political tide. Chinese scholars increasingly refrained from mentioning his name and taking his programs as example, instead, they had to forsake Gorbachev. On the other hand, in the eyes of the CCP, Lenin commanded high respect ever and was one of the most authoritative communist leaders in human history. Compared to Gorbachev and any other communist leaders in the world, the use of Lenin for mobilising the support of China's

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<sup>68</sup> Deng: Replies to the American TV Correspondent Mike Wallace (September 2, 1986). In: The Bureau (ed. and trans.): Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (Vol. 3), p. 174.

<sup>69</sup> Deng: Reform is the Only Way for China to Develop Its Productive Forces (August 28, 1985). In: The Bureau (ed. and trans.): Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (Vol. 3), p. 143.

<sup>70</sup> Li: Gorbachev's *Glasnost* and the Debate on Chinese Socialism among Chinese Sovietologists, pp. 35–65.

renewed reform movement would implicate little political risk in Chinese writings, particularly in the days after Tiananmen, when China was facing the comeback of party conservative force.

After Tiananmen, the exemplar of Lenin was invoked to fortify the party's rule and tighten its grip on power. This time, Lenin was used for defending that China was practicing true socialism, but not the socialism perverted by Gorbachev and his followers, who descended the Soviet Union into chaos and finally, disintegration. Lenin was served to validate that the regime of Deng Xiaoping was the legitimate socialist government adhering to the norm of orthodox communism.

After Tiananmen, Lenin was used as a tool to limit the scope of reform-oriented criticism, and he was seen as a man who came to appreciate the need for substantial market forces. Chinese scholars argued that Lenin remained fundamentally relevant to China's socialist reform and open door. In their opinion, the first Soviet leader did not oppose capitalist elements while not dependent on it. He advocated establishing a regime with the combination of strong proletarian dictatorship and market economic mechanism. Chinese Soviet-watchers claimed that Deng's reform and open door since 1978 were emblematic of Lenin's theories. Their conclusion could be serviceable for defending Deng's post-Tiananmen policy of accelerating reform and for resisting the assault of party leftists, who attempted to challenge Deng's position and policies.

Besides, there are two major narratives in Chinese Sovietology in the 1990s: first, many articles argued that after the death of Lenin, the Soviet state had no longer been socialist in nature. From Joseph Stalin's oppressive regime,<sup>71</sup> Khrushchev's revisionism, to Gorbachev's *glasnost*, they were all the signs of departure from socialism. Second, Chinese

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<sup>71</sup> Joseph Stalin has long been a controversial figure in China. Indeed, Stalin was the subject of avid study in 1980s and 1990s PRC. After the passing of Mao, against the trends of cleansing the remnants of Maoism, Chinese Soviet-watchers in the early 1980s started to mount their criticisms on Stalin and his policies. During the second half of the 1980s, Moscow's re-assessment of Stalin under Gorbachev held great appeal for Chinese scholars. It coincided with the relaxed political climate since the mid-1980s generated by the liberal-minded CCP leaders Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, and more importantly, the popularity of Gorbachev's *glasnost* in China. Back then, many Chinese scholars were truly impressed by Gorbachev's determination to face the past and demanded that China learn from him. At that time, the image of Stalin in the minds of Chinese scholars was gradually transformed from deity to human, and eventually from human to a devil-like villain. Many academic articles in the late 1980s began to attack almost every aspect of Stalin. Most importantly, while Chinese scholars in the early 1980s were bold to remark that Stalinism was the distortion of Leninism, in the late 1980s some writings were not shy to point out that Stalinism was equal to feudalism and a legacy from Tsars, which had nothing to do with what they saw as true socialism at all. In the wake of the Tiananmen Incident and particularly after March 1990, when Gorbachev ordered to abolish the CPSU power monopoly, criticisms of Stalin in Chinese writings became silent. After Deng Xiaoping's southern tour in early 1992, China began to reflect on its past inefficient socialist economic system, for the take-off of a new wave of reforms after the backlash of Tiananmen. The trend re-ignited the Chinese attack on Stalin. It should be noted that back then, many Chinese Soviet-watchers criticized Stalin as a person, and some flaws of his policies; however, they only made efforts to condemn the man but not the system, and did not display an undercurrent of heterodox thought. They rarely touched the fundamentality of the institution established by Stalin, and were concerned about not socialism itself but its problems. They put the Stalinist economic model and the discredited leftism in 1990s China on an equal footing. By arguing that Stalinism was the root of the Soviet demise and retracing its damage on China under Mao, scholars justified Deng's 1992 statement that leftism has done more harm than good to China, and like rightism, it could also destroy socialism. Therefore, they used their writings to defend China's post-Tiananmen policy of accelerating economic reform and open door policy, and to assist the CCP reformers' efforts to thwart the comeback of the leftist offensive. On the Chinese debates on Stalin and his policies in the 1980s and 1990s, see Jie Li: Brezhnev and Stalin in Chinese Sovietology. In: *International Journal of China Studies* Vol. 9, No. 2 (November 2018), forthcoming.

writings also commented that since 1949 China has still cleaved to the classical Leninism of constructing socialism by taking local conditions into account. Since the Soviet state had stopped practicing genuine socialism after Lenin and therefore had fallen into demise, so the collapse of the USSR was the collapse of a state but *not* of socialism. Socialism will not die, and China is a true socialist state therefore the PRC would not fall.

Seen from their research in both the 1980s and 1990s, many Chinese Soviet-watchers tended to remark that all problems of the former Soviet Union had originated from the Stalinist model after Lenin. They contended that such a model had overly excluded the capitalist elements and obstructed the productive forces and economic development, when Soviet socialism was still in its infancy – thus contributing to the subsequent dissolution of the state. They criticized that it was Stalin who had overturned the intra-party democracy and moderate approach created and reinforced by Lenin after the latter's pre-mature death, and since then the USSR had evolved into a state saddled with tyranny and ideological fetishism.

### **Conclusion**

Seen from the Chinese interpretation of Lenin's open policy after Tiananmen, central to my analysis is the premise that Chinese Sovietology writings evolved primarily as a response to China's then-contemporary challenges and concerns facing individuals. Political developments of the PRC and personal involvement (direct or indirect) with ongoing political and social events, influenced and motivated Chinese Soviet-watchers' changing perceptions of their subject of study. Post-Mao Sovietology writings are inseparable from the scholars' own participation in the social and political discourses of contemporary China, and from their embrace or elaboration of ideologies that served and justified their political claims and current state agendas. In short, to research Soviet socialism has primarily been to trace problems of Chinese socialism as experienced by scholars at the time of their research; this was done in order to legitimize socialist solutions, rather than to seek truth about the Soviet Union.

We can see there are two most common conclusions of post-Mao Chinese Sovietology: firstly, scholars argued that throughout the history of the Soviet Union, only the first leader Lenin had wholeheartedly and consistently practiced what they saw as true socialism. Lenin's premature death resulted in the demise of genuine socialism, and it was left to other countries to revive the system in the future. In other words, most Chinese scholars' research on the Soviet Union began under, and subscribed to, the banner of Lenin. Secondly, Chinese writings made it clear that the fall of the Soviet Union was mainly due to the post-Lenin leadership that did not practice enough socialism or deviated from authentic Marxism-Leninism. It resulted in the Soviet system failing to realize its full potential. This problem had little to do with true socialism but rather the distortion of it. In sum, China under the CCP is true to Lenin's immortal legacy, and this would guarantee the success of socialism in China.

Since the beginning of the Deng era in 1978, the new concept of socialism defined by post-Mao China was "socialism with Chinese characteristics", which means that socialism could incorporate everything for its own strengthening and survival. The term not only conveys that China's socialist system should be a product of Sinicisation of Marxism-Leninism, but also re-defines that socialism is not a doctrine, instead, it is a conflicting and self-contracting theory – you can put whatever inside as long as those ingredients are according to the requirement of

the time, but that theory is also unchallengeable. The conceptual guideline of “socialism with Chinese characteristics” has been set since the departure of Mao up to present. Chinese Sovietology followed this official tenet closely. The scholarship consistently portrayed and defined true socialism as “socialism with Chinese characteristics”. Chinese Soviet-watchers used it as the theoretical premises and compass to govern and lead their writings and research on the USSR. In research of the Soviet Union, Chinese scholars can be said to agree on one point: since 1949 the CCP has generally lived up to Lenin’s expectations, and it has applied the stand, viewpoint, and method of Leninism in building the country. The Party has scientifically analysed China’s national conditions and constructed socialism according to its own circumstances. In their eyes, Lenin symbolizes the fundamental principle of Chinese state-building – “socialism with Chinese characteristics”. The use of Lenin after Tiananmen remained true to this post-Mao political mandate, which heralded Deng Xiaoping’s claim in repudiating the post-Lenin Soviet model, introducing the capitalist elements, and building a powerful China under the communist rule.

Moreover, in 1997, Yang Xiaoyan, a lecturer at Beijing Technology and Business University, criticized that Khrushchev’s 1956 secret speech – which revealed and condemned Stalin’s supposed crimes – was the origin of the 1989 East European turmoil and the final collapse of the Soviet Union.<sup>72</sup> In fact, Mao Zedong might have already sensed this sentiment. He said in November 1956, a few months after the release of Khrushchev’s secret speech, that the USSR had two swords – one was Lenin, another was Stalin. And regarding the possibility of Stalin being denounced and the fate of the Soviet state being in danger, he remarked that “Once this gate is opened, by and large Leninism is thrown away.”<sup>73</sup> In this regard, post-Mao Chinese Soviet-watchers seem to have taken heed of Mao’s 1956 admonishment and understood Mao’s premonition perfectly. They seem to have realized that although China was able to blame the Soviet model created by the post-Lenin Moscow leaderships, nevertheless both Lenin and Mao, the fundamental pillars of the socialist states, could never be overturned under any circumstances. Otherwise, the consequences for China would be disastrous, akin to those of the USSR in 1991. Therefore, seen from their research, those scholars generally aligned Lenin and Mao (as well as Deng) with the direction of post-Mao China in their writings and research on the Soviet Union; this served as self-imposed boundaries for their research, beyond which they were unable to go.

In addition, as noted, Chinese scholars always put Deng Xiaoping and Lenin on the same pedestal and stated that Deng had long followed Lenin’s principle of building socialism according to one country’s special conditions. This was particularly true in the 1990s (as this research shows), when Lenin’s policies coincided with China’s interests. At the time, Chinese Sovietologists used the interpretation of Lenin’s writings to bring vigour to the weakening legitimacy of Chinese socialism after the Tiananmen suppression and the demise of world communism, and to give a new impulse to Deng’s policies and future reforms against the post-Tiananmen leftist offensive. Chinese scholars used Lenin to help rebuild the authority of the Party and communism in China.

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<sup>72</sup> Yang Xiaoyan: Pingheluxiaofude “mimi baogao” (On Khrushchev’s “Secret Speech”). In: *Dangdai zhongguoshi yanjiu (Contemporary China History Studies)* No. 5 (1997), p. 62.

<sup>73</sup> Mao: Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (November 15, 1956). In: Foreign Languages Press (trans.): *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Vol. 5), p. 341.



In 1995, Li Shenglu, a scholar at the Sichuan Provincial Academy of Social Sciences, identified the following three concepts of Deng Xiaoping with those of Lenin: everything must be based on practice, rather than theory; the key of building socialism is economic development, not political struggle; and socialism and capitalism are not in contradiction.<sup>74</sup> He praised, “Deng Xiaoping’s thinking in reform and open door is in fact using Lenin’s theory to build socialism with a Chinese character. He has inherited and developed Leninism.”<sup>75</sup> In 1999, Ye Qingfeng, a professor of socialist studies at the Central Party School, made it clear that “the path launched by Deng in 1978 is a return to and a logical continuation of Lenin’s New Economic Policy”, and “The New Economic Policy is exactly the direction of China taken since 1978.”<sup>76</sup>

According to Gao Fang, the post-1917 Lenin administration equalled Deng’s post-1978 reforms. Both paths symbolized what they saw as true socialism, which meant integrating Marxist theory with local conditions. Both measures were “the middle way marching toward socialism”, which distinguished them from the leftist errors committed by Stalin and the rightist tendencies represented by Khrushchev and Gorbachev.<sup>77</sup> This perfectly encapsulated the research outcomes of post-Mao Chinese Sovietology: after Lenin, the Soviet Union was no longer socialist in nature. The demise of the Union was due to leftism and rightism after Lenin, so the collapse of the state in 1991 had nothing to do with the nature of socialism. After 1978, China returned to what it deemed as the right path of true Leninism – Deng’s reform and open door directions, and socialism with Chinese characteristics, which were intended to guarantee the success of PRC modernization even after the demise of world communism.

The discussions of Chinese Sovietologists reflect the traditional Chinese *zhongyong* (moderation) mentality: not going to extremes, but resolving problems by treading the middle way. Seen from their writings, Chinese scholars always criticized the Soviet practice as a dogmatic adherence to orthodox communist law, and instead promoted the pragmatic and flexible Chinese application of Marxist norm. They argued that China has consistently walked through the middle way symbolized by Lenin, and such a middle way is also the future path of world socialism. As Dong Yuehua, a historian at Remin University, commented in 1999, the reason for the Soviet collapse was that the Kremlin leaders had always gone to two extremes: either rigidly sticking to Marxist doctrine (symbolized by Stalin and Brezhnev) or completely renouncing it (represented by Khrushchev and Gorbachev). On the other hand, he argued, China always cleaves to socialism by improving the system but not shaking it off. So China would exist and would never fall.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Li Shenglu: Lundengxiaoping duiliening jianshe shehui zhuyi sixiangde fazhan (On Deng Xiaoping’s Contribution to Lenin’s Theories on Building Socialism). In: *Shehui zhuyi yanjiu (Socialism Studies)* No. 6 (1995), pp. 33–36.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>76</sup> Ye Qingfeng: Lunlieneng wanniande shehui zhuyi sixiang (Lenin’s Thoughts on Socialism in the Evening of His Life). In: *Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao xuebao (Journal of the Party School of the Central Committee of the CCP)* No. 4 (1999), p. 72.

<sup>77</sup> Gao Fang: Jiaqiang toushi dongou zhongyade guoqu, xianzaihe weilai (To Strengthen Research on the Past, Present, and Future of Eastern Europe and Central Asia). In: *Eluosi dongou zhongya yanjiu (Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies)* No. 1 (1998), p. 17.

<sup>78</sup> Dong Yuehua: Maozedong pingjia sidalin (Mao Zedong on Stalin). In: *Dangdai zhongguoshi yanjiu (Contemporary China History Studies)* No. 4 (1999), p. 54.

As such, many Chinese scholars expressed that Lenin was the symbol of such true socialism and the first Soviet leader still remained fundamentally relevant to China's socialist development after Tiananmen and the fall of the USSR. In their opinion, Lenin was a pragmatic man who transformed Marxist theory into reality. He created a thesis that socialism could be founded in a backward nation without previous experience of a capitalist stage – a point that Chinese scholars must defend especially after the downfall of the USSR.<sup>79</sup> In the minds of those Chinese scholars, Lenin was an example of Chinese-style socialism personified. For them, both Lenin and Deng were the great Marxists who shared the same legacy of building socialism by integrating theories with practice and learning from different things, while upholding the faith of proletarian dictatorship and communism – this is socialism with Chinese characteristics. The Chinese writings played on these positive associations of the Grail of Lenin, making him the moral centre of its representation of post-Mao China.

After Tiananmen, Chinese Soviet-watchers put Deng Xiaoping and Lenin on the same altar and stated that Deng had long followed Lenin's principle of building socialism according to one country's special conditions, which was exactly the so-called "socialism with Chinese characteristics." To conclude, this historical episode in the early 1990s, which used Lenin to bring vigour to the weakening legitimacy of Chinese socialism after Tiananmen and to provide a mandate for Deng's policies and future reform, functioned as learning lessons from Moscow, legitimizing the CCP rule and the Chinese way of doing socialism, as well as envisioning the future direction of China in the post-communist world. Lenin's thinking of using unorthodox methods to achieve orthodox socialism in a backward state bore the stamp of the ethos of post-Mao China: there is no universal truth, only truth according to the tide is truth. Chinese Soviet-watchers projected Lenin as much needed convenience for rebuilding the authority of the Party and communism. They succeeded in tailoring history to suit the political needs and reshaping the past to serve the interests of the present.

Through their research (as presented in this contribution), Chinese Soviet-watchers are directly or indirectly participating in defining the reform process, and devising and legitimizing reform ideology and propaganda. Their writings often say more about China than about the Soviet Union. PRC Sovietologists constantly sought to capitalize on their research of the USSR. By doing so, they attempted to further China's interests and seek solutions for its own socialist system. It became a striking example of scholarship in which traditional criteria of evidence and argument, objectivity and truth, are largely overruled by normative political considerations. By researching the Soviet Union and quoting substantially from Lenin, Chinese Soviet-watchers did not focus on the USSR alone, but mostly attempted to confirm and legitimize the state policies of reform and open door, and to propagandize and predetermine the final victory of socialism in China. In sum, Chinese scholars projected Sovietology not as an autonomous realm, but as the legitimizer of post-Mao state policies. It led to the moulding of the scholarship in the image of political goals and assumptions. This is seen in the concept of socialism with Chinese characteristics, which is a grand but marvellously vague expression that perfectly fits Deng Xiaoping's basic approach: stretching the acceptable ideological framework to allow the country to pursue policies that worked. Post-Mao Chinese Sovietology also became a malleable tool that could be reinvented to serve different political purposes regardless of academic authenticity. By doing so, Chinese

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<sup>79</sup> On Lenin's original, see Lenin: On the So-Called Market Question. In: Lenin: Collected Works, 1893–1894 (Vol. 1), p. 79.

Sovietologists sought to make Chinese-style socialism meaningful and valued. Writings on the Soviet Union have largely reflected China's prevailing political climate as well as the current strategy of reform and open door. Although changes in the Soviet Union and in Sino-Soviet (and later Sino-Russian) relations have mattered, China's domestic concerns have been primary. We can say that Chinese Sovietology is an epiphenomenon of PRC politics.

Seen from this paper, Chinese research on the Soviet Union, therefore, could be considered as more of a rationalization of their opinions about the legitimacy of Chinese socialism, China's domestic politics, and state agendas, than an academic attempt to reconstruct and discover the Soviet past. Scholars demonstrated the purported causal relations between the Soviet past and the political views they upheld for China's future. They mainly used their interpretation of the events in the USSR to speak for the political agendas that were believed to represent the correct directions of Chinese socialism and modernization, and to justify ongoing reform programs. Thus Chinese Sovietology served to render Party policies and principles understandable and plausible.

## **SECTION V. NEW PUBLICATIONS – REVIEW ESSAYS, REVIEWS AND PRESENTATIONS**

### **V.1: REVIEW ESSAYS**

**Ottokar Luban**  
Berlin, Germany

#### **Neue Literatur zur deutschen Novemberrevolution 1918–1920**

- **Wolfgang Niess: Die Revolution von 1918/19. Der wahre Beginn unserer Demokratie** [The Revolution of 1918/19. The True Beginning of Our Democracy], Berlin e.a., Europa Verlag, 2017. 463 pp. – ISBN 978-3-95890-074-5.
- **Joachim Käppner: 1918. Aufstand für die Freiheit. Die Revolution der Besonnenen** [1918. Uprising for Freedom. The Revolution of the Sober-Minded], München, Piper Verlag, 2017. 524 pp. – ISBN 978-3-492-05733-2.
- **Mark Jones: Am Anfang war Gewalt. Die deutsche Revolution 1918/19 und der Beginn der Weimarer Republik** [In the Beginning Was Violence. The German Revolution of 1918/19 and the Birth of the Weimar Republic], Berlin, Ullstein, 2017<sup>2</sup>. 432 pp. – ISBN 978-3-549-07487-9.
- **Klaus Gietinger: November 1918. Der verpasste Frühling des 20. Jahrhunderts** [November 1918. The Failed Spring of the 20th Century], Hamburg, Edition Nautilus, 2018. 270 pp. – ISBN 978-3-96054-075-5.

**Wolfgang Niess** hatte 2013 eine trotz einiger Schwächen verdienstvolle Historiografiegeschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1918/19 vorgelegt.<sup>1</sup> Man konnte deshalb auf seine Monographie zum selben Thema gespannt sein. Zunächst einmal werden diese Erwartungen etwas getrübt, denn man sucht vergeblich nach Fußnoten mit den Quellenangaben. So lassen sich ggf. zwar Zitate aus Zeitungen und Tagebüchern mit Datumsangaben nachlesen, aber keine anderen Angaben an ihrem Herkunftsort nachprüfen.

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<sup>1</sup> Wolfgang Niess: Die Revolution von 1918/19 in der deutschen Geschichtsschreibung Deutungen von der Weimarer Republik bis ins 21. Jahrhundert, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2013. Rezension von Ottokar Luban, in: *The International Newsletter of Communist Studies*, Vol 22/23, No 29–30 (2016/2017), S. 86–94.

Im Literaturverzeichnis sind von 94 aufgeführten Publikation nur vier berücksichtigt, die nach 2010 erschienen sind, der Grenze, bis zu der Niess die Literatur in seinem Forschungsüberblick von 2013 aufgeführt hatte. Wie schon dort, werden auch in dieser Monographie wichtige relevante Studien in Zeitschriften und Sammelbänden sowie bedeutsame Quellenwerke immer noch nicht zur Kenntnis genommen.<sup>2</sup> Fast absurd wirkt angesichts der vielen nach 1990 erschienenen fundierten Publikationen früherer DDR-Historiker/innen seine Behauptung, die entsprechende Forschung sei nach der Wende „versandet“ (S. 13).

Dabei arbeitet Niess durchaus eine Reihe wesentlicher Punkte der revolutionären Monate überzeugend heraus. Hierzu nur einige wenige herausgegriffene Beispiele: So werden die von der OHL angestoßene Oktoberreform 1918 und das Hin und Her um das Waffenstillstandsersuchen als „große(r) Bluff“ herausgearbeitet, bei dem es um den Abschluss eines günstigen Waffenstillstands bei gleichzeitiger Machterhaltung der alten (hauptsächlich der militärischen) Eliten ging (S. 90–104, 125f.). Zum 9. November 1918 in Berlin hebt der Autor hervor, dass die MSPD-Führung<sup>3</sup> bis in die Mittagsstunden ihre gesamte Propaganda auf die Verhinderung der Massenbewegung ausgerichtet hatte, um sich dann – „eine taktische Meisterleistung“ – an die Spitze der Revolutionäre zu setzen (S. 31). Allerdings bleibt die Rolle der USPD-nahen Betriebsobleute unter Emil Barth in den revolutionären Geschehnissen nur angedeutet und letztlich unklar (S. 19 f., 23, 46, 120). Niess kritisiert treffend, dass die MSPD-Führer nicht das „starke demokratische Potenzial in den Räten“ erkannt hätten, aber „mit fast naiver Vertrauensseligkeit gegenüber der überkommenen Bürokratie und Militärführung“ aufgetreten seien (S. 188). Ausführlich und äußerst treffend schildert Niess die letztendlich erfolgreichen Versuche der Militärs mit Hindenburg und Groener an der Spitze, ihren vormals dominanten politischen Einfluss bereits vor den Berliner Januarkämpfen 1919 zurückzugewinnen, was sich bei der verhinderten Umsetzung der „Hamburger Punkte“ des Reichsrätekongresses zur Demokratisierung des Heeres und der Marine am deutlichsten gezeigt habe. Bezüglich der Januarkämpfe bleibt Niess oberflächlich und erfasst den vielschichtigen, kurzfristig wechselnden Ereignisablauf nicht (S. 289–331), weil er offensichtlich die relevanten detaillierten Studien nicht kennt.<sup>4</sup> Den Einsatz der präfaschistischen Truppen, denen der MSPD-Reichswehrminister Gustav Noske unbeschränkte Vollmacht zum Einsatz gegen jegliches linke Aufbegehren in Städten und Regionen erteilte, kennzeichnet Niess als das „dunkelste Kapitel in der Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie... für immer mit Noskes Namen verbunden“, weist aber zu Recht darauf hin, dass die übrigen politisch Verantwortlichen im Reich und in den Ländern weggeschaut und Noske und seine mörderischen Truppen ohne Einspruch „enthemmt und bestialisch“ hätten „wüten“ lassen (S. 384). Zur Vervollständigung sollte hinzugefügt werden, dass dies auch auf nahezu alle bürgerlichen und konservativen Kräfte zutraf.

Niess hebt hervor, dass nicht vergessen werden sollte, dass nach langjähriger Monarchie die Novemberrevolution 1918 Deutschland die Republik und eine ganze Reihe von

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<sup>2</sup> Ebenda, S. 93 f.

<sup>3</sup> Für die Zeit nach der Spaltung im April 1917 werden die Bezeichnungen MSPD und USPD verwendet, vorher die Abkürzung SPD.

<sup>4</sup> Ottokar Luban: Die ratlose Rosa. Die KPD-Führung im Berliner Januaraufstand 1919. Legende und Wirklichkeit, in: ders.: Rosa Luxemburgs Demokratiekonzept. Ihre Kritik an Lenin und ihr politisches Wirken 1913–1919, Leipzig, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen, 2008, S.67–117.

demokratischen und sozialen Errungenschaften gebracht habe (S. 17). Er räumt zugleich wesentliche Defizite ein: „Sie [die Revolution] erreichte nicht eine umfassende Demokratisierung der Gesellschaft, mächtige Feinde der Demokratie behielten ihre Machtpositionen, ein Teil der sozialistischen Arbeiterbewegung wurde nach den ersten Wochen der Revolution in eine Fundamentalopposition gedrängt.“ (S. 436).

Wegen einer Reihe von Ungenauigkeiten, des vollständigen Fehlens von Quellenangaben und der offensichtlichen mangelnden Kenntnis eines Teils der relevanten Forschungsliteratur aus den letzten zweieinhalb Jahrzehnten hat diese Monografie für Historiker/innen und politisch-historisch Interessierte leider nur einen begrenzten Wert.

Gegenüber Niess finden sich bei **Joachim Käppner** eine wesentlich umfangreichere Berücksichtigung der relevanten Literatur bis in die letzten Jahre hinein und darüber hinaus Quellenangaben in den Fußnoten, dies allerdings meist nur im Falle von Zitaten, die der Autor häufig und ausführlich verwendet. Versteht es schon Niess, die historischen Abläufe durchaus interessant zu schildern, so fesselt Käppners packende Erzählweise gleich beim Eingangskapitel über den Ausbruch und Verlauf der Matrosenrevolution.

In seiner Darstellung schlägt Käppner einen großen Bogen von der Politik der Sozialdemokratie in der wilhelminischen Gesellschaft vor dem Weltkrieg bis zur bestialischen Niederschlagung der Bayrischen Räterepublik durch die unter dem Oberbefehl des MSPD-Ministers Gustav Noske stehenden Freikorpsstruppen. Zunächst stehen für den Autor die vielfältigen intensiven Bemühungen der „Friedenspartei“ (S. 74) vor 1914 gegen Militarismus und Kriegstreibereien im Vordergrund, gleichzeitig geht er ausführlich auf die Arroganz der Herrschenden gegenüber der Arbeiterschaft und der Sozialdemokratie, den „vaterlandslosen Gesellen“, ein, gegen die schon vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg scharfe Unterdrückungsmaßnahmen geplant waren.

Für die Kriegszeit werden der allmähliche Wachstumsprozess der Opposition gegen die regierungsloyale Haltung der SPD, die Abspaltung der USPD im April 1917 und das Aufkommen von Massenbewegungen gegen die Kriegspolitik der kaiserlichen Regierung anschaulich geschildert. Käppner würdigt zwar den Mut des offen gegen die Regierung auftretenden Karl Liebknecht (S. 93–96), kritisiert aber pauschal die Spartakusgruppe wegen ihrer radikalen Forderungen (z. B. S. 136). Dabei geht er nicht auf die verdienstvolle Rolle dieses Kreises in der Herstellung und Verbreitung zahlreicher illegaler Flugschriften gegen den Krieg ein, was andere Oppositionelle in diesem Maße nicht leisteten. Ebenfalls werden die Politik der MSPD, ihre Zusammenarbeit mit den bürgerlichen Parteien ab Mitte 1917 und ihre weitgehend loyale Haltung gegenüber der kaiserlichen Regierung kritisch dargestellt. Den Höhepunkt dieser Entwicklung stellt dann die Beteiligung der MSPD im Oktober 1918 an der bürgerlich-konservativen Regierung des Prinzen Max von Baden bis zum Sieg der Revolution am 9. November in Berlin dar.

Ein so bedeutsames Ereignis wie das Zustandekommen der Zustimmung der SPD-Reichstagsfraktion zu den Kriegskrediten wird zwar wortreich, allerdings sehr ungenau und unvollständig geschildert, so als ob der Vorstandsbeschluss für die Bewilligung bereits die Entscheidung bedeutet hätte (S. 82–88). Dass selbst die Abgeordneten des rechten Flügels noch am Vorabend der Fraktionssitzung eine mehrheitliche Ablehnung für möglich hielten, scheint dem Autor nicht bekannt zu sein. Ähnliche Lücken, teilweise sogar Falschangaben

ergeben sich beim Thema der Parteispaltung 1916/17, der revolutionären Massenerhebung in Berlin am 9. November 1918 sowie den Berliner Januarkämpfen 1919. So zerschneidet nicht Hugo Haase im April 1917 – anlässlich der Gründung der USPD – „das Tisch Tuch für immer“ (S. 111) zu Friedrich Ebert und der SPD, vielmehr wurden Haase und die übrigen Gegner der Kriegskreditbewilligung, die sich im Januar auf einer Konferenz der Opposition getroffen hatten, aus der Partei ausgeschlossen. Eine „Rosi Duncker“ (S. 113) gab es auf dem Gründungsparteitag der USPD nicht, auch sonst kein Teilnehmer oder keine Teilnehmerin mit Namen „Duncker“.

Käppner hebt zwar richtigerweise hervor, dass die MSPD-Führung vor dem 9. November 1918 ihr gesamtes agitatorisches und organisatorisches Potenzial einsetzte, um vor allem die Berliner Arbeiterschaft von einer revolutionären Erhebung abzuhalten (S. 172 f.). Doch die Existenz eines gemeinsamen Revolutionskomitees aus Revolutionären Obleuten, USPD-Vorstand und Spartakusführern sowie die gut bekannten Abläufe der konkreten Aufstandsplanung und die durch die Verhaftung des Chefplaners Ernst Däumig improvisierte Vorverlegung vom 11. auf den 9. November werden vom Autor unzutreffend oder gar nicht dargestellt (S. 177f.). Im Gegensatz zu Käppners Behauptung (S. 148) waren sich die Spartakusführer sehr wohl ihrer organisatorischen Schwäche bewusst, wie aus einem Schreiben Paul Levis vom 5. November 1918 hervorgeht.<sup>5</sup>

Bezüglich des Ablaufs des 9. November 1918 in Berlin übernimmt Käppner weitgehend die falsche Darstellung des MSPD-Vertreters Otto Wels, die Erhebung hätte auf Initiative der MSPD stattgefunden (S. 185ff.), und die Revolutionären Obleute, die den 11. November für den revolutionären Aufstand vorgesehen hätten, seien von den Ereignissen überrumpelt worden (S. 197). Dass die MSPD-Führung noch bis zum Vormittag des 9. November eine intensive Propaganda gegen den revolutionären Massenstreik betrieb, dagegen die Mitglieder des Revolutionskomitees nach der Verhaftung ihres Anführers Ernst Däumig sofort alle organisatorischen und agitatorischen Vorbereitungen für ein Losschlagen am 9. November trafen, wird vom Autor ignoriert. Erst als dieses Vorgehen Erfolg hatte und die Arbeiterzüge von ihren Fabriken in die Innenstadt marschierten, schloss sich die MSPD im Laufe des späten Vormittags der Bewegung an und setzt sich sogar an die Spitze.<sup>6</sup> Wie Käppner zu Recht aufgrund des durchweg gewaltfreien Verhaltens der Aufständischen in allen Städten und Regionen hervorhebt, handelte es sich um „eine Revolution der Besonnenen“ (S. 167f.).

Zu den Berliner Januarkämpfen 1919 charakterisiert Käppner treffend die Verworrenheit und das Schwanken der revolutionären Linken (Revolutionäre Obleute, Berliner USPD, Liebknecht und Pieck von der KPD), die sich aufgrund des unerwarteten Erfolgs ihres Demonstrationsaufrufs mit der riesigen Massenbeteiligung am 5. Januar 1919 zum Aufstand entschließen, aber sich kurz darauf schon auf Verhandlungen mit der Ebert-Regierung einlassen, um nach dem Scheitern nochmals für den 9. Januar zum bewaffneten Generalstreik und erst nach der militärischen Niederlage zur Wiederaufnahme der Arbeit für den 13. Januar aufzurufen. Gleichzeitig kritisiert Käppner die Verbissenheit der MSPD-

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<sup>5</sup> Paul Levi: Ohne ein Tropfen Lakaienblut. Schriften Reden, Briefe, hrsg. von Jörn Schütrumpf, Bd. I/1, Berlin, Karl Dietz, 2018, S. 511–514, hier: S. 512.

<sup>6</sup> Ottokar Luban: Spartakusgruppe, revolutionäre Obleute und die politischen Massenstreiks in Deutschland während des Ersten Weltkrieges, in: ders.: Rosa Luxemburgs Demokratiekonzept, S. 168f.

Regierung, die weder auf die Befriedungsversuche der USPD-Führer noch auf die aus den Berliner Betrieben kommenden zahlreichen Rufe zur Vermeidung des Blutvergießens eingeht, sondern den Konflikt ausschließlich durch Gewalt lösen will. Er kritisiert auch die schwankende Haltung der KPD-Führung, die mehrfach zwischen realistischer Zurückhaltung und extremer Radikalität hin und her schwankte und ebenfalls die aus den Fabriken kommende breite Einigungsbewegung ablehnte, ja sogar als Schwächung der Linken abkanzelte (S. 387–398).

Nicht nachvollziehbar ist ein grober Fehler Käppners bezüglich der USPD, deren „größerer Flügel unter Paul Levi“ sei 1920 angeblich „zu den Kommunisten“ übergegangen (S. 384). Denn bekanntlich war Levi 1920 nicht Vorsitzender der USPD, sondern der KPD. Bezüglich der Berliner Januarkämpfe vermischt der Autor die Diskussionen im Gremium der Revolutionären Obleute am 4. und 5. Januar (S. 387f.), dabei rechnet er fälschlicherweise den führenden USPD-Repräsentanten und Rätepropagandisten Ernst Däumig bereits der KPD zu (S. 387). Tatsächlich ist Däumig erst im Zuge der Vereinigung mit der KPD im Dezember 1920 zur KPD gestoßen und wurde dann Co-Vorsitzender zusammen mit Paul Levi. Käppner bringt ebenfalls den zeitlichen Ablauf weiterer Ereignisse durcheinander (S. 398). So sind die radikalen Flugblätter der Aufstandsleitung mit einem erneuten Aufruf zum bewaffneten Generalstreik erst am späten 8. Januar verfasst und am 9. Januar – allerdings nur in geringer Zahl – verbreitet worden, nachdem die MSPD-Regierung am 8. weitere Verhandlungen abgelehnt und unter dem Motto „Die Stunde der Abrechnung naht!“ die gewaltsame Bekämpfung der Aufständischen angekündigt hatte. Gleichzeitig warb in Berlin „[e]ine Arbeitsstelle Berliner Studenten“ in einem Flugblatt „[i]m Einverständnis mit dem Oberkommandierenden Noske“ für den Eintritt in die Freikorpsstruppen. Diese beiden Aufrufe trugen dann stark zu einem Wiederaufleben der radikalen Stimmung selbst unter moderaten USPD-Führern wie Hugo Haase bei, allerdings nicht mehr in der Berliner Arbeiterschaft.<sup>7</sup>

Neben der Kritik an den Mehrheitssozialdemokraten wegen fehlender Reformen wie der Sozialisierung und der Erneuerung des Beamtenapparates, der Justiz und des Bildungswesens liegt ein von Käppner ausführlich behandelter durchgängiger Schwerpunkt in der Darstellung des Prozesses der langsamen Selbstausslieferung der MSPD-Führer an die alten Militärmachthaber, der bereits unmittelbar nach dem 9.11.1918 beginnt (S. 222f.) und einen ersten Höhepunkt – unter dem Druck der Obersten Heeresleitung darin erreichte, dass man die auf dem Reichsrätekongress angenommenen „Hamburger Punkte“ zur umfassenden Demokratisierung des gesamten Militärwesens ins Leere laufen ließ (S. 315–320). „Triumph der Generäle: Die MSPD knickt ein“, so betitelt der Autor das entsprechende Kapitel. Besonders erhellend sind dabei die ausführlichen Zitate aus Quellen mit Aussagen der führenden Militärs. Die weitere Folge ist dann die „Noske-Politik“, das unmenschliche Vorgehen der von Noske befehligten Freikorpsstruppen – „zum größeren Teil ... Todfeinde der Demokratie“ (S. 460) – gegen Streikende und Aufständische, sei es in Berlin am Ende der Januarkämpfe und bei der Niederschlagung des Generalstreiks in Berlin im März 1919 oder im Ruhrgebiet, in Bremen, Magdeburg, München und weiteren Städten und Regionen. Käppner bleibt bei seiner Schilderung sehr sachlich und verzichtet auf polemische Schärfen. Gerade deshalb wirkt sein Resümee besonders überzeugend: „...es gehört zu den Tragödien des 20. Jahrhunderts, dass der deutsche Aufstand für Frieden und Freiheit

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<sup>7</sup> Ottokar Luban: Die ratlose Rosa. Die KPD-Führung im Berliner Januaraufstand 1919. Legende und Wirklichkeit, in: ders.: Rosa Luxemburgs Demokratiekonzept, S. 91f.



ausgerechnet an der SPD scheitert, die doch während der Kaiserzeit unter großen Opfern für eben diese Werte eingetreten war... Der Vorsitzende des Rats [der Volksbeauftragten] Friedrich Ebert (MSPD) aber paktiert nun mit den Befehlshabern des alten Militärs, der Obersten Heeresleitung, Das mag anfangs zur Erfüllung der drakonischen alliierten Waffenstillstandsbedingungen noch kaum zu vermeiden sein... Doch gerät diese Zusammenarbeit mehr und mehr zu einem regelrechten Bündnis...“ (S. 453f.) „Der Gedanke jedoch, dass sich die tragenden Kräfte des alten Staates, welche sich seit 1871 jeder Demokratisierung in den Weg gestellt haben – wie die Generäle, die Verwaltung, die Justiz und Polizei, die Ruhrbarone und ostelbischen Gutsbesitzer – nun endlich fügen werden, ist von atemberaubender Weltfremdheit.“ (S. 459)

Die spannende Erzählweise sowie die gelungene Herausarbeitung der charakteristischen Handlungsabläufe und der großen Linien, gehören zu den positiven Seiten dieser Gesamtdarstellung. Komplexe Situationen wie die Details zu den Vorgängen um die Zustimmung der SPD-Fraktion zu den Kriegskrediten am 4. August 1914, zur illegalen Antikriegsarbeit der Spartakusgruppe, zur Entstehung des revolutionären Massenaufstandes am 9. November 1918 in Berlin und zum Ablauf der Berliner Januarkämpfe 1919 werden jedoch ungenau oder in einigen Fällen falsch dargestellt, obwohl dazu – teilweise im Literaturverzeichnis angegebene – Untersuchungen vorliegen. Hier hätte diese Monographie eines sachkundigen Lektorats bedurft. Dann hätten diese wie auch einige weiter oben erwähnte grobe Detailfehler vermieden werden können, die den positiven Gesamteindruck beeinträchtigen.

