

V.2 Presentations and Announcements.

Vadim V. Damier: Anarcho-Syndicalism in the 20th Century. Translated from Russian by Malcolm Archibald, Edmonton, Black Cat Press, 2009. VI, 233 p. ISBN 978-0-9737827-6-9.

From the preface:

Anarcho-syndicalism is a fundamental tendency in the global workers' movement. It is made up of revolutionary unions of workers ("syndicat" in French means "trade union"), acting to bring about a stateless (anarchist), self-managed society. Anarcho-syndicalism, the only mass variant of the anarchist movement in history, arose and acquired strength during a period of profound social, economic, and political changes – the first decades of the 20th century. [...]

It is impossible to regard anarcho-syndicalism as some kind of insignificant, marginal phenomenon – as the extravagant escapades of "extremist grouplets" or the fantasies of salon intellectuals. This is a global movement which spread to countries as different as Spain and Russia, France and Japan, Argentina and Sweden, Italy and China, Portugal and Germany. It possesses strong, healthy social roots and traditions, and was able to attract hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, of wage workers. Anarcho-syndicalists not only took an active part in the most important social upheavals and conflicts of the 20th century, often leaving their own indelible imprint on these events, but also in many countries they formed the centre of a special, inimitable, working class culture with its own values, norms, customs, and symbols. The ideas and traditions of anarcho-syndicalism, and the slogans it put forth about workplace and territorial self-management, exerted an influence on many other social movements, including the workers' councils of Budapest (1956), the student and youth uprisings of 1968, Polish "Solidarity" in 1980-81, the Argentine "popular assemblies," etc.

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The book can be obtained at [http://www.akuk.com/index.php? a=viewProd&productId=5918](http://www.akuk.com/index.php?a=viewProd&productId=5918)

Stefan Karner, Barbara Stelzl-Marx (eds.): Stalins letzte Opfer. Verschleppte und erschossene Österreicher in Moskau 1950-1953. Unter Mitarbeit von Daniela Almer, Wien-München, Böhlau, Oldenbourg, 2009. 676 p. (Kriegsfolgen-Forschung. 5). ISBN 978-3-486-58936-8.

Auf dem Donskoe-Friedhof in Moskau liegen 104 der letzten Stalin-Opfer aus Österreich. Sie waren noch in den letzten drei Jahren des Stalin-Regimes in Moskau erschossen worden. In geheimen Transporten in die Sowjetunion verschleppt, hatte man sie für einige Wochen im größten Moskauer Gefängnis festgehalten und danach hingerichtet. Das häufigste Todesurteil lautete „antisowjetische Spionage“. Bisher geheime Strafprozessakten aus dem einstigen KGB-Archiv, Gerichtsbescheide aus dem russischen Staatsarchiv und die Gnadengesuche der Hingerichteten selbst ermöglichen erstmals eine Aufarbeitung dieses dunklen Kapitels der Besatzungszeit in Österreich. Das von internationalen Fachleuten verfasste Buch gibt den Hingerichteten ihren Namen und ihr Gesicht zurück.

Mit Beiträgen von Dieter Bacher, Vasilij Christoforov, Frank Drauschke, Andreas Hilger, Walter M. Iber, Harald Knoll, Ol'ga Lavinskaja, Nikita Petrov, Edith Petschnigg, Arsenij Roginskij, Barbara Stelzl-Marx und Tessa Szyszkowitz sowie einem Geleitwort von Botschafter Martin Vukovich.

Erhältlich im Buchhandel oder direkt bei