Das Buch des irischen Historikers **Mark Jones** hat große Beachtung gefunden. Es lenkt nicht nur erneut die Aufmerksamkeit auf das unter der politischen Verantwortung der MSPD-Führung erfolgte schnelle Wiedererstarben der alten Militäreliten, sondern auch erstmals schwerpunktmäßig auf das dadurch erst ermöglichte grausame Vorgehen der Freikorpsstruppen gegen alle oppositionellen und aufständischen linkssozialistischen Regungen. Der Einfluss von Jones auf die Werke von Niess und Käppner ist deutlich zu erkennen.

Jones schildert zunächst die revolutionären Vorgänge von Kiel, München und Berlin in den ersten Novembertagen als eine „weitgehend gewaltlose Revolution“ (S. 73) Zwar gab es auf Befehl von kaisertreuen Offizieren vereinzelt gezielte Angriffe auf die Revolutionäre, so je einmal in Kiel und Berlin, sowie Schießereien, die aufgrund von Gerüchten über drohende Attacken der alten Offiziere entstanden. Doch kam es weder gegenüber der militärischen Elite noch gegenüber der Polizei, die die Arbeiterschaft bei Demonstrationen in der Kriegszeit oft brutal auseinander getrieben hatte, zu irgendwelchen gewalttätigen Racheakten (S. 46–73).

Dennoch war die Angst vor revolutionärer Gewalt, vor sogenannten „russischen Zuständen“, bei den alten bürgerlichen und militärischen Eliten sehr groß und fokussierte sich auf die Spartakusgruppe (ab 11. November Spartakusbund), insbesondere auf ihren prominentesten Führer Karl Liebknecht, teilweise bereits vor dem 9. November. Hierzu führt Jones eine Reihe von pointierten Äußerungen prominenter Zeitgenossen an, von Thomas Mann in München, Victor Klemperer in Dresden, Theodor Wolff, Ernst Troeltsch u. a. in Berlin, vor allem auch eine Vielzahl von Pressestimmen (S. 73–94) mit antirevolutionärer Propaganda,

insbesondere gegen die sogenannten Spartakisten, die bereits unmittelbar nach dem 9. November einsetzte.

Ausführlich behandelt Jones den blutigen Einsatz von Soldaten der Berliner Stadtkommandantur unter dem Oberbefehl des führenden MSPD-Vertreters Otto Wels gegen Demonstrationen von Erwerbslosen am 6. Dezember 1918 an einer belebten Straßenkreuzung nahe dem Zentrum (S. 95–116). „Zum ersten Mal im Verlaufe der deutschen Revolution von 1918/19 wurden Maschinengewehrsalven in eine protestierende Menschenmenge gefeuert.“ (S. 95) Nicht nur Demonstranten, sondern zahlreiche Unbeteiligte, Straßenbahnpassagiere, Wartende an einer Haltestelle und flanierende Passanten fielen dem MG-Feuer zum Opfer. Mindestens 16 Personen wurden erschossen, 80 mehr oder minder schwer verwundet. „Es war eine Explosion der Gewalt, die die schlimmsten Befürchtungen vieler Leute bestätigte, dass Revolution gleichbedeutend mit Gewalt war.“ (S. 95) Da am selben Tag konterrevolutionäre Soldatengruppen in das Reichskanzleigebäude eingedrungen waren und Ebert zum Reichspräsidenten ausrufen wollten, außerdem ein anderer gegenrevolutionärer Soldatentrupp den Vollzugsrat in seiner Tagungsstätte verhaftet hatte, während weiterhin die Redaktion der „Roten Fahne“ von einem weiteren Trupp besetzt worden war, sah es so aus, als ob seitens der Mehrheitssozialdemokraten ein abgestimmter Putsch versucht worden wäre – jedenfalls wurde diese Interpretation immer wieder von Liebknecht und dem Spartakusbund vorgebracht. Die häufigen Protestaktionen des Spartakusbundes mit scharfen Angriffen auf die MSPD-Führer in ihrer Tageszeitung „Die Rote Fahne“ oder mit radikalen Ansprachen auf Demonstrationen, die als Reaktion auf den 6. Dezember auch durch Panzerwagen mit MGs geschützt wurden, lieferten der antirevolutionären Presse bis zum „Vorwärts“ Vorwände, um die Verantwortung für den blutigen 6. Dezember dem Spartakusbund zuzuschieben, die angebliche bolschewistische Gefahr heraufzubeschwören und Liebknecht als „Dämon der Revolution“, so die „Deutsche Zeitung“ am 21. Dezember (S. 115), an den Pranger zu stellen. Auf Plakaten an den Litfaßsäulen wurde sogar zum Mord an Liebknecht aufgerufen.

Jones setzt in seiner Darstellung und der Auswahl der verwendeten Quellen zugespitzt auf die Konfrontation zwischen links und rechts, mit einem kritischem Unterton nicht nur gegenüber den konservativ-bürgerlichen Kräften, sondern auch gegenüber dem Auftreten des Spartakusbundes. Eine Berücksichtigung nichtspartakistischer linker Pressestimmen wie die der „Welt am Montag“, der „Freiheit“ und der „Republik“ wäre insbesondere in diesem Kapitel wünschenswert gewesen. Ebenfalls fehlt eine Diskussion über die Frage, warum Stadtkommandant Wels überhaupt die Demonstrationen auf ihrem Weg aufhalten wollte und warum ein MG für den Einsatz mitten in der vom unbeteiligten Publikum stark frequentierten Innenstadt mitgeführt wurde.

Das Kapitel „Blutige Weihnacht“ beginnt mit einer sehr oberflächlichen und lückenhaften Ausgangsschilderung des Konfliktes um die im Berliner Schloss und dem benachbarten Marstall untergebrachte Volksmarinedivision, so dass der weitere Handlungsvorgang, vor allem die Motivation der Matrosen, nicht verständlich wird (S. 117–119). Vielmehr schildert Jones nur die aggressiven Reaktionen der Matrosen (Schusswechsel mit einem gepanzerten Fahrzeug, Geiselnahme des Stadtkommandanten Otto Wels, kurzzeitige Besetzung der Reichskanzlei), ohne zu erwähnen, dass den Marinesoldaten durch Wels die anstehende Löhnung trotz der Bereitschaft zu der von ihm verlangten Räumung ihres Quartiers und zur Schlüsselabgabe verweigert wurde (siehe Käppner, S. 339–346). Man gewinnt den Eindruck,

dass sich der Autor mit den relevanten Publikationen nicht ausreichend beschäftigt hat oder dass hier für die Druckfassung Kürzungen vorgenommen wurden. Auch kennt Jones die 2008 veröffentlichten aufschlussreichen Tagebuchaufzeichnungen des sehr gemäßigten Kommandanten der Volksmarinedivision Fritz Radtke nicht, die von Käppner mehrfach herangezogen werden.<sup>8</sup>

Jones hebt hervor, dass sich nunmehr, nach den ersten Auseinandersetzungen um die Räumung des Schlosses und bei Fortbestehen der Geiselnahme von Wels, Ebert am späten Abend des 23. Dezember erstmals entschloss, Formationen mit heimgekehrten Frontsoldaten zur Wiederherstellung der Ordnung einzusetzen und im Einvernehmen mit den beiden MSPD-Politikern Scheidemann und Landsberg, aber ohne die USPD-Regierungsvertreter zu informieren, telefonisch eine entsprechende Absprache mit dem OHL zu treffen (S. 119). Der Angriff der Regierungssoldaten mit leichter und sogar schwerer Artillerie sowie mit Stoßtrupps auf die im Schloss befindlichen Matrosen forderte viele Todesopfer und hinterließ schwere Zerstörungen am Gebäude. Doch scheiterte die Aktion zum einen an der starken Gegenwehr der Matrosen und zum anderen an der Beteiligung von Zivilisten mit Frauen und Kindern in den Kampfpausen. Die Angreifer mussten ergebnislos abziehen (S. 119–124; vgl. Käppner, S. 339–350). Jones zufolge zogen die Militärs aus dieser Niederlage für die kommenden Auseinandersetzungen in den Jahren 1919/20 die Schlussfolgerung, dass Kampfpausen, Verhandlungsbereitschaft und Rücksicht auf Frauen und Kinder strikt zu vermeiden seien (S. 125).

Ein besonderes Verdienst Jones' liegt darin, dass er ausführlich auf die im Zusammenhang mit der Volksmarinedivision und den Weihnachtskämpfen entstandenen allerschärfsten Polemiken der konservativen wie der liberalen bürgerlichen Presse, incl. des sozialdemokratischen „Vorwärts“, gegen alle linken Kräfte eingeht (S. 125–135). Vor allem wurde die Niederlage der Regierungstruppen als Zeichen der Schwäche der Regierung gesehen und die nahe Gefahr einer Herrschaft der Spartakisten mit Liebknecht an der Spitze heraufbeschworen. Es kursierte sogar das Gerücht, die Ebert-Regierung sei nicht mehr im Amt und Liebknecht hätte die Herrschaft übernommen. Diese Vorstellungen spiegelten sich auch in privaten Äußerungen verschiedener bereits erwähnter Prominenter wider. Jones erliegt dabei jedoch der Suggestion dieser Argumentation, wenn er ohne einschränkende Formulierung von der „Bedrohung“ spricht, „die von den Spartakisten ausging“ (S. 132). Dies passt nicht zu seiner anschließenden Schilderung der am 29. Dezember stattfindenden Demonstrationen, die in den bisherigen relevanten Darstellungen nur selten Erwähnung finden (S. 136–145). Hier stellt Jones zu Recht fest, dass der Spartakusbund „nur einen Bruchteil“ (S. 133) der Demonstranten stellen konnte. Während die MSPD mehrere Hunderttausende Anhänger mobilisieren konnte, waren es bei den Spartakusleuten nur einige Zehntausend. Als Fazit der Dezemberwochen 1918 stellt der Autor eine „Normalisierung der Gewalt“ fest (S. 148), womit offensichtlich militärische Gewalt zu Lösung politischer Konflikte gemeint ist.

Hier wären zumindest Hinweise seitens des Autors darauf wünschenswert gewesen, dass die linke Presse sich in einer ausgesprochenen Minderheitsposition befand und dass das

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<sup>8</sup> Gerhard Engel: Aufzeichnungen des Kommandanten der Volksmarinedivision Fritz Radtke, November/Dezember 1918, in: *JahrBuch für Forschungen zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung* 6 (2008), 3, S. 74 ff.

fern jeder politischen Realität seit Anfang November heraufbeschworene Schreckgespenst einer angeblich gewalttätigen, terroristischen Linken in fast allen Zeitungen gezielt eingesetzt wurde (erst im Schlusskapitel schreibt Jones, dass „vor allem politisch geschürte Ängste vor zukünftig drohenden revolutionären Gewaltexzessen“ [S. 327] ein wesentlicher Bestandteil der Rechtfertigung für den konterrevolutionären Terror gewesen seien). Die intendierte Wirkung dieser kontinuierlichen massiven antirevolutionären Agitation war nicht erst an den Demonstrationsteilnahmen vom 29. Dezember, sondern bereits früher zu erkennen. Obwohl der MG-Beschuss im Stadtinnern vom 6. Dezember viele zivile Opfer gekostet und heftige Presseangriffe von Spartakus und USPD auf die MSPD-Führung ausgelöst hatte, konnte die MSPD in Berlin am 14. Dezember bei den Wahlen der Delegierten zum Reichsrätekongress in den Fabriken eine Mehrheit von 7 zu 5 gegenüber der USPD erringen,<sup>9</sup> was von Jones nicht erwähnt wird. Auch der Rücktritt der USPD-Volksbeauftragten aus der Regierung am 29. Dezember aus Protest gegen das Vorgehen der MSPD-Kollegen am 23./24. Dezember wird von Jones nur kurz genannt, und zwar fälschlich einmal als Folge eines Ausschlusses und ein anderes Mal – genauso falsch – als Folge des durch den Zentralrat ausgeübten Drucks (S. 138).

Zum improvisierten Januaraufstand in Berlin, der aus einer Massendemonstration am 5.1.1919 als Protest gegen die Absetzung des USPD-Polizeipräsidenten Eichhorn entstanden war, stellt Jones die Eskalation der Gewalt heraus. Dazu hätten die Fixierung auf eine gewaltsame Lösung durch die MSPD-Regierung mit der damit verbundenen Ablehnung von Verhandlungslösungen (z.B. S. 208f.), aber auch die schrille aggressive Propaganda der „Roten Fahne“ erheblich beigetragen (S. 165, 172f, 186f.). In seiner zuspitzenden Darstellungsweise vergisst der Autor eine bedeutsame dritte Bewegung zu erwähnen: Die in den Berliner Betrieben ab 8. Januar sich ausbreitende Einigungsbewegung unter den Forderungen nach Einstellung der Kämpfe, Vereinigung der Arbeiterparteien bei gleichzeitiger Absetzung aller Führer und der Realisierung sozialistischer Maßnahmen. Eine Resolution mit ähnlichen Forderungen wurde auf der Vollversammlung der kommunalen Arbeiterräte Groß-Berlins am 10. Januar fast einstimmig, also auch mit Billigung vieler MSPD-Vertreter, verabschiedet. Doch sowohl die MSPD-Führung wie auch die KPD lehnten eine solche Einigung strikt ab.<sup>10</sup>

Ausführlich beschreibt Jones den konterrevolutionären Terror der Regierungstruppen. Bereits am 8. Januar soll es Schießereien ohne Rücksicht auf Zivilpersonen gegeben haben (S. 182f.). Am 11. Januar wurden nach schwerem Artilleriebeschuss sieben Parlamentäre der revolutionären Besetzer des „Vorwärts“-Gebäudes von den siegreichen Soldaten „brutal abgeschlachtet“ (S. 193) und weitere Gefangene aufs schwerste misshandelt (S. 190–200). In der folgenden politischen Auseinandersetzung über die Ermordung und Misshandlung wehrloser Gefangener rechtfertigte nicht nur die nichtsozialistische Presse, sondern auch die MSPD-Führung das Vorgehen der Regierungssoldaten (S. 205–210). „Anstatt zu konstatieren, dass diese Bluttat einen Verstoß gegen die anerkannten Normen für das Verhalten von Soldaten auf dem Schlachtfeld und auch nach der Schlacht markierte, reagierten die Regierung und ihre Gefolgsleute mit einer Flut selbstgerechter Stellungnahmen, in denen sie ihre Gegner für die gesamte Eskalation der Gewalt verantwortlich machten... Die Militärs und die Sozialdemokraten fanden sich in einem neuen

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<sup>9</sup> *Vorwärts*, 35. Jg., Nr. 344, 15. Dezember 1918, S. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Luban: *Die ratlose Rosa*, S. 96–99.

Raum der Gemeinsamkeit zusammen, in dem von da an alles, was regierungstreue Soldaten taten, um jeden Preis gerechtfertigt und verteidigt wurde, ganz gleich, welche Gräueltaten sie sich dabei zuschulden kommen ließen. Der Ebert-Groener-Pakt war jetzt mit Blut besiegelt.“ (S. 211).

Damit besaßen die Regierungstruppen de facto schon seit der „Vorwärts“-Belagerung einen Freibrief für weitere Morde, Metzeleien und Grausamkeiten an politischen Gefangenen genauso wie an unbeteiligten Zivilisten. Diese Blanko-Vollmacht wurde von den Militärs bald genutzt. Zuerst für die Ermordung von Karl Liebknecht und Rosa Luxemburg am 15. Januar, danach im März 1919 in Berlin für die Ermordung von schätzungsweise 1200 Menschen „in einer Welle von Gewaltakten“ (S. 238) im Rahmen und im Anschluss an die militärischen Bekämpfung von Streikenden und Aufständischen, wieder unter Einsatz von schwerer Artillerie und sogar Flugzeugen mit MGs im Stadtgebiet, diesmal nicht nur mit willkürlicher Erschießung von Zivilisten, sondern auch mit einem Meuchelmord an regierungstreuen Angehörigen der Volksmarinedivision (S. 237–275). Die durch Misshandlungen oder durch Artilleriebeschuss häufig entstellten zivilen Todesopfer erfuhren kein Mitgefühl durch die MSPD-Presse, wie ein von Jones wiedergegebenes erschreckendes Zitat aus dem „Vorwärts“ zeigt: „Noch im Tode stehen ihnen Wut, Hass und Verzweiflung im Gesicht geschrieben.“ (S. 253)

Der De-Facto-Freibrief zum Morden wurde noch erweitert und legitimiert durch den Schießbefehl Noskes, der nochmals durch Ausführungsbestimmungen des Hauptmannes Waldemar Pabst, des Organisators der Morde an Liebknecht und Luxemburg, verschärft wurde (S. 254–275). Jetzt konnte jeder Soldat, der sich bedroht fühlte, von seiner Schusswaffe Gebrauch machen. Begründet wurde der Schießbefehl mit der angeblichen Ermordung der Polizisten eines ganzen Polizeireviere im Berliner Osten, eine von Pabsts Truppe lancierte Lügengeschichte, die tagelang von fast allen Berliner Zeitungen, oft noch mit zusätzlichen Übertreibungen, verbreitet wurde. Nach diesen vielen unschuldigen Todesopfern während der Märzkämpfe in Berlin wirkt die Schilderung der menschenverachtenden Rechtfertigungsargumente Noskes in der Nationalversammlung für seine Mordpolitik – unter breiter Zustimmung von der äußersten Rechten bis zu den Sozialdemokraten und scharfen Protesten von Seiten der USPD – verstörend und schockierend zugleich (S. 278–281).

Der Schießbefehl wurde auch im Kampf gegen die Münchener Räterepublik vom 29. April bis 6. Mai 1919 angewendet (S. 293–320). Die Bereitschaft zu Gräueltaten seitens der Regierungstruppen wurde noch gesteigert, als die Ermordung von zehn Geiseln (neun Männer, eine Frau – Adlige sowie wohlhabende Bürger, Angehörige des antisemitischen und antirepublikanischen Thule-Bundes) durch Angehörige der Roten Garde am 30. April bekannt wurde. Die Regierungssoldaten hatten allerdings schon vorher aufstachelnde Instruktionen erhalten. Nach Jones hatten die Rotgardisten von willkürlichen Erschießungen durch auf München vorrückende Truppen erfahren, zunächst zwei gefangene Regierungssoldaten misshandelt und – angeblich auf Befehl des revolutionären Stadtkommandanten Rudolf Egelhofer – erschossen, wie später die zehn Geiseln, ein „Teufelskreis der Gewalt“ (S. 300–303, Zitat: 300). Jones nennt außer den Geiseln und zwei von Rotgardisten misshandelten und erschossenen Regierungssoldaten als Todesopfer 58 Regierungssoldaten und schätzungsweise 600 bis 1000 weitere Personen, darunter 93 im Kampf gefallene sowie mindestens 42 exekutierte Räteanhänger. Die meisten Toten waren

Zivilisten, die bei Angriffen mit Artillerie, MGs und anderen Waffen zu Zufallsopfern wurden. Auf Grund von Denunziationen erfolgten willkürliche Erschießungen Unschuldiger durch Regierungssoldaten, oft nach schweren Misshandlungen, so von 53 russischen Kriegsgefangenen, zwölf Arbeitern (davon einige MSPD-Mitglieder), sowie 21 Mitgliedern eines katholischen Gesellenvereins. Schon vor München hatten heranrückende Truppen in Starnberg neun unbeteiligte Männer erschossen. Die Ermordung der katholischen Gesellen konnte nicht unter den Teppich gekehrt werden, da die katholische Kirche sich einschaltete, und es in der Folge zu einem Prozess und der Verurteilung einiger Beteiligter kam.

Jones hebt dabei hervor, dass die eigentliche Revolution im November 1918 in München ohne jegliche Todesopfer abgelaufen war, ganz im Gegensatz zur Aktion der Regierungstruppen im April/Mai 1919 (S. 328f.), und betont, dass nicht die Gräueltaten der Regierungssoldaten, sondern die Ermordung der zehn Geiseln für die Münchener Räterepublik und ihr Ende prägend für das öffentliche Bewusstsein gewesen seien (S. 298).

Der Autor rückt mit seinem Buch erstmals die gesamte Aufmerksamkeit auf die Folgen der Zusammenarbeit der führenden Sozialdemokraten mit den alten Militäreliten seit dem 10. November 1918: Die im Staatsauftrag ausgeübte zügellose, häufig willkürliche, militärische Gewalt gegen die eigenen zivilen Bürgerinnen und Bürger, die „im Verhältnis sehr viel mehr Menschenleben kostete als die Gewalttaten der Regierungsgegner von der äußersten Linken“ (S. 326). Gleichzeitig gelingt es Jones eindrucksvoll, mithilfe vieler Zitate aus der nichtsozialistischen Presse sowie führender Persönlichkeiten aus Politik, Militär und Kultur das Schüren der Pogromstimmung aufzuzeigen. Mithilfe der massiven Beschwörung der angeblich von den Linksozialisten, den Spartakisten und Bolschewisten ausgehenden Gefahr von Terror und Gewalttaten, dem Ausmalen von Untergangsszenarien sowie erfundenen Schreckensgeschichten wurde eine Pogromstimmung gegen alle vermeintlichen und tatsächlichen Linksoppositionellen entfacht. Jones sieht hierin eine Parallele zur Situation von 1933: „1919 wie 1933 lieferte die Vorstellung, in Deutschland stehe ein kommunistischer Umsturz bevor, die Legitimation für den Einsatz von Gewaltmitteln, und beide Male war es ein ähnliches Klima der Paranoia und des Freund-Feind-Denkens.“ (S. 340). Ein weiteres Moment der Kontinuität war die Beteiligung einer ganzen Reihe von Militärs aus den Jahren 1918/19 an SA und SS nach 1933 „als tragendes soziales Element der nationalsozialistischen Schlägertrupps“ (S. 240f.).

Von Jones nicht thematisiert wird eine weitere bedeutsame Auswirkung der gegen Linksozialisten gerichteten Gewaltexzesse der Jahre 1918, 1919 und (vom Autor unerwähnt) 1920: Es entstand eine tiefe Kluft zwischen den verschiedenen Strömungen innerhalb der sozialistischen Arbeiterbewegung, die erheblich zur Verfestigung der Spaltung und zur langjährigen, intensiven und wechselseitigen Bekämpfung beitrug, vor allem auch zu einer immensen Schwächung gerade in den Jahren vor und während der nationalsozialistischen Machtübernahme.

Es musste wohl erst ein irischer Historiker kommen, um zu verdeutlichen, wie in der Anfangsphase der Weimarer Republik aus Furcht vor dem Verlust der eigenen sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Vormachtstellung nicht nur eine intensive Pogromstimmung gegen alle tatsächlichen und vermeintlichen Linken geschürt wurde, sondern auch, dass sehenden Auges Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit im eigenen Land von den deutschen Eliten

nicht nur geduldet, sondern sogar befürwortet wurden. Ein Vorspiel ihrer Haltung in den Jahren vor und während der Naziherrschaft, wie der Autor herausstellt.

**Klaus Gietinger** hat bereits mit seiner fundierten Biografie des konterrevolutionären Offiziers Waldemar Pabst und seiner Monografie über den Ersten Weltkrieg gründlich recherchierte Untersuchungen aus thematisch benachbarten Gebieten vorgelegt. Dies kommt seiner Geschichte der deutschen Novemberrevolution zugute, die reich an archivalischen Quellen ist und die Forschungsliteratur bis in die jüngste Zeit berücksichtigt. Die Darstellung umfasst die Vorkriegsjahre – hier wird hauptsächlich der Kampf der SPD gegen Militarismus und Kriegsgefahr behandelt –, die Kriegs- sowie die Revolutionszeit bis zum Kapp-Putsch 1920. Gietinger geht nicht nur auf die Ereignisse in Kiel, Berlin und München, sondern – meist nur knapp – auch auf die im ersten Halbjahr 1919 mit der Forderung nach grundlegenden politischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Verbesserungen verbundenen Massenbewegungen im Ruhrgebiet, in Oberschlesien, Braunschweig, Königsberg, Leipzig, Dresden, Weimar, Gotha, Jena und Bremen ein. Relativ kurz, aber prägnant schildert der Autor die Vorgeschichte der Novemberrevolution einschließlich der Massenstreiks gegen den Krieg mit den linken Betriebsobleuten aus der Metallgewerkschaft – hauptsächlich in Berlin – als Hauptträger, die nach dem 9. November 1918 als „Revolutionäre Obleute“ bekannt wurden.

Gietingers Darstellung ist kritisch bis polemisch gegen die Politik der Mehrheitssozialdemokraten gerichtet, vor allem gegen deren Zusammenarbeit mit den traditionellen Militäreliten. Entsprechend setzt die Schwerpunktbildung an mehreren Stellen aufschlussreiche neue Akzente für die Geschichtsschreibung der Novemberrevolution. So weist der Autor auf weitgehend unbeachtet gebliebene Forschungsergebnisse des Militärhistorikers Ernst-Heinrich Schmidt über die Zusammenarbeit der MSPD mit Kriegsminister Heinrich Schëuch seit den allerersten Revolutionstagen hin (S. 63, 65). Hierzu gehörten u.a. Versuche zur Anwerbung einer Sicherheitsmannschaft für die Reichskanzlei und andere Regierungsgebäude ab dem 9. November, die Beeinflussung der Soldatenrätebewegung durch einen im Kriegsministerium nach Nominierung durch die Departmentsleiter gebildeten Soldatenrat mit zahlreichen Offizieren – eher ein ‚Offiziersrat‘. Dazu gehörte vor allem die Bereitstellung von Transport- und Kommunikationsmitteln am 10. November, um die Soldaten in den Kasernen durch MSPD-Funktionäre zu beeinflussen und bis zur Vollversammlung der Berliner Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte um 17.00 Uhr Mehrheiten zu sichern. Diese Zusammenarbeit und politische Beeinflussung wurde in den folgenden Monaten fortgesetzt.<sup>11</sup>

Kritisch vermerkt Gietinger, dass eine Einflussnahme der USPD und der Revolutionären Obleute auf die in Berlin stationierten Soldaten am 9./10. November in Vorbereitung auf die Räte-Vollversammlung vom 10. November nicht erfolgt sei (S. 62) und Liebknecht, Georg Ledebour und Richard Müller sich weigerten, in die Regierung einzutreten (S. 63). Zum bekannten und vieldiskutierten „Groener-Ebert-Pakt“ in der Nacht vom 9. zum 10. November (bzw vom 10. zum 11.) [S. 71–73] und den täglichen Telefonaten weist der Autor darauf hin,

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<sup>11</sup> Ernst-Heinrich Schmidt: *Heimatheer und Revolution 1918. Die militärischen Gewalten im Heimatgebiet zwischen Oktoberreform und Novemberrevolution*, Stuttgart, DVA, 1981, S. 406–435. Die Soldatenräte des Kriegsministeriums trugen statt wie sonst üblich keine roten, sondern schwarz-rot-goldene Armbinden. Schmidt geht in seiner quellengesättigten umfangreichen Studie ausführlich auf Schëuchs Unterstützung für Ebert und die MSPD ein.

dass die USPD-Volksbeauftragten über diesen Kontakt informiert gewesen seien (S. 217, Endnote 185). Gietinger zitiert dazu aus den Erinnerungen des USP-Volksbeauftragten Dittmann: "Drastisch gesagt hat Groener in jenen Revolutionswochen unausgesetzt auf Ebert als militärischer ‚Scharfmacher‘ gewirkt." (S. 73)

Ausführlicher als Käppner (dort S. 273–275) geht Gietinger auf die Putschpläne der OHL gegen die revolutionären Institutionen Anfang Dezember 1918 ein, wobei Ebert, dem diese Pläne vorgestellt wurden, eine repräsentative Rolle spielen sollte. Ebert bezog dazu gegenüber den Militärs keine Stellung, und informierte weder seine Kollegen in der Regierung noch zog er die Vertreter der OHL zur Verantwortung. Der Autor sieht als eine Zielsetzung des geplanten Putsches die Verhinderung des Reichsrätekongresses. Ausgangspunkt der Aktion sollte eine Art Parade mit heimkehrenden Fronttruppen am 10. Dezember am Brandenburger Tor in Berlin sein. Die Putschpläne der OHL wurden jedoch erst einmal durch einen anderen separaten Putschversuch am 6. Dezember durchkreuzt, der von Angehörigen des Geheimdienstes des Auswärtigen Amtes und Berliner Soldatengruppen geplant war. Vor allem lösten sich die am 10. Dezember einmarschierten Truppen kurz nach ihrer Ankunft von selbst auf, mit Ausnahme der von Hauptmann Pabst angeführten Garde-Kavallerie-Schützen-Division, die bei den Berliner Januarkämpfen und der Ermordung Luxemburgs und Liebknechts eine unrühmliche Rolle spielen sollte (S. 77–86).

In zwei weiteren wichtigen militärpolitischen Entscheidungen gaben nicht nur die MSPD-Volksbeauftragten, sondern auch die der USPD dem Druck der OHL-Vertreter nach, wie Gietinger kritisch hervorhebt. Zum einen ließen die Unabhängigen es zu, dass auf Druck des OHL-Vertreters Bodo von Harbou bei der Willkommenszeremonie in Berlin für die heimkehrenden Fronttruppen am 10. Dezember die Soldaten nicht nur mit geladenen Gewehren, sondern mit Geschützen, MGs und schwarz-weiß-roten Fahnen einmarschieren konnten, obwohl nur eine geringe Bewaffnung und Begleitung durch Arbeiterdelegationen vorgesehen waren (S. 81f.). Zum anderen – und wesentlich gravierender – war die Zustimmung der USPD-Volksbeauftragten Haase und Dittmann zu den stark abgeschwächten vom Reichsrätekongress beschlossenen „Hamburger Punkten“ zur Demokratisierung des Heeres und der Marine, nachdem Groener auf einer Sitzung der Volksbeauftragten am 20. Dezember mit seinem Rücktritt gedroht hatte (S. 87–90). Ebenfalls sehr kritisch sieht Gietinger die Nichtbeteiligung der USPD an den Wahlen zum Zentralrat wie auch den Austritt der USPD-Volksbeauftragten aus der Regierung, letzteres als Reaktion auf den von Ebert angeordneten Befehl zum Truppeneinsatz am 24. Dezember ohne Zustimmung der USPD-Vertreter (S. 100). Der Autor hebt hervor, dass die OHL bei den Kämpfen mit der Volksmarinedivision um das Schloss in Berlin zwar eine militärische Niederlage erlitten, mit dem Ausscheiden der USPD aus der Regierung als späte Folge aber wiederum einen politischen Erfolg erzielt, da sie – wie gewünscht – nur noch mit den ihr zugeneigten Mehrheitssozialdemokraten zu tun gehabt hätte (S. 100f.).

Informativ auf Grund der von Gietinger herangezogenen Quellen ist ein kurzer Abriss über die Entstehung und Entwicklung der ersten Freikorps, die nach Groener schon frühzeitig mit Eberts Einverständnis „unter der Decke“ erfolgt sei (S. 101–109, Zitat: 102). Der Autor zitiert aus Aufzeichnungen von Hauptmann Böhm, Adjutant des Kriegsministers, aus denen zu entnehmen ist, dass Noske schon am 27. Dezember, also zwei Tage vor dem Ausscheiden der USPD-Volksbeauftragten, in einer Besprechung im Kriegsministerium „energisch“ die



Notwendigkeit eines Waffeneinsatzes zur „Wiederherstellung der Ordnung“ vertreten habe (S. 107f.). Zu diesem Kapitel wäre es allerdings nützlich gewesen, wenn Gietinger für jedes Freikorps angegeben hätte, wann jeweils mit der Formierung begonnen wurde und wann die jeweilige Truppe mit welcher Kampfstärke einsatzbereit war.

Was die beiden großen Massenbewegungen in Berlin im Januar und März 1919 angeht, hebt Gietinger das revolutionäre Potential des bisher unterbewerteten Generalstreiks im März hervor, unter Berufung auf neuere Forschungsergebnisse von Dietmar Lange und Axel Weipert.<sup>12</sup> Als Ende Januar 1919 die Unzufriedenheit in der Arbeiterschaft über ausbleibende Reformen immer größer und der Ruf nach einem Generalstreik immer lauter wurde, war es der Anführer der „Revolutionären Obleute“ Richard Müller, seit November 1918 auch Vorsitzender des Vollzugsrates, der zunächst Ende Februar einen Streikbeschluss für Berlin verhinderte, was G. kritisch vermerkt (S. 150). Müller hatte seine Hoffnungen ganz auf einen 2. Reichrätekongress gesetzt. Doch am 3. März kam es auf der Rätevollversammlung in Berlin auf Druck der Arbeiter in den Betrieben – sogar mit Zustimmung der meisten MSPD-Mitglieder – zu einem fast einmütigen Beschluss zum Generalstreik in Berlin (S. 151). Zu den Forderungen gehörten vor allem die Beibehaltung der Räte (unklar war, ob parallel zum Parlament) sowie eine Demokratisierung des Militärs, der staatlichen Verwaltung und der Wirtschaft (S. 152f.). Trotz einer riesigen Beteiligung, vergleichbar mit jener am revolutionären Massenaufstand vom 9. November 1918 in Berlin, lehnte die Regierung alle Forderungen ab, und es kam – wie es der Autor mit einem Zitat von Jones illustriert – durch die konterrevolutionären Truppen zu einem „Crescendo der Gewalt, das alles übertraf, was seit Anbruch der Moderne in irgendeiner deutschen Stadt oder Großstadt an Blutvergießen stattgefunden hat“ (S. 154).

Zu dem im Verlauf der Berliner Märzkämpfe erlassenen berüchtigten Schießbefehl Noskes einschließlich verschärfender Ergänzungen durch Hauptmann Pabst hebt Gietinger hervor, dass hiermit zwar kein Standrecht eingeführt wurde, da im preußischen Standrecht ein Kriegsgericht mit Überprüfung nach 24 Stunden vorgeschrieben war. „Pabsts Befehl zufolge aber konnte man von jedem Regierungssoldaten ‚ohne gerichtliches Verfahren‘ [so Haase im Reichstag] willkürlich erschossen werden....“ Noske habe sich außerhalb jeden Rechts gestellt: „Da gelten Paragraphen nichts, sondern da zählt nur der Erfolg.“ [Noske unter großem Beifall im Reichstag]“. Der von Pabst formulierte (und ergänzte) Befehl sei, so Gietinger, eine Lizenz zum Morden gewesen (S. 161). Am Ende der Märzkämpfe waren über 1000 Tote als Opfer des Mordbefehls zu beklagen, „darunter Jugendliche, Frauen und Kinder wegen Bagatellen, die gar nichts mehr mit dem Schießbefehl zu tun hatten...“ (S. 164).

Dass der Schießbefehl in der Version von Pabst auch von Noske als ein Freibrief für das Morden durch die Freikorpsoldaten gebilligt worden war, stellte sich 1926 bei einem Prozess heraus, in dem es um die im Mai 1919 auf Grund einer haltlosen Denunziation im Münchener Vorort Perlach erfolgte Ermordung von zwölf Arbeitern, die der MSPD angehörten, ging (S. 183). Das Gericht begründete seinen Freispruch für die mordenden Freikorpsoldaten mit der Zeugenaussage des unterdessen als Oberpräsident der Provinz

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<sup>12</sup> Dietmar Lange: Massenstreik und Schießbefehl. Der Generalstreik und die Märzkämpfe in Berlin 1919, Münster, ed. assemblage, 2012; Axel Weipert: Die Zweite Revolution. Rätebewegung in Berlin 1919/1920, Berlin, bebra, 2015.

Hannover fungierenden Noske: „Dieser Befehl gab, wie der Zeuge Noske in der Hauptverhandlung auch bestätigte, die Möglichkeit, dass Leute, welche die Waffen streckten oder sich gefangen gaben, an Ort und Stelle erschossen werden durften.“ Auch wenn „die Gefangenen von der Gendarmerie oder von dritter Seite als Rotgardisten oder sonst in übler Weise bezeichnet wurden,“ hätte der Freikorps soldat nicht das Gefühl haben müssen, „etwas zu tun, was ihm eines Tages wegen des Mordes auf die Anklagebank brächte, wenn er solche Gefangenen erschoss oder erschießen ließ.“ (S. 184)

Gietingers Monografie umfasst weiterhin nicht nur die Münchener Räterepublik, sondern auch die Zeit bis zum Kapp-Putsch mit einer äußerst kurzen Abhandlung der Ruhrkämpfe im März und April 1920. Im betonten Gegensatz zu negativen Bewertungen mehrerer Historiker und Politiker wie Werner Maser, Eberhard Kolb, Ossip K. Flechtheim, Richard Müller, Paul Levi und anderen hebt der Autor hervor, dass die auf Initiative des Mehrheitssozialdemokraten Ernst Niekisch zustande gekommene erste Phase der Räterepublik unter Führung der Literaten Ernst Toller, Erich Mühsam und Gustav Landauer eine breite Unterstützung sowohl aus München als auch aus der bayrischen Provinz unter starker Beteiligung von MSPD-Mitgliedern erfuhr und durchaus praktische politische Arbeit leistete, auch wenn die KPD eine Mitwirkung verweigerte und sich ihr Vertreter Eugen Leviné abfällig über die „Literatenregierung“ geäußert habe (S. 176–179). Über die Tätigkeit der revolutionären Regierung in der zweiten Phase der Münchener Räterepublik unter Leviné berichtet Gietinger fast nichts, führt allerdings alle wesentlichen Ereignisse bei der Eroberung durch die konterrevolutionären Truppen auf. Noch umfangreicher und genauer als Jones weist der Autor in seiner gesamten Monografie auf die personelle Kontinuität bei den konterrevolutionären Offizieren in Richtung Nationalsozialismus hin, von denen viele nach 1933 Funktionen in SA und SS ausübten.

Während Jones in seiner überspitzenden Art die Einstellungen und Vorurteile bei den bürgerlichen und mehrheitssozialdemokratischen Eliten in Richtung einer Billigung der willkürlichen Gewalt generell konstatiert, so, als ob eine Einheitsfront der Gewaltbefürworter vom gesamten Bürgertum bis hin zur Mehrheitssozialdemokratie bestanden hätte, differenziert Gietinger: Er zitiert mehrfach Harry Graf Kessler aus dessen Tagebuch mit Äußerungen des Abscheus über die konterrevolutionäre Gewalt (S. 171, 173, 174), während Jones nur die bis zum Januar 1919 von Kessler niedergeschriebenen Ängste vor einer gewalttätigen revolutionären Entwicklung wiedergibt (z. B. Jones, S. 115). Wünschenswert wäre gewesen, dass sowohl Jones als auch Gietinger weitere kritische Kommentare zu den konterrevolutionären Gewaltexzessen aus dem linksbürgerlichen Lager vorgebracht hätten. Eine interessante Reaktion seitens der Gewerkschafts- und MSPD-Basis wird von Gietinger leider nur in seiner Pabst-Biografie erwähnt, wo er den MSPD-Fraktionsvorsitzenden im preußischen Landtag Ernst Heilmann zitiert: „Die Freiwilligen werden als weiße Garde der Reaktion betrachtet und mit den schärfsten Mitteln bekämpft. In tausenden gewerkschaftlichen und politischen Zusammenkünften ist der Beschluss durchgesetzt worden, jeden, der nach dem 1. Mai 1919 noch im Freiwilligenheere in der Reichswehr bleibt, für alle Zukunft zu boykottieren und nicht wieder in den Betrieb hereinzulassen, jede Zusammenarbeit mit ihm abzulehnen, ihn ‚zu meiden wie die Pest‘.“<sup>13</sup> Freikorps soldaten sollten also nach Truppenauflösung als Folge des Versailler Friedensvertrages nicht in den

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<sup>13</sup> Klaus Gietinger: Der Konterrevolutionär. Waldemar Pabst – eine deutsche Karriere, Hamburg, Nautilus, 2009, S. 177.

Betrieben eingestellt oder als Ausgestoßene behandelt werden. Auch im Bürgertum hatte unterdessen – offensichtlich auf Grund der bekannt gewordenen zahlreichen willkürlichen Gewalttaten – eine distanzierte Haltung gegenüber den Freikorps Platz gegriffen, wie es der Autor mit einem Zitat vom 25. April 1919 von Otto Lummitzsch, dem Initiator der Technischen Abteilung von Pabsts Truppe, der GKSK, aufzeigt: „Die Freiwilligenverbände werden offenbar von einem Teil des Bürgertums als das notwendige Übel in einer schweren Zeit ertragen, von einem großen Teil der Bevölkerung aber sogar mit fanatischem Hass verfolgt.“<sup>14</sup>

Nicht nur diese wichtigen Informationen, sondern auch die wachsende innerparteiliche Kritik an Noske seit dem Jahreswechsel 1919–1920 sowie die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen der MSPD-Führung und Reichspräsident Ebert um die Ablösung Noskes nach dem Kapp-Putsch, den Gietinger in seine Revolutionsgeschichte noch mit einbezieht, hätten thematisch in den Revolutionsband gehört. Denn nur unter dem ultimativen Druck der Vorstände von Partei und Reichstagsfraktion unter Otto Wels erklärte sich Reichspräsident Friedrich Ebert schließlich bereit, seinen Freund, den Kriegsminister Gustav Noske, zu entlassen. Ebert hatte sogar mit seinem Rücktritt gedroht, was von Wels umgehend mit der Drohung seines Rücktritts von Partei- und Fraktionsführung beantwortet wurde.<sup>15</sup>

Gietinger zeichnet in seiner informationsreichen, auf einer Fülle von Quellen (Archivalien und Schrifttum) beruhenden Monographie die Entwicklung der revolutionären sozialistischen Massenbewegungen und der konterrevolutionären Unterdrückungsmaßnahmen in den Jahren 1916 bis 1920 mit prägnanten, kräftigen Strichen und dabei als Schwerpunkt die Zusammenarbeit der mehrheitssozialdemokratischen Führungsschicht mit den alten militärischen Eliten. Seine Darstellungsweise ist – bei aller wissenschaftlichen Fundiertheit – in Bezug auf die Mehrheitssozialdemokraten nicht nur (berechtigterweise) kritisch, sondern häufig auch polemisch. Dabei begibt sich Gietinger sogar einmal auf das Niveau einer Boulevardzeitung, wenn er das Gerücht über ein Alkoholproblem eines führenden MSPD-Mitgliedes kolportiert (S. 188). Eine weniger polemische Darstellungsweise hätte an vielen Stellen eindrucksvoller gewirkt, hätte der Autor allein die Fakten für sich sprechen lassen.

Trotz seiner kritischen Gesamtbilanz vergisst Gietinger bei einigen Abstrichen (Nichtnutzung des basisdemokratischen Potentials der Räte, fehlende Demokratisierung von Wirtschaft, Militär und Verwaltung) nicht die positiven Ergebnisse der Novemberrevolution wie Waffenstillstand und Friedensschluss, Republik, Achtstundentag, Anerkennung der Gewerkschaften (generell und vor allem als Tarifpartner), allgemeines und gleiches Wahlrecht für Männer und Frauen wie auch – wenn auch nur zeitweilig – „Räte, die mitsprachen“ (S. 68).

Die Kritik an der revolutionären Übergangsregierung aus MSPD und USPD wegen der unterlassenen grundlegenden Reformen von Heer, Verwaltung, Justiz und Bildungseinrichtungen findet sich schon seit Jahrzehnten in der Historiografie der deutschen Novemberrevolution 1918/19. Neu an den Monografien von Niess, Käppner, Jones und Gietinger ist, dass – bei aller Anerkennung der Errungenschaften der Novemberrevolution –

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<sup>14</sup> Ebenda, S. 178.

<sup>15</sup> Hans J. L. Adolph: Otto Wels und die Politik der deutschen Sozialdemokratie 1894–1939. Eine politische Biographie, Berlin, De Gruyter, 1971, S. 148–157.

das Ausmaß der willkürlichen konterrevolutionären Gewalt gegen alle linken Oppositionsregungen, einen Schwerpunkt bildet, bei Jones sogar im Mittelpunkt steht. Seit Erscheinen dieser Monografien können die massenhaften Gräueltaten der Freikorpstruppen, die Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit, die von einem Großteil des Bürgertums und der Mehrheitssozialdemokratie monatelang geduldet und gebilligt wurden, nicht weiterhin als Marginalie behandelt werden.

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## **Die deutsche Novemberrevolution 1918–1920 in Fotos und Briefen**

- **Anton Holzer (Hrsg.): Krieg nach dem Krieg. Revolution und Umbruch 1918/19 [War After the War. Revolution and Upheaval 1918/19], Darmstadt, Theis Verlag, 2017. 192 pp. – ISBN 978-3-8062-3560-9.**
- **Gerhard Hirschfeld, Gerd Krumeich, Irena Renz (Hrsg.): 1918. Die Deutschen zwischen Weltkrieg und Revolution [1918. The Germans Between World War and Revolution], Berlin, Christian Links Verlag 2018, 312 S. – ISBN 978-3-86153-990-2**

Wer zu einem Fotoband wie den von **Anton Holzer** greift, wird erst einmal zum Durchblättern und zum Lesen der erklärenden Texte zu den einzelnen Fotografien verleitet. Hier fällt gleich angenehm auf, dass zu jedem Bild-Kapitel am Anfang nicht nur eine kurze Einführung (1 S.) gegeben wird, sondern den Fotos zusätzlich (wenn auch nicht immer passende oder aussagekräftige) zeitgenössische Zeugnisse wie Tagebucheintragungen und Erinnerungen von Käthe Kollwitz, Harry Graf Kessler, Victor Klemperer, Joseph Roth, Sebastian Haffner und anderen sowie Zeitungsartikel an die Seite gestellt werden. Positiv wirkt auch die Einbeziehung der revolutionären Ereignisse von München und Wien, wenn auch der Schwerpunkt auf Berlin liegt.

Bei intensiverer Beschäftigung irritiert die unorthodoxe Anordnung einiger Kapitel. So kommt nach dem Abschnitt über das Kriegsende mit „Ausrufung der Republik“ (S. 52–59) zwar chronologisch folgerichtig „Der erste Winter nach dem Krieg“ (S. 60–67), aber dann nochmals ein Kapitel über die revolutionären Ereignisse vom November 1918 bis April 1919 „Revolution, Revolution“ (S. 68–101), anschließend mit einigen Überschneidungen zu den vorangegangenen Teilen ein Kapitel über die konterrevolutionären Einsätze von Dezember 1918 bis April 1919 „Der erstickte Aufruhr“ (S. 102–123) und danach überraschenderweise ein Abschnitt „Das Ende der Monarchien“ (S. 124–141), als ob die Monarchen in Deutschland und Österreich erst im Frühjahr 1919 abgedankt hätten. Der im Buchtitel angesagte Zeitrahmen 1918/19 wird durch Kapitel über die Wirtschaftskrise (S. 162–173) und die „Goldenen Zwanzigerjahre“ (S. 174–188) bis 1926 erweitert.

Seine Einleitung unter dem Titel „Jahre der Gewalt. Als dem Krieg kein Frieden folgte“ (S. 8–23) entwickelt Holzer anschaulich am Schicksal des Schriftstellers Ernst Toller: 1914 Kriegsfreiwilliger, im Januar 1917 (nicht 1918, wie von Holzer angegeben) physisch und psychisch zusammengebrochen in die Heimat als überzeugter Pazifist zurückgekehrt, schließlich einer der Anführer der Münchner Räterepublik 1919. Auch durch eine ganze Reihe weiterer Aussagen von Zeitgenossen erreicht Holzer eine Personifizierung und bessere Veranschaulichung der Geschehnisse. Bedauerlicherweise enthält die Einleitung viele sehr ungenaue und pauschalisierende wie auch falsche Angaben. Um nur zwei

Beispiele zu nennen: So ist Holzers Behauptung „In Berlin standen einander bereits am ersten Tag der Revolution aufständische Soldaten und Arbeiter auf der einen Seite und regierungstreue Polizisten und Militär auf der anderen Seite gegenüber“ (S. 14) eine krasse Fehleinschätzung, die später in anderer Form wiederholt wird: „Denn Anfang November [1918] begann ein monatelanger Bürgerkrieg, der erst im späten Frühjahr 1919 abflauen sollte.“ (S. 52, ähnlich auch S. 68), wodurch auch noch der Eindruck erweckt wird, als hätte nach dem 9. November ununterbrochen ein Bürgerkrieg geherrscht. Noch irreführender ist die Aussage über die SPD und USPD, „nach dem Krieg [hätten] sich diese beiden Gruppen unversöhnlich und mit der Waffe in der Hand gegenüber[gestanden].“ (S. 25) Dabei zeichneten sich die Revolutionäre gerade dadurch aus, dass bei der Machtübernahme und in den folgenden Wochen fast keine Gewalt ausgeübt wurde. Holzer hätte diese Einleitung besser einer Fachhistorikerin, einem Fachhistoriker überlassen sollen.

Besonders gelungen sind die Eingangskapitel „Erschöpfung und Hunger. Verbitterung über den Krieg“ (S. 24–33) und „Es gärt im Land. Streik und Aufbegehren inmitten des Krieges“ (S. 34–51) mit eindrucksvollen Fotos und Plakaten sowie den passenden zeitgenössischen Zitaten. Einprägsam ist das erste Foto von sich über das leere Schlachtfeld schleppenden Verwundeten. Zwar überwiegen Fotos von kämpfenden oder posierenden Militärs, bei denen man erst durch den Begleittext eine Zuordnung zu bestimmten Ereignissen vornehmen kann. Doch gibt es auch Bilder zu anderen wichtigen Themen. Am bedrückendsten sind wohl die schrecklichen Verstümmelungen von Kriegsoptionen und dazu passend Fotos von Antikriegskundgebungen im Kapitel „Elend nach dem Krieg. Invaliden, Versehrte, Gezeichnete“ (S. 142–153). Dass Hunger und Elend nach Kriegsende – vor allem wegen der Aufrechterhaltung der britischen Blockade bis Sommer 1919 – noch fort dauerten, wird ebenfalls in eindrucksvollen Bildern gezeigt (S. 60–97). Eine gelungene Veranschaulichung des revolutionären Umbruchs in Österreich zeigt eine Gegenüberstellung von zwei Fotos aus dem Schloss Schönbrunn in Wien. Eines mit Hofdamen und Offizieren auf der Freitreppe, ein zweites vor einem Schlosseingang mit einer Schar Proletarienkinder, für deren Erholung das Anwesen von der republikanischen Regierung zur Verfügung gestellt wurde (S. 138 f.). Insgesamt hätte allerdings die Fotosammlung durch eine größere Anzahl Plakate stärker aufgelockert werden können, zumal es genug thematisch aussagekräftige Exemplare gibt.

Dieser an sich gelungene Fotoband könnte nur empfohlen werden, wenn aufgrund der weiter oben erwähnten krasen Falschaussagen über den Beginn der Revolutionszeit eine „Errata“-Anlage beigefügt würde.

Die von **Gerhard Hirschfeld**, **Gerd Krumeich** und **Irena Renz** herausgegebene Sammlung von Briefen, Tagebucheintragungen und weiteren zeitgenössischen Dokumenten aus dem Jahre 1918 liefert zunächst mit einer kompakten, sachkompetenten Einleitung über die politischen und militärischen Ereignisse von Ende 1917 bis Dezember 1918 unter Berücksichtigung der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen (Not-)Lage der Bevölkerung und der Antikriegsstreiks vom April 1917 und Januar 1918 eine gute Grundlage für das Verständnis der wiedergegebenen Briefe und anderen Texte. Ein beträchtlicher Teil stammt aus der Quellensammlung der Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek.

Wie später im Abschlusskapitel „1918 – Nachkrieg und Erinnerung“ (S. 268) gehen die Herausgeber in der Einleitung auf die Bedeutung des Bündnisses zwischen Ebert und der Obersten Heeresleitung ein und bedauern: „Die versäumte Demokratisierung des nahezu autonomen militärischen Sektors und der mangelnde republikanische Geist in der Armee (wie in der späteren Reichswehr) sollten zu einer nachhaltigen Belastung für die erste deutsche Republik werden.“ (S. 56). Hier hätte unbedingt auf die vom Reichsrätekongress am 16.–21. Dezember beschlossenen Hamburger Punkte zur Demokratisierung des Heeres eingegangen werden müssen, vor allem auf die anschließende Verwässerung (eigentlich eine Torpedierung) des Beschlusses durch die Volksbeauftragten auf Druck der OHL.

Die im Band abgedruckte Sammlung von Briefen, Tagebucheintragungen und weiteren zeitgenössischen Texten ist unter thematischen Gesichtspunkten in entsprechende Zeitabschnitte eingeteilt, wobei jeweils eine Chronologie vorangestellt ist, die mit ihrem Raster und zusätzlichen Informationen eine bessere Einordnung der Dokumente ermöglicht. Zu den Autorinnen und Autoren der Quellentexte werden im Anhang Kurzbiografien und die Herkunft der Quellen angegeben.

Ein Großteil der Briefe stammt von der Front, oft von Offizieren, weniger von einfachen Soldaten, eine weitere große Anzahl von den Angehörigen und Freunden aus der Heimat an die Heeresangehörigen. Weiterhin werden Tagebucheintragungen von Militärs und Zivilisten wiedergegeben. Dabei überwiegen regierungsloyale Auffassungen. Oppositionelle oder sogar systemkritische Stimmen werden erst zum Ende des Krieges und in der Revolution häufiger. Insbesondere für die Kriegszeit wären eine stärkere Berücksichtigung von Briefen einfacher Soldaten sowie die Aufnahme von Schreiben sozialdemokratischer Kriegsgegner wünschenswert gewesen, um ein breiteres Meinungsspektrum zu erfassen.<sup>1</sup> Dennoch kommen in den Dokumenten vielfältige interessante Gesichtspunkte anschaulich zur Geltung. Neben den Alltagsproblemen des Soldatenlebens werden das Grauen des Krieges, die ungeheuren Zerstörungen in den eroberten Gebieten und die Notlage in der Heimat immer wieder deutlich. In den Dokumenten spiegelt sich häufig die jeweilige politische Lage wider. Dazu tragen weitere eingestreute zeitgenössische Dokumente bei, wie etwa Stimmungsberichte des Polizeipräsidenten von Berlin, Streikaufrufe, Plakate, Flugblätter, Politikeransprachen. Ab November 1918 überwiegen zunehmend Schreiben von Zivilisten. Die eigentliche Dokumentensammlung schließt mit den Erinnerungen von Sebastian Haffner an das Jahr 1918.

Mit einem Brief von Ernst Troeltsch an Prinz Max von Baden vom 2. Dezember 1918 wird auf ein Dokument hingewiesen, das bisher in der Revolutions- und Kriegsforschung wenig Beachtung gefunden hat. Hierin berichtet Troeltsch, dass der Abgeordnete Ernst Müller-Meinigen (Freisinnige Volkspartei), der ein Büro für Soldatenbeschwerden unterhielt, im Spätsommer 1918 Ludendorff mehrfach auf die schlechte Stimmung unter den Soldaten besonders gegenüber dem Offizierskorps hingewiesen hätte, was von Ludendorff jedes Mal als Lappalie behandelt worden sei. Troeltsch hätte bei Solf, Tirpitz und Nicolai ähnliche Erfahrungen gemacht. (S. 239–241, Quellenangabe 297)

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<sup>1</sup> Z.B. Jens Ebert (Hrsg.): Vom Augusterlebnis zur Novemberrevolution. Briefe aus dem Weltkrieg 1914–1918, Göttingen, Wallstein, 2014; Gerhard Engel (Hrsg.): Rote in Feldgrau. Kriegs- und Feldpostbriefe junger linkssozialdemokratischer Soldaten des Ersten Weltkrieges, Berlin, Trafo, 2008.

Ungeachtet des spannenden Quellenmaterials sind in Apparat und Einleitung einige Fehler zu beanstanden. So wurde die Spartakusgruppe nicht am 1. Januar 1918 gegründet, wie in der Chronik angegeben wird (S. 61), sondern am 2. Januar 1916, was im Einleitungstext richtig datiert wird (S. 15). Ferner findet sich in der Einleitung eine missverständliche Formulierung: Der KPD-Gründungsparteitag habe „mehrheitlich gegen eine Beteiligung an den Wahlen zur Nationalversammlung, wie dies zuvor auch Rosa Luxemburg und Karl Liebknecht gefordert hatten“, votiert (S. 52). Hier muss klar gestellt werden, dass Beide für eine Wahlbeteiligung eintraten, aber den ultralinken Kräften in der Abstimmung unterlagen. Bei der sehr kurzen allgemeinen Erwähnung von bürgerkriegsähnlichen Auseinandersetzungen am Anfang der Weimarer Republik wird als Beispiel (in Klammern) der Begriff „Spartakusaufstand“ angeführt (S. 58). Diese Bezeichnung wird in den letzten Jahrzehnten in der Geschichtsforschung nicht mehr verwendet, da Hauptträger des improvisierten Aufstandes Anfang Januar in Berlin nicht die – zwar ebenfalls beteiligte – schwache KPD (Spartakusbund) waren, sondern die Revolutionären Obleute und die Berliner USPD-Organisation.

Auch fassten die „Revolutionären Obleute“ nicht am 1. (so in der Chronik, S. 193), sondern am 2. (zunächst vorläufig) und nochmals am 6. November (jetzt endgültig) den Beschluss zum Generalstreik am 11. November, verlegten aber wegen Verhaftungen am 8. November kurzfristig den Aufstandstermin auf den Folgetag vor. Diese wichtigsten Repräsentanten der Antikriegsbewegung, die oppositionellen linken Betriebsvertrauensmänner im Deutschen Metallarbeiterverband, seit dem 9. November als „Revolutionäre Obleute“ bekannt, waren auch die Hauptträger der Friedensaktionen, verbunden mit den Massenstreiks im Juni 1916, im April 1917 und im Januar-Februar 1918, und des improvisierten Januaraufstandes 1919 in Berlin. Sie waren auch die maßgeblichen Vertreter der Rätebewegung. Es bleibt deshalb nicht verständlich, warum sie lediglich dieses eine Mal und nur kurz in der Chronik Erwähnung finden. Die entscheidende Rolle der „Revolutionären Obleute“ im erfolgreichen Aufstand am 9. November in Berlin wird ignoriert, vielmehr wird pauschal behauptet: „Die deutsche Revolution im November 1918 war keine zentral oder von außen gesteuerte Umsturzbewegung“ (S. 48).

Nach der Dokumentensammlung behandeln die Herausgeber unter der Überschrift „1918 – Nachkrieg und Erinnerung“ eingehend (S. 263–282) die „Kontroverse über die Ursachen und die Verantwortung für die Niederlage von 1918“ als eine der „zentralen innenpolitischen Debatten der Weimarer Republik“ (S. 263). Dabei werden verschiedene Aspekte der öffentlichen Rezeption der militärischen Niederlage, insbesondere unter dem Eindruck der Bedingungen des am 11. November 1918 abgeschlossenen Waffenstillstandes und des Friedensvertrages von Versailles vom Juni 1919 mit dem Kriegsschuldparagraphen, detailliert untersucht. Das Drängen auf eine durchgreifende Demokratisierung des Staates und eine soziale Republik, das aus dem Teil der Arbeiterschaft kam, der links von der MSPD, aber nicht extrem links stand, wird dafür nur andeutungsweise behandelt. Der konterrevolutionäre Terror gegen diese Bestrebungen mit seinen schwerwiegenden innenpolitischen Auswirkungen, insbesondere auf die Arbeiterschaft, wird von den Herausgebern kaum thematisiert.

Als „große Bürde für die junge Demokratie“ bezeichnen die Herausgeber das Bündnis Ebert-Groener, da die regierenden Mehrheitssozialdemokraten sich in eine „fatale Abhängigkeit“ von den alten Militäreliten begeben hätten, wobei die OHL von vornherein das Ziel einer



Wiederherstellung der alten Machtposition der Militärs verfolgt habe. Dabei seien bei Groener starke antisemitische Auffassungen zum Vorschein gekommen (S. 268). Als „eine regelrechte Katastrophe für die weitere Entwicklung“ bezeichnen es die Herausgeber, „dass Paul von den Hindenburg, der auch nach dem Kriegsende unbestritten populärste Deutsche, sich zur Rechtfertigung des eigenen Versagens der bereits umlaufenden Dolchstoßlegende bediente und sie damit für viele zur Wahrheit werden ließ.“(S. 275 f.)

Auch die Vorgänge um den Friedensvertrag von Versailles, in erster Linie die innenpolitischen Vorgänge und Reaktionen, werden ausführlich geschildert. Schließlich gehen die Herausgeber noch auf die „Funktionalisierung des Ersten Weltkrieges“ durch Hitler und die Nationalsozialisten ein. Sowohl bei der Kommentierung der militärischen Erfolge als auch in seiner Innenpolitik (wie der Versorgung der deutschen Bevölkerung 1941–1942) knüpfte Hitler an die Erfahrungen des Ersten Weltkrieges an (S. 281).

Einerseits spiegelt die Brief- und Dokumentensammlung die vielfältigen Aspekte des Kriegs- und Revolutionsgeschehens anschaulich wider. Auch überzeugen die Einleitung wie die Schlussbetrachtung durch ihre inhaltlich fundierten Analysen.<sup>2</sup> Andererseits fehlen Briefe proletarischer Kriegsgegner und eine Darstellung der wichtigen Massenbewegung der „Revolutionären Obleute“. Deshalb werden Darstellungen und Dokumentensammlung dem Thema des Buchtitels „Die Deutschen zwischen Weltkrieg und Revolution“ nicht voll gerecht.

Bei den zahlreichen Zitaten in der Einleitung wie in der Schlussbetrachtung werden die Autorennamen nur in Klammern hinzugefügt. Die Leserin oder der Leser findet zwar auf Grund der dem Zitat meist beigefügten Autorenangabe das betreffende Werk im Literaturverzeichnis, müsste aber wegen der fehlenden Seitenangabe im jeweiligen Buch mühsam die betreffende Stelle heraussuchen. Warum konnte nicht entsprechend der häufig im amerikanischen Raum angewandten Zitierweise zum Autorennamen noch die Seitenangabe hinzugefügt werden? Die unzureichenden Quellenangaben in den Begleittexten vermindern bedauerlicherweise den Wert dieser an sich empfehlenswerten Publikation.

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<sup>2</sup> Vgl. den in erster Linie für Fachwissenschaftler gedachten äußerst informativen Aufsatzband (als Ergebnis einer Tagung): Jörg Duppler, Gerhard P. Groß (Hrsg.): Kriegsende 1918. Ereignis, Wirkung, Nachwirkung, München, R. Oldenbourg, 1999.

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## Zur Neuedition der Tagebücher von Ivan Majskij

- **Die Maiski-Tagebücher. Ein Diplomat im Kampf gegen Hitler 1932–1943. Herausgegeben von Gabriel Gorodetsky, München, C. H. Beck, 2016. 896 pp. – ISBN 978-3-406-68936-9.**
- **The Complete Maisky Diaries. Edited by Gabriel Gorodetsky, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2017. 3 vols., 1595 pp. – ISBN 978-0-300-11782-0.**

Für Trotzki war Ivan Michajlovič Majskij, sowjetischer Botschafter in London während der welthistorisch schicksalhaften Jahre von 1932 bis 1943, der typische Vertreter einer ganzen Schicht von ehemaligen aktiven Gegnern der Bolschewiki in der Revolutions- und Bürgerkriegszeit, die nach deren Sieg schnell das Lager wechselten und sich mit den neuen Herrschern arrangierten. Ausgehend von ihren Qualifikationen und Positionen als Fachleute wurden sie zu führenden – in Majskijs Fall diplomatischen – Repräsentanten der sich neu herausbildenden Sowjetbürokratie mit Stalin an der Spitze. Als solcher sang Majskij nun das Loblied des neuen Regimes und attackierte die von Stalin ausgeschaltete Opposition aus den Reihen der alten Bolschewiki als angebliche Betreiber einer kapitalistischen Restauration.<sup>1</sup> Zweifellos zeugt Majskijs Biographie von einer bemerkenswerten Anpassungs- und Überlebensfähigkeit, auch wenn es kurz vor dem Tod Stalins so aussah, dass es nun auch ihn treffen würde.

Lange schien es, dass die Geschichte über ihn weggegangen war und er nur noch eine Handvoll Spezialisten interessierte. Das hat sich mit der überraschenden Publikation seines lange im Archiv des sowjetischen Außenministeriums unzugänglich schlummernden Tagebuchs, das er in seiner Londoner Botschafterzeit angefertigt hatte und das bei seiner Verhaftung Anfang 1953 beschlagnahmt wurde, geändert. Im Jahre 1993 war der israelische Historiker Gabriel Gorodetsky, Spezialist für die sowjetische Außenpolitik und insbesondere für die britisch-sowjetischen Beziehungen, in diesem Archiv – inzwischen war aus dem sowjetischen das russische Außenministerium geworden – darauf gestoßen. Er bewirkte schließlich eine Veröffentlichung, die zuerst von russischer Seite unternommen wurde.<sup>2</sup> Eine englischsprachige Ausgabe in der Reihe der *Annals of Communism* von Yale University Press betreute er dann selbst.

Majskij wurde 1884 als Jan Lachowiecki bzw. Ljachoveckij in einer polnisch-jüdischen Familie im russischen Kerngebiet geboren und wuchs vor allem in Sibirien auf, wo der Vater

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<sup>1</sup> Vgl. z. B. Leo Trotzki: Schriften, Bd. 1: Sowjetgesellschaft und stalinistische Diktatur, 2 Teile, Hamburg, Rasch & Röhring, 1988, S. 593, 601, 639, 788, 1036, 1041.

<sup>2</sup> Ivan Michajlovič Majskij: Dnevnik diplomata. London 1934–1943, hg. von A. O. Čubar'jan, 2 Bde., Moskva, Nauka, 2006 u. 2009.

Militärarzt war.<sup>3</sup> Majskijs Elternhaus prägte seine breiten literarischen und intellektuellen Interessen. Das Pseudonym „Majskij“ – Mann des Mai – nahm er erst 1909 im deutschen Exil an, nachdem er schon eine Reihe von Jahren in der revolutionären Bewegung zugebracht hatte. Im Jahre 1902 wurde er aus der Universität in St. Petersburg geworfen und ein erstes Mal nach Sibirien verbannt, wo er sich der russischen Sozialdemokratie anschloss und von Beginn an auf deren menschewistischem Flügel stand. Im Jahre 1909 emigrierte er und absolvierte zunächst ein Studium in München, um im Jahre 1912 nach London zu gehen. Dort war er im russischen Exil aktiv und schloss u. a. Freundschaft mit Georgij Čičerin und Maksim Litvinov, in seiner späteren sowjetischen Botschafterzeit seine Vorgesetzten als Außenminister (1918–1930 bzw. 1930–1939). Doch politisch blieb er den Menschewiki verbunden und war nach seiner Rückkehr im Jahre 1917 nach dem Sturz des Zaren sogar in der Leitung des Arbeitsministeriums während der Regierung Kerenskijs tätig. Nach dem bolschewistischen Oktoberumsturz gehörte er zum extrem rechten Parteiflügel, der im Bündnis mit den Sozialrevolutionären den bewaffneten Kampf von der Wolga-Region aus zu führen versuchte, was zu seinem Ausschluss aus den Menschewiki führte, die diese Politik mit großer Mehrheit ablehnten.<sup>4</sup> Als die „demokratische Konterrevolution“ nach kurzer Zeit vom militärischen Anführer der „Weißen“, Admiral Koltschak, beendet wurde, zwang ihn dies zur Flucht in die Mongolei.

Bereits im Sommer 1919 streckte er erste Fühler zu den Bolschewiki aus, die diesen Frontenwechsel erst nach einigem Zögern akzeptierten. Zunächst mit Aufgaben in der sibirischen Wirtschaftsverwaltung beschäftigt, wechselte er dann in die Pressearbeit nach Moskau (für das Außenministerium) und später nach Petrograd, wo er auch eine Abrechnung mit seinen antibolschewistischen Aktivitäten veröffentlichte. Im Jahre 1925 kehrte er in die Arbeit für das Außenkommissariat zurück. Dessen damaliger Leiter Čičerin entsandte ihn an die Botschaft nach London, wo er bis zum Abbruch der diplomatischen Beziehungen durch Großbritannien im Jahre 1927 blieb, um dann weitere Stationen in Japan und Finnland zu absolvieren. Im September 1932 wurde er wieder, diesmal aber als Botschafter, nach London geschickt, was zu *dem* diplomatischen Posten seines Lebens wurde.

Die Gründe für die Neubesetzung des dortigen Botschafterpostens lagen in einer sich abzeichnenden Veränderung der internationalen politischen Lage, auch wenn diese erst grundlegend einige Monate später, ab dem 30. Januar 1933, eintrat. Großbritannien sollte nicht mehr die unmittelbare Speerspitze in einer direkt die Sowjetunion bedrohenden Konstellation bilden. Die Labour-Regierung war in Großbritannien im August 1931 zusammengebrochen. Der Labour-Premierminister Ramsay MacDonald ging mit weiteren Parteiführern unter Hinnahme einer Spaltung der Partei – deren große Mehrheit wechselte in die Opposition – eine Koalitionsregierung mit den Konservativen ein, die nun wieder die politisch bestimmende Kraft waren. Entsprechend richtete Majskij sein "Arbeitsprogramm" darauf aus, sie – und vor allem ihr Umfeld – zu beeinflussen. Frühere Botschafter hatten sich dagegen insbesondere um Kontakte zur britischen Arbeiterbewegung bemüht.

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<sup>3</sup> Die folgende biographische Skizze greift vor allem auf die Angaben von Gorodetsky in seiner Edition des Tagebuchs zurück.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. dazu auch Leopold H. Haimson (Hrsg.): *The Mensheviks. From the Revolution of 1917 to the Second World War*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1974, S. 171–174, 370f.

Somit waren es nun, neben den im Vordergrund stehenden offiziellen Kontakten mit der Regierung, Personen wie Churchill oder der Pressezar Lord Beaverbrook, um die er sich bemühte. Ersterer war zwar konservativer Abgeordneter, aber kein Regierungsmitglied, da er die Appeasementpolitik gegenüber Nazi-Deutschland ablehnte und somit für Majskijs besonders interessant war, und letzterer unterstützte zwar die Appeasement-Politik, seine Zeitungen jedoch hatten entscheidenden Einfluss auf die öffentliche Meinung. Ab dem 22. Juni 1941, mit dem sowjetischen Kriegseintritt nach dem deutschen Überfall, sollte sich dies auszahlen.

Sein Verhältnis zu Stalin war kompliziert. Zwar dürfte dieser mit Majskijs insgesamt durchaus erfolgreichem Wirken angesichts der Bedingungen, unter denen er operierte, eigentlich keine Probleme gehabt haben. Doch mitten im Zweiten Weltkrieg, im Jahre 1943, nach der deutschen Niederlage in Nordafrika und in Stalingrad, deuteten sich schon der Kampf um die Gestaltung der Nachkriegsordnung und damit erste Konflikte um eine amerikanisch-britische Hegemonie gegen eine gesicherte Stalinsche Vorherrschaft in Osteuropa an. Zudem verzögerte sich die Herstellung einer "zweiten" Front in Westeuropa (Landung in Frankreich), und damit eine Entlastung der Front im Osten. Stattdessen drohte eine Strategie, wie ihr insbesondere Churchill zuneigte: Von Italien und vom Balkan aus gegen Deutschland vorzumarschieren, mithin in dem von Stalin zur Sicherung angestrebten Vorhof der Sowjetunion. Offensichtlich war die – in Moskau durchaus misstrauisch beobachtete – Popularität Majskijs in der britischen Öffentlichkeit, die 1942/43 fast schon kultische Form annahm, nicht ausreichend, um die von der Sowjetunion gewünschte Politik zu erreichen. Nicht ausschließen ist, dass sich Stalin in einer (zumindest gefühlt) besseren Situation wieder an Majskijs nicht gerade zuverlässige Vergangenheit erinnerte. Zudem setzte die sowjetische Außenpolitik nun stärker auf "Briefträger-Botschafter", die so kein eigenes Programm (zumindest in den Augen des Außenkommissariats) verfolgen wollten – eben auf den klassischen Bürokraten und Befehlsempfänger.

Wie dem auch sei und wie unterschiedlich auch Majskijs Abberufung in den herrschenden Kreisen Großbritanniens aufgenommen wurde, in Moskau jedenfalls wurde er als Vizeaußenminister zwar formell befördert, doch faktisch marginalisiert. Es gelang ihm zwar, noch einmal einen Kurzbesuch in London durchzusetzen, um unter anderem den Rücktransport seiner Habseligkeiten, nicht zuletzt seiner Bibliothek, zu organisieren. Dafür wurde mitten im Krieg ein unglaublicher Aufwand betrieben. Von Kairo aus, wohin man eine Unmenge an Koffern in seiner Begleitung per Schiff transportierte, war dafür über den Nahen Osten bis zum Kaukasus ein Konvoi von sechs Kleinlastern nötig. Nachdem er in der ägyptischen Hauptstadt noch die Aufnahme diplomatischer Beziehungen in die Wege geleitet hatte, knüpfte er auf dem Weg durch Palästina auch noch enge Kontakte zur zionistischen Führung um David Ben-Gurion in der Erwartung, ein zukünftiger jüdischer Staat würde sozialistisch und pro-sowjetisch sein.<sup>5</sup> Doch nach seiner Rückkehr in Moskau waren ihm jegliche Türen, insbesondere die Stalins, verschlossen, nicht nur in der Palästina-Frage, sondern auch in allen anderen konzeptionellen Belangen. Stattdessen musste er sich mit Nachforschungen zu Reparationsfragen und anderen Nachkriegsproblemen beschäftigen, also mit vorwiegend ausführenden Tätigkeiten.

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<sup>5</sup> Merkwürdigerweise erwähnt Tom Segev in seiner neuen Biographie (David Ben Gurion. Ein Staat um jeden Preis, München, Siedler, 2018) dieses Zusammentreffen nicht.

Der zunehmenden Marginalisierung und drohenden Verfolgung entkam er zunächst dadurch, dass er sich 1947 auf eigene Initiative – er schrieb persönlich an Stalin und reichte dabei zwei Geschenke aus Großbritannien weiter – an die Akademie der Wissenschaften rettete. Das reichte aber nur bis zur allerletzten Säuberungswelle Anfang 1953, als er verhaftet wurde, offensichtlich um durch ihn Molotov als britischen Spion zu belasten und ihn selbst in Stalins geplanter antisemitischen Verfolgung ("Ärzteverschwörung") auch als Juden zu treffen, der sich nicht zuletzt positiv für gute Kontakte zur zukünftigen Führung Israels eingesetzt hatte. Doch dass dies nur drei Wochen vor Stalins Tod geschah, rettete ihn schließlich. Denn die "Bearbeitung" seines Falls, d.h. seine brutale Folterung, war für den inzwischen fast Siebzigjährigen trotz erster "Geständnisse" noch nicht fortgeschritten genug, um ihm schon einen Prozess machen zu können. Schien also Stalins Tod seine baldige Freilassung zu ermöglichen, beging er jedoch den fatalen Fehler, sich auf Beria, den er für den kommenden Mann hielt, einzulassen, der ihn wohl anstelle Molotovs als zukünftigen Außenminister auserkoren hatte. Berias Verhaftung Ende Juni und dessen spätere Hinrichtung bedeuteten dann zwei weitere Jahre Haft und einen weiteren Prozess im Jahre 1955, der aber schon in die Vorphase der Entstalinisierung fiel, so dass er bald freikam und rehabilitiert wurde, und er seine Tätigkeit an der Akademie wiederaufnehmen konnte.

Diese spätere Lebensphase hat einer seiner Schüler, Alexander Nekritsch, in seinen Memoiren anschaulich geschildert.<sup>6</sup> Ein Produkt von Majskijs Tätigkeit war eine umfangreiche Geschichte Spaniens von 1808 bis 1917,<sup>7</sup> die ihn weit genug wegführte von heiklen politischen Fragen der Sowjetunion. Damit konnte er allerdings seine Spanien-Interessen vertiefen, die er während des Bürgerkriegs als sowjetischer Vertreter im Londoner Nicht-Interventionskomitee vertieft hatte.

Wesentlich brisanter waren seine Memoiren,<sup>8</sup> in denen er zwar zahlreiche Zugeständnisse machte, für die er aber dennoch zunächst scharfe Kritik erhielt, insbesondere als sein Schüler Nekritsch eine kritische Analyse des Stalinschen Versagens und der von ihm zu verantwortenden mangelnden Vorbereitungen am Vorabend des deutschen Angriffs veröffentlichte.<sup>9</sup> Doch Majskij gab immer wieder nach, strich oder kürzte Passagen, in denen er sich vor allem mit Stalins außenpolitischem Verhalten kritisch auseinandersetzte, und veröffentlichte sogar Artikel im Sinne einer Rechtfertigung der gesamten sowjetischen Außenpolitik. Gorodetsky spricht in diesem Zusammenhang zutreffend von "Servilität".<sup>10</sup> Doch konnte Majskij sich erneuter Zwangsmaßnahmen entziehen, wobei half, dass er sich als Einzelgänger verhielt. Er vermied deutlich den Eindruck, sich mit irgendwelchen weiteren kritisch denkenden Personen einzulassen, und entfernte sich auch insgesamt von der sowjetischen intellektuellen "Elite". Gesundheitlich bereits angeschlagen, wenn auch geistig immer rege, verstarb er im Alter von 91 Jahren, am 3. September 1975.

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<sup>6</sup> Alexander Nekritsch: *Entsage der Angst. Erinnerungen eines Historikers*, Frankfurt am Main, Ullstein, 1983, S. 114 – 123.

<sup>7</sup> Dt. Ausgabe: I. M. Maiski: *Neuere Geschichte Spaniens 1808–1917*, hrsg. von Manfred Kossok, übersetzt von Hans Piazza, Berlin (Ost), Rütten & Loening, 1961.

<sup>8</sup> Dt. Ausgabe: I. M. Maiski: *Memoiren eines sowjetischen Botschafters*, Berlin (Ost), Dietz, 1977.

<sup>9</sup> Dt. Ausgabe mit weiteren Texten in: Alexander Nekritsch, Pjotr Grigorenko: *Genickschuß. Die Rote Armee am 22. Juni 1941*. Hrsg. u. eingel. von Georges Haupt, Wien, Europaverlag, 1969.

<sup>10</sup> *The Complete Maisky Diaries*, Bd. 1, S. XX.

Majskij fertigte im Laufe seines Lebens viele autobiographische Aufzeichnungen an. In seinen Jahren in London geschah dies in Form eines regelrechten Tagebuchs, das er am Abend schrieb (wenn auch nicht täglich). Es gibt Lücken, nicht nur was seine Reisen betrifft, wenn er etwa in Moskau zur Berichterstattung oder im Urlaub weilte. Das auf der Maschine geschriebene Manuskript ergänzte er gelegentlich handschriftlich und fügte Materialien wie etwa Zeitungsartikel bei. Insgesamt umfasste das Manuskript 1800 Seiten, so dass Gorodetsky nach einer ersten russischen, an der Akademie der Wissenschaften besorgten Gesamtausgabe zunächst eine englische Auswahl für ein breiteres Publikum von ca. einem Viertel des Textes besorgte, die sich auf die Höhepunkte seiner Aktivitäten in jenen Jahren beschränkte und die auch auf Deutsch veröffentlicht wurde. Nun liegt auch eine englische Gesamtausgabe vor. Beide Editionen sind ähnlich strukturiert. Sie enthalten eine Einleitung zu Majskijs Wirken in London und zu seiner Biographie bis zur Entsendung und schließen, nach dem Tagebuchttext, mit einer Skizze über die Zeit nach seiner Rückkehr nach Moskau und insbesondere die gegen ihn erfolgten Repressionsmaßnahmen ab. Überleitungstexte zwischen den einzelnen Tagebucheintragungen schließen die Lücken, die Majskij bei der Abfassung entstehen ließ, und bilden die „Brücken“ über die zahlreichen Auslassungen in der Auswahl Ausgabe. Die Texte selbst sind durch Fußnoten überwiegend mit Kurzbiographien sowie mit – je nach Ausgabe – knappen oder ausführlichen Endnoten versehen. In der Gesamtausgabe beinhalten sie außerdem viele Verweise auf den Kontext in der Forschungsliteratur und nicht zuletzt weitere Darstellungen der geschilderten Begebenheiten, etwa in den Memoiren seiner Gesprächspartner, in diplomatischen Akten oder auch in Majskijs Briefwechsel. Gorodetsky hat Majskijs in der Akademie der Wissenschaften aufbewahrten Nachlass umfassend ausgewertet.

Über sowjetische Tagebücher gibt es inzwischen viele Forschungen. Hier allerdings handelt es sich nicht um eines, das der "Selbstvervollkommnung", wie es Gorodetsky im Anschluss an die Forschungen zu sowjetischen Tagebüchern nennt,<sup>11</sup> dienen sollte. Nach dieser Strategie des Selbst entwickle sich das Individuum in der Reflexion – oder Anpassung? – zum vollkommenen kommunistischen Menschen und harmonischen Teil der neuen Gesellschaft. Im Gegensatz dazu handele es sich bei den Majskij-Tagebüchern um die Selbstrechtfertigung eines Menschen, der eine entscheidende Position einnimmt und sich seiner zunehmenden historischen Bedeutung gewiss ist, die er nachdrücklich schildern wolle. Insofern sei dies nicht unähnlich der üblichen Politiker-Autobiographien, oder in diesem Fall der eines Diplomaten, der sich damit seine wichtige Rolle selbst bescheinige, sein Handeln rechtfertige und überhaupt Geschichte als Wirken "großer Männer" auffasse. Es sei auch kein Dokument des Selbstzweifels. Einmal abgesehen davon, ob er solche überhaupt hatte, war bekannt, dass er ein solches Tagebuch führte, und somit musste es möglichst so geschrieben sein, dass es notfalls auch von "anderer Seite" gegengelesen werden konnte, ohne dass ihm allein aus dem Text ein Strick gemacht werden konnte. Einen Teil davon ließ er sogar Stalin zukommen.<sup>12</sup>

Entsprechend der Aufgabe, wie er sie als Verteidiger und Rechtfertiger der Sowjetunion einschließlich der gesamten Stalinschen Politik sah, werden die zahlreichen Initiativen und Kontakte in der britischen Gesellschaft über die üblichen diplomatischen Kontakte hinaus geschildert, mit denen sich Majskij um die Herstellung bzw. nach 1941 die Sicherung einer

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<sup>11</sup> Vgl. dazu Die Mayski-Tagebücher, S. 9f., bzw. The Complete Mayski Diaries, Bd. 1, S. XIVf.

<sup>12</sup> The Complete Mayski Diaries, Bd. 1, S. XIV.

britisch-sowjetischen Allianz gegen NS-Deutschland bemühte. Wie bereits angedeutet, suchte er sich – in Befolgung seiner "unkonventionellen Methoden", so Gorodetsky<sup>13</sup> – seine Gesprächspartner im Wesentlichen aus den herrschenden Schichten, also zumeist Politiker der Konservativen, Angehörige des Adels, einflussreiche Unternehmer, Journalisten. Dies hieß allerdings nicht, dass diese ihm unbedingt politisch entgegenkommen wollten. Oft genug handelte es sich um entschiedene Anhänger der Appeasement-Politik gegenüber Hitler und zweifellos entschlossene Antikommunisten. Es dürfte sich mehr um Neugier auf das Individuum Majskij, der sich schnell einen Namen als unterhaltsamer und kultivierter Gesprächspartner gemacht hatte, oder schlicht um die Tatsache gehandelt haben, dass die Sowjetunion nun einmal einen politisch-militärischen Faktor darstellte. Dabei war ein gewisses Element von Korruption nicht ausgeschlossen, da er vielen seiner Gesprächspartner, insbesondere wohl den Pressevertretern, großzügig "kleine Aufmerksamkeiten" zukommen ließ. "Der schmale Grat zwischen Rekrutierung und Wahrung der eigenen beruflichen Integrität wurde, wie das Tagebuch eindeutig offenlegt, von vielen führenden Publizisten (und vielleicht auch von Politikern) überschritten", so Gorodetsky.<sup>14</sup>

Im Übrigen benutzte Majskij seine Kontakte auch dazu, die sowjetische Politik in seinem Sinne – d. h. auf die Linie der "kollektiven Sicherheit" – zu beeinflussen. Immer wieder leitete er aus seinen vielen Gesprächen ab, dass sich in der britischen Politik doch eine Öffnung auf ein Bündnis mit der Sowjetunion ergab. Tatsächlich handelte es sich entweder um direkte Täuschung gegenüber der sowjetischen Führung, um seinem Handeln eine Art Sinn zu geben bzw. um seine Anwesenheit in London zu rechtfertigen, wo ihn zweifellos ein anderer sowjetischer Diplomat zumindest auf dieser Ebene kaum hätte ersetzen können, oder im besten Fall um "wishful thinking".

Mit Labour-Politikern oder Gewerkschaftsführern tat Majskij sich eher schwer, wobei er sich natürlich an ihrem – sozialdemokratischen – Antikommunismus stieß. Vergleichbares war ihm jedoch bei den Vertretern der Tories weniger wichtig – weil er deren rabiaten Antikommunismus zweifellos für "natürlich" hielt. Eine Ausnahme war sein freundschaftliches Verhältnis zu den Webbs, die Verkörperung des britischen sozialdemokratischen Reformismus schlechthin. Allerdings hatte das Ehepaar Webb seit Anfang der dreißiger Jahre bei Festhalten an ihrer durch die Fabian Society geprägten sozialdemokratischen Einstellung für Großbritannien eine philo-stalinistische Haltung entwickelt, was die Verhältnisse in der Sowjetunion anbetraf.<sup>15</sup>

Nach Beginn der sowjetisch-britischen Allianz 1941 war Majskij zwar überall eine gern gesehene und mit vielfachen Ehrungen überschüttete Persönlichkeit, gleichsam als Verkörperung. Doch in der Realität blieben seine Wirkungsmöglichkeiten beschränkt. Denn die möglichst umgehende Errichtung der "zweiten Front" im Westen zur Entlastung der sowjetischen Armee konnte auch er nicht bewirken. Churchill und Roosevelt blieben bei ihrem Zeitplan.

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<sup>13</sup> Die Maiski-Tagebücher, S. 205, bzw. The Complete Maisky Diaries, Bd. 1, S. 294.

<sup>14</sup> Die Maiski-Tagebücher, S. 22, bzw. The Complete Maisky Diaries, Bd. 1, S. XXV.

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. dazu Kevin Morgan: Bolshevism and the British Left. Bd. 2, The Webbs and Soviet Communism, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 2006.

Dabei ist gerade sein Verhältnis zu Churchill bemerkenswert, der seit seiner Rolle als Einpeitscher der alliierten Intervention 1919 im russischen Bürgerkrieg gleichsam die Verkörperung des Antibolschewismus und der zu allem entschlossenen Verteidigung des Empires gegen die Freiheitsbestrebungen in den britischen Kolonien war. Der Ausgangspunkt war natürlich die langjährige Opposition Churchills gegen die Appeasement-Politik mit der Folge seiner langen Isolierung innerhalb der Konservativen. Zwischen beiden kam es zu häufigen Kontakten, die informell blieben (und gerne von der heutigen Churchill-Begeisterung, wie sie sich zuletzt in verschiedenen Filmen zeigte, unterschlagen und auch in seinen Biographien heruntergespielt werden). Wie eng die Kontakte waren und wie weit die Wertschätzung ging, kann man hier im Einzelnen nachlesen. Auch Churchill selbst hat dies nie an die große Glocke gehängt.

Zwar wunderte sich Churchill, wie sehr sich Majksij, der Kommunist, um ihn kümmerte. Einmal fragte er ihn, ob er ihn etwa zum Kommunismus bekehren wolle. Darauf entgegnete dieser, er wolle ihn nur zu einem aufgeklärten Imperialisten machen.<sup>16</sup> Doch politische Berührungspunkte gab es durchaus, wie sich bei einem Gespräch zeigte, um das ihn Churchill Ende März 1938 bat, offensichtlich unter dem Eindruck des dritten Moskauer Schauprozesses (u.a. gegen Bucharin). Dabei teilte er ihm seine große Besorgnis über den Zustand der UdSSR angesichts der internationalen Lage mit, wie er das im Übrigen bereits schon einmal angesichts der Auswirkungen der Säuberungen in der Roten Armee im November 1937 getan hatte.<sup>17</sup> Majksij hielt ihm daraufhin einen Vortrag über die politische Lage in der Sowjetunion, dessen Inhalt er zwar in seinem Tagebuch verschweigt, der aber offensichtlich darauf hinauslief, zu belegen, wie sehr gerade die "Säuberungen" das Land stärken würden, da sie die Anhänger Trotzki ausschalteten. Ganz offensichtlich ging es um die mit diesen verbundenen ‚revolutionären Versuchungen‘, was Churchill nur beruhigen musste. Dieser antwortete laut Majksij: "Na, dann Gott sei Dank. Sie haben mich ein bisschen beruhigt. (...) Ich hasse Trotzki! Ich habe seit einiger Zeit seine Aktivität in den Blick genommen. Er ist Russlands böser Geist, und es ist sehr gut, dass Stalin ihm seine Grenzen aufgezeigt hat."<sup>18</sup> Sicherlich eine denkwürdige Aussage, die ja auf eine Befürwortung der stalinistischen Säuberungen hinauslief. Auch wenn Churchill nicht das gesamte Ausmaß kennen konnte, ging es ihm vor allem um die Beseitigung dessen, was mit einem *revolutionären Anspruch* – oder in seinen Augen einer revolutionären Bedrohung – identifiziert werden konnte. Insofern war der Name "Trotzki" nur eine Chiffre.

Doch Churchill stand damit nicht allein. Auch der (nur kurzzeitig regierende) britische König Edward VIII. ließ sich in einem Gespräch mit dem sowjetischen Außenminister Litvinov über Trotzki und die offizielle sowjetische Haltung ihm gegenüber seit der Ausweisung informieren, worüber Litvinov anschließend Majksij unterrichtete. Der Verweis Litvinovs auf den Streit um die Frage der Errichtung des „Sozialismus in einem Land“ half dem bald darauf zum Herzog von Windsor degradierten König: "Dann ist Trotzki also ein internationaler Kommunist, während Sie alle nationale Kommunisten sind."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> The Complete Maisky Diaries, Bd. 1, S. 400.

<sup>17</sup> Die Maiski-Tagebücher, S. 173, bzw. The Complete Maisky Diaries, Bd. 1, S. 226f.

<sup>18</sup> Die Maiski-Tagebücher, S. 197, bzw. The Complete Maisky Diaries, Bd. 1, S. 276.

<sup>19</sup> Die Maiski-Tagebücher, S. 141, bzw. The Complete Maisky Diaries, Bd. 1, S. 157.



Hierbei handelte es sich zwar nur um eine besondere, wohl aber sehr bezeichnende Perspektive,<sup>20</sup> die Majskij bei seinen Aktivitäten verfolgte. Dabei war ihm durchaus bewusst, dass der Stalin-Terror auch ihn bedrohte. Denn nicht nur wurden Mitarbeiter aus der Botschaft abgezogen und verschwanden. Seine immer wieder erforderlichen Reisen nach Moskau führten ihm die Lage direkt vor Augen. Er wurde zu Erklärungen gezwungen, warum seine Wachsamkeit mangelhaft gewesen sei, wie auch zu sonstigen "Selbstkritiken". Allerdings war er wohl aufgrund seiner Kontakte in Großbritannien für Stalin lange unersetzlich.

Das gesamte Spektrum seiner Gespräche und die darin angeschnittenen Probleme insbesondere im Zusammenhang mit dem Hitler-Stalin-Pakt und ab Juni 1941 mit der britisch-sowjetischen Allianz, kann hier nicht nachgezeichnet werden.<sup>21</sup> Schließlich soll es nicht der Sinn einer Rezension sein, dem Leser eigene überraschende Entdeckungen zu ersparen. So sei hier nur noch darauf verwiesen, dass Majskijs Tätigkeit als Botschafter in London ab August 1936 auch die sowjetische Vertretung im "Nicht-Interventionskomitee" zum spanischen Bürgerkrieg beinhaltete, das auf britische Anregung eingerichtet wurde, um eine Art Quarantäne über Spanien zu verhängen. Damit war die Republik mit den putschistischen Offizieren gleichgestellt und von offiziellen Waffenkäufen abgeschnitten. Die deutsch-italienische Waffenhilfe für Franco wurde dabei nicht zuletzt von Großbritannien großzügig übersehen bzw. leistete man ihr faktisch Vorschub. Majskij äußerte zwar im Komitee, wie auch im Tagebuch deutlich wird, ständig Proteste dagegen (wie auch gegen die allgemeine Inaktivität des Komitees), doch war die Sowjetunion offiziell Teilnehmer dieser gegen die Republik und die Revolution gerichtete Farce, auch wenn sich Stalin später doch zu einer gewissen Unterstützung der Republik entschloss.

Es ist allerdings interessant, dass Majskij auf den Spanien-Komplex in seinem Tagebuch nur vergleichsweise wenig eingeht. Auch wenn das Thema nicht verschwiegen wird, kontrastiert doch der hier hierfür eingeräumte geringe Platz mit seinen in den sechziger Jahren veröffentlichten Memoiren, wo er dem Thema eine große Bedeutung mit einem eigenen Teil beimisst.<sup>22</sup> Allerdings machen seine Notizen deutlich, wie stark der republikanische Abwehrkampf in Spanien und vor allem dessen sozialrevolutionäre Dimension mit der sowjetischen Politik der "kollektiven Sicherheit" kollidierte, da er bei den britischen Eliten die Angst vor einer Revolution schürte und die sowjetischen Hilfslieferungen an die Republik damit identifiziert wurden.<sup>23</sup> Erst 1938, mit dem Abschluss des Münchener Abkommens, sah

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<sup>20</sup> Solche intensiven Bemühungen Majskijs zahlten sich aus. Wie Gorodetsky etwa im Fall des Pressezaren Lord Beaverbrock notiert: "Dessen Daily Express stilisierte Stalin zum Verteidiger der nationalen Interessen der Sowjetunion, anstatt ihn zum Vorkämpfer einer Weltrevolution zu stempeln. Im Herbst 1936 [also wohl kurz nach dem ersten Moskauer Schauprozess, R. T.] verwies Beaverbrock Maiski auf die 'freundliche Haltung' seiner Zeitungen Stalin gegenüber (...)." Die Maiski-Tagebücher, S. 20, bzw. *The Complete Maisky Diaries*, Bd. 1, S. XXII.

<sup>21</sup> Siehe hierzu: Bernhard H. Bayerlein: *L'histoire du communisme à travers les correspondances et les journaux de Georgi Dimitrov et d'Ivan Maiskij*. In: Sonia Combe (Hrsg.): *Archives et histoire dans les sociétés postcommunistes*, Paris 2009, S. 67–92.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. den Teil "Spanische Aufzeichnungen", in: Maiski, *Memoiren eines sowjetischen Botschafters*, S. 252–400.

<sup>23</sup> Insbesondere Litvinov – dabei im Gleichklang mit Majskij – drängte schnell auf das Zurückfahren der sowjetischen Hilfslieferungen, was er im November 1936 dann bei Stalin erreichte – so Gorodetsky in seinen Erläuterungen. Vgl. *The Complete Maisky Diaries*, Bd. 1, S. 181f. Allgemein zur Nichtinterventionspolitik mit vielen Hinweisen auf die Aktivitäten Majskijs im Zusammenhang mit den

Majskij die Gefahr, dass, wenn Stalin die spanische Republik endgültig aufgeben würde, damit ein entscheidendes Hindernis zu einer diplomatischen Verständigung zwischen ihm und Hitler beseitigt würde, und handelte entsprechend.<sup>24</sup>

Dies wirft auch die Frage auf, mit wieviel Illusionen die Politik der "kollektiven Sicherheit" angesichts der Tatsache behaftet war, dass die Herrschenden in Großbritannien so waren wie sie waren, bzw. wie lang die politischen Schatten waren, über die die Sowjetunion noch hätte springen müssen. Bezeichnend ist auch, dass Majskij mit seinen britischen Gesprächspartnern fast nie auf Indien zu sprechen kam, trotz der Wichtigkeit dieses Themas in der britischen Politik. Gandhi wird einige Male, Nehru dagegen überhaupt nicht erwähnt. Majskij dürfte gewusst haben, wie "sensitiv" auf dieses Thema reagiert worden wäre.

Dieses quasi mimetische Verhalten eines Majskij bei seinen Kontakten mit den Herrschenden in Großbritannien verweist auf den Schluss von George Orwells *Animal Farm*. Darin müssen die anderen tierischen Bewohner heimlich feststellen, dass die Schweine als die neuen Herren nach der Revolution der Tiere sich bei ihren Verhandlungen mit den Menschen diesen in ihrem Erscheinungsbild – und damit implizit ihrem Charakter – anpassen.<sup>25</sup> Eine solche Analogie drängt sich auch durch die speziell in der Gesamtausgabe enthaltenen Fotos aus Majskijs Nachlass, die ihn im großbürgerlichen privaten Ambiente seiner Londoner Zeit zeigen, während die Fotos in der Auswahlgabe vor allem seine offiziellen Auftritte illustrieren.

Insgesamt handelt es sich ohne Zweifel um ein äußerst bedeutsames und bestens ediertes Quellenwerk zu den internationalen Beziehungen und der sowjetischen Politik der dreißiger und frühen vierziger Jahre, das, obwohl es nicht von einem Mitglied des unmittelbaren Führungskreises stammt, auch einen Einblick in die Mentalität der von der Oktoberrevolution längst abgenabelten stalinistischen Herrschaftsschicht liefert. Majskijs erschöpfende und penible Schilderungen der von ihm gepflegten intensiven Kontakte, die er in dieser Periode trotz aller Umstände, nicht zuletzt trotz des sich entfaltenden stalinistischen Terrors, aber eben vor dem Hintergrund der britischen Appeasement-Politik und des heraufziehenden und beginnenden Weltkriegs hatte, dürften so manche Leser erstaunen. Er sei "brilliant" gewesen und überrage die heutigen Diplomaten Putins bei weitem, hieß es erst kürzlich in der Neuen Zürcher Zeitung.<sup>26</sup> Doch in einer gewissen Weise stellte Majskij trotz aller offiziellen Bekenntnisse zur Oktoberrevolution und ihrem Erbe ein Verbindungsglied zur heute in Moskau regierenden Politikerschicht dar.

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Nicht-Interventionskomitee vgl. Michael Alpert: A New International History of the Spanish Civil War, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Die Maiki-Tagebücher, S. 27, bzw. The Complete Maisky Diaries, Bd. 1, S. XXIX.

<sup>25</sup> Nicht ohne Grund wurde diese subversive Erkenntnis des Sozialisten Orwell bei der Inanspruchnahme seiner Fabel durch die US-Propaganda gestrichen und durch einen "passenderen" Schluss ersetzt, bei dem es einfach nur um den Widerstand gegen die Schweine ging, ohne dass dieser sich gegen die andere Herrschaft, die der Menschen, richtete. Vgl. Frances Stonor Saunders: Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War, London, Granta Books, 1999, S. 293–295.

<sup>26</sup> "Giftige Zeiten für russische Diplomaten – damals und heute". In: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 5.4.2018, URL: <https://www.nzz.ch/international/giftige-zeiten-fuer-russische-diplomaten-damals-und-heute-ld.1374380> [letzter Zugriff: 15.8.2018].

## **V.2: REVIEWS**

**Maria Lafont: The Strange Comrade Balabanoff. The Life of a Communist Rebel, Jefferson NC, McFarland & Co., 2016. 244 pp. – ISBN 978-0-78649878-9.**

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Curiosity about Angelica Balabanoff's adventurous life and her relationships with prominent men such as Vladimir Lenin and Benito Mussolini drove Maria Lafont to research and write this biography of her. Lafont is not an academic historian and she does not pursue a political biography of Balabanoff, nor does she place her life in historiographical context. Nevertheless, her lively writing style creates a picture of people and places that make her book an engaging read.

Although she left published memoirs, Balabanoff has not been the subject of a scholarly biography. Starting with these, which have large chronological gaps, Lafont traces Balabanoff's life journey. She compares her memories to sources from more than thirty archives and libraries in eleven countries, as well as interviews. Lafont visited some of these but did not personally conduct research in all the archives from which she has acquired materials.

Balabanoff spoke thirteen languages. Most of Lafont's sources are in Italian, French, English, German, and Russian. Sources include Balabanoff's unpublished memoirs of childhood, her correspondence, police reports, newspaper articles, and government documents. Some parts of Balabanoff's life, such as her childhood and youth, are documented weakly, while there are many sources about her from the time when she lived in the United States. She achieved both fame and notoriety and often received prominent press coverage. Police forces across Europe and the U.S. tracked her carefully.

Balabanoff was not a political theorist but her fellow revolutionaries highly regarded and valued her as an agitational speaker, organizer, fundraiser, treasurer, and interpreter for the revolutionary movement. People were attracted to her kindness, compassion, honesty, and selflessness. Therefore, she acquired a large network of friends and comrades who came to her aid at crucial moments in her life.

Born in Chernigov, Ukraine into a wealthy merchant family, she explained her commitment to improving the lives of the poor as having arisen from sympathy for her family's servants, who

she thought her mother mistreated. Balabanoff's family was of Jewish ancestry, but her parents or grandparents might have converted to Russian Orthodoxy. Religion doesn't appear to have played a strong role in her upbringing. Balabanoff claimed to have been about nineteen when she left Russia to study in university courses in Belgium, Germany, and Italy, but Lafont found that she was 28 years old and was probably trying to hide an unsuccessful marriage by claiming to be younger. Having rejected her upbringing in luxury, she adopted an ascetic way of life, accepting only a small monthly subsidy from her brothers. Upon having completed her courses of study, Balabanoff was offered a career as a professor, but she turned down this opportunity in favor of devoting her life to helping the poor. Having become a Marxist in 1901, she fell in love with Italy around the same time. Her mission focused on helping Italian immigrants carrying out manual work in Switzerland. She turned to journalism in 1904, when she founded and edited a weekly newspaper for Italian women workers, using material furnished by the workers themselves. A catalyst in her rise to fame and notoriety was her attack on a group of nuns who were stealing the wages of factory girls who lived in their convent. Her exposure of their abuse brought the church and its supporters to attack her in words and sometimes physically. By 1906 the Swiss police regarded her as a dangerous socialist and she was forced to relocate to Genoa in December 1906.

Although Balabanoff did not return to Russia for the 1905 Revolution, she was in close contact with Russian revolutionaries in emigration. She leaned toward the Mensheviks among the Russian Social Democrats. Rumors about the Bolsheviks' unsavory methods, such as the 1907 Tiflis bank robbery, made her leery of them.

Lafont devotes many pages to speculation about Balabanoff's rumored sexual liaisons with Lenin, Trotsky, Mussolini, and a host of others, but the evidence for these seems very weak. Scholars of political and social history may become frustrated by Lafont's creative writing in these sections. She notes that Balabanoff denied any attraction to Lenin upon their first encounter but does not want to accept her subject's words. Balabanoff's contacts made her valuable to ambitious politicians like Lenin and Mussolini. She helped to advance Mussolini's career prior to World War I while he was still a socialist.

Lafont allows that friendships with women were important to Balabanoff both emotionally and politically, but she does not relate her research to much of the secondary work on women revolutionaries or about gender in the revolutionary movement. She paints Balabanoff as an advocate of free love like Kollontai, despite Beatrice Farnsworth's assessment of Balabanoff in her Kollontai biography as "a puritan who rejected Kollontai's free sexuality."<sup>1</sup>

When World War I began, Balabanoff took an internationalist position against the war and had to leave Italy to avoid arrest. She returned to Switzerland. The war made the financial subsidies she received from her brothers less regular and the family wealth declined due to inflation. Therefore, she had to take on translation jobs to support herself. Nevertheless, her work on behalf of the socialist movement continued. She helped organize both the anti-war women's conference in March 1915 in Berne and the Zimmerwald conference of socialists

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<sup>1</sup> Beatrice Farnsworth: Aleksandra Kollontai. Socialism, Feminism and the Bolshevik Revolution, Stanford University Press, 1980, p. 57.

opposed to the war. Strictly a pacifist, she did not favor Lenin's position on turning imperialist war into civil war.

After the February 1917 Revolution in Russia, Balabanoff was on the second train of socialists after Lenin's to leave Switzerland for Russia, arriving in May 1917. She was reunited with her brother in Petrograd. She still had no party affiliation, but the press had already labeled her a prominent Bolshevik. Forced to leave Russia in August 1917 due to accusations of spying for the Germans, she acquiesced to representing the Bolsheviks in Sweden. The only alternative for her would have been return to Switzerland, where she would have been completely sidelined from the revolution in Russia. This is how she became a member of the Bolshevik party.

Balabanoff represented the Bolsheviks' diplomatic interests in Scandinavia after they came to power. She also provided financial aid to Russian refugees and displaced persons there. Permitted to return to Russia in late 1918, she was only there long enough to inform Lenin about prospects for international revolution, which she thought poor. Unconvinced, Lenin ordered her to go to Switzerland in October 1918 to assist a general strike to take place there in November. Not long after her arrival, she was ordered to leave the country. During her escort to the train station, she was beaten, bloodied, and knocked out. Having finally arrived safely in Germany, she returned to Russia through Poland.

From 1918–22 she lived in the Hotel National in Moscow in the tiniest room she was permitted. The Russian Communist Party leaders denied her wish to live among workers. Having been absent during much of the year after the October Revolution, she was now forced to confront the reality of Red Terror. This took some time. Although one of her brothers had been brutally killed by peasants, she refused to perceive his fate as a consequence of Bolshevik policies.

Lenin acquiesced to Balabanoff's desire to help the arrested by giving her a position overseeing prisons, but she found there was little she could do. Her command of more than a dozen languages made her valuable in international work, but she complained to Lenin about untrustworthy foreigners being given money to spread propaganda in favor of Soviet Russia abroad. Lenin sent her briefly to Ukraine as Commissar of Foreign Affairs in February 1919 and then brought her back to Moscow to help translate at the first congress of the Third International. She represented the Socialist Party of Italy there. Lenin appointed her to be secretary of the Third International, but she despised its leader, Grigory Zinoviev, for placing himself above his comrades, unethical behavior, and material self-indulgence. Soon she found that Zinoviev was excluding her from important meetings and having her signature forged on important documents, but she still trusted Lenin.

Given her inability to work with Zinoviev, Balabanoff was transferred to the Third International's Southern Bureau in Ukraine, where she was to carry out propaganda to recruit foreigners to go abroad to promote Soviet Russia and to undermine morale among French military forces in Odessa. She also helped oversee conscription into the Red Army. In Odessa in summer 1919, she was confronted by her impoverished and prematurely aged sister and other relatives, but her relations with them were problematic because the Reds viewed them as counterrevolutionaries. She had to flee Odessa and then Kiev to avoid White armies. Her family departed for Constantinople and a nephew eventually reached Paris.

While in Ukraine, Balabanoff had witnessed atrocities toward civilian refugees, which she wanted the government in Moscow to address. She found, however, that both Dzerzhinsky and Lenin approved of these and so she became demoralized. Dismissed as Comintern secretary in 1920, she nevertheless served as an interpreter at the Second congress of the Third International in July 1920. Not permitted to leave Russia with the Italian delegation, she finally was allowed exit in 1921 for medical treatment after prominent Swedish socialists intervened with the Soviet government on her behalf. In April 1924, several months after Lenin died, she lost her Soviet citizenship and was purged from the Communist party. Lafont has scanty information about Balabanoff's movements in 1920–24. Creatively filling the gap, she constructs an elaborate hypothesis that Balabanoff went to Constantinople to reunite with her sister Anna, but there is no evidence for this.

Balabanoff obtained Austrian citizenship and worked a variety of odd jobs as a writer and translator. She returned to her aid work among poor Italian immigrants. In 1925, she moved to Paris and took up the antifascist cause. Infiltrating her networks of close friends, Mussolini's spies kept constant track of her. She also remained under the close observation of police agencies. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, she was very poor, malnourished, and often sick. She came close to committing suicide in 1931. In her vulnerable state, at age 65, she fell in love with a man in his thirties who turned out to be a spy sent from Mussolini to monitor her. The shock of his betrayal, Lafont writes, made Balabanoff suspicious of new acquaintances for the rest of her life.

By 1935, Balabanoff had finally saved enough money to leave Europe for the United States, where she lived until after World War II ended. There she gave assistance to war refugees and continued her campaign against fascism and Stalin's communism. She earned money from her books and lectures, but never enough to be comfortable. After the war ended, she lost her refugee status and could no longer stay in the United States. Her friends paid for her return to Italy.

Not long after Balabanoff arrived in Rome, she delivered an "openly anti-communist speech" at a socialist congress that "sparked a mutiny." (p. 197) Given threats to her life for disrupting the socialist movement and for her past links to Mussolini, her friends were able to obtain for her an open-entry visa to return to the U.S. if ever emergency threatened her. Nevertheless, she remained in Rome for the rest of her life, although she moved residences thirteen times over twenty years. The Italian Socialist Party paid her rent and she was kept up from a financial fund set up on her behalf in the U.S. Despite giving away much of what she received, she did not suffer extreme poverty in her later years. Her great fear was that Soviet agents would seize her and repatriate her to the Soviet Union. (p. 205)

Actively involved in Italian socialist politics throughout her later years, Balabanoff controversially called for "social revolution," (p. 207) but Lafont insists that she did not mean a violent revolution that would have provoked bloodshed. She retained much support among Italian socialists. Giuseppe Saragat, whose successful campaign for the presidency she supported in 1964, paid for her nursing home stay until her death in November 1965.

The chief consistency running through Balabanoff's life was her devotion to humanitarian socialism in principle and practice. Everywhere she lived, she devoted her time and energy

to helping the poor, immigrants, refugees, and prisoners. Her genuine kindness and compassion won her a large network of devoted friends. Despite Lafont's unscholarly attempts to spice up Balabanoff's biography with shaky hypotheses about scandalous sexual affairs and other escapades for which there is little to no evidence, she deserves credit for giving prominence to Balabanoff's social mission in a lively narrative. Perhaps a historian with more time and resources to track down documents in Russia and Ukraine could shed more light upon the parts of Balabanoff's life that remain obscure in Lafont's account, but no academic historian has produced a complete biography of Balabanoff. This book is intended to appeal to a popular readership, but it may be of use to scholars who seek the most comprehensive narrative of Balabanoff's life available.

**Andy Willimott: Living the Revolution. Urban Communes and Soviet Socialism 1917–1932, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017. 224 pp. – ISBN 978-0-1987-2582-4.**

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With this book, Andy Willimott enters the small circle of historians devoted to the communal movement in the early USSR. Communes were attempts made by “activists starting to rethink (...) their domestic habits and the way they conducted their everyday life” (p. 3) to implement “ideas of collectivism, equality, and the rational reorganization of living” (p. 1). The historiographical interest in such a marginal phenomenon lies in its capacity of holding up “a mirror to the larger story of how revolution, state, and society developed after 1917” (p. 11). The authors’s aim “is to shed more light on common and popular engagements with revolution”, to explore how communards “could read, interpret, and appropriate socialist ideology” and to see “what impact (...) these daily experiences (...) had upon the development of the Soviet state” (p. 14).

In order to do so, Willimott has chosen to study urban communes. This is a daring choice since the majority of authors rather focused on rural communes, e.g. the first voluntary *kolkhozy*, because sources about the latter are more numerous. Concerning urban communes, “there is no central [archival] holding on these groups”. Nevertheless, Andy Willimott “mined factory reports and institutional surveys, the local records of those institutes known to house (...) commune groups, (...) official protocols (...), media print sources (...) as well as the available diaries” of people who participated in communes. Even though “this is not an easy tale to tell” (p. 21), the author favours a narrative way of writing rather than a purely analytical one, thus referring to micro-history (p. 14).

However, the structure of the book is quite classical. A first chapter about “Revolutionary Beginnings” explores the roots of the communal movement. It is related to Russian pre-revolutionary forms of social organisation such as the *arteli* (cooperative workers’ teams) and *kruzhki* (radical students’ clubs) intertwined with the utopian vision of Chernyshevsky’s novel *What Is to Be Done?* (1863) and with the appeal of the 1871 Paris Commune. More than an effective filiation, Willimott sees in all this “a common point of reference” for activists of the 1920s, made out of “constructs” and “imagined virtues” of 19<sup>th</sup> century revolutionaries (p. 36). This is an important statement as Willimott rightly reminds us that Soviet communes cannot be described as anarchistic attempts while communards had a strong “belief in the statist-revolutionary project” (p. 6).

Those who tried to build “Socialism in one Dormitory” are the subject of the second chapter. The students’ communes are exemplified with the trajectory of a young working-class person from the provinces who became a student in the mid-1920s and set up a commune at the *Electro-Technical Institute* in Leningrad. This life story is clearly one of upward social mobility. Communal commitment was a way for young student activists to “put themselves forth as a new political-cultural enlightening force” even though they stood aside and “beyond



the party's centralized propaganda mechanisms" (p. 59). Hence, they would exert pressure on insufficiently proletarian elements or on "politically unsatisfactory persons" (p. 54). This aspect of social control is present in another collective which would for instance try to comply with the 'scientific organisation of labour' in everyday life.

The third chapter, entitled "Socialism in One Apartment" mainly deals with two Moscow youngsters' communes, one at the AMO factory barracks, the other at 6 Mokrinskii Lane, both in Moscow. Set up in the early 1920s, this type of communes expresses a rejection of the NEP with its reassessment of personal interest and greed. This period is also one of extensive discussion on moral issues, especially on the "new way of life" (*novyi byt*), which became the subject of numerous articles and brochures. Soviet society was trapped between "the dead weight of the past" (p. 83) and the fear "that things had gone too far" in sexual liberation (p. 95). For communards who claimed equality between the sexes, this had immediate consequences on gender roles. Women were "forced to accept a masculine vision of revolution" and "to display a revolutionary 'steeliness'" (p. 101) in order not to be perceived as conservative *baby* (derogatory word for women).

As the industrial proletariat was central to the Soviet conception of revolution, the setting up of "Socialism in One Factory" in the form of production communes is a key point. Being chiefly an effect of industrialisation, this phenomenon becomes the focus of the fourth chapter as it concentrates on the late 1920s and the Great Break. After describing an early period when young communard activists led the offensive without support, the author states that early 1930 witnessed "a virtuous circle of party ambition and activist inventiveness" (p. 122) explaining the flourishing of communes on the shop floor. They became an element of the highly strained climate in factories, where power, workers and *spetsy* (technical experts) were confronting one another.

In order to connect "Early Stalinism and the Urban Communes", the author extends the scope of his study to tackle the issue of rural communes. Praised during the collectivisation of agriculture, they stood gradually outside the main stream after Stalin issued a warning to those who had become "dizzy with success". In 1931, "*Pravda* published calls for a campaign against 'forced' or 'involuntary' urban communes and collectives" (p. 148). Wage levelling in factories was under criticism and former communards of Mokrinskii Lane would turn in favour of "piece rates and premiums" and finally come to the conclusion that the whole encompassing collective organisations were "nothing short of a 'Utopia'" (p. 153–4).

In a short conclusion, Willimott summarises his points. Although he recognises that 1927 was a turning point, he defends the idea that even during the Great Break, "sometimes taking revolutionary policy in a slightly different direction than was perhaps intended, [communards] displayed their own agency" (p. 167).

Willimott's overview of the communal movement is welcomed a century after the Russian revolution, but except for this last statement, it would remind an older reader of the outline of history about "Utopia in Life" published by Richard Stites in his 1989 book *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution*. The reviewer must even say that *Living the Revolution* falls below its predecessor.

The first problem concerns sources. As said before, Soviet media shed little light on urban communes. So Willimott relies extensively on the same publications as Stites, namely German journalist Klaus Mehnert's account, Pogodin's play *Daring*, a number of Soviet brochures about one successful collective or about youth communes (such as Naishtat's, which is wrongly spelt "Kaishtat" all along Willimott's book). With regard to archival material, Willimott claims to have found files about a students' commune in two institutes, this is indeed a valuable discovery. But the date when documents were written is only mentioned once: Willimott specifies that a quoted statement was made "some forty years on" (p. 168). So, instead of documents produced by actual communards, it seems we are rather confronted with memories of past events.

This leaves the reader with the impression that the analysis is based on public statements of the late 1920s–1930s and on Brezhnev-era memoirs, e.g. on material which was meant to comply with the public's requisites. This is not to claim that the Soviet "totalitarian" regime would have controlled every printed article or every alumni recollection. Nevertheless, the demand for public consensus was increasing and this determined what it was possible to say on various subjects, including communes.

For instance, Willimott notes a change in the late 1920s with the rise of "a more militant ideological discourse, coming off the back of the 1927 war scare" (p. 164). Yet, even though the book's title encompasses 1917–1932, the majority of the sources used in this work (even those that describe earlier communes) were issued in 1927 and later, indeed when the relative ideological pluralism of the NEP was already under criticism. Once again, this does not mean that this kind of documents is mere lies. They simply require a cautious analysis which must be aware of power relations inside Soviet institutions and inside society as a whole.

Except gender conflicts which are carefully analysed concerning *byt* communes, this questioning about power relations is lacking. The effect of reality given by quoting testimonies at large (which, by the way, is closer to storytelling than to micro-history), gives an a-critical outlook on things. The internal structure of communes and their procedures of decision making, which are central questions to evaluate the level of democracy, are only occasionally tackled (pp. 73, 137, 144). When communards exert pressure to implement "personal reeducation" (p. 77) on their teachers (p. 75) and on their fellow students (p. 54), and seek "greater support from the local authorities" (p. 70), one might think that a group is trying to seize control of an institute, particularly as the initiators are described as rapidly improving their social status.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately this is not the author's concern, he only notes that the communal movement had "a significant growth at the end of the 1920s – *coinciding* with a reinvigorated interest in collectivism" (p. 54; our emphasis). The reader would expect at least a hypothesis to explain this fact, instead of considering this a mere coincidence.

The same can be said of the way the discussion about the way of life is presented in the next chapter. Of course the struggle against *Oblomovshchina* and hooliganism is important (p. 87–8), but it would have been worth to compare the opinion of various Soviet leaders and

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<sup>1</sup> For a similar process in a Kharkov institute, see Eric Aunoble: Prôner l'émancipation, instituer la domination : sur l'expérience d'une commune de jeunes en Ukraine soviétique dans les années Vingt. In: *Dissidences* (2013), 6, <https://revuesshs.u-bourgogne.fr/dissidences/document.php?id=2749>.

intellectuals and to show who won the dispute over defining a socialist way of life and who was found guilty of having let “things [go] too far” (p. 95). The absence of Aleksandra Kollontai is all the more astonishing since she became the scapegoat for sexual disorder with the so-called “glass of water theory”.

The absence of Trotsky is puzzling too, not only because he wrote an important essay about *Problems of Everyday Life* (including communes), but also as a sign of a rather apolitical approach to the topic. For instance, writing about student communards who mobilised in 1927 against a Zinovievite teacher, Willimott notes that the Leningrad leader “fell from power after 1926” (p. 75), but he does not say a word about the struggle that was being waged on the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of October to crush the United Left Opposition led by Zinoviev and Trotsky. Nor does he explain why egalitarianism, having been mainstream until 1931, ends up being understood as “Trotsky-ist levelling mania” or “pure Trotsky” (pp. 154, 159).

The issue of wage levelling is tackled only at the end of the book (p. 147), although it is of crucial importance to understand production communes. The origin of the latter is once again told as if it were the result of some activists’ spontaneous effort which eventually met the support of “local officials [who] were becoming more receptive to shop-floor activism” (p. 111). To convince the reader of the reality of some shop-floor activism in favour of communes, the author should have explained what different forms of team labour organisation were available in Soviet factories. But Willimott presents them vaguely only as means to end communes in 1931 (p. 150).

Here, the author also misses two important points. As he mentions confrontations between young workers and older ones (p. 120–1), he does not take into account new forms of team work as a way to crush the resistance of old workers against increasing productivity. But when he describes the campaign against wage levelling from 1931, he states incorrectly that communes “did not become agents of resistance”. On the contrary, there is archival evidence of communes being condemned by the Party leadership because they represented a nexus of collective egalitarianism against the factory management who would then promote piece rates and individual premiums.<sup>2</sup>

Andy Willimott is right in thinking that communes mirrored the main social, ideological and political trends of the early Soviet regime. Unfortunately, his analysis is undermined by the fact that many statements he has found in the press and in memoirs are taken for granted. In doing so, his analysis involuntarily echoes that of Soviet officialdom, which ignored communes at the beginning of the NEP, found them pioneering from 1927, presented them as a vanguard during the Great Break, before excommunicating them as leftists from 1931. The English-speaking reader will learn more about the real agency of communards in the late 1920s by reading *Mahogany* by Boris Pilnyak, a name one would look for in vain in *Living the Revolution*.

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<sup>2</sup> For instance see: Account for the Kharkov Party Committee, 25.09.1931, Derzhavnyi Arkhiv Kharkivskoyi Oblasti (DAKhO), fond P69, opys’ 1, sprava 44, lyst 40; Protocol of the Plenum of the KhPZ Factory Party Committee, 13.5.1931, DAKhO, P86/1/3, 458 (quoted in Eric Aunoble: Les ouvriers et le pouvoir à Kharkov de 1920 à 1933, à travers les archives régionales. In: *Cahiers du Mouvement ouvrier (CERMTRI)* [2001], 14, p. 24–25).

**Hernán Camarero: Tiempos rojos. El impacto de la Revolución rusa en la Argentina [Red Times. The Impact of the Russian Revolution in Argentina], Buenos Aires, Sudamericana, 2017. 335 pp. – ISBN 978-950-07-5980-9.**

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In his previous essential work, *Towards the Conquest of the Working Class. The Communists and the World of Work in Argentina, 1920–1935*, Hernán Camarero conducted a thorough analytical reconstruction of the hitherto unknown active participation of the early Argentinean communist movement in workers' organizations, strikes, workers' culture activities and migrant communities.<sup>1</sup> Camarero's new book addresses an earlier moment which refers to the connection of the First World War with the Russian Revolution and interprets the impact it exerted on the development of political events in Argentina.

Although the title promises to address a topic too large for a single volume, even more so as the first third of the work deals with general issues in order to introduce the reader to the subject, the content presents a precise problem-oriented layout. The chronological framework comprises the five years from the outbreak to the end of the "rise and initial expansion of the revolution and the Comintern" (p. 24), the end of which is attributed to the year 1922. In geographical terms, the city of Buenos Aires is placed at the center of the action. Seated within the trend of transnational studies dedicated to the Russian Revolution, the work constitutes the first general history on the effects of the Russian Revolution in Argentina. The attention is focused mainly on the Argentine labor movement, on the drifts of socialism, on the emerging domestic communism and the beginnings of its difficult relationship with the Comintern. To a lesser extent, it also accounts for the reception of revolutionary events by trade unionism, anarchism, Catholicism, the reactionary right embodied by the Argentine Patriotic League and the Labor Association, and the cultural field with Jorge Luis Borges at the head.

The author reconstructs highly relevant aspects which are seldom addressed in historiography, comprising both the diplomatic relations between the Argentine and Soviet governments, and the activism of the militants of Russian origin who arrived in Argentina and contributed to the enrichment of the country's political culture. César Tiempo, Simón Radowitzky, Mayor Mashevich, Ida Bondareff, Mikhail Komin-Aleksandrovsky and Mikhail Yaroshevsky are some of the outstanding biographies. The book features a valuable assemblage of various groupings organized by those who were exiled from the Tsarist Empire: the Avangard Jewish Social Democratic Labor Organization created in 1907; the Russian Circle which emerged the following year and was attached to the Socialist Party until 1914; the Committee of Assistance to the Exiles and Forced Laborers of Czarist Russia

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<sup>1</sup> Hernán Camarero: *A la conquista de la clase obrera. Los comunistas y el mundo del trabajo en la Argentina, 1920–1935*, Buenos Aires, Siglo XXI editores, 2007.

founded in 1916 and renamed into “Committee of Assistance to Workers’, Soldiers’ and Peasants’ Deputies” after the February Revolution of 1917 – this Committee was subsequently reconverted into the Russian Socialist Workers’ Union, attached to the Argentine Communist Party at the beginning of 1921 under the new name of the Russian Communist Group; and finally the Federation of Russian Workers’ Organizations of South America which emerged in 1917–1918.

The Argentine Socialist Party (PSA) celebrated the fall of czarism and the formation of the Provisional Government and condemned the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks. The reconstruction of the reception of news from Russia as events took place is one of the great achievements of *Tiempos Rojos*. Interestingly, there is a preponderance for the analysis of *La Vanguardia*, the official organ of the PSA, “to political representations”, without “fully gauging the weight of popular prominence” (p. 150). As the PSA identified itself with the Provisional Government, it praised outstanding leaders of Menshevism and the Socialist Revolutionary Party, while expressing its support of favorable statements for the continuation of the participation of the Russian army in the war in order to achieve the defeat of Germany. Most of the leadership of the PSA professed a political line that, without signifying the definitive abandonment of the revolution, was based on reformism as a method of conducting the gradual transformation of society. Camarero shows how the growth of the Bolshevik Party within the Petrograd Soviet ignited the alarm among the Argentine parliamentary socialists. After the storm of the Winter Palace, *La Vanguardia* interpreted it as a *coup d’état*. But this position was not the only one within the party, which had to deal with the presence of an internationalist wing that identified itself as Marxist and revolutionary. Present in the heart of the PSA since 1912 and expressing itself by various political, trade union and editorial practices, the internationalists opposed the pressure which the parliamentarians exercised on the national government to break relations with Germany after the sinking of Argentinean merchant ships by German submarines. The internal conflict erupted at the Third Extraordinary Congress of the PSA at the end of April 1917. Contrary to all expectations, the internationalist slogans that demanded the maintenance of neutrality received the vote of the majority of the delegates. Counting on socialist representatives in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Chamber of Senators of the Nation, the parliamentary nucleus within the PSA asserted its position to intimidate its members, threatening to leave their seats if support for the position of the leftists continued and the resolutions voted at the Congress were adopted.

Camarero dedicates an entire chapter to present the repercussions generated by the Russian Revolution among the political, trade union and social forces, both on the left and on the right. He contextualizes the position of the Argentinean anarchists, split between those who initially supported the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia and those who continued to oppose it. From 1921 onwards, the anarchist reading of Bolshevik rule as a “party dictatorship” – that undermined the power of the free soviets – was increasingly reducing the support from Argentinean anarchism to the path that the Russian experience was taking. Reformist-oriented trade unionism celebrated the triumph of the Russian Revolution, which led a small sector within it to recover part of the revolutionary positions that Argentine trade unionists had initially outlined.

For many decades, the nature of the Comintern has been subject to reductionist perspectives that tended to find in it the imposition by Moscow of a mechanism of control over the national communist parties. In contrast to this position, and in line with more recent

fundamental studies that depict the complexity of the relations that the Comintern had with its national sections (Brigitte Studer, Olga Ulianova, Víctor and Lazar JEIFETS, to mention some central authors), Camarero's book contributes to deepening and problematizing a shifting reality which did not imply in the communist parties the simple mechanical implementation of political lines established unilaterally by the Soviet communists. In this sense, the role of the Comintern agents in the Argentine Communist Party (PCA) makes it possible to capture with more precision the process of establishing relations, where Mashevich, Komin-Aleksandrovsy and Felix Weil mainly tried to present themselves in the eyes of the Executive Committee of the Comintern as its most valuable exponents for the implementation of political work in Argentina. However, in this process, personal competition ensued both between foreign emissaries and between them and the leaders of the PCA, who in turn disputed their right to officiate as an exemplary party for the communists of the rest of the countries of South America. The PCA leadership claimed privileged treatment by the Comintern based on the greater degree of development registered by the Argentine section in relation to the other South American sections, a position that was especially promoted by the early failure of the Pan American Bureau founded in 1920, wherein the Japanese Cominternian Sen Katayama had played a leading role. A symptom of this reality was the formation of the Communist Propaganda Bureau for South America, which "was vital for the development of several communist parties in the region" (p. 215). It was based in Buenos Aires, and was chaired by five members, among whom was PCA's general secretary Rodolfo Ghioldi.

In short, Camarero's book is aimed at a broad – academic as well as non-academic – audience. The prose is careful and precise. The organization of the arguments is very useful to guide the reader through the route the author proposes. An important issue to be highlighted is the fact that the bibliographical references were reduced to a minimum, while the explicit documentary references were omitted. However, for the reader who wants to go deeper into the proper investigation of the documents addressed, the author provides all the necessary information (names and dates) to identify the complete references of each of the primary sources. Just as it is not necessary to be a connoisseur of the history of the Russian revolution to read this book, prior knowledge of the political history and social conflicts in Argentina is not required either. That is why it is a work equally accessible to Argentine and foreign readers. Particularly in its treatment of the complex, changing and reciprocal initial links between the Comintern and the PCA and the work of the emissaries designated to Buenos Aires by Moscow, the optics adopted in *Tiempos Rojos* allow us to pose essential questions about the particular history of the origins of Argentine communism that enable, in return, advance in the general knowledge about the Comintern itself.

**Gregor Benton (ed.): Prophets Unarmed. Chinese Trotskyists in Revolution, War, Jail, and the Return from Limbo, Leiden e.a., Brill, 2015. XVII, 1269 pp. (Historical Materialism Book Series. 81). – ISBN 978-90-04-26976-7.**

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In only two countries – Sri Lanka and Bolivia – did Trotskyists ever rise to prominence in national politics, and they did so in remarkably ‘unTrotskyist’ ways, not least by joining Popular Front governments. In the communist parties of China and Vietnam, however, Trotskyists acquired influence well beyond their small numbers, and in ways that were never paralleled in the West. It is true that the Socialist Workers’ Party in the USA claimed about 2000 members in 1937, but in Vietnam the *La Lutte* group claimed 3000 members two years later. In China there were never more than a thousand members of rival Trotskyist groups at the peak of their influence in the early 1930s, but the Comintern in Moscow regarded them with particular alarm and venom. This derived from the disastrous outcome of the policy pursued by the Comintern in China, which had forced a reluctant Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to join the much larger Nationalist Party (Guomindang, GMD) in 1923. During the national revolution of 1925–27, Chiang Kai-shek’s National Revolutionary Army reunified most of the country, while the Communists worked effectively to mobilize workers and peasants behind a radical programme of social reforms. It was this radicalization of the revolution on the ground that caused Chiang Kai-shek to launch a bloodbath against his erstwhile allies in April 1927. This disaster became a key issue in the power struggle that was then underway between Stalin and Trotsky within the Russian Communist Party. Rather belatedly, from 1926, Trotsky became a fierce critic of the policy of entryism foisted on the CCP and this won him supporters among the Chinese studying in Moscow. His supporters at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (which operated from 1921 to the late 1930s) and at the Sun Yat-sen University (1925–30), an institution that included activists from the Nationalist Party, were among the first dissidents to be packed off to labour camps. The networks of Chinese Trotskyists in the Soviet Union would outlast those of Russian Trotskyists by almost two years.

Gregor Benton’s magnificent book tells the story of the battered and divided Trotskyist movement in China, taking its history through the unanticipated developments of a second united front between the CCP and the Nationalists against the Japanese in 1937; through the Second World War; the victory of the Nationalists in 1945; the civil war between the Nationalists and the CCP from 1946 to 1949; the victory of the Red Army in 1949; the mass arrest of Trotskyists by Mao’s government in 1952; and finally to the survival of Trotskyists abroad and in China in the post-Mao era. At 1269 pages, the book is a hugely comprehensive collection of memoirs, primary documentation and extracts from secondary works of history and of theoretical reflection. It is arranged in roughly chronological order, starting with a long introduction by Benton himself, followed by sections from the first well-

researched and sympathetic history of Chinese Trotskyism by PRC historian Wu Jimin.<sup>1</sup> There follow extracts from the memoirs of Wang Fanxi and Zheng Chaolin – both previously published as separate books; writings of the towering intellectual, co-founder of the CCP and one-time Trotskyist, Chen Duxiu; writings on China by Trotsky himself; more analytical writings by Chinese Trotskyists, seeking to understand the social nature of Mao Zedong's revolution and guerrilla warfare; extracts from more literary writings; and ending with some obituaries. The memoirs of Zheng Chaolin and Wang Fanxi, in particular, offer wonderful insight into, and much lively detail about, the early history of the CCP and about personalities and social networks in the Trotskyist movement of the 1930s. Wang Fanxi, for example, offers a terrifying account of his arrest and torture by the GMD in May 1937. All the material is superbly translated by Benton, and the referencing of events and personalities, together with the detailed index, is meticulous in a way that is quite exceptional these days.

The book is the culmination of Benton's life-long interest in the fate of Trotsky's supporters in China and in the Chinese diaspora. As the world's leading expert, he analyses the movement sympathetically and with great insight, but never uncritically. Chinese Trotskyism, like Trotskyism everywhere, was riven by factionalism, dogmatism and personal squabbles. Yet most of its supporters showed extraordinary courage, squeezed as they were between the repression of the Nationalists and the hostility of the CCP. Most lived lives of poverty and hardship; many spent years in prison, and many lost their lives at the hands of the Nationalists – who saw them as little different from Communists – or at the hands of the Japanese. Between May 1931 and October 1932, the four groups that then existed united at Trotsky's urging, but one member's betrayal led to the arrest of the main leaders and to more disunity. The major split was between the group associated with Peng Shuzhi, who had been an influential leader in the CCP in the second half of the 1920s, and that of Zheng Chaolin and Wang Fanxi, who seem, as much as anything, to have been irked by Peng's high-handed ways. Peng, alone of the Chinese Trotskyists, along with his wife, Chen Bilan, would go on to become a leading figure in the Fourth International after the war, first in Paris and then in Los Angeles.

Trotskyists throughout the world were wrong-footed by developments after 1945: the creation of 'workers' states' in Eastern Europe in the late 1940s; the triumph of a peasant-based revolution in China; the establishment of 'workers' self-management' in Yugoslavia; the post-war capitalist boom; the revolution in Cuba; the rise of student leftism, and movements for black power, women's and gay liberation. Already in the 1930s, however, Chinese Trotskyists had been forced to come to terms with a revolution in their country that developed in ways that entirely belied Trotsky's expectations. Not surprisingly, given the experience of the first united front, his followers shared the master's scepticism towards united fronts, at least as understood by Moscow. Yet some had difficulty coming to terms with Trotsky's call for a Constituent Assembly in 1928 and a 'democratic dictatorship' in China. Chinese Trotskyists engaged in debate about the nature of the mode of production in China – during the so-called 'social history debate' of the 1930s – tending to the view that capitalism was already the dominant force, and so they adhered to Trotsky's view that the proletariat must lead the revolution (something the CCP did not deny, although it interpreted this idea more metaphorically than literally). They were thus taken by surprise when a Red Army of

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<sup>1</sup> Wu Jimin: *Lianhu: Zhongguo Tuopai de kuanan yu fendou* [Purgatory. The Chinese Trotskyists' Ordeal and Struggle], Singapore, Bafan wenhu chuanguo shi, 2008.



peasants brought social revolution from the countryside to the cities during the civil war. Incidentally, it seems that there was relatively little interest in key Trotskyist concepts of permanent revolution or of a transitional programme – issues that stirred Trotskyists in the West from the 1930s through to the 1950s. What united all shades of the movement was a consistent critique of the Stalinist nature of Yan'an Communism.

Among the educated public, the significance of the small Trotskyist movement was amplified by the figure of Chen Duxiu, who threw in his lot with Trotskyism from 1929. Chen had been leader of the New Culture Movement from 1915 and the first secretary of the CCP, presiding over its first five congresses. Chen was made the scapegoat for the failure of the first united front in 1927, which Moscow blamed on his supposed 'right opportunism'. During the 1930s, Chen suffered for his politics – he was in jail from 1933 to 1937 – but he also enjoyed a certain respect from gentry and urban intellectuals who were otherwise very opposed to his politics. His calligraphy, for example, was much admired, as were the six works he wrote in jail on classical Chinese phonology and linguistics. Chen was associated with Peng Shuzhi's group, but each went their separate way after their respective release from prison following the Japanese invasion. Chen Duxiu was too independent a thinker to follow Trotsky dogmatically: he remained unimpressed by the arguments in *Terrorism and Communism*, Trotsky's broadside against Kautsky, for example, and would later drop out of the Trotskyist movement altogether because of his strong belief in democracy as the bedrock of socialism. Wang Fanxi and Zheng Chaolin were by no means uncritical of Chen, yet they were broadly on his side in the struggle with the putative Trotskyist leadership in Shanghai.

Despite the comprehensive scope of the volume, there are a few important issues that are passed over fleetingly. The biggest armed conflict in which the Soviet Union was embroiled prior to 1939 came when it went to war with China in 1929 to retake the Chinese Eastern Railway after it had been seized by Zhang Xueliang, the Manchu warlord. Although the Karakhan declaration of July 1919 had identified Russian control of the railway as a manifestation of rampant tsarist imperialism, Trotsky backed Stalin in going to war to reclaim it (Chen Duxiu did not). Similarly, one could argue that the contribution of Liu Renjing, general secretary of the Communist Youth League from 1923 to 1925 and then the leading Left Oppositionist at the Lenin School in Moscow, is downplayed, probably because he later broke with Trotskyism and made his peace with the PRC government. But these are quibbles. All in all, this is a work of thorough and humane scholarship, and all of us are in debt to Benton for excavating the forgotten history of those who found themselves on the 'wrong side' of history.

**Michael Goebel: Anti-Imperial Metropolis. Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015. 344 pp. – ISBN 978-1-107-42135-6.**

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With his book, Michael Goebel aims to write and restore a social history of interwar anti-imperialism as part of what has been labeled “global intellectual history.” By locating his narrative in the temporal and spatial setting of Paris, one of several colonial metropolises in interwar Europe, Goebel argues that the relations and contacts among numerous anti-colonial activists that either lived in or passed through the French capital provided them with life-lasting experiences, which in hindsight should be perceived as the “seeds of Third World nationalism”, a process which later bore into fruition the era of postwar decolonization. Goebel’s book is, however, not the first account of Paris as an anti-colonial, or for that matter, “colonial metropolis” in the interwar period. Jennifer Anne Boittin’s *Colonial Metropolis* (2010) investigated the spatial scenery and urban grounds of anti-imperialism and feminism of interwar Paris, and thus made an important contribution in assessing the different layers of everyday activism taking place in the French capital.<sup>1</sup> What distinguishes Goebel’s analysis from Boittin’s portrayal of Paris is, however, his constructive and thoroughly detailed account of the city as a place that experienced a multitude of different political, cultural and social developments forged in the vein of anti-imperialism.

Above all, this is distinctly clear in the introductory chapter where Goebel points out that he is not “the first to note the exhilarating cosmopolitanism of Paris’s intellectual life”, or its crucial role in exchanging ideas, patterns and movements in the 1920s and 1930s. However, what Goebel contributes with this book is an account of a place that vibrated with anti-imperialist activity, a journey that ultimately (in some cases) ended in political consciousness and maturity. Further, in the introduction Goebel details and shows theoretical insight into the global phenomena of anti-imperialism and its logical relation to nationalism. The reason for Goebel’s focus on “anti-imperialism” rather than defining it as “anti-colonialism” is connected to various entry points. Accordingly, he argues that the political travels conducted by the majority of the book’s protagonists (which assumed leading positions in the nationalist struggle and decolonization process, such as Zhou Enlai, Ho Chi Minh, Messali Hadj) either ended in or lead through Paris in the interwar period. Hence, the travels were and should be interpreted in terms of migration. Even more, Goebel states that colonialism “often proves too reductive a term,” and therefore, basing his argument on Jürgen Osterhammel’s discussion of imperialism, he prefers not to make a connection between imperialism and capitalism. Instead, he points out the distinction between imperialism and colonialism, and analyzes the differentiated character of international relations and imperialism in Paris in the first decades of the twentieth century. However, similar anti-imperial metropolises in the Western hemisphere existed, for example, Berlin and Hamburg, as well as London, Manchester, or Rotterdam. Based on a rich reading of previous research and theoretical framework, such as

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<sup>1</sup> Jennifer Anne Boittin: *Colonial Metropolis. The Urban Grounds of Anti-Imperialism and Feminism in Interwar Paris*, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2010.

the seminal works of Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, Goebel lays bare a view of Paris in the interwar period that housed numerous anti-imperial connections, collaborations and interconnectivity, but also competitions and hierarchical relations.

Additionally to the introductory and conclusive chapters, Goebel has divided the book in eight thematic chapters. It attempts to capture, restore and infuse the historical aspect of “the social” in the study of twentieth century anti-imperialism. Goebel aims to write the history of everyday life (*Alltagsgeschichte*) of anti-imperial Paris, and he does this by assessing different layers of anti-imperialist activism and connectivity in the French capital. The first chapter traces “the seeds of Third World nationalism” by surveying various intersections of the global migrations in the city, while the following chapter explores how these flows of migration assisted in creating multifaceted anti-imperial communities that were divided along race and ethnicity. These communities lived side-by-side in factual spaces (quarters, blocks), for example the tightly knit Vietnamese community in the Latin Quarter *Salle des Sociétés*, or the Chinese, Algerian and Latin American communities. The book continues with a social history of everyday life in Paris, where the protagonists had to adopt to the local routines, while at the same time professing anti-imperial activism or at least identifying themselves as anti-imperial activists. A crucial aspect of this process was learning and education, something Goebel assesses in the fourth chapter dedicated to the colonial student community as one of the migration flows that formed the anti-imperial milieu in Paris.

Moving beyond the everyday life framework, the book then sets out to discuss the role of Paris in becoming a “clearinghouse” of world politics in the interwar period. Taking a departure in the Versailles Peace Conference and the expectancy of the renowned “Wilsonian moment” and its treatment of “the colonial question” in 1919, which Ezra Manela’s influential study *The Wilsonian Moment* (2007) aptly has outlined in detail,<sup>2</sup> Goebel provides an account of Paris as a venue for expectations and engaged hopes among anti-imperialists from around the globe. However, the disappointment and disillusion caused by the failure of the conference even to listen to the demands of the delegates from the colonies turned Paris, in a longer perspective, into a hotbed of anti-imperialist activity. This was highlighted, as Goebel points out, in various campaigns, for example, against the Rif War in 1925 and the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and the ensuing Abyssinian crisis in 1935. The reference to Paris as a “clearinghouse” should therefore be understood as the perception of Paris as a center and hub of world politics and international relations, consisting of individuals of non-European origin that constituted vital nodes in anti-imperial global networks. The connectivity and migratory patterns thereby assisted in spreading and disseminating information or individuals in different anti-imperialist trajectories. In the following chapter, Goebel tries to connect this with the activities and networks of “communist intermediaries” in Paris, and their relation to the Communist Party of France (PCF), and above all, the pivotal role of the Communist International in engaging with and attempting to construct a wide range of anti-imperialist enterprises. However, the chapter constitutes one of very few weak points in Goebel’s comprehensive study, as it does not rely on or even include any documents from the Comintern Archive in Moscow. Further, it could have gained from a closer reading of the recent research on topics connected to international communism and anti-imperialism as a global and transnational phenomenon between the wars. Yet, this empirical dilemma is

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<sup>2</sup> Erez Manela: *The Wilsonian Moment. Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007.

solved by Goebel's thorough examination of other archives (in Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam, and other places) while trying to find an answer to his ambition of portraying Paris as an "anti-imperial metropolis." The closing two chapters offers the reader with an understanding of how anti-imperialism was used to formulate and construct agendas potent enough to advance the idea of national independence and the right to self-determination.

Goebel's book is an important contribution to the research field on twentieth century resistance movements, especially for its ambition to cover not just all kinds of aspects and levels of anti-imperialism as a global movement, but also connecting them to a local setting. It is, in its purest form, a study of the global in the local. As mentioned above, Goebel has consulted and made use of a large selection of archives and collections to paint a picture of Paris as a vibrant place of anti-imperialism, and its lasting imprint on the trajectory of the decolonization process in the postwar period. Goebel's concluding remark is, nevertheless, an attempt to take a stand on the recent increase of interest in "global moments." According to the author, the primary focus should be on answering the questions of *why* and *what*, regardless of perceiving the research as something that can be labelled as "global moments." Goebel's account of Paris as an anti-imperial metropolis is nonetheless, for sure, a contribution that fits in the category of catching a global moment that stretched itself over two decades. The book highlights and details a wide variety of trajectories, ruptures and connections that belong to the broader historiographical canvas of twentieth century history of anti-imperialist movements, migration, and political discourses.

**Käte und Hermann Duncker: Ein Tagebuch in Briefen (1894–1953) [A Diary in Letters, 1894–1953]. Herausgegeben von Heinz Deutschland unter Mitarbeit von Ruth Deutschland, Berlin, Karl Dietz Verlag, 2016. 602 pp. + USB-Stick. – ISBN 978-3-320-02314-0.**

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Käte (1871–1953) und Hermann Duncker (1874–1960) gehörten zu der zahlenmäßig geringen "Prominenz" in der DDR, deren Karriere bereits in der SPD vor 1914 eingesetzt hatte. Seit 1898 verheiratet, stellte ihr Leben zugleich eine enge Lebens- wie politische Kampfgemeinschaft dar. Und auch wenn Hermann Duncker in dieser Beziehung der bekanntere war und auch bedeutendere Positionen im Laufe der Jahre bekleidete, erklärte er selbst: „Was ich für die Arbeiterbewegung habe leisten können, verdanke ich wesentlich der kameradschaftlichen Unterstützung meiner Frau.“<sup>1</sup> Trotz einer Reihe von Schwierigkeiten mit der Parteilinie gelang es ihnen, nachdem sie im Ersten Weltkrieg den Bruch mit der Sozialdemokratie vollzogen hatten, allen Linienwechseln und „Säuberungen“ zum Trotz in der KPD zu verbleiben. Das war zweifellos deshalb möglich, weil sie beide – vor allem Hermann – weitgehend in einer gewissen Nische innerhalb der Parteimaschinerie tätig waren, nämlich in der Bildungsarbeit.

Hermann, aus einer Kaufmannsfamilie stammend, trat bereit als Student der SPD bei und beschloss das Studium mit einer Promotion zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Wie viele der jungen Akademiker, die sich der Partei anschlossen, wurde er Redakteur, und zwar an der – im Parteirahmen – prononciert linken *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. Bald jedoch „sattelte“ er auf die Bildungsarbeit um und wurde mit von ihm eingerichteten marxistischen Schulungskursen der erste Wanderlehrer der Partei. Sein großes pädagogisches Talent machte ihn schnell bekannt, und er wechselte im Jahre 1911 an die zentrale Parteischule der SPD, wo er im engen Kontakt zu Rosa Luxemburg und Franz Mehring stand. Es nimmt nicht wunder, dass er zu den Mitbegründern der Gruppe Internationale bzw. des Spartakusbundes im Weltkrieg – und dann der KPD in der Novemberrevolution – gehörte. Ab 1915 war er allerdings in der politischen Arbeit eingeschränkt, da er zum Wehrdienst einberufen wurde, den er jedoch aus gesundheitlichen Gründen in der Etappe verbrachte.

Seine spätere Frau Käte, geb. Döll, entstammte ebenfalls einer Kaufmannsfamilie und machte den damals für Töchter ihres „Standes“ höchstmöglichen Bildungsabschluss als Lehrerin. Aufgrund ihrer Tätigkeit in der Arbeiterbildung und der Mitgliedschaft in der SPD war ihre diesbezügliche Berufslaufbahn allerdings schnell beendet. Sie wurde schließlich 1908 Redakteurin der SPD-Frauenzeitung *Die Gleichheit* und enge Vertraute ihrer Leiterin Clara Zetkin. Folgerichtig gehörte auch sie zum Gründungskreis der Gruppe Internationale (ab 1916 Spartakusgruppe), die sie verschiedentlich auf Konferenzen etwa der USPD oder

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<sup>1</sup> Zit. in: Hermann Weber / Andreas Herbst: Deutsche Kommunisten. Biographisches Handbuch 1918–1945, Berlin, Karl Dietz Verlag, 2008<sup>2</sup>, S. 202.

der Zimmerwalder Bewegung vertrat, da sie als Frau nun einmal vom Wehrdienst verschont blieb. Zur Jahreswende 1918/19 war auch sie an der Gründung der KPD beteiligt und gehörte wie ihr Mann der Parteileitung an.

Beide bekleideten zunächst Führungspositionen in der Partei auf „mittlerer“ Ebene, tendierten aber zum rechten Flügel bzw. der Mittelgruppe („Versöhnler“), was sie ihre Leitungsstellungen kostete. Seit Mitte der zwanziger Jahre zogen sie sich auf die Bildungsarbeit zurück, was ihnen zwar eine große Popularität innerhalb der Partei sicherte – schließlich erreichten sie eine breite Schicht der aktiven „Parteiarbeiterschaft“ –, aber keine darüber hinausgehende politische Einflussmöglichkeit. Andererseits wurden sie aber auch nicht aus der Partei gedrängt, da sie der jeweiligen „Generallinie“ folgten.

Als aktive, wenn auch in einer Nische tätige KPD-Mitglieder wurden sie jedoch nicht vom Repressionsapparat des NS-Regimes verschont. Hermann wurde im Jahre 1933 für fast zehn Monate inhaftiert und musste dann mit seiner Familie zusammen unter Polizeiaufsicht leben. Er war der erste, der 1936 emigrieren konnte. Über Dänemark, Großbritannien und Frankreich gelang ihm 1941 die Flucht in die USA, wohin seine Frau bereits geflohen war. Im Jahre 1947 kehrten beide nach Deutschland zurück, wo Hermann in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone eine Professur erhielt und trotz angegriffener Gesundheit die Leitung der Bundesschule des FDGB in Bernau bei Berlin übernahm. Er trat oft als Redner auf, während sich Käte, deren Gesundheit aufgrund der Lebensumstände ebenfalls nicht die beste war, zurückzog und auch bald verstarb.

Dass insbesondere Käte einen gewissen Abstand zur Partei hielt, lag nicht zuletzt an dem Schicksal zwei ihrer Kinder. Hatte sie schon der Selbstmord eines Sohns 1940 in den USA getroffen, so bekümmerte sie vor allem die langjährige Ungewissheit um das Schicksal ihres anderen Sohnes, Wolfgang, der in die Sowjetunion emigriert war und dort Opfer des stalinistischen Terrors wurde. Im Jahre 1938 verhaftet, kam er vier Jahre später im Zwangsarbeitslager in Vorkuta um. Doch trotz zahlreicher Bemühungen, wozu sie auch ihr bekannte Parteiführer einspannte, erfuhr sie sein Todesdatum und damit überhaupt die Bestätigung seines Todes erst durch Vermittlung Wilhelm Piecks im Jahre 1948.

Über die langen Jahrzehnte ihres gemeinsamen Lebens seit ihrer ersten Bekanntschaft im Jahre 1894 (also vier Jahre vor ihrer Hochzeit) führten sie, da die Lebens- bzw. Arbeitsumstände sie oft genug in geographische Distanz zueinander brachten, eine umfangreiche Korrespondenz, die wohl fast vollständig erhalten ist. Sie endet im Jahre 1941, als das Exil in den USA sie am selben Ort zusammenführte. Dieses Material wurde früher im Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus in Ost-Berlin aufbewahrt, dessen Archiv und Bibliothek nach 1991 größtenteils an das Bundesarchiv übergeben wurde. Der herausragende Charakter dieser Quellen hat dazu geführt, dass die Forschung immer wieder aus ihnen zitiert hat (wie in der DDR bereits verschiedene Schriften von Hermann Duncker erneut herausgegeben wurden).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Vor allem: Hermann Duncker: Ausgewählte Schriften und Reden aus sechs Jahrzehnten. Bearbeitet von Heinz Deutschland und Karl Wille, Berlin (Ost), Tribüne, 1984.

Nun liegt endlich eine umfassende Edition des Briefwechsels vor, nachdem es zuvor schon eine Art Voraussgabe, auf die Zeit des Ersten Weltkriegs beschränkt, gegeben hatte.<sup>3</sup> Besorgt wurde sie von Heinz Deutschland (unter Mitarbeit von Ruth Deutschland), der selbst noch Hermann Duncker in dessen letzten Lebensjahren an der FDGB-Schule in Bernau kennengelernt und später immer wieder biographische Veröffentlichungen vorgelegt hatte.<sup>4</sup>

Die Edition liegt in zwei Versionen vor, beide folgen der Chronologie. Das gedruckte Buch stellt eine Auswahl dar, eine Lesefassung für den „Normalgebrauch“. Es enthält 213 Briefe und Postkarten, die die Eheleute einander zugeschickt hatten, manches davon nur in Auszügen, dazu noch einige Briefe an die Kinder sowie an Dritte. Doch ist dies nur ein kleiner Teil der überlieferten Korrespondenz. Um eine umfassende Dokumentation zu präsentieren, wurde eine digitale Vorgehensweise gewählt. Ein dem Band beigelegter USB-Stick enthält insgesamt 2152 Briefe in Form einer leicht durchsuchbaren PDF-Datei, was allerdings immer noch nicht den gesamten Umfang von 3606 Briefen und Postkarten ausmacht, wie in der editorischen Notiz im Band (S. 27) angegeben. In der USB-Fassung wird als Grund für die Differenz angegeben, man habe Wiederholungen weggekürzt und größere Auslassungen neben den Anfangsjahren der Beziehung auch für die Kriegsjahre 1915 bis 1917 – hierzu liegt bereits eine Veröffentlichung vor – vorgenommen. Und nicht zuletzt sei auf einige allzu private Passagen verzichtet worden (allerdings bleibt in den Briefen viel Persönliches enthalten). Dies umfasst auch Kritisches im Verhältnis des Paares, etwa, wie konkret die reale Gleichberechtigung in der Beziehung von zwei Persönlichkeiten auf „Augenhöhe“ angegangen wurde, in der Hermann aufgrund seiner Tätigkeiten im Vordergrund stand, während die Erziehung der drei Kinder überwiegend auf Käte lastete.

Auch wenn sich neben den vielen Alltagsproblemen – etwa die ständigen materiellen Zwänge und ab 1914 die Illegalität – sehr viele Berichte und der Meinungs austausch über soeben Erlebtes und nicht zuletzt Gelesenes finden lassen, liegt das Hauptinteresse bei einer Lektüre der Korrespondenz sicherlich auf ihrem „politischen“ Anteil. Dabei geht es nicht nur um umfassende Kommentare zu politischen Ereignissen. Durch die geographische Trennung bedingt, teilt sich das Paar persönliche Erfahrungen mit und charakterisiert die Umstände und vor allem die Menschen, denen man dabei begegnete.

Erfahrbar wird eine „atmosphärische“ Dimension, wie man sie etwa durch die Auswertung der zeitgenössischen Berichterstattung in der Arbeiterpresse kaum gewinnen könnte. Damit entsteht zugleich ein lebhaftes Bild von den Netzwerken, in denen beide sich seit Beginn ihrer Tätigkeit für die SPD bewegten. Die daraus hervorgehenden Erkenntnisse aufzuführen, würde den Rahmen dieser Rezension sprengen. Als Beispiel seien hier nur Hermanns Kontakte in die Rhein-Main-Gegend angeführt, wo er sich ab 1908 mehrfach im Rahmen seiner Wanderlehrertätigkeit zu Kursen und Vorträgen aufhielt, vor allem in Frankfurt, aber auch im angrenzenden „roten Hanau“ oder in Offenbach. In Frankfurt war es vor allem die Verbindung mit Max Quarck, Redakteur der Frankfurter Parteizeitung *Volksstimme*. Als Historiker der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung hatte dieser sich auch über die Partei hinaus einen Namen gemacht, was ihn in engen Kontakt zu einer Reihe von Vertretern der frühen

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<sup>3</sup> Heinz Deutschland (Hrsg.): "Ich kann nicht durch Morden mein Leben erhalten". Briefwechsel zwischen Käte und Hermann Duncker 1915 bis 1917, Bonn, Pahl-Rugenstein, 2005.

<sup>4</sup> Neben einer Reihe von Aufsätzen insbesondere das zusammen mit Mario Keßler verfasste Bändchen: Hermann Duncker. Sozialdemokratischer "Wanderprediger". Spartakist, Gewerkschaftslehrer, Hamburg, VSA, 2001.

Sozialwissenschaften wie Max Weber gebracht hatte.<sup>5</sup> Stark an Bildungsarbeit interessiert, war Quarck daran beteiligt, Duncker zur Schulungsarbeit nach Frankfurt zu holen, auch wenn er politisch, obwohl in vielem ein Einzelkämpfer, zum revisionistischen Flügel tendierte. Duncker beschrieb seiner Frau diese Treffen und die Zusammenarbeit für Veröffentlichungen. Obwohl sich angesichts der heftigen Auseinandersetzungen innerhalb der Frankfurter SPD und der *Volksstimme*-Redaktion bald politische Differenzen andeuteten, hielt er doch mit seiner Hochschätzung für den Intellektuellen Quarck nicht hinter dem Berg: „Gestern Bildungsausschuß: Beethovenabend, wo Quarck wirklich gut über Beethoven sprach. Hat der eine famose Bibliothek! Ich bezähme aber meinen Neid.“ (Hermann an Käte D., 11.4.1908, USB-Fassung S. 1301.) Verstörend ist allerdings folgende Bemerkung über ihn, als sich die Konflikte in der *Volksstimme* bereits zuspitzten: „Quarcks Position ist arg erschüttert. Auch hier spielt übrigens die Ehe hinein. Frau Quarck zeigt den Mitgliedern der Frauenkommission die blauen Flecke, die sie durch Tritte und Schläge von ihrem Mann erhalten hat.“ (Hermann an Käte D., 4.4.1910, USB-Fassung S. 1671.) Quarcks Biograph verweist diesbezüglich nur auf eine Zerrüttung der Ehe und die 1916 erfolgte Scheidung.<sup>6</sup>

Von diesen widersprüchlichen Eindrücken stachen die einträchtigen Kontakte zu den Radikalen im nahe gelegenen Hanau deutlich ab. Dort waren nicht nur die Teilnehmerzahlen bei seinen Vorträgen hoch, gelegentlich deutlich höher als in der benachbarten Metropole. Auch entwickelten sich aus offensichtlich großer politisch-theoretischer Übereinstimmung gute persönliche Beziehungen. Davon ausgehend läßt sich ein Bogen bis zur KPD schlagen, in deren Rahmen diese Verbindungen allerdings 1921, nach der Krise der Partei im Gefolge der „Märzaktion“, ausklangen. Denn nun musste Duncker bei der Fortführung seiner Wanderlehrertätigkeit in Frankfurt und vor allem in Hanau feststellen, dass sich hier eine Hochburg der Anhänger Paul Levis gebildet hatte.

Zahlreiche solcher Beispiele ließen sich aneinanderreihen, die einen Einblick in Aspekte oft jenseits der öffentlichen Politik gewähren und die persönlichen Beziehungen charakterisieren. Nicht zuletzt sind die Briefe ein Zeugnis der zeitgenössischen Mentalität, wie sie sich etwa in der „Unbekümmertheit“ äußert, die vor allem bei Hermann in den Schilderungen der Reisetätigkeit vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg in Bemerkungen über Juden zum Ausdruck kommt (über ihr „Mauscheln“ bei gelegentlichen Begegnungen, was er sogar irgendwie unterhaltsam fand, oder über die „reichen Frankfurter Parteijuden“, die die SPD dort gut finanzieren könnten). Dies lag zwar fern von jeglichem politischen Antisemitismus, zeigte aber nicht die Sensibilität, die in der Korrespondenz seit den 1920er Jahren (Pogrome im Jahre 1923) und vor allem ab 1933 Ausdruck findet.

Setzt man den Zeitraum der Korrespondenz mit den zentralen politischen Ereignissen in Beziehung, liefern die Herausbildung und der Kampf des linken Flügels in der SPD vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg, der Weg von der Anti-Kriegs-Opposition zur KPD und die dort bald ausbrechenden ständigen Fraktionskämpfe die wesentlichen Stichpunkte. Ein weiterer wichtiger Einschnitt ist die „Bolschewisierung“ und Stalinisierung der KPD, die jedoch nicht

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<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Kai Gniffke: Genosse Dr. Quarck. Max Quarck – Publizist, Politiker und Patriot im Kaiserreich, Frankfurt am Main, Kramer, 1989.

<sup>6</sup> Gniffke, Genosse Dr. Quarck, S. 248. Anschließend heiratete Quarck erneut, diesmal eine lokal ziemlich bekannte Frauen- und Sozialpolitikerin, Meta Hammerschlag, in der Weimarer Republik Frankfurter Stadträtin, so dass Max Quarcks erste Frau aus dem historischen Gedächtnis verschwand.



zum Bruch der Dunckers mit der Partei führten, was nicht zuletzt dem Aufstieg des Faschismus und der Situation ab 1933 geschuldet war. Weitere Stationen sind der stalinistische Terror, von dem die Dunckers aufgrund des Schicksals ihres Sohns direkt betroffen waren, und schließlich der Hitler-Stalin-Pakt, den sie privat deutlich ablehnten, ohne dass dies jedoch zur Abwendung von der Partei führte. Das Zusammentreffen der Eheleute in den USA fiel schließlich mit einem erneuten Wechsel des politischen Rahmens zusammen, der sich aus dem Angriff Deutschlands auf die Sowjetunion ergab. Aber damit endet bereits die nun nicht mehr nötige ständige Korrespondenz, die demzufolge auch die Zeit seit Kriegseintritt der USA nicht mehr umfasst. Nur in der USB-Fassung finden sich noch einige spätere Briefe.

Die Dunckers standen immer nahe genug mit der Parteiführung in Verbindung, so dass sie nicht einfach nur Kommentatoren von außen waren, und ziemlich genau über aktuelle Entwicklungen informiert waren. Aus ihren umfassenden politisch-theoretischen Erfahrungen und ihrer marxistischen Schulung entstanden durchaus heute noch lesenswerte Einschätzungen, auch wenn man sich nach den Konsequenzen fragen muss, die beide für sich zogen – beziehungsweise nicht zogen. Auch liefern ihre in den Briefen immer wieder behandelten Vortragstätigkeiten wertvolle Hinweise zur Geschichte der Bildungsarbeit in der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung.

All diese Texte sind sorgfältig ediert. Personen und Ereignisse werden in Fußnoten erläutert, zwischen die Briefe gesetzte Passagen erhellen den Übergang und beschreiben den jeweiligen Kontext. Der Band wird eingeleitet mit vom Herausgeber ergänzten Lebensläufen, die Käte Duncker erstellte. Nach dem letzten Briefftext folgt noch eine biographische Skizze des Herausgebers über die Jahre ab 1941 mit seinen persönlichen Erinnerungen an Hermann Duncker, die auf den Begegnungen an der FDGB-Schule basieren. Ein Personenregister hilft erfreulicherweise bei der Arbeit mit der Korrespondenz als Quellensammlung, gleichwohl ist auch eine durchgängige Lektüre durchaus zu empfehlen. Die Edition ist das Ergebnis aufwendiger und langjähriger Forschungen in zahlreichen Bibliotheken und Archiven, die nur dank der Förderung durch die Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung möglich waren, und nicht zuletzt der Unterstützung durch die Enkelinnen und Enkel der Dunckers sowie zahlreicher Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler. Dabei unterscheidet sich die USB-Fassung von der Struktur her nicht vom gedruckten Buch, nur dass hier zusätzlich Briefe mit Dritten wie auch ausgewählte Texte und ausführliche Bibliographien der Schriften enthalten sind. Zudem finden sich zu jedem Jahr ausführlichere Angaben über die Aktivitäten der Dunckers, so etwa, soweit sich dies ermitteln ließ, genaue Übersichten zu den Vorträgen und Kursen von Hermann Duncker in der Vorkriegs-SPD. Die Bedeutung dieser umfangreichen Edition kann nicht genug hervorgehoben werden. Aufgrund ihres Charakters als private Korrespondenz hilft sie, Dimensionen zu erschließen, die öffentlich erst gar nicht angesprochen werden.

**Kristen Ghodsee: *The Left Side of History. World War II and the Unfulfilled Promise of Communism in Eastern Europe*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2015. 231 pp. – ISBN 978-0-8223-5835-0.**

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The author is an expert anthropologist who has chosen Bulgaria as her target country for quite some time. She is also someone who has not succumbed to the dominant Zeitgeist, which suggests that the Fall of the Wall in 1989 has ushered in a period of prosperity, freedom and democracy for Eastern Europe. An astute observer, who does not mince words, she calls things by their name: “After 1989, Bulgaria became a democratic country, but it also became a miserable one.” (p. 129) “There was inequality under communism, but it was a pale shadow of the vast inequalities that would follow its collapse.” (p. 117)

But, even better, Kristen Ghodsee is not only a realist; she has also kept alive the sense that it is necessary to retain an acute utopian vision. In the final paragraph of her book, she approvingly quotes Miguel de Cervantes who had nothing good to say about people who exclusively “see life as it is, and not as it should be.” How can a realist observer favorably cite the seemingly paradoxical recommendation of a sixteenth century author who refused to believe that the world as he knew it was also the only realistic world? The very last sentence in *The Left Side of History* gives away the secret: “This book is written for all of those people who still believe that some value can come from tilting at windmills.” (p. 203) Realism can easily be coupled with a utopian vision. And a fine-tuned diagnostic of everyday life does not in the least preclude the desire to help create a better world.

Bulgaria, today the poorest member of the European Union, was and remains a case in point of the need to challenge the dominant paradigm. In a country that was allied in World War II with Hitler and Mussolini, resistance fighters faced a double hurdle. Not only was the military might of the Axis power mobilized to crush them, but domestic public opinion was likewise frequently in their disfavor. Bulgaria having chosen to fight on Hitler’s side, resistance fighters were automatically regarded as troublemakers and as anti-patriotic, the last quality being the polar opposite of what gave courage to the maquis in the vast majority of countries under the Nazi boot. This desperate situation only changed when the wheel of fortune began to turn against the fascist military alliance in the wake of Stalingrad. Until the winter of 1942/3, Bulgarian resistance fighters were not only on the run from the official powers, but they also had to hide from the rural population which was often more than eager to inform the authorities on the whereabouts of the hunted men and women.

As elsewhere in the Balkans and in Italy as well, it were not only men who, quite literally, picked up guns to fight against fascism. As a good anthropologist, Kristen Ghodsee selected two representative individual biographies for her reconstruction of the contradictory reality of Bulgarian anti-fascism: one is the fourteen-year-old Elena Lagadinova, later on a courageous

advocate of feminist concerns in Communist Bulgaria; the other unsung hero is the older brother of the later co-founder of the British New Left and world-renowned social historian and peace activist, E.P. Thompson. Frank Thompson, a British SOE operative choosing to join the Bulgarian resistance in January 1944, and Elena Lagadinova form an unlikely pair of subjects for the narrative of the history of Communism and antifascism in Bulgaria, but the author effectively manages to weave together the life stories of these two resistance activists who never met in real life. Frank Thompson was killed in the summer of 1944. Yet through the detailed description of the action and the fighting conditions of both Thompson and Lagadinova, Kristen Ghodsee ably reconstructs the motivations of a fourteen-year-old Bulgarian girl, who grew up in a family of poor peddlers, and a Winchester- and Oxford-educated British Communist to engage in a desperate struggle to tilt at windmills. In September 1944 the tide of history was temporarily staved off, as it was the Bulgarian Fatherland Front which liberated Bulgaria; it was not the Red Army which imposed communism on this much-victimized country.

In finely spun reconstructions of the tissues of Frank Thompson's life, and in a series of long interviews with the elderly Elena Lagadinova, Ghodsee does what only an anthropologist – or a novelist – can do exceedingly well: to reconstruct the mentality and the motivations of a generation of Communist activists who gave their best – and often their lives – to make this world a better world. In an utterly refreshing manner, the author goes against the grain of much supposed received wisdom, which sees communism as an unmitigated force of evil – then as now –, pointing to the vast gulf between the emancipatory desires and goals of rank-and-file communists and the frequently Manichean manipulations of the post-liberation Stalinist leadership. Moreover, Ghodsee also knows how to compare and contrast the positive elements of social policy in Communist Bulgaria with the dog-eat-dog world of post-1989 'free' Bulgaria. She cites from one of the interviews with Elena Lagadinova: "So many people are without medicine. So many children are on the street; they are not going to school. Prostitutes make more money than doctors and judges. The young people leave to the West and never come back." (p. 124) On balance, two fifth of Eastern Europeans are worse off than they were before 1989; only one fifth has benefited materially from the changes after 1989. In Bulgaria, this balance sheet is likely to be even more in disfavor of the fortunes of the poor. Still, Ghodsee reports that, even in contemporary Bulgaria, "it might be easier to assert that the moon landing was staged than it would be to argue that there was anything good about the communist past." (p. 133)

The final nail in the coffin? Boris Lukanov, Frank Thompson's murderer, who was sentenced to death and executed after liberation, is today officially remembered, along with others in his military unit, "as innocent victims of communism". (p. 195) "Many of these 'victims' cut off the heads of the partisans Thompson came to help, shoved pikes up their severed necks and mounted them in village squares. (...) Some of these men ordered the burning of houses, the rapes, the torture, and the indiscriminate murders of peasants and anyone who questioned the absolute authority of the king. Others summarily executed uniformed British officers in blatant violation of the Geneva Convention." (p. 194) Freedom and democracy arrived on Bulgaria's shores, indeed – along with brutal social inequalities and utterly vicious lies. Kristen Ghodsee's timely volume testifies to the crying need for a counter-narrative – and it provides an inspiration for others, who wish to step into her – and Elena Lagadinova's and Frank Thompson's – footsteps to question authority.

**Jean-François Fayet, Valérie Gorin, and Stefanie Prezioso (eds.): Echoes of October. International Commemorations of the Bolsheviks Revolution, 1918–1990, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 2017. 202 pp. (Studies in Twentieth Century Communism. 2). – ISBN 978-1-910448-96-0.**

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The October Revolution was an event and a symbol. Moreover, it was an event and a symbol of international significance, giving rise to the world's first avowedly socialist state and standing as a beacon of radical possibilities. As the anniversary of October rolled around each year, the Soviets narrated and celebrated the foundations of their society, while many outside the Soviet Union read the legacy of October into their own experiences and struggles. For Moscow, the commemoration of October offered a means of fostering internal unity and legitimatising the Soviet project. But, crucially, it also presented an opportunity to stress the international importance and ambition of October.

For many, the October commemorations will conjure up an image of stale, seemingly unvarying military parades passing through Red Square. Indeed, after 1945, military pride and patriotism became the more dominant themes on 7 November. Although, for some, these displays must still have evoked memories of the parades of soldiers and workers standing against hostile forces in 1917. For, while commemorations of October became more formulaic and inward looking, they were not always fixed in the way some might presuppose. Different aspects of October were lauded at different times, reflecting contemporary conditions and concerns. Soviet commemorations were responsive. In this respect, the narrative of October was, to extend Isaac Deutscher's phrase, an 'unfinished revolution.' And, as the editors of this new book are at pains to demonstrate, the commemoration of October was not merely a domestic Soviet affair either. The gaze of the outside world was a constant consideration.

As Jean-François Fayet notes in the preface to this volume, foreign communists living in Russia took part in the earliest domestic anniversary celebrations of October. By 1921–22, after the horrors of civil war, foreign visitors started to form part of the celebrations. Ten years on from October, the Soviets keen to show that they were not isolated, invited thousands of foreign delegates, from forty-three different countries. Eighty per cent of these delegates were workers. There were trade union delegates, as well as guests from the International Workers Relief, MOPR (International Red Aid), cooperative representatives, and Esperantists, among others. Far from coming as spectators, many of these visitors were expected to play an active role in commemorative demonstrations (pp. 8–9). The commemorative bodies in charge of the celebrations were straining to show the world, especially the socialist world, that October and the Soviet Union still stood as the talisman of international progress.

The invitation lists for these commemorations reflected what was happening in the world. During the years of the Great Depression, the largest delegations came from those countries that were experiencing economic crisis. Chinese delegates often took pride of place, presented as the victims of imperialism, with the Soviets emphasising the anti-imperialist credentials of the October Revolution. Come 1936 and 1937, the Spanish delegation occupied a prominent role in the anniversary parade, reflecting Soviet support to the Republic during the Civil War (p.12). The politics of Soviet commemoration was inherently international. Heads of allied states and leaders of communist parties became a regular feature of October celebrations. By the 1950s, representatives from the Middle East and Latin America joined the celebrations. By the 1960s, representatives from Vietnam, Ethiopia, and Somalia were regularly attending. Commemoration 'traced the contours of, and the fluctuations in, Soviet foreign policy' (p. 13).

But the international scope of these commemorations was not limited to foreign participation in domestic celebrations. For a start, those worker delegates and progressive representatives that were invited to be part of the Soviet celebrations, during the 1920s, were also encouraged to carry out lecture tours and publish positive accounts about their experience. And, as the bulk of this book reflects, commemorations were forged and negotiated all over the world. Celebrating October was often a transnational affair. Contributions by Ottokar Luban, Kasper Braskén, Daniel Kowalsky, and Anastasia Koukouna chart commemorative events in Germany, Spain, and Greece. For Germany's far left, the Spartacus Group and the newly formed USPD, 7 November 1918 represented a focal point around which reject the wartime compromise of the SPD and rally the forces of agitation. While some members of the Spartacus Group and USPD had been critical of the October Revolution and the Red Terror, Luban notes, circumstances had changed and there was rank-and-file support for the Bolshevik example. Indeed, the Spartacists, before the expulsion of the Russian embassy on 5 November 1918, had been in consultation with both Nikolai Bukharin and ambassador Adolph Joffe. Planned commemorative rallies became embroiled within a live revolutionary development.

Nine years later, on the tenth anniversary of October, commemorative planning resulted in the emergent formation of what Braskén views as transnational civil-society networks (p. 78). This manifested itself in the form of German workers travelling to Moscow to participate in 'the showcasing of the Great October Revolution,' while the Soviet agitprop troupe, 'Blaue Blusen' (the Blue Shirts), toured through Germany. This 'moment of transnational interconnectedness' was negotiated through the International Workers' Relief (IAH), in Germany, and Comintern's leadership, in the Soviet Union. What is more, Braskén makes clear, organisers in Germany and the USSR looked to connect commemoration with geopolitical developments, including the national liberation struggle in China, lauding October and the Soviet project as the enemy of imperialism (p. 87). Ten years further on, as Kowalsky shows, the Spanish Civil War suddenly elevated the significance of the Iberian Peninsula in the eyes of the Kremlin. Stalin was minded to proceed cautiously when it came to practical support. Yet as the anniversary of October came into sight, parallels between the Russian Civil War and the Spanish were made quite explicit. VOKS and the Spanish left initiated a dialogue on commemoration, the October project and Soviet Union, rather than the events of October, soon embraced by each as a motivational vision of a alternative future. Similarly, with the formation of the Greek Socialist Labour Party, in 1918, October was celebrated for its explicit international potential, as the most important day in the international

proletarian calendar. But by 1940, with Greece enduring Axis occupation, the narrative of commemoration shifted to emphasise the victories of the Red Army and the 'Herculean strength' embodied in October. The anti-imperial and anti-fascist credentials of October came to the fore.

Eric Aunoble's innovative contribution to this volume proffers an 'internal' transnational account of how October was told in Soviet Ukraine, tracing the neglected and frequently contradictory means of celebrating and narrating revolution in a Soviet republic. The Ukrainian experience of October was not the same as that of Petrograd or Moscow. In fact, there was no October in Ukraine. Kiev experienced a failed red insurrection in October, and a moderate Central Rada was established in November. As Aunoble demonstrates, there were memorandums from Moscow about what to celebrate, and there were calls to acknowledge the specificities of the Ukrainian experience. But, in common with the other chapters in this volume, we see that historical events were 'interpreted from a present-day perspective' (p. 32). During the shortages of 1921, October was celebrated as 'a struggle against hunger.' Importantly, we see October was celebrated as a process. 'The issue was not ... whether something occurred in Ukraine on 25 October or not,' continues Aunoble, 'but which side you had taken in those years' (p. 33). In this way the Ukrainian experience was presented as part of the arc of October.

Next to Aunoble, André Liebich offers a kind of 'transnational' internal account, charting the remembrances of the exiled Menshevik community. Here, too, these accounts demonstrate the 'continuity between the past of the socialist tradition and the contested present' (p. 160). In other words, Liebich shows how the issues raised in Menshevik anniversary publications and commemorations were overwhelmingly connected to contemporary concerns and developments. During Stalin's ascendancy, October was understood through the lens of the Napoleonic example, the extremes of October were highlighted during the Great Terror. Likewise, a sort of 'international' internal account can be seen in Stephan Rindlishbacher's contribution, which focuses on the pages of Pravda to show how the party sought to use commemoration to legitimise both its own domestic authority and its position as leader of the global communist movement. The prospects of world revolution and the check of realpolitik can be seen in the shifting patterns of commemorative narration. Rindlishbacher illustrates how celebrating October as part of an international cause in the years immediately following 1917 gradually gave way to presentations of October and the Soviet Union as the defender of an existing and defined communist world, especially after 1945.

This volume builds on previous work by Frederick C. Conroy and Malte Rolf – who revealed the undetermined, shifting, and even confused nature of October commemoration narratives – as well as the work of Michael David-Fox and Jean-François Fayet – who have each illustrated the importance of transnational relations and institutions such as VOKS in shaping the Soviet Union's self-projected image. Emerging from a conference on 'The International Echoes of the Commemorations of the October Revolution,' held at the University of Lausanne, in 2016, further work on this topic can be found in the accompanying special edition of *Twentieth Century Communism*. Both published in 2017, when mention of the broader 'legacy of 1917' was abound, these publications present a welcome focus on active and immediate attempts to forge the legacy of October through live transnational and international commemorative developments.

What this collection fails to portray, however, is a full sense of the significance of the ideological shifts introduced by the Soviet leadership, as well as the resulting impact on Soviet cultural diplomacy and commemoration, across the stated timespan of the book, 1918 to 1990. In particular, there is no sustained or threaded assessment of the effect of Stalinism on international ambitions and/or the commemorative narrative. While individual chapters reference Stalin and Stalinism, the volume tends to move forward with an assumed knowledge of Stalinist inflections and adaptations. Stalinism as an influence is thus asserted, not assessed. Admittedly, it is not easy to present a cohesive assessment across a multi-authored volume such as this, but this is one area where the reader might be left wanting a bit more insight.

Regardless, this volume must be considered as an important work that furthers our understanding of October commemoration, treating the narration of 7 November as an on-going project of self-definition with transnational and international considerations at the core. It pushes forth transnational readings of Soviet and socialist history.

### **V.3: PRESENTATIONS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS**

**Bernhard H. Bayerlein, Kasper Braskén, and Uwe Sonnenberg (eds.): Globale Räume für radikale transnationale Solidarität. Beiträge zum Ersten Internationalen Willi-Münzenberg-Kongress 2015 in Berlin / Global Spaces for Radical Transnational Solidarity. Contributions to the First International Willi Münzenberg Congress 2015 in Berlin, Berlin, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Münzenbergforum Berlin, 2018. 583 pp. – ISBN 978-3-00-059381-9.**

This volume includes selected papers from the First International Willi Münzenberg Congress, held 2015 in Berlin. Edited by the Willi Münzenberg Forum, it features contributions on various aspects of Münzenberg's life and activities, on historical cases of transnational radical solidarity, on antifascism, anti-Stalinism and anticolonialism, and on the legacies of Münzenberg's transnational activities in the post-war period. The volume can be downloaded for free at [https://www.muenzenbergforum.de/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/IWMF\\_V15.pdf](https://www.muenzenbergforum.de/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/IWMF_V15.pdf). (*Information by the editors*)

**Michael Taber and John Riddell (eds.): The Communist Movement at a Crossroads. Plenums of the Communist International's Executive Committee, 1922–1923, Leiden e.a., Brill, 2018. XII, 796 pp. (Historical Materialism Book Series. 160). – ISBN 978-90-04-36678-7. [Paperback edition: Chicago, Haymarket Books, 2019. – ISBN 978-1-6425-9012-8].**

This volume contains the proceedings and resolutions from three expanded meetings of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (Comintern) held in 1922–1923, while Lenin was still alive. At these 'mini-congresses', Communist leaders from around the world debated out major strategic questions and initiatives, from united front policy to the fight against fascism. The material in this book – much of it appearing in English for the first time – is an essential source for understanding the world revolutionary movement in Lenin's time, as well as the subsequent evolution of the Comintern. It is an important supplement to the widely acclaimed series of volumes edited by John Riddell containing the record of the Comintern's first four world congresses. (*Information by the publisher*)

**John Sexton (ed.): Alliance of Adversaries: The Congress of the Toilers of the Far East. Leiden e.a.: Brill, 2019. XIV, 369 pp. (Historical Materialism Book Series. 173). – ISBN 978-90-04-28066-3.**

In 1920 Lenin called on the Communist International to open a second front against the imperialist powers by fighting alongside nationalist and peasant movements in the colonies. Eighteen months later, leaders of fledgling East Asian communist parties and other revolutionaries gathered in Moscow to plan the way forward. The Congress of the Toilers of the Far East profoundly influenced the strategy of Communist Parties throughout the colonial



world. But alliances with other parties were fragile and risky. East Asian Communist Parties suffered serious defeats in the years following the Congress until WWII revived their fortunes. This edited and annotated edition of the Congress minutes will be of interest to scholars and general readers alike. (*Information by the publisher*)

**Kasper Braskén, Nigel Copsey, and Johan A. Lundin (eds.): Anti-Fascism in the Nordic Countries: New Perspectives, Comparisons and Transnational Connections. London: Routledge, 2019. 290 pp. (Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right). – ISBN 978-1-1380-4694-8.**

Although the Nordic countries have a reputation for tolerance and social democracy, they were not immune to fascism which spread across Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. This book offers the first comprehensive history of anti-fascism in the Nordic Countries. Through a number of case studies on anti-fascism in Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark and Iceland, the book makes a significant contribution to the history of contentious politics in the Nordic Countries and to our broader knowledge of European fascism and anti-fascism. The case studies concentrate on the different manifestations of resistance to fascism and Nazism in the interwar era as well as some of the post-war variants. The book will be of considerable interest to scholars of anti-fascism as well as researchers of Nordic and Scandinavian history and politics. (*Information by the publisher*)

**David Brandenberger and Mikhail V. Zelenov (eds.): Stalin's Master Narrative. A Critical Edition of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks): Short Course, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2019. 744 pp. (Annals of Communism). – ISBN 978-0-300-15536-5.**

The Short Course on the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) defined Stalinist ideology both at home and abroad. It was quite literally the master narrative of the USSR – a hegemonic statement on history, politics, and Marxism-Leninism that scripted Soviet society for a generation. This study exposes the enormous role that Stalin played in the development of this all-important text, as well as the unparalleled influence that he wielded over the Soviet historical imagination. (*Information by the publisher*)

**Frank Wolff: Die Mauergesellschaft. Kalter Krieg, Menschenrechte und die deutsch-deutsche Migration 1961–1989 [Society Shaped by the Wall. Cold War, Human Rights, and East-West-German Migration, 1961–1989], Berlin, Suhrkamp, 2019. 1026 pp. – ISBN 978-3-518-29897-8.**

Die Mauer sicherte nicht bloß eine Grenze, sie definierte Deutschland im Kalten Krieg. Von der aktiven Befürwortung über die stille Akzeptanz bis hin zum Widerstand einte die geteilte deutsche Gesellschaft, dass sie sich ihrer Existenz nicht entziehen konnte. In seiner brillanten und fakten gesättigten Studie zeichnet der Historiker Frank Wolff diese Verhältnisse im Detail nach und zeigt unter anderem, dass die in der Aufarbeitung der DDR-Vergangenheit eher stiefmütterlich behandelte Forderung nach Reisefreiheit, der sich darum

in der Bevölkerung entwickelnde Menschenrechtsdiskurs sowie die Ausreisebewegung selbst entscheidend für den Fall der Mauer waren. (*Verlagsinformation*)

**Brendan McGeever: Antisemitism and the Russian Revolution, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2019. 258 pp. – ISBN 978-1-107-19599-8**

When the Bolsheviks came to power in 1917, they announced the overthrow of a world scarred by exploitation and domination. In the very moment of revolution, these sentiments were put to the test as antisemitic pogroms swept the former Pale of Settlement. The pogroms posed fundamental questions of the Bolshevik project, revealing the depth of antisemitism within sections of the working class, peasantry and Red Army. Antisemitism and the Russian Revolution offers the first book-length analysis of the Bolshevik response to antisemitism. Contrary to existing understandings, it reveals this campaign to have been led not by the Party leadership, as is often assumed, but by a loosely connected group of radicals who mobilized around a Jewish political subjectivity. By examining pogroms committed by the Red Army, Brendan McGeever also uncovers the explosive overlap between revolutionary politics and antisemitism, and the capacity for class to become racialized in a moment of crisis. (*Information by the publisher*)

**Jonathan Waterlow: It's Only a Joke, Comrade! Humour, Trust and Everyday Life Under Stalin, Oxford, CreateSpace, 2018. XXI, 285 pp. – ISBN 978-1-985635-82-1.**

In the shadow of the Gulag, Soviet citizens were still cracking jokes. They had to. Drawing on diaries, interviews, memoirs and hundreds of previously secret documents, *It's Only a Joke, Comrade!* uncovers how they joked, coped, and struggled to adapt in Stalin's brave new world. It asks what it really means to live under a dictatorship: How do people make sense of their lives? How do they talk about it? And whom can they trust to do so? Moving beyond ideas of 'resistance', 'doublethink', 'speaking Bolshevik', or Stalin's Cult of Personality to explain Soviet life, it reveals how ordinary people found their way and even found themselves in a life lived along the fault-lines between rhetoric and reality. (*Information by the author*)

**Christian Koller and Matthias Marschik (eds.): Die ungarische Räterepublik 1919. Innenansichten – Außenperspektiven – Folgewirkungen [The Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919. Insights – Outside Perspectives – Effects], Wien, Promedia, 2018. 280 pp. – ISBN 978-3-85371-446-1.**

Die Niederlage der Mittelmächte im Ersten Weltkrieg und die Ausrufung der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepublik in Russland im Herbst 1917 bildeten die Rahmenbedingungen für eine revolutionäre Aufbruchsstimmung. Vielerorts entstanden Rätebewegungen, denen es gelang, die Herrschaft zu übernehmen und – meist nur kurzlebige – Regierungen zu installieren. Politische und ökonomische Zwänge, aber auch konservativ-reaktionäre Gegenrevolutionen mit starker (para-)militärischer Unterstützung konnten die Rätestrukturen bereits in der Aufbauphase gewaltsam beseitigen und ihre Konsolidierung verhindern. Die ungarische Räterepublik bestand zwischen dem 21. März und dem 1. August 1919. Verantwortlich für ihre Ausgestaltung war vor allem der aus Moskau zurückkehrende Béla

Kun. Obwohl offiziell nur „Volksbeauftragter für Außenbeziehungen“, entwickelte er die entscheidenden Planungen für die Verstaatlichung von Banken, Betrieben und Gebäuden sowie für eine umfassende Bodenreform. Die Erwartungen waren überzogen; die Umsetzung gelang nicht. Daran scheiterte die ungarische „Diktatur des Proletariats“ ebenso wie am weißen Gegenterror, am Widerstand der Siegermächte des Weltkriegs und letztlich an der Unfähigkeit, das selbst definierte Staatsgebiet militärisch zu schützen. Bis heute ist die Geschichte der ungarischen Räterepublik im deutschsprachigen Raum kaum aufgearbeitet. Es überwiegt ein negativ konnotierter Diskurs, der auf Chaos und Willkür fokussiert und die Nachfolge von „Reichsverweser“ Admiral Miklós Horthy als logische Konsequenz sieht. Dass die ungarische Räterepublik die erste friedliche Machtübernahme einer kommunistischen Regierung in Europa darstellte, wird ebenso ausgeblendet wie die Frage nach den Zielen und Idealen oder jene nach den Beziehungen zu anderen Staaten. Der vorliegende Band stellt eine übersichtliche Einführung in die Thematik dar. ExpertInnen aus Ungarn, Österreich, der Schweiz, Deutschland und den USA arbeiten das Wissen über die ungarische Räterepublik auf. Dabei werden auch Detailspekte von der Veränderung des Budapester Stadtbildes während der Räteherrschaft bis zur Beurteilung des Regimes durch Benito Mussolini näher beleuchtet. (*Verlagsinformation*)

**Lucas Federer, Gleb J. Albert, and Monika Dommann (eds.): Archive des Aktivismus. Schweizer Trotzki\*innen im Kalten Krieg [Archives of Activism. Swiss Trotskyists in the Cold War Era], Zürich, intercom Verlag, 2018. (Æther. 2). – ISBN 978-3-9524954-1-4.**

Die zweite Ausgabe von *Æther* widmet sich den Nachlässen und Archiven der trotzkistischen Bewegung in der Schweiz während des Kalten Kriegs. Basierend auf neu erschlossenen Archivbeständen im Archiv für Zeitgeschichte der ETH und im Schweizerischen Sozialarchiv setzen sich Masterstudierende und Doktoranden in dem Themenband mit Strukturen und Protagonisten des Schweizerischen Trotzkiismus auseinander. Die Beiträge zeugen von umtriebigen Leben, vom Wirken von Kleinstorganisationen, von Desillusionierung und dem Traum einer besseren Welt; sie erzählen von Kühlschranks-Herstellern, Publizisten und der Bewegung gegen die atomare Aufrüstung. Der Sammelband ist unter <https://aether.ethz.ch/ausgabe/archive-des-aktivismus/> online konsultierbar.

(*Verlagsinformation*)

**Werner Röhr: Der gelbe Nebel. Drei Studien zur jüngeren marxistischen Stalinismus-Kritik [The Green Fog. Three Essays on Recent Marxist Critique of Stalinism], Berlin, Verlag am Park, 2018. 228 pp. – ISBN 978-3-947094-35-6.**

Der gelbe Nebel ist Fluch und Strafmaßnahme der Hexe Axrana aus einem Kinderbuch von Alexander Wolkow von 1970. Die Bewohner des Zauberlandes hatten Widerstand gegen den Machtanspruch der Hexe geleistet. Der Nebel erstickte die Pflanzen, er verhinderte, dass Licht und Sonnenwärme zur Erde durchdrangen, worauf das Land erfror und starb... Der gelbe Nebel wurde und wird als Metapher für eine Vergiftung aller Bereiche der Gesellschaft verstanden, was der Stalinismus war. Seit Jahrzehnten wird darüber geforscht, was »Stalinismus« ist. Die einen tun dies, um den Kommunismus zu verteufeln, die anderen, um ihn vor dem Revisionismus zu bewahren, indem sie gegen die Emanzipation des

Sozialismus vom »Stalinismus« auftreten. Der Historiker Werner Röhr hat die Arbeiten von zwei kritischen Marxisten zu diesem Gegenstand untersucht, ein dritter Text beschäftigt sich mit einer Untersuchung zu den Wirkungen Stalins auf die kommunistische Weltbewegung. Aus der ursprünglichen Absicht, die Arbeiten lediglich zu rezensieren, wurde schließlich eigene Studien. Sie fand Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten in den Auffassungen von Wolfgang Ruge und Alfred Kosing und würdigte einen neuen, originellen Forschungsansatz bei Bernhard H. Bayerlein. (*Verlagsinformation*)

**Manfred Mugrauer (ed.): Partei in Bewegung. 100 Jahre KPÖ in Bildern [A Party in Motion. A Centenary of the Communist Party of Austria in Pictures], Wien, Globus-Verlag, 2018. 448 pp. – ISBN 978-3-9504548-2-6.**

Vor hundert Jahren, am 3. November 1918, wurde die Kommunistische Partei Österreichs gegründet. Sie ist damit die drittälteste kommunistische Partei der Welt und die älteste Partei Österreichs mit ungebrochener Kontinuität. Hundert Jahre KPÖ bedeuten in erster Linie hundert Jahre aufrechten Gangs Hunderttausender Menschen durch die österreichische Zeitgeschichte. Wie mehr als 2.000 Abbildungen zeigen, waren Österreichs KommunistInnen in Politikfeldern aktiv, die sich wie eine Konstante durch sämtliche Perioden der Parteigeschichte ziehen: in Betrieben und Gemeinden, sozialen Kämpfen, friedenspolitisch, frauenpolitisch und im antifaschistischen Kampf. Hinzu kommt ein „Internationalismus der Tat“, der für alle Phasen der KPÖ-Geschichte kennzeichnend ist. Die KPÖ war dabei nicht nur eine politische und soziale Emanzipationsbewegung, sondern auch eine Kulturbewegung. Der Bildband „Partei in Bewegung“ zeigt die 100-jährige Geschichte der KPÖ nicht nur unter politik- und organisationsgeschichtlichen Gesichtspunkten, sondern unter dem Blickwinkel ihrer Sozialgeschichte und Kulturgeschichte. Von einer Solidaritätsküche für streikende ArbeiterInnen in Pottendorf im Jahr 1931, der „Volksstimme“-Kolportage in der Nachkriegszeit, Unterschriftensammlungen für Appelle der Weltfriedensbewegung, der Bahnhofsbesetzung in Oberweiden im Jahr 1956, der Verhinderung von Soldatenaufmärschen in den 1960er Jahren, Demonstrationen für die Abschaffung des Paragraphen 144 bis zu Protestaktionen vor dem ORF und der US-Botschaft in den 1980er Jahren: Der Bildband dokumentiert die Geschichte der KPÖ und ihrer Aktivistinnen und Aktivisten als radikale soziale Bewegung. Als herausragende Beiträge der KPÖ zum kulturellen Leben seien nur das „Neue Theater in der Scala“ und der Jura-Soyfer-Abend im Audimax der Universität Wien im Mai 1975 mit Helmut Qualtinger und den Schmetterlingen genannt. Zahlreiche Abbildungen von den Kundgebungen am 1. Mai und den Volksstimmefesten im Wiener Prater geben weitere Einblicke in die Kulturgeschichte der österreichischen KommunistInnen. (*Verlagsinformation*)

**Jörn Schütrumpf (ed.): 'Spartakusaufstand'. Der unterschlagene Bericht des Untersuchungsausschusses der verfassunggebenden Preußischen Landesversammlung über die Januar-Unruhen 1919 in Berlin ['Spartacus Uprising']. The Concealed Report by the Fact-Finding Committee of the Prussian Constitutional Assembly About the January Riots of 1919 in Berlin], Berlin, Dietz, 2018. 639 pp. – ISBN 978-3-320-02357-7.**

Im Januar 1919 greifen revolutionäre Arbeiter in Berlin zu den Waffen. Der vom linken Flügel der Berliner USPD getragene Aufstand wurde von Anfang an der gerade gebildeten KPD zugeschrieben. Sie war für derlei Aktionen allerdings viel zu schwach. Die KPD hatte im Januar 1919 in Berlin etwa 300 Anhänger, die USPD 200.000. Gleichwohl hält sich bis heute die Legende vom Spartakusaufstand. Zu ganz anderen Ergebnissen kam der Untersuchungsausschuss der verfassunggebenden Preußischen Landesversammlung über die Januar-Unruhen 1919 in Berlin in seinem Abschlussbericht vom 9. Februar 1921. In der Forschung nicht beachtet, wird der Bericht hier erstmals vollständig der Öffentlichkeit bekannt gemacht und seine Geschichte erzählt. Der Reprint des Untersuchungsberichts umfasst den amtlichen Bericht, den Niederschriften- und Urkundenband und die Anlage zum Urkundenband. (*Verlagsinformation*)

**Matilde Eiroa San Francisco: Españoles tras el Telón de Acero. El exilio republicano y comunista en la Europa socialista [Spaniards Behind the Iron Curtain. The Republican and Communist Exile in Socialist Europe], Madrid, Marcial Pons Historia, 2018. 255 pp. – ISBN 978-84-16662-28-9.**

Este libro aborda el estudio de un colectivo de exiliados poco conocido: por un lado, los representantes del Gobierno de la Segunda República española en el exilio y, por otro, un núcleo de exiliados comunistas que tuvieron como destino los países tras el Telón de Acero, configurado en la Europa Centro-Oriental tras la división del mundo en bloques. Ambos grupos no sólo sufrieron las consecuencias como perdedores de la Guerra Civil, sino también como coetáneos de políticas y alianzas internacionales de gran calado. En sus páginas veremos el modo en que la Guerra Fría, el Plan Marshall europeo, el estalinismo o la desestalinización tuvieron un impacto directo en sus trayectorias vitales. Se entrecruzan en ellas la historia política española – el exilio y la historia del PCE – y la historia de Europa, puesto que sus recorridos biográficos se sitúan en Francia, la Unión Soviética y las democracias populares bajo su órbita. (*Information by the publisher*)

**Rosa Luxemburg: Gesammelte Werke [Collected Works]. VII: 1907 bis 1918. 2 vols. Edited by Annelies Laschitzka and Eckhard Müller, Berlin, Karl Dietz Verlag, 2017. 1233 pp. – ISBN 978-3-320-02332-4**

Die »Gesammelten Werke« von Rosa Luxemburg umfassten ursprünglich fünf Bände, die zwischen 1970 und 1975 erschienen. Sie beinhalteten allerdings nicht das vollständige deutschsprachige Werk von Rosa Luxemburg, von ihrem polnischsprachigen ganz zu schweigen. Anfang 2014 konnten mit Band 6 die Texte aus der Zeit von 1893 bis 1906 um 270 Dokumente ergänzt werden. Im vorliegenden Band befinden sich nun 152 Dokumente aus der Zeit von 1907 bis 1918. Damit wird die Vervollständigung der »Gesammelten

Werke« durch sämtliche seit den 1970er Jahren bis heute aufgefundenen und identifizierten Reden und Schriften Rosa Luxemburgs in deutscher Sprache abgeschlossen. Dabei unterscheidet sich Band 7 von Band 6 durch eine völlig andere Struktur. Das rührt vor allem daher, dass er weit mehr handschriftliche Texte wiedergibt, die fast die Hälfte des Bandes füllen. Es sind größtenteils undatierte Fragmente. Mittelbar oder unmittelbar stehen sie in engem Zusammenhang mit ihrem Hauptwerk, der »Akkumulation des Kapitals«. (*Verlagsinformation*)

**James D. White: Red Hamlet. The Life and Ideas of Alexander Bogdanov, Leiden e.a., Brill, 2018. XIV, 494 pp. (Historical Materialism Book Series. 172). – ISBN 978-90-04-26891-3. [Paperback edition: Chicago, Haymarket Books, 2019. – ISBN 978-1-6425-9048-7].**

In this first full-length biography of Alexander Bogdanov, James D. White traces the intellectual development of this key socialist thinker, situating his ideas in the context of the Russian revolutionary movement. He examines the part Bogdanov played in the origins of Bolshevism, his role in the revolutions of 1905 and 1917 and his conflict with Lenin, which lasted into Soviet times. The book examines in some detail Bogdanov's intellectual legacy, which, though deliberately obscured and distorted by his adversaries, was considerable and is of lasting significance. Bogdanov was an original and influential interpreter of Marx. He had a mastery of many spheres of knowledge, this expertise being employed in writing his chief theoretical work *Tectology*, which anticipates modern systems theory. (*Information by the publisher*)

**Avgust Lešnik: Rdeča mavrica. Delavska socialistična gibanja na razpotjih 1848–1918–1948. Historično-sociološki traktati [Red Rainbow: The Labour Socialist Movements at the Crossroads, 1848–1918–1948. Historical-Sociological Treatises], Ljubljana, Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2018. 544 pp. – ISBN 978-961-06-0119-7.**

The aim of the present monograph is to provide answers to the key questions that conceptually divided the labour socialist movements, provoking an organisational schism, which, as a consequence, weakened their social power. The problem is approached innovatively – with a selection of representative case studies that, in a problem-driven way, reveal the “classical” period of the labour socialist movements as a whole, i.e. during the revolution in 1848 and the Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

The first part – *Clarifying the concept, programme and organisation in the labour socialist movement (1848–1914)* – is focused on the analysis of those segments in the movement that triggered the theoretical debate on “revolution or reform” and led to Bernstein's reply “the aim is nothing, but the movement is everything”.

In the second part – *Proletarian internationalism challenged by the Great War (1914–1918)* – the responses to the war by social-democratic political parties are contemplated and analysed. The image has shown that the majority of parties made known their view in favour of the defence of “their own” capitalist state, which then led to the internal schism of the then organisationally uniform movement – the revolutionary Left, the pacifist Centre and the socially chauvinist Right.

In the third part – *Communist revolution versus socio-democratic reform* – we follow the conceptual and organisational schism of the socialist movement after the Great War that

resulted in the split into a social-democratic and a communist side, on the national as well as international levels. While the communist parties gathered the forces of the socialist Left and, as a direction indicator for their own orientation, accepted the revolutionary experience of the Bolshevik party and the Russian October, the parties of the socialist right and centre – faithful to parliamentary democracy – regrouped in the social-democratic wing of international socialism. The previous organisationally uniform socialist movement transformed into three new international associations: the *Second* or Bern International (right, reformist), the *Third* or Muscovite International (communist) and, for a short time, the *Second and a half* or Viennese International (centrist).

In the fourth part – *Bloody Drama: (Counter-)Revolution and Civil war in the Pyrenees (1936–1939)* – we aim to seek broader and relevant answers to the questions that were opened up in the international labour movement with the Spanish Revolution and War. The armed conflict of “two Spains” deeply polarised not only the Spanish, but also the world public. Nevertheless, the tragic circumstances of the bloody conflict in the Pyrenees took place not only due to the fact that the Left did not succeed in stopping the aggressive advance of the Right that finally led to the Second World War, but especially in the fact that, on Spanish ground, two Lefts and two visions of revolution clashed, i.e. the communist and anarchist, the adherents of the thoughtful revolutionary organisation on the one hand and mass spontaneity on the other.

In the fifth part – *The outcasts of Stalinism: the case of KPJ and Tito’s Yugoslavia (1948)* – we draw attention to the outcasts and forgotten “heretics” of the communist movement that refused to submit to the new “God” (Stalin), but rather, as non-dogmatic Marxists/critical communists, sought an alternative to the Stalinist system. A standout example is presented by the Yugoslav Communist Party, with the first collective rebellion against Stalinism at the time of the Soviet Informbureau (1948–1956), a rebellion against the dominance that Stalin managed to build in the international communist movement. In this conflict, for the first time the “centre” did not manage to break the rebellion and enforce its position. Such a way out had long-term consequences not only for Yugoslavia (self-governance, non-alignment), but also for the whole communist movement (destalinisation).

(2)

With an interdisciplinary approach and the use of historically sociological analysis and comparative methods for the selected representative cases, we have gotten to the bottom of three neuralgic points that played a decisive role not only on the heterogeneity of the movement, but also on the schisms within it: 1. reform or revolution, 2. spontaneity or organisation, 3. socialism and democracy.

(3)

At the same time, we aimed to check and provide answers to the question of whether labour socialist movements – on the basis of theoretical and practical experience, gained in the classical period (1848–1989) – may offer a useful direction for the proletariat/precariat of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in its fight for social justice. The analysis has shown that *ideology* was a constituent as well as a mobilising element of the classical social movements, i.e. the labour socialist movements. The characteristic of new social movements is that they give up this element as a rule; the same is valid for new labour movements. Ideology and the aim of the movement have become marginalised; the same is true for adherence to a (socialist) party and trade-union, which also has a decisive impact on a (non)organisation; consequently such movements are pushed to an economic fight. Their experience – on the social scene they have been present for at least three decades – has shown that following non-ideological premises and spontaneity does not produce any tangible results. If the proletariat is to play

an active social role again – on the national and international levels – a similar, quite uneasy amount of work is ahead of it. This would take place in much the same way as with previous proletarian generations, as the level of the current organisation is nothing new from a historical point of view and is comparable with that of the beginning of the classical period of the labour movement. This means that the movements, according to the social climate and challenges, should once again define their long-term (ideological, political) objectives on the level of theoretical and practical operation. Of course, the existence, vitality and impact of a movement depend on the working class and its labour leaders. Both need to be aware that the emergence, rise and rather quick or slow fading of particular social movements from the social scene are the most characteristic distinctions of contemporary time. This means that the existence of new labour/socialist movements will not be taken for granted ...

*(Information by the author)*

**Barbara C. Allen (ed.): Leaflets of the Russian Revolution. Socialist Organizing in 1917, Chicago, Haymarket Books, 2018. 168 pp. – ISBN 978-1-6084-6970-3.**

When workers and peasants rose up across Russia and smashed the centuries old Tsarist autocracy their actions reverberated across the world, and continue to inspire activists to this day. This carefully assembled and expertly translated collection of documents from the Petrograd socialist movement in 1917 provides contemporary readers with a firsthand glimpse into the revolutionary ferment as it unfolds. In *Leaflets of the Russian Revolution*, Barbara Allen selects and introduces the pamphlets and other agitational material that give life to the debates, disagreements and perspectives that animated the masses during the revolution. *(Information by the publisher)*

**Lara Douds: Inside Lenin's Government. Ideology, Power and Practice in the Early Soviet State, London, Bloomsbury Academic, 2018. 240 pp. – ISBN 978-1-4742-8670-1.**

Lara Douds examines the practical functioning and internal political culture of the early Soviet government cabinet, the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom), under Lenin. This study elucidates the process by which Sovnarkom's governmental decision-making authority was transferred to Communist Party bodies in the early years of Soviet power and traces the day-to-day operation of the supreme state organ. The book argues that Sovnarkom was the principal executive body of the early Soviet government until the Politburo gradually usurped this role during the Civil War. Using a range of archival source material, Lara Douds re-interprets early Soviet political history as a period where fledging 'Soviet' rather than simply 'Communist Party' power was attempted, but ultimately failed when pressures of Civil War and socio-economic dislocation encouraged the centralising and authoritarian rather than democratic strand of Bolshevism to predominate. *Inside Lenin's Government* explores the basic mechanics of governance by looking at the frequency of meetings, types of business discussed, processes of decision-making and the administrative backdrop, as well as the key personalities of Sovnarkom. It then considers the reasons behind the shift in executive power from state to party in this period, which resulted in an abnormal situation where, as Leon Trotsky commented in 1923, 'leadership by the party gives way to administration by its organs'. *(Information by the publisher)*



**Florian Wilde: Revolution als Realpolitik. Ernst Meyer (1887–1930). Biographie eines KPD-Vorsitzenden, Konstanz, UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2018. 452 pp. – ISBN 978-3-86764-773-1.**

Ernst Meyer war ein führender Akteur der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands in der Weimarer Republik. Schüler Rosa Luxemburgs, Gründungsmitglied des Spartakusbundes und aktiv in der Novemberrevolution, gehörte er nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg der KPD-Zentrale an und war 1921/22 Parteivorsitzender. Als Anhänger einer revolutionären Realpolitik hatte Meyer wesentlichen Anteil an der Entwicklung der kommunistischen Einheitsfrontstrategie. Gegenüber der Ruth Fischer-Führung und später dem Thälmann-Zentralkomitee verteidigte er leidenschaftlich die Notwendigkeit innerparteilicher Demokratie. 1927 noch einmal mit an der Spitze der Partei stehend, wurde er bald darauf an den Rand gedrängt. Als Kritiker Stalins stritt er weiter gegen die verhängnisvolle These vom „Sozialfaschismus“ und für die Diskussionsfreiheit. Erstmals zeichnet nun ein Historiker auf breit fundierter Quellenbasis das politische und private Leben und Wirken Ernst Meyers nach. Dabei werden insbesondere die strategischen Debatten innerhalb der KPD und die in der Entwicklung der Partei angelegten Alternativen zu ihrer Stalinisierung herausgearbeitet. (*Verlagsinformation*)

## **SECTION VI: MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES CONCERNING COMMUNIST STUDIES**

### **In Moscow and São Paulo: Congress and Symposium on the Foundation of the Communist International 100 Years Ago**

In contrast to the 100th anniversary of the October Revolution, with hundreds of conferences, meetings, and numerous publications worldwide (see the overview in The International Newsletter of Communist Studies 29/30), the 100th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist International (Comintern) in 1919 met with less interest at this level. This is astonishing inasmuch as the Comintern, as "a political watershed in world politics during the first half of the 20th century" (Osvaldo Coggiola), was in the eyes of its organizers the necessary and natural continuation and means of existence of the October Revolution and was regarded as the highest form and international fatherland of the workers of all countries. The lack of interest may be mainly due to its "polemic character" and the inglorious development of the Comintern under the influence of Stalin, who in 1936 described the world revolution as a "tragic-comic misunderstanding". Overall, it is unfortunate that topics such as the theory and practice of Marxism, the workers' movement, capitalism, internationalism and international solidarity, revolutionary development and the failure of the Left in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America in the interwar period are not discussed more broadly and comparatively along their major historical axes, the Workers' Internationals and, above all, the Communist International.

Nevertheless, two internationally significant scholarly manifestations in the anniversary year, which took place in Russia and Brazil, are to be highlighted. Both conferences with hundreds of participants each substantiated that communism is an international historical issue and that both its rise and its decline can only be explained transnationally.

- The international academic conference "The Left Alternative in the 20th century: Drama of ideas and personal stories" took place at the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History in Moscow's Bolshaya Dmitrovka Street from 26 to 28 June 2019. Thirteen academic institutions from Europe and the USA acted as cooperation partners. In addition to the main organizers, the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (Moscow) and the Russian Historical Society (Moscow), the following institutions were involved: Arbeiderbevegelsens Arkiv og Bibliotek (Oslo), Arbejdermuseet (Copenhagen), EDDA Research Center (Reykjavik), Fondation Gabriel Péri (Paris), Fondazione Gramsci (Rome), Institute of World History of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow), Istituto Nazionale Ferruccio Parri (Milan), Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for War Consequences Research (Graz), Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (Berlin-Moscow), Russian State University for the Humanities (Moscow), State Public Historical Library (Moscow), Université de Genève (Geneva), YIVO

Institute for Jewish Research (New York), with the support of the "History of the Motherland" Foundation. The director of the RGASPI, Andrei K. Sorokin, opened the event. About 70 speakers, who had travelled to Moscow from all over the world, presented in eight sections the state of research and the latest issues in the field of Comintern research – from the founding of the organisation to the dissolution and aftermath of the Third International. At the same time, a rich exhibition (designed under the direction of Aleksandr Iu. Vatlin) on the history of the Comintern was opened at RGASPI with documents and photos, some of which were previously unknown (see the news section of this issue). For the opening of the conference a brochure with the abstracts of all speakers was published by ROSSPEN. In addition, a conference volume is being prepared. For further information see: <http://www.herald-of-an-archivist.com/news/878-the-left-alternative-in-the-20th-century-drama-of-ideas-and-personal-stories-by-the-100th-anniversary-of-the-comintern-international-conference-2628-of-june-2019.html>

• An International Symposium entitled "Cem Anos da Internacional Comunista (1919–2019)" / 100 years of the Communist International (1919–2019)" was held at the University of São Paulo, the largest University in Latin America, on October 16–18, 2019. The event, which was largely prepared by the historian and professor Osvaldo Coggiola, was organized by the Faculty of Philosophy, Philology and Humanities (FFLC-USP), the post-graduate program in economic History (PPGHE) and the Laboratório de Economia Política e História econômica (LEPHE). The congress with 56 sessions and panels demonstrates the great interest in the transnational history of the Communist International in Latin America. The majority of participants came from Brazil and Argentina, whereby the panels covered the whole range of topics, male and female actors and geographical zones of influence, from Brazil to the Arab countries and China.

**„The Left Alternative in the 20th century: Drama of ideas and personal stories“ (By the 100th Anniversary of the Comintern), Moscow, 26 – 28 June 2019. Preliminary Programme**

**(Source: [http://www.vestarchive.ru/images/stories/prog\\_komin.pdf](http://www.vestarchive.ru/images/stories/prog_komin.pdf))**

#### *CONFERENCE OPENING. WELCOMING WORDS*

- Artizov Andrey Nikolaevich, the Head of the Federal Archival Agency of Russia;
- Chubaryan Alexandr Oganovich, co-Chairman of the Russian Historical Society, scientific Director of the Institute of World history the Russian Academy of Sciences;
- Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, Perpetual Secretary of the Académie Française;
- Kerstin Kaiser, the Head of Bureau Moscow/Berlin Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung;
- Stefan Karner, co-Chairman of the joint Austrian-Russian Commission of historians;
- Mogilevsky Konstantin Ilyich, Executive Director of «History of Motherland» Fund.

#### *PLENARY SESSION*

- Runge Monika (PhD Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Leipzig (Büro Moskau/Berlin), Germany): The nature and aims of the Russian revolution of 1917 – asymmetry between the structures of political power and economic prerequisites in Russia
- Vatlin Alexandr Jurjevich (Prof., Lomonosov Moscow State University): The creation of the Comintern: international echo of the Russian revolution

- Wolikow Serge (PhD Fondation Gabriel Péri, France): The tension between national and international in the project and the activity of the Communist International. From the global dream to national contradictions in the Comintern's strategy.
- Bayerlein Bernhard H. (PhD Institute for Social Movements, Ruhr-University Bochum, Germany): From Internationalist Moment to De-Internationalization: The Communist International and the Soviet Union 1919–1943. Towards a middle range theory

*Session «COMINTERN IN EUROPE AND AMERICA» REPORTS*

- Kheyfets Viktor Lazarevich, Kheyfets Lazar Solomonovich (Doctor of History, Saint-Petersburg State University): The Builder of socialist and capitalist society: the fate of Venezuelan Jose Antonio Mayobre
- Bruckmann Mónica (PhD Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil): José Carlos Mariátegui y el marxismo latinoamericano
- Emelyanova Elena Nikolaevna (PhD State social and humanities University): The IV Congress of the Comintern: turn from revolutionary offensive to the defense
- Egge Åsmund (PhD University of Oslo, Norway): The Comintern and the Norwegian Labour Party 1919–1923
- Ilmjärvi Magnus (PhD Tallinn University, School of Humanities, Estonia): The Comintern and the Baltic countries 1919–1940
- Kharitonov Konstantin Borisovich (State Historical Public Library of Russia): Profintern and the British Congress of trade unions in the 1920s in publications from collections of the Library Center for Social and Political History.

*Session «MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE COMINTERN»/ REPORTS*

- Vigreux Jean (PhD Centre Georges Chevrier, MSH de Dijon, France): "The sickle after the hammer": Komintern and the peasantry, history of the Komintern.
- Nikulin Alexandr Mikhailovich (PhD, Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration): The Peasant International and the International Agrarian Institute: searching the ways of revolutionizing the peasantry
- Köstenberger Julia (PhD Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Kriegsfolgenforschung, Austria): "Personnel forge" of Stalinism. History of the International Lenin School (1926–1938)
- Mardanov Marat Khamityanovich (PhD Center for humanitarian studies of the Ministry of culture of the Republic of Bashkortostan): On the specific of training of the special Comintern schools students in Bashkiriya, 1941–1943.
- Tosstorff Reiner (PhD Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, Germany): Finding a place for 'Moscow' in 'Amsterdam'? The Profintern and the trade union policy of international communism in the mid-twenties
- Khorosheva Anna Vladimirovna (PhD Lomonosov Moscow State University): Activities of the Red Sport International in the late 1920s – early 1930s
- Shashkova Olga Alexandrovna (PhD Russian state archive of social and political history): "Ethnopedagogics" in the plans of the world revolution: the experience of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East

*Session «COMINTERN IN EUROPE AND AMERICA»/ REPORTS*

- Chernopyorov Vasily Lvovich (Doctor of History, Ivanovo State University): “Pacifist melody should not be in the Communist criticism of the Versailles world”: the Soviet representative in Berlin V.L. Kopp’s plans to revolutionize Germany in 1920–1921
- Labeÿ Marion (l’Université Paris-Diderot VII, France): «Around the Third Congress»: The birth of a network of critical communists
- Rentola Kimmo (Doctor of sociology University of Helsinki, Finland): The Strange Resurrection of the World Revolution, 1939–1940
- Pirjevec Jože (PhD Science and Research Centre Koper, Slovenia: Comintern and the Yugoslav experiment
- Sørensen Torkil (independent scholar, Denmark): Relations between the German section of Comintern, KPD, and the Danish, DKP
- Timofeeva Mariya Andreevna (Russian State Archive of Social and Political History): The Negro Bureau as an instrument of ideological activity of the Comintern (based on the materials from the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History)

*Session «COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, ITS PREDECESSORS, OPPONENTS, AND ALLIES»/ REPORTS*

- Kretinin Sergey Vladimirovich (Doctor of History, Voronezh State University): The idea of the United front with the Comintern in the assessments of Western social democracy theorists in the mid-1930s.
- Rublyov Dmitry Ivanovich (PhD, Russian State Archive of Social and Political History): The Comintern and the anarchist movement of Russia (on the history of relations)
- Savelyev Pyotr Yuryevich (Doctor of History, Russian State Archive of Social and Political History): A Party of the new type: historiographical myth and historical reality
- Simonova Elena Victorovna (Doctor of History, Lev Tolstoy Tula State Pedagogical University): Revolution of 1917–1918: Tula socialists in the process of formation of a new political system
- Trukhin Mikhail Dmitrievich (PhD, Russian State Archive of Social and Political History): E.E. Lazarev’s criticism of the left alternative in the international socialist movement (1918)
- Frederichsen Kim (PhD independent scholar, Denmark): Friends of the Soviet Union – the Forgotten Friendship International (from a Danish Perspective)
- Baier Walter (Doctor of sociology and economics, network transform!europe Austria): Otto Bauer and Austro-Marxism – A Proposal for a third Way

*PLENARY SESSION «ECHO OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION»/ REPORTS*

- Pons Silvio (PhD Fondazione Gramsci, Italy): Gramsci and the Russian Revolution
- Brie Michael (PhD Institute for Critical Social Analysis of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in Berlin, Germany): Rosa Luxemburg’s Symphony on the Russian Revolution
- Ólafsson Jón (PhD University of Iceland): The Epistemic Paradox of Communist Education
- Jørgensen Jesper (The Workers Museum in Copenhagen, Denmark): SS Apparatus Copenhagen. The Secret Comintern network in Denmark 1933–1938.
- Rønning Ole Martin (PhD Labour Movement Archives and Library, Oslo, Norway): Grand designs and meagre outcome. The Comintern and the Communist Party of Norway (1923–

1943)

*Session «COMINTERN IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION»/ REPORTS*

- Luong Viet Sang (PhD Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics, Vietnam): National and Colonial Line of the Communist International and the National Liberation Revolution of Vietnam
- Iskhakov Salavat Midkhatovich (Doctor of History, Institute of the Russian History, Russian Academy of science): Representatives of the Muslim peoples of Soviet Russia and neighboring countries at the 1st and 2nd Congresses of the Comintern
- Nguyen Tai Dong (PhD Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, Vietnam): The Third International (Comintern) and Vietnam
- Kyoungyoung Min (PhD Korea University, South Korea): The Russian revolution and the early stage of the Communist movement in Korea

*Session «PERSONAL STORIES OF THE BUILDERS OF THE NEW WORLD»/ Reports*

- Slutskaya Lyudmila Vladimirovna (PhD Belarusian State University): Retribution for illusions: the 2nd Congress of the Comintern in the fate of the French anarchists
- Saarela Tauno (PhD University of Helsinki, Finland): Otto Ville Kuusinen as a general secretary of the Communist International, 1921–1922
- Hobel Alexander (PhD University of Naples “Federico II”, Fondazione Gramsci, Rome, Italy): Luigi Longo: A “Garibaldi of the twentieth century” at the head of the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War
- Vasina Lyudmila Leonidovna (PhD Russian State Archive of Social and Political History): D.B. Ryazanov as outstanding Marxist thinker of the twentieth century
- Tinè Salvatore (University of Catania, Italy): Togliatti, leader of the Communist International
- Giudici Antonio (independent scholar, Croatia): Memories and internationalist ideas of a revolutionary fighter between USSR and Spain

*Session «PERSONAL STORIES OF THE BUILDERS OF THE NEW WORLD»/ REPORTS*

- Laamanen Ville (PhD University of Turku, Finland): From Communist Cadre to Outsider: Ideals, Opportunism and Coping with Change in Moscow and Stockholm, 1929–1948
- Tonelli Anna (Institute of Contemporary History in Pesaro, Italy): Teresa Noce: an Italian female anti-fascist voice in Moscow
- Khavkin Boris Lvovich (Doctor of History, Historical and Archival Institute of the Russian State University for the Humanities): Leo Roth and General Hammerstein’s daughters
- Achramovich Natalya Vadimovna (Lomonosov Moscow State University): Transformation of the identity of the emigrant leaders of the Communist party of Germany (1935–1939)
- Bakanov Alexey Ivanovich (PhD Russian State Archive of Social and Political History): Leaders of the Communist party of Western Ukraine at the last stage of its history, 1933–1938
- Poleshchuk Alexandr Alexandrovich (journalist): Scientific and literary biography of Georgy Dimitrov writing experience

*Session «COMINTERN IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION»*

- Tannoury-Karam Sana (PhD Rice University, USA): The Cornerstone for Building a New World: The Communist International and the Arab East, 1919–1943
- Tikhonov Jury Nikolaevich (Doctor of History, Lipetsk State Pedagogical P. Semenov-Tyan-Shansky University): Specific of the Comintern work in the “Afghan corridor”, 1919–1939 (based on archival documents RGASPI and Foreign Policy Archive of Russia)
- Zhirova Nadezhda Sergeevna (PhD Lipetsk State Pedagogical P. Semenov-Tyan-Shansky University): Role of M.N. Roy in cooperation between the Comintern and the «Gadar» party
- Ermakov Vadim Andreevich (PhD Moscow Region State University): National and colonial issues at the 2nd Congress of the Comintern: the left alternative to the Soviet model
- Shevelev Dmitry Leonidovich (PhD Belarusian State University): On the class interpretation of the Palestinian uprising of 1929

28 JUNE

*PLENARY SESSION/ Theme «AFTER THE COMINTERN»/ REPORTS*

- Tran Tuan Phong (PhD Vietnamese Academy of Social Sciences, Vietnam): Some reflection on the theory and practice of socialism: on occasion of the 100th anniversary of the third Communist International
- Ötvös Istvan (National Remembrance Committee, Hungary): Antistalinism as a political weapon
- Alexey Viktorovich (Doctor of Political Science, Buryat State University): Socialism in Mongolia in the collective memory of the Soviet specialists
- Szilágyi Gábor (PhD National Remembrance Committee, Hungary): Financial support of Western Communist Parties following World War II

*Theme «ARCHIVES, LIBRARIES, INFORMATION RESOURCES ON THE HISTORY OF LEFTIST ORGANIZATIONS»/ REPORTS*

- Sorokin Andrey Konstantinovich (PhD Russian State Archive of Social and Political History): “Left Alternative” documents in the former Communist Party Central Archive.
- Torre Andrea (PhD Istituto nazionale Ferruccio Parri, Italy): “Oggi in Spagna, domani in Italia”. An interactive database of the Italian antifascists volunteers in the Spanish Civil War: biographical trajectories through time and space
- Brent Jonathan (PhD YIVO, New-York, USA): YIVO’s Bund archive, its nature, collection and postwar history.
- Novichenko Irina Juryevna (PhD Center for Social and Political History, State Historical Public Library of Russia): Comintern publications from collections of the State Historical Public Library of Russia
- Gianni Emilio (Biographical Archive of the Italian Worker’s Movement, Italy): The Communist International in the Centenary of its Foundation. Biographical Dictionary (1919–1923)

**International Symposium: „The Communist International – Hundred Years (1919–2019)“. University of São Paulo (USP), Faculty of Philosophy, Philology and Human Sciences (FFLCH), 16–18 October 2019 (<https://www.fflch.usp.br/1502>)**

Wednesday, 16 October

9:00: INTERNACIONAL SOCIALISTA, REVOLUÇÃO RUSSA E TERCEIRA INTERNACIONAL: Osvaldo Coggiola – Debatedor: Rodrigo Ricupero

9:00: O PARTIDO COMUNISTA NA HISTÓRIA DO BRASIL: José Salles – Augusto Bonicuore – Sofia Manzano – Lucca Maldonado – Frederico Falcão

9:00: OS ARQUIVOS E O ESTUDO DA INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA: Bernhard Bayerlein – Debatedor: Daniel Gaido

9:00: INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA E REVOLUÇÃO LATINO-AMERICANA: Deni Rubbo – Yuri Martins Fontes – Claudia Romero – Mariano Schlez

14:00: O ANARQUISMO E A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA: Ricardo Rugai – Acácio Augusto – Marly Viana – Felipe Correa – Elvio Rodrigues Martins

14:00: COMUNISMO E INTELECTUALIDADE BRASILEIRA: Francisco Alambert – Marcelo Ridenti – Paulo Barsotti – Marcos Antonio Silva – Pedro Pomar

14:00: AS EDITORAS DA INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA: Dainis Karepovs – Marisa Midori – Lincoln Secco – Flamarion Maués – Felipe Lacerda

14:00: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA E A CHINA: José Rodrigues Mao Jr – Andrea Longobardi – Aldo Sauda – Francisco Prandi

14:00: A EDUCAÇÃO NA INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA: Carlos Bauer – Debatedores: Cássio Diniz – Ítalo de Aquino

17:30: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA E OS PAÍSES ÁRABES: Soraya Misleh – Debatedor: Reginaldo Nasser

17:30: GRAMSCI, O PC ITALIANO E A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA: Deise Rosalio – Bernardo Ricupero – Alvaro Bianchi – Lincoln Secco

17:30: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA E A QUESTÃO NEGRA: Wilson H. Da Silva – Eduardo Januário – Gisele Sifroni – Geferson Santana

17:30: LUIS EMILIO RECABARREN E O PARTIDO COMUNISTA CHILENO: Horacio Gutiérrez – Debatedora: Gabriela Pellegrino

19:30: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA ENTRE LÊNIN E STALIN: Bernhard Bayerlein – Debatedor: Osvaldo Coggiola

19:30: HUNGRIA 1919: A REPÚBLICA DOS CONSELHOS OPERÁRIOS: Tibor Rabockzai – Debatedor: Milton Pinheiro

19:30: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA E A INSURREIÇÃO DE 1935: Marly Viana – Gilberto Maringoni – Elizabeth Cancelli – Maria Aparecida de Paula Rago

19:30: INTELECTUAIS E INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA: Deni Rubbo – Alessandro Soares – Marcos Del Roio – Muniz Gonçalves Ferreira

Thursday, 17 October

9:00: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA DO ESPORTE (SPORTINTERN): Flávio de Campos – Debatedor: Benedito Carlos Libório Caires Araújo

9:00: INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA E REVOLUÇÃO ALEMÃ: Valério Arcary – Ricardo Musse – Felipe Lacerda – Edgardo Loguercio

9:00: O COMUNISMO E AS ARTES: Rafael Padial – Flo Menezes – Andrea Duprat – Clara Figueiredo



9:00: O PARTIDO COMUNISTA DA UNIÃO SOVIÉTICA (PCUS) E A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA: Angelo Segrillo – Debatedor: Henrique Canary

14:00: AS MULHERES NA INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA: Daniel Gaido – Diana Assunção – Daniela Mussi – Marcela Piloto Proença – Erika Andreassi

14:00: A COMINTERN, JULIO ANTONIO MELLA E A REVOLUÇÃO CUBANA: Luiz Bernardo Pericás – Joana Salém – Ramón Peña Castro – José Rodrigues Mao Júnior – Pedro Monzón

14:00: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA E A QUESTÃO NACIONAL E COLONIAL: Lúcio Flávio de Almeida – André Kaysel – Angelica Lovatto – Muniz Gonçalves Ferreira

14:00: O PARTIDO COMUNISTA PORTUGUÊS E O ESTADO NOVO: Lincoln Secco – Eloísa Aragão – Maria Candelária Volponi Moraes – Ildefonso Garcia

14:00: O PARTIDO COMUNISTA NO URUGUAI: Nicolas Marrero – Debatedor: Frederico Bartz

17:30: DA TERCEIRA À QUARTA INTERNACIONAL: Eduardo Almeida – Daniel Gaido – Pedro Gava – André Ferrari – Ítalo de Aquino

17:30: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA E A QUESTÃO DO PARTIDO ÚNICO: Ângela Mendes de Almeida – Debatedora: Isabel Loureiro

17:30: WILLI MÜNZENBERG, A COMINTERN E A LIGA ANTI-IMPERIALSTA: Bernhard Bayerlein – Debatedora: Rosa Rosa Gomes

17:30: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA E A CRISE ECONÔMICA DE 1929: Artur Araújo – Sofia Manzano – Fernando Leitão – Luiz Eduardo Simões de Souza – Alessandro Moura – Ana Paula Salviatti

17:30: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA E A QUESTÃO JUDIA: Saul Kirschbaum – Debatedor: Nachman Falbel

19:30: TROTSKY E A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA: Jorge Altamira – Debatedor: Gilson Dantas

19:30: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA E A REVOLUÇÃO BRASILEIRA: Marly Viana – Luiz Bernardo Pericás – Carlos Fernando de Quadros – Murilo Leal Pereira

19:30: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA E A GUERRA CIVIL ESPANHOLA: Antonio Rago – Ana Lúcia Gomes Muniz – Fernando Camargo – Horacio Gutiérrez – Ramón Peña Castro

19:30: MARIGHELLA E A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA: Emiliano José – Takao Amano – Edson Teixeira – Milton Pinheiro – Yang B. Chung

19:30: A NOVA ESQUERDA E A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA: Juliano Medeiros – Jean Tible – Vinicius Moraes da Cunha

Friday, 18 October

9:00: MARIÁTEGUI: UM COMUNISMO INDOAMERICANO? John Kennedy Ferreira – Debatedor: Henrique Carneiro

9:00: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA E A SEGUNDA GUERRA MUNDIAL: José R. Mao Jr – Rodrigo Medina Zagni – André Ferrari – Diogo Fagundes – Roberio Paulino

9:00: DA FRENTE ÚNICA OPERÁRIA ÀS FRENTES POPULARES: Daniel Gaido – Antonio Carlos Mazzeo – Martin Hernández – Marcos Del Roio

9:00: A ESTRUTURA ORGANIZATIVA DA INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA: Edgardo Loguercio – Debatedor: Mauro Iasi

14:00: A INTERNACIONAL SINDICAL VERMELHA (PROFINTERN): Antonio Bertelli – Ricardo Antunes – Julio Turra – Ruy Braga

14:00: O KOMINFORM E A GUERRA FRIA: Henrique Canary – Rodrigo Medina Zagni – Aldo Sauda – Breno Altman

14:00: 1931: A PRIMEIRA PARTICIPAÇÃO COMUNISTA EM EVENTOS CIENTÍFICOS NO OCIDENTE: João Zanetic – Debatedor: Gildo Magalhães

14:00: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA E O FASCISMO: Regina Gadelha – Jorge Altamira – Maurício Parisi – Valério Arcary – Alessandro Moura

14:00: DO EUROCOMUNISMO AO NEOLIBERALISMO: Luiz Renato Martins – Milton Pinheiro – Luiz Motta – Mauro Iasi

17:30: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA NA ARGENTINA: Mariano Schlez – Debatedores: Fernando Sarti Ferreira – Eduardo de Souza Cunha

17:30: JOHN REED E A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA NOS EUA: Sean Purdy – Debatedores: Luiz Bernardo Pericás – Lucca Maldonado

17:30: A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA E O SOCORRO OPERÁRIO INTERNACIONAL: Bernhard Bayerlein – Debatedor: Nicolás Marrero

17:30: ROSA LUXEMBURGO E A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA: Isabel Loureiro – Rosa Rosa Gomes – Gilson Dantas – Diana Assunção

17:30: A INTERNACIONAL DA JUVENTUDE COMUNISTA: Dainis Karepovs – Debatedor: Fernando Garcia

19:30: INTERNACIONALISMO PROLETÁRIO HOJE: Valter Pomar – Jorge Altamira – Edmilson Costa – Plinio de Arruda Sampaio Jr – Virginia Fontes

19:30: OS ECONOMISTAS DA INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA: Apoena Cosenza – Luiz Eduardo Simões de Souza – José Menezes Gomes – Daniel Feldmann – Alberto Handfas

19:30: STALIN E A INTERNACIONAL COMUNISTA: Breno Altman – Gilson Dantas – Everaldo Andrade – Marcos Del Roio

19:30: COMUNISMO E CINEMA: Thyago Vilella – Marcela Fleury – Peterson Pessoa – Fernando Frias

## **SECTION VII: THE INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF COMMUNIST STUDIES. BOOKS ON COMMUNISM, ISSUE 2017/18**

Internationale Bibliographie der historischen Kommunismusforschung  
Bibliographie internationale des recherches historiques sur le communisme  
Bibliografía internacional de los estudios históricos sobre el comunismo  
Bibliografía internacional dos estudos históricos sobre o comunismo  
Интернациональная библиография по истории коммунизма

**Edited by Gleb J. Albert and Bernhard H. Bayerlein**

Further titles contributed by Jesper Jørgensen (Copenhagen), Jan Holger Kirsch (Potsdam), Manfred Mugrauer (Vienna), José Pacheco Pereira (Lisbon), Aleksandr Reznik (St. Petersburg), and Frank Wolff (Osnabrück)

### **Books on Communism, 2017–2018**

1367 books from 54 countries have been retrieved for the 2017–2018 issue of the International Bibliography, also including selected addenda from 2015–2016.

While compiling this bibliography, various web resources have been explored, such as numerous library online catalogues of most of the countries, mailing lists such as *H-HOAC*, *H-Russia*, and *kritische geschichte*, but also bibliographies such as the bibliography of Bulgarian communism at <http://red.cas.bg/> and the “New Books from Russia” section in *Revolutionary Russia* have been particularly helpful.

Correspondents and readers are hereby encouraged to contribute to the bibliography. We also look for more correspondents for the different countries and regions.

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- Wolfe, Audra J. *Freedom's Laboratory: The Cold War Struggle for the Soul of Science*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018. 302 pp.
- Wolff, David, Shinji Yokote, and Willard Sunderland, eds. *Russia's Great War and Revolution in the Far East: Re-Imagining the Northeast Asian Theater, 1914–22*. Russia's Great War and Revolution 4. Bloomington, IN: Slavica, 2018. 404 pp.
- Woloch, Alex. *Or Orwell: Writing and Democratic Socialism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016. 410 pp.
- Zeigler, James. *Red Scare Racism and Cold War Black Radicalism*. Race, Rhetoric, and Media Series. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2015. 229 pp.
- Zetkin, Klara. *Fighting Fascism. How to Struggle and How to Win*. Edited by Michael Taber and John Riddell. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2017. 144 pp.

Zlatkes, Gwido, Paweł Sowiński, and Ann M. Frenkel, eds. *Duplicator Underground: The Independent Publishing Industry in Communist Poland, 1976–89*. Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers, 2016. 511 pp.

### **Uruguay**

Bleier, Gerardo Lionel. *¡Hello, Lenin! Efectos de la revolución bolchevique cien años después*. Montevideo: Ediciones Cruz del Sur, 2017. 309 pp.

### **Venezuela**

Torres Iriarte, Alexánder. *Un sentido a nuestros destinos. La función utópica en Bolívar, Martí y Rodó*. Colección Stefania Mosca. Ensayo. Caracas: Fondo Editorial Fundarte : Alcaldía de Caracas : Gobierno del Distrito Capital, 2017. 167 pp.

## **SECTION VIII. PERIODICALS ON COMMUNIST STUDIES**

*Unfortunately, we had to cancel our annual article bibliography due to the immense workload it requires. Instead, we present you with a list of periodicals directly related to Communist studies, and a list of selected articles sent in by INCS readers and correspondents.*

### **Selected Journals on Communist History**

#### **American Communist History**

Country: United States

Language: English

Publishing institution: Historians of American Communism (HOAC)

Topics: US communism, anti-communism, Cold War and American labour, cultural left

Publishing cycle: 3 issues per year

Format: print & online (subscribers only)

Website: <http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rach20/current>

#### **Arbeit – Bewegung – Geschichte**

Country: Germany

Language: German

Topics: German and international labour movement history; regular contributions on German and international communism and GDR history

Publishing cycle: 4 issues per year

Format: print; selected articles available online

Website: <http://www.arbeiterbewegung-jahrbuch.de/>

#### **Arbeiderhistorie. Årbok for Arbeiderbevegelsens Arkiv og Bibliotek**

Country: Norway

Language: Norwegian

Publishing institution: Norwegian Labour Movement Archives and Library (Arbeiderbevegelsens arkiv og bibliotek)

Topics: Labour movement history; regular features on Scandinavian communism

Publishing cycle: annually

Format: print

Website: <http://www.arbark.no/Arbeiderhistorie.htm>

**Arbejderhistorie. Tidsskrift for historie, kultur og politik**

Country: Denmark

Language: Danish

Publishing institution: Society for Labour History (Selskabet for Arbejderhistorie)

Topics: Labour movement history; regular features on Scandinavian communism

Publishing cycle: 3 issues per year

Format: print

Website: <http://sfah.dk/aktiviteter/tidskriftetarbejderhistorie/>

**Arbetarhistoria**

Country: Sweden

Language: Swedish

Publishing institution: Swedish Labour Movement's Archives and Library (Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek)

Topics: Labour movement history; regular features on Scandinavian communism

Publishing cycle: 4 issues per year

Format: print

Website: <http://www.arbetarhistoria.se/lista/>

**Archiv für die Geschichte des Widerstands und der Arbeit**

Country: Germany

Language: German

Topics: History of anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism and communism; labour history

Publishing cycle: irregularly

Format: print

Website: <http://www.hsozkult.de/journals/id/zeitschriften-8>

**Archivos de historia del movimiento obrero y la izquierda**

Country: Argentina

Language: Spanish

Publishing institution: Centro de Estudios Históricos de los Trabajadores y las Izquierdas (CEHTI)

Topics: Latin American labour movement history; regular features on the history of communism and particularly Trotskyist currents

Publishing cycle: biannually

Format: print

Website: <http://www.archivosrevista.com.ar.ca1.toservers.com/contenido/>

**Beiträge zur Marx-Engels-Forschung**

Country: Germany

Language: German

Publishing institution: Berliner Verein zur Förderung der MEGA-Edition e.V.

Topics: History of Marxism; regular contributions on interpretations of Marxism in communist regimes

Publishing cycle: annually/biannually

Format: print

Website: <http://marxforschung.de/464-2/>

**Cahiers d'histoire du mouvement ouvrier**

Country: Switzerland

Language: French

Publishing institution: L'Association pour l'étude de l'histoire du mouvement ouvrier (AÉHMO)

Topics: Swiss labour movement history

Publishing cycle: annually

Format: print

Website: <http://aehmo.org/cahiers-histoire/>

**Les Cahiers du CERMTRI**

Country: France

Language: French

Publishing institution: Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Mouvements Trotskyste et Révolutionnaires Internationaux

Topics: History of the international socialist movement with particular focus on Trotskyism

Publishing cycle: irregularly

Format: print

Website: <http://www.trotsky.com.fr/>

**Cahiers du Mouvement Ouvrier**

Country: France

Language: French

Publishing institution: Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Mouvements Trotskyste et Révolutionnaires Internationaux

Topics: Documentary history of communism; Left currents; Trotskyism

Format: Print

Website: <http://www.trotsky.com.fr/>

**Cahiers Jaurès**

Country: France

Language: French

Publishing institution: Société d'études jaurésiennes

Topics: History of French socialism and communism

Publishing cycle: 3 issues per year

Format: print, online (subscribers only)

Website: <http://www.cahiers.jaures.info>

**Communisme**

Country: France

Language: French

Topics: History of communism

Publishing cycle: biannually

Format: print

Website: none

### **Dissidences**

Country: France

Language: French

Topics: History of the French and international labour movement, regular features on communism

Publishing cycle: biannually

Format: online (open access)

Website: <https://revuesshs.u-bourgogne.fr/dissidences/>

### **Exilforschung. Ein internationales Jahrbuch**

Country: Germany

Language: German

Publishing institution: Gesellschaft für Exilforschung

Topics: History of political and cultural exile, regular feature on left culture and its protagonists

Publishing cycle: annually

Format: print

Website: <https://www.etk-muenchen.de/search/SeriesDetails.aspx?SeriesID=RM708#.WWFq4FFpzAV>

### **FORUM für osteuropäische Ideen- und Zeitgeschichte**

Country: Germany

Language: German

Publishing institution: Zentralinstitut für Mittel- und Osteuropastudien (ZIMOS), Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt

Topics: East European history of ideas, regular features on Soviet history

Publishing cycle: biannually

Format: print

Website: <http://www.ibidemverlag.de/Reihen-Schriftenreihen-Institutsreihen/FORUM-fuer-osteuropaeische-Ideen-und-Zeitgeschichte/>

### **Historical Materialism**

Country: United Kingdom

Language: English

Topics: History and theory of Marxism, regular features on the communist movement and its theoretical debates

Publishing cycle: 4 issues per year

Format: print, online (subscribers only)

Website: <http://www.historicalmaterialism.org/journal>

### **History of Communism in Europe**

Country: Romania

Language: English

Publishing institution: Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes and the Memory of the Romanian Exile

Topics: History of communist regimes and societies

Publishing cycle: annually

Format: print, online (subscribers only)



Website: <http://www.zetabooks.com/journals/history-of-communism-in-europe.html>

### **Istoricheskii arkhiv**

Country: Russia

Language: Russian

Publishing institution: Russian State Archive of Social and Political History

Topics: Publication of sources on Russian and Soviet history

Publishing cycle: 6 issues per year

Format: print

Website: <http://www.rosspen.su/ru/archive/istarch/>

### **Izquierdas**

Country: Chile

Language: Spanish

Publishing institution: Instituto de Estudios Avanzados de la Universidad de Santiago de Chile

Topics: History of labour and socialist movements, regular features on Latin American communism

Publishing cycle: 4 to 6 issues per year

Format: online (open access)

Website: <http://www.izquierdas.cl/>

### **Jahrbuch für Historische Kommunismusforschung**

Country: Germany

Language: German

Publishing institution: Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur

Topics: History of communist regimes, societies and movements; communist culture; politics of memory

Publishing cycle: annual

Format: print (open-access retrodigitalisation, moving wall of two years)

Website: <https://www.bundesstiftung-aufarbeitung.de/jhk-2017-6167.html>

<https://kommunismusgeschichte.de/jhk/> (retro-digitised issues)

### **Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas**

Country: Germany

Language: German

Publishing institution: Leibniz-Institut für Ost- und Südosteuropaforschung Regensburg

Topics: Eastern European history, regular features on Soviet history

Publishing cycle: 4 issues per year

Format: print

Website: <http://www.ios-regensburg.de/ios-publikationen/zeitschriften/jahrbuecher-fuer-geschichte-osteuropas.html>

### **Journal of Cold War Studies**

Country: United States

Language: English

Publishing institution: Davis Center for Russian Studies

Topics: Cold War history

Publishing cycle: 4 issues per year  
Format: print, online (subscribers only)  
Website: <http://muse.jhu.edu/journal/43>

### **Kritika. Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History**

Country: United States  
Language: English  
Publishing institution: Georgetown University  
Topics: Russian and Soviet history  
Publishing cycle: 4 issues per year  
Format: print, online (subscribers only)  
Website: <https://slavica.indiana.edu/journalListings/kritika>

### **Moving the Social**

Country: Germany  
Language: English, German  
Publishing institution: Institute for Social Movements, Ruhr University Bochum  
Topics: History of labour and social movements  
Publishing cycle: biannually  
Format: print, online (subscribers only)  
Website: <http://moving-the-social.ub.rub.de>

### **Otechestvennye arkhivy**

Country: Russia  
Language: Russian  
Publishing institution: Russian Federal Archives Agency  
Topics: Publication of sources on Russian and Soviet history  
Publishing cycle: 6 issues per year  
Format: print  
Website: <http://www.rusarchives.ru/izdaniya-i-publikacii/otraslevye-smi/zhurnal-otchestvennye-arhivy/o-zhurnale>

### **Políticas de la Memoria**

Country: Argentina  
Language: Spanish  
Publishing institution: Centro de Documentación e Investigación de la Cultura de Izquierdas en Argentina (CeDInCI)  
Topics: Labour movement history; anarchism and communism; politics of memory  
Publishing cycle: annually  
Format: print, online (open access)  
Website: [http://www.cedinci.org/publicaciones\\_politicas\\_memoria.asp](http://www.cedinci.org/publicaciones_politicas_memoria.asp)

### **Revolutionary History**

Country: United Kingdom  
Language: English  
Topics: History of the inter-war communist movement, with a particular focus on Trotskyism  
Publishing cycle: biannually  
Format: print, online (open access)

Website: <http://www.revolutionaryhistory.co.uk>

### **Revolutionary Russia**

Country: United Kingdom

Language: English

Publishing institution: Study Group on the Russian Revolution

Topics: Russian and Soviet history between the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the 1930s

Publishing cycle: biannually

Format: print, online (subscribers only)

Website: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/frvr20>

### **Russian History**

Country: United States

Language: English

Topics: Russian and Soviet history

Publishing cycle: 3 to 4 issues per year

Format: print, online (subscribers only)

Website: <http://www.brill.com/russian-history>

### **The Russian Review**

Country: United States

Language: English

Publishing institution: The Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies,  
University of Kansas

Topics: Russian and Soviet history and culture

Publishing cycle: 4 issues per year

Format: print, online (subscribers only)

Website: <http://www.russianreview.org/>

### **Slavic Review**

Country: United States

Language: English

Publishing institution: Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies  
(ASEEES)

Topics: East European, Russian and Soviet history and culture

Publishing cycle: 4 issues per year

Format: print, online (subscribers only)

Website: <http://www.slavicreview.illinois.edu/>

### **Socialist History**

Country: United Kingdom

Language: English

Publishing institution: Socialist History Society

Topics: History of socialist and communist movements

Publishing cycle: biannually

Format: print

Website: <https://www.lwbooks.co.uk/socialist-history>

**Sozial.Geschichte Online**

Country: Germany

Language: German

Publishing institution: Verein für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts e.V.

Topics: Labour and social history, regular features on communist history

Publishing cycle: biannually

Format: online (open access)

Website: <http://duepublico.uni-duisburg-essen.de/go/sozial.geschichte-online/index.xml>

**Twentieth Century Communism**

Country: United Kingdom

Language: English

Topics: History of communist regimes and movements

Publishing cycle: between 1 and 3 issues per year

Format: print & online (subscribers only)

Website: <https://www.lwbooks.co.uk/twentieth-century-communism> (print)

<http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/lwish/tcc> (online)

**Workers of the World. International Journal on Strikes and Social Conflicts**

Country: Portugal / The Netherlands

Language: English

Publishing institution: International Association Strikes and Social Conflicts

Topics: Labour and labour movement history

Publishing cycle: biannually

Format: online (open access)

Website: <https://workersoftheworldjournal.wordpress.com/>

**Zeithistorische Forschungen / Studies in Contemporary History**

Country: Germany

Language: German, English

Publishing institution: Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschungen Potsdam

Topics: 20<sup>th</sup> century history, with a recurring focus on the history of the GDR and state socialism

Publishing cycle: 3 issues per year

Format: print & online (open access)

Website: <https://zeithistorische-forschungen.de>

## Selected articles sent in and published by Newsletter correspondents and readers in journals and edited volumes, 2017–2018

*This list is composed of information on 1) articles and book chapters sent to us by readers and correspondents, 2) publications by our correspondents and editors, and 3) interesting articles published in journals not listed above and found by us in the process of compiling this issue. This list is by no means complete, but highlights some interesting contributions that otherwise might pass unnoticed.*

*As an addendum, a bibliography of new publications on the history of the Communist Party of Austria, compiled by Manfred Mugrauer, is included.*

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- Albert, Gleb J. ‘The USSR Section of the International Red Aid (MOPR): The Institutionalisation of International Solidarity in Interwar Soviet Society’. In *International Communism and Transnational Solidarity: Radical Networks, Mass Movements and Global Politics, 1919–1939*, edited by Holger Weiss, 89–129. Leiden e.a.: Brill, 2017.
- Alonso, Isabel Huacuja. ‘M.N. Roy and the Mexican Revolution: How a Militant Indian Nationalist Became an International Communist’. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 40, no. 3 (2017): 517–30. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00856401.2017.1323433>.
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- the Soviet Union'. In *Weimar Communism as Mass Movement 1918–1933*, edited by Ralf Hoffrogge and Norman LaPorte, 260–80. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2017.
- Bayerlein, Bernhard H. 'Willi Münzenberg's 'Last Empire'. "Die Zukunft" and the "Franco-German Union", Paris, 1938–1940. New Visions of Anti-Fascism and the Transnational Networks of the Anti-Hitler Resistance'. *Moving the Social* 58 (2017): 51–89.
- Bayerlein, Bernhard H., Kasper Braskén, and Holger Weiss. 'Transnational and Global Perspectives on International Communist Solidarity Organisations'. In *International Communism and Transnational Solidarity: Radical Networks, Mass Movements and Global Politics, 1919–1939*, edited by Holger Weiss, 1–27. Leiden e.a.: Brill, 2017.
- Belogurova, Anna. 'Networks, Parties, and the "Oppressed Nations": The Comintern and Chinese Communists Overseas, 1926–1935'. *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 6, no. 2 (2017): 558–82. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ach.2017.0019>.
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- Bertram, Łukasz. 'Widows of the Revolution. Women in Polish Political Elite 1949–1956'. *History of Communism in Europe*, no. 8 (2017): 121–46.
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## **Publications on the History of the Communist Party of Austria, 2017–2018**

**Manfred Mugrauer**  
*Alfred-Klahr-Stiftung*  
Vienna, Austria

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## **SECTION IX: COMMUNISM IN CULTURE, ART AND MEDIA**

### **Dziga Vertov's "Anniversary of the Revolution" Rediscovered**

For a long time, only a 12-minute fragment of Dziga Vertov's 1918 film have been known. In 2018, however, the full film was rediscovered by Russian film scholars Svetlana Ishevskaja and Nikolai Izvolov in the Russian State Documentary Film and Photo Archive at Krasnogorsk near Moscow. The silent film, shot between 1917 and 1918 and encompassing 119 minutes of footage, is not only a treasure trove for the history of the Russian Revolution, but also a milestone in the history of documentary film. The restored full film premiered at the International Documentary Film Festival Amsterdam (IDFA) in November 2018. A trailer can be seen at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FC\\_eP1Ck87g](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FC_eP1Ck87g), and more information is available at <https://www.idfa.nl/en/article/100658/dziga-vertovs-the-anniversary-of-the-revolution-to-premiere-at-idfa-2018>.

### **Comintern Centenary Exhibition in Moscow: Virtual Tour**

In June 2019, the exhibition "Comintern: Drama of Ideas and People's Faiths" was opened at the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI), in cooperation with the Federal Archives Agency, the Russian Historical Society, the State Central Museum of Modern Russian History, and the "History of the Motherland" foundation. It marks the 100th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist International in 1919, and features numerous exhibits from the Comintern Archives held by RGASPI. Photos from the exhibition can be viewed at <https://historyrussia.org/sobytiya/foto/26-iyunya-2019-goda-otkrylas-vystavka-k-100-letiyu-kominterna.html>. Moreover, there is a virtual tour through the exhibition available at <http://dana13.nichost.ru/Komintern/Eng/index.html>, where the Internet user can walk through the exhibition and observe it from a 360° perspective.

### **"Tarrafal Never Again": Exhibition in Portugal**

From 18 October 2018 to 31 March 2019, the Museu do Aljube – Resistência e Liberdade (Lisbon) showed the exhibition "Tarrafal Never Again", dedicated to the history and legacy of the Tarrafal penal colony on Cape Verde. From 1936 to 1974, the Salazar regime maintained a maximum security prison camp on the island, informally known as "Campo da Morte Lenta" ("camp of the slow death"). It housed opponents of the regime, including labour movement activists, communists, and anti-colonial fighters. More information on the exhibition can be found at <https://www.museudoaljube.pt/en/2018/10/18/tarrafal-never-again/>.

### **Soviet Yiddish Music from World War II Rediscovered**

Already in 1944/45, Soviet Jewish ethnographers and musicologists Moisei Beregovskii (1892–1961) and Ruvim Lerner (1912–1972) undertook an extensive expedition to collect Yiddish war songs that circulated among Jewish soldiers and the population. They planned to publish an anthology after the war, yet Stalin’s anti-semitic campaign against “rootless cosmopolitans” got in the way of this undertaking: Both scholars were arrested, their working materials were confiscated and were considered lost – until, in the 1990s, they were recovered in the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine. Historian Anna Shternshis from the University of Toronto and Moscow-based chansonnier Psoy Korolenko, together with a group of well-known singers and jazz musicians, recovered and recorded 17 of these moving songs into an album. Released in February 2018 on the Canadian world music record label Sox Degree Records, this unusual product of the Archival Revolution won several awards and was nominated for a Grammy. More information, along with audio examples, can be found at <https://www.sixdegreesrecords.com/yiddishglory/> and [http://danrosenberg.net/press\\_yiddish\\_gloriy](http://danrosenberg.net/press_yiddish_gloriy). A review by INCS editor Gleb J. Albert in the Swiss weekly newspaper WOZ can be read at <https://www.woz.ch/-942f>.

### **Dark Comedy on the Death of Stalin**

Directed by Scottish director Armando Iannucci (“The Thick Of It”), “The Death of Stalin” is a dark comedy based on the events around the death of Stalin in March 1953. Starring, among others, Monty Python’s Michael Palin as Molotov and Steve Buscemi as Khrushchev, the film was released in 2017. It portrays the surreal atmosphere of mistrust and paranoia in Stalinism’s leading circle, depicts the rise and fall of Beria in the direct aftermath of the dictator’s demise, and Khrushchev’s clever maneuvering amidst the critical situation. While the film had a successful run worldwide, its possible success in Russia was halted from above: After a closed screening with Duma deputies, the Ministry of Culture withdrew its distribution certificate. Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan followed suit. The trailer of the movie can be seen at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ukJ5dMYx2no>.

## **SECTION X: DISCUSSIONS, DEBATES, HISTORICAL CONTROVERSIES**

### **European Parliament Adopts Resolution Condemning Communism**

On the 80th anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin-Pact, the European Parliament adopted a controversial resolution on the initiative of the conservative European People's Party alliance. The resolution "On the Importance of European Remembrance for the Future of Europe" deals with the dangers of historical revisionism in general, condemning the rise of xenophobic and racist parties and movements as well as the glorification of Nazi collaborators in several European countries and the tendencies of Stalinist revisionism in contemporary Russia. At the same time, however, in the vein of totalitarianism theory, it systematically equals in several paragraphs Nazism and communism as such, without explicitly highlighting the crimes of Stalinism, as criticized by several European political forces such as the DiEM25 party. The text of the resolution can be consulted at [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2019-0021\\_EN.html](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2019-0021_EN.html).

### **"Trotsky": Controversial Russian TV Series**

In 2017, the Russian state TV channel "Pervyi Kanal" released an 8-episode series dedicated to Lev Trotsky, one of the leaders of the October Revolution and most vocal critic of Stalinism. Directed by Aleksandr Kott, and featuring Russian star actor Konstantin Khabenskii playing the title role, the series enhances the basic outline of Trotsky's life with numerous fictitious plotlines and portrays Trotsky not only as a highly dislikeable character driven by megalomania, but also, in a fashion reminiscent of antisemitic propaganda of the White forces in the Russian Civil War, as an "alien element" – being not only on the payroll of foreign powers, but also, as a "cosmopolitan" Jew, having no organic connection to Russian life. As historian and INCS correspondent Aleksandr Reznik told *The Independent*, this particular aspect answers a political demand by the Russian regime to denounce any prominent protest figure as being on a foreign payroll and serving shady interests: "[T]he message for young Russians is obvious: your Navalny might be charismatic and speak well but, like Trotsky, he is destructive, savage, unpatriotic and probably working for foreign governments." (See the *Independent* coverage here: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/russian-revolution-centenary-leon-trotsky-biopic-channel-one-ussr-bolshevik-marxist-joseph-stalin-a8002636.html>). After having been shown on Pervyi Kanal, the series was purchased and aired by the Netflix streaming service. The series caused worldwide indignation and protest letters, most prominently one co-initiated by Trotsky's grandson Esteban Volkov, and signed, among others, by Slavoj Žižek, Fredric Jameson, Srecko

Horvat, Helmut Dahmer, and numerous other distinguished academics and political activists. It can be consulted at <http://www.ceip.org.ar/Netflix-and-the-Russian-Government-Join-Forces-to-Spread-Lies-About-Trotsky>. A historical and political critique of the series by Benjamin Stephens has been published by Jacobin magazine: <https://jacobinmag.com/2019/03/trotsky-miniseries-soviet-union-antisemitism>.

### **Controversy Around Victor Arnautoff's Murals**

“Life of Washington” is a series of 13 fresco murals painted at the George Washington High School by Victor Arnautoff, US communist painter and collaborator of Diego Rivera. It depicts the life of the nation’s founding father without whitewashing its critical aspects – including Washington stepping over the corpse of a Nativ American and being depicted with his slaves. Nevertheless, in June 2019, the San Francisco Unified School District voted for painting over the murals, citing student discomfort over the violence depicted in the murals. Proponents of the murals’ destruction even denounce them as bearing racist depictions. Opponents of the decision, on the other hand, point out the progressive intention and subversive nature of Arnautoff’s take on Washington’s life. The dispute is still ongoing. A summary of the debate, written from a point of view sympathetic to the murals, was published in September 2019 by the *New York Review of Books*: <https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2019/09/16/the-problem-with-canceling-the-arnautoff-murals/>.

## SECTION XI: IN MEMORIAM

### **Anatolii Avrus (1930–2017)**

On 5 July 2017, the Russian historian Anatolii Avrus passed away. Avrus, who wrote his doctoral dissertation on the International Red Aid (published as a monograph in 1976), taught at Saratov State University. After the fall of the Soviet Union, he published numerous articles on non-Bolshevik currents in the Russian revolution, particularly the Socialist Revolutionaries and their leader Viktor Chernov. Avrus published an autobiographical article in his university's journal in 2013, one year before his retirement (in Russian, <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/v/pochemu-i-kak-ya-stal-istorikom>). An obituary can be found at <http://www.vzsar.ru/news/2017/07/07/yshel-iz-jizni-saratovskii-istorik-anatolii-avrus.html> (in Russian).

### **Samuel H. Baron (1921–2017)**

On 16 August 2017, the U.S. historian Samuel H. Baron passed away at the age of 96. A WW2 veteran and one of the first PhD graduates of the Russian Institute at Columbia University in 1948, he is most known for his seminal biography „Plekhanov: The Father of Russian Marxism“ (1965) which was translated in numerous languages including Japanese and Russian. For 22 years, he taught at the University of North Carolina. Apart from groundbreaking research on Early Modern Russia, Baron most recently published a monograph on the Novocherkassk 1962 massacre (*Bloody Sunday in the Soviet Union*, Stanford University Press 2001). A bibliography of his publications up to 1989 can be found at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/130565>. An obituary is available at <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/community/chapel-hill-news/chn-obituaries/article172381537.html>.

### **Bernd Bonwetsch (1940–2017)**

The German historian and Slavic scholar Bernd Bonwetsch passed away on 13 October 2017. After studying in Berlin, Stanford and Hamburg, he became assistant researcher at the University of Tübingen in 1973. From 1980 to 2003 he was Full Professor of Eastern European History at the Ruhr University Bochum, before being appointed Founding Director of the German Historical Institute in Moscow. His research and publications focused on the history of Soviet Union during the Second World War and the Stalinist terror. Together with Rolf Binner and Marc Junge, he published *Massenmord und Lagerhaft: Die andere Geschichte des Großen Terrors* (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2009) and – as the result of a large-scale research project – *Stalinismus in der sowjetischen Provinz, 1937–1938. Die*

*Massenaktion aufgrund des operativen Befehls No 00447* (Berlin, Akademie, 2010). A short obituary by the German Historical Institute in Moscow can be found at <https://www.facebook.com/DHI.Moskau/photos/a.384795114874015/1639064389447075/>.

### **Carter Elwood (1934–2018)**

The Canadian historian Carter Elwood passed away on 22 September 2018. Elwood was known for his social history of Russian Social Democracy in the aftermath of the 1905 revolution (*Russian Social Democracy in the Underground: A Study of the RSDRP in the Ukraine, 1907–1914*, Assen 1974), as well as for his biographies of Roman Malinovsky and Inessa Armand, and his writings on everyday aspects of Lenin's life in exile, the latter culminating in the essay volume *The Non-Geometrical Lenin* (London 2011). A detailed obituary and appraisal of Elwood's work by Lars T. Lih can be found in the 2018/3 issue of *Revolutionary Russia*, available as an open access publication at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09546545.2018.1543380>.

### **Maria Ferretti (1958–2018)**

Born in Italy into a family of doctors, Maria Ferretti became a historian in the 1970s. As a journalist and correspondent for several newspapers, she experienced the Perestroika phase in Moscow and the subsequent social downturn. She was a professor at the Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow, and supported the activities of the Memorial foundation. She wrote her doctoral thesis under the supervision of Jutta Scherrer at the EHESS in Paris on the topic of the International Movement of Worker-Correspondents. Her research focused on collective memory and the history of collective traumata following Stalinism. She left behind an unfinished history of the GULAG. See: Maria Ferretti: La memoria mutilata. *La Russia ricorda*, Milano, Corbaccio, 1993; La mémoire refoulée. In: *Annales*, Paris (1995), no. 5–6, pp. 1237–1257. For an obituary, see: Alexis Berelowitch: Maria Ferretti (1958–2018). In: *Cahiers du monde russe*, 59/2–3, 2018, pp. 400–402.

### **Hans Hautmann (1941–2018)**

Am 3. Juli 2018 starb der österreichische Historiker und ehemalige Präsident der Alfred Klahr Gesellschaft, Hans Hautmann. Hautmann, der seine wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit 1966 als ehrenamtlicher Mitarbeiter des frisch gegründeten Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstands begonnen hatte, wurde 1968 mit einer Dissertation zur Frühgeschichte der KP Österreichs promoviert. Er war Sekretär der Historischen Kommission der KPÖ und arbeitete an der offiziellen Parteigeschichte von 1977 mit. Er lehrte und forschte an der Universität Linz (ab 1987 als Außerordentlicher Universitätsprofessor) und publizierte diverse Werke zur Geschichte der österreichischen Arbeiter- und Rätebewegung, zur Geschichte des Marxismus und der kommunistischen Bewegung. Ein Nachruf der Alfred Klahr Stiftung ist unter [http://www.klahrgesellschaft.at/Hautmann\\_Nachruf.html](http://www.klahrgesellschaft.at/Hautmann_Nachruf.html) abrufbar.

**Narihiko Ito (1931–2017)**

On 29 November 2017 at the age of 86 Professor Narihiko Ito, the Japanese Rosa Luxemburg and peace researcher, passed away. Narihiko Ito was born in 1931 in the old imperial capital of Kamakura which was his residence most of his life time. Till his retirement as Emeritus Professor in 2002, he taught as a distinguished professor in the faculty of Social Sciences at the Chuô University in Tokyo. [...] Among the researchers he obtained international reputation particularly through his sustained activities over three and half decades as the chairman of the International Rosa Luxemburg Society, which was founded in Zürich in 1980 on his initiative. [...] In the years of the “Cold War” his special concern was to see to it that Rosa Luxemburg researchers from the East and the West could meet and come to an understanding. [...] The list of his publications in Japanese, German and English is long. To name, for example: in Japanese: “Light towards Overcoming of Darkness – For Relations Between Japan and Korea in the 21st Century” (2000); “A History of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution” (2001, Korean translation 2005, German translation 2006); “Peace and Justice in Palestine !” (2002); in German: ‘Rosa Luxemburg “I embrace you, I so much long for you ”. Letters from Prison 1915–1918’ (Bonn 1980, 1984, 1996); “Japan and peaceful reunification of Korea” (Osnabrück, 2002); “The Peace Article of the Japanese Constitution – for a World without War and Militarism” (Münster 2006); with Annelies Laschitza & Ottokar Luban (eds.): “Rosa Luxemburg. Economic and historic-political aspects of her Work” (Berlin 2010); German/English: “Guide to the Thought of Rosa Luxemburg” (Tokyo 2007). In 2011 he was conferred the “Literati Network Award for Excellence 2011” for his essay “Is the national question an aporia for humanity? How to read Rosa Luxemburg’s ‘The national question and autonomy’”, in: *Research in Political Economy*, 2011/vol. 26. [...] Professor Narihiko Ito has contributed as a prominent motive builder that Rosa Luxemburg’s ideas have not only stayed alive but the circulation of her ideas is being experienced internationally too very widely. His colleagues and friends all over the world will keep his legacy and continue his work.

*(abridged version of the obituary written by Ottokar Luban and György Széll of the International Rosa Luxemburg Society, <http://www.internationale-rosa-luxemburg-gesellschaft.de/html/english.html>, republished with permission)*

**Annelies Laschitza (1934–2018)**

As Jörn Schütrumpf wrote in an obituary, Annelies Laschitza "after Günter Radczun (Berlin, 1978), Gilbert Badia (Paris, 2004), Feliks Tych (Warsaw, 2015), Jakov Drabkin (Moscow, 2015), Narihito Ito (Tokyo, 2017) (...) is now the last great Rosa Luxemburg researcher to leave us. They have all uncovered access to a cosmos in which we are constantly encountering new stars: Leo Jogiches, Paul Levi, Ines Wetzel, the genuine Clara Zetkin, Hugo Simon, Alexander Stein, Valeriu Marcu, Fritz Sternberg." Together with Günter Radczun, Annelies Laschitza was the leading editor of the *Collected Works* and the *Collected Letters of Rosa Luxemburg*, which have been published in seven, respectively six volumes since the seventies. She also published *Rosa Luxemburg. Im Lebensrausch, trotz alledem* (Berlin, Aufbau, 2000), and, finally, *Sich treu bleiben und heiter sein ... Erfahrungen und Entdeckungen durch Rosa Luxemburg in mehr als 50 Jahren* (Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen e. V. Leipzig, 2018); *Karl Liebknecht. Advokat und Parlamentarier mit Charisma*, *ibid.* (Rosa-Luxemburg-Forschungsberichte, 14 and 15).

See <https://www.rosalux.de/news/id/39749/>.



### **André Mommen (1945–2017)**

The Belgian economic historian and Marxist intellectual André Mommen passed away on 12 May 2017. He worked on Belgian labour history, the economics of the post-1991 transition period in Russia, and on the Hungarian-Soviet economist Jenö (Eugen) Varga. On the latter, he published the monograph *Eens komt de grote crisis van het kapitalisme. Leven en werk van Jenö Varga* (Brussels 2002), which is available for download at <http://www.dacob.be/popupmommenvarga.html>. A detailed obituary (in Dutch) can be found at <https://lavamedia.be/in-memoriam-andre-mommen/>.

### **Aleksandra Novozhenova (1982–2019)**

On 31 January 2019, the Russian art historian Aleksandra “Sasha” Novozhenova passed away in Chicago, where she worked on her PhD thesis at Northwestern University. Novozhenova, a graduate of Moscow State University, was a well-known critic and theoretician in the Russian art world, and did research on early Soviet art. Her monograph *Episodes of Modernism: From Origins to Crisis* (Moscow 2018), written in co-authorship with Gleb Napreenko, was short-listed for the prestigious Russian „Innovatsiia-2019“ prize. An obituary by the Russian Socialist Movement can be found at <http://anticapitalist.ru/2019/01/31/%d1%81%d0%b0%d1%88%d0%b0-%d0%bd%d0%be%d0%b2%d0%be%d0%b6%d0%b5%d0%bd%d0%be%d0%b2%d0%b0-1982-2019/> (in Russian), a news item in the *Chicago Sun Times* is available at <https://chicago.suntimes.com/entertainment/northwestern-university-phd-student-soviet-art-found-dead-alexandra-sasha-novozhenova-rogers-park/>.

### **Bill Pelz (1951–2017)**

On 10 December 2017, the prolific U.S. labour historian Bill Pelz passed away. Pelz, a veteran social activist and historian, published widely on the history of the European Left and the German Revolution. He published monographs on Karl Marx, Wilhelm Liebknecht, and the Spartakusbund, and served on the editorial board of the Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg. His „A People’s History of the German Revolution“ was published posthumously by Pluto Press. An obituary by his publisher can be found at <https://www.plutobooks.com/blog/bill-pelz-obituary-pluto/>.

### **Arsenii Roginskii (1946–2017)**

The Russian historian and human rights activist Arsenii Roginskii passed away on 18 December 2017. A graduate of the University of Tartu, during the Soviet period Roginskii worked as a bibliographer in Leningrad and published on 20th century Russian history in samizdat periodicals. Sentenced to four years of imprisonment for political reasons in 1981, he was freed in 1985 and became one of the founders of the „Memorial“ foundation, of which he became chairman. Under his leadership, „Memorial“ undertook massive efforts for the commemoration of the victims of Stalinist crimes in Russia. Obituaries from „Memorial“ and

Radio Free Europe can be found at <https://www.memo.ru/en-us/memorial/departments/intermemorial/news/101> and <https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-rojinsky-memorial-dies-71-stalin-crimes-rights/28925015.html>.

### **Alfred Erich Senn (1932–2016)**

On 8 March 2016, U.S. historian Alfred Erich Senn passed away. From 1961 until his retirement, he taught at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Born in the USA to Lithuanian and Swiss parents, Senn was a specialist in Lithuanian history and published numerous works on Lithuania in the 20th century. His second research focus were Soviet-Swiss relations, and he published monographs on the assassination of Vatslav Vorovsky in Lausanne (*Assassination in Switzerland: The Murder of Vatslav Vorovsky*, Madison 1981), on the Soviet Mission in Switzerland in 1918 (Notre Dame 1974), and the Russian revolutionary emigration in Switzerland during World War 1 (*The Russian Revolution in Switzerland 1914–1917*, Madison 1971). An obituary can be found at [https://madison.com/news/local/obituaries/senn-professor-emeritus-alfred-erich/article\\_d61596cd-7097-5581-b2ce-9770cec2b736.html](https://madison.com/news/local/obituaries/senn-professor-emeritus-alfred-erich/article_d61596cd-7097-5581-b2ce-9770cec2b736.html).

### **Claudie Weill (1945–2018)**

The French historian Claudie Weill specialised in the history of socialism, the Second International and Rosa Luxemburg. She began her career as an assistant of Georges Haupt in Paris at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales. In 1971, she took the initiative to translate into French Rosa Luxemburg's late political writings (*Oeuvres II. Oeuvres politiques 1917–18*, Editions Maspéro). With Georges Haupt and Michel Löwy, she published *Les marxistes et la question nationale, 1848–1914* (Paris, Maspéro, 1974 and Editions L'Harmattan 1997). Weill continued to work with Haupt who died in 1978. She was a co-founder, since 1980, of the International Rosa Luxemburg Association. With the help of Bruno Drweski, she published Rosa Luxemburg's fundamental and intransigent critique of the „national question“ in the process of history, written in Polish in 1908–1909 (*La question nationale et l'autonomie*, Paris, Le Temps des Cerises, 2001). In 2008, she published a series of essays in *Rosa Luxemburg. Ombre et lumière* (Paris, Le Temps des Cérises), which shed some new light on Rosa Luxemburg and her role in the international labour movement. For an obituary, see: Michael Löwy: Claudie Weill. Farewell to a Friend and Scholar, <http://www.internationale-rosa-luxemburg-gesellschaft.de/html/english.html>

### **Larissa Zakharova (1977–2019)**

Russian-French historian Larissa Zakharova passed away on 2 March 2019. Born in Leningrad, she conducted her PhD research at the EHESS in Paris, where she defended her dissertation on the history of Soviet fashion in the 1960s and 1970s, published as a monograph in 2011 (*S'habiller à la soviétique. La mode et le dégel en URSS*, Paris, CNRS Editions). In 2015, she became deputy director of the Centre for Russian, Caucasian and Central European Studies (CERCEC). From 2017 on, she was working at the Centre Franco-Russe in Moscow, where she worked on the history of communication in the USSR. An

obituary by the CERCEC can be found at <https://www.cercec.fr/en/actualite/larissa-zakharova-passed-away/>.

### **Jürgen Zarusky (1958–2019)**

Jürgen Zarusky was a historian of social democracy and communism in the interwar period, of Russian and Soviet history, and of German-Russian relations. He began his career as a teacher and journalist and completed his doctorate in 1990 on "The German Social Democrats and the Soviet Model, 1917–1933", supervised by Gerhard A. Ritter at Munich's Ludwig Maximilian University (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1992). Most recently, he was editor-in-chief of the journal *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* and a member of the German-Russian Historical Commission. He was also involved in commemorating the victims of the Nazi regime. For an obituary, see <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/muenchen/nachruf-trauer-um-juergen-zarusky-1.4356050>.

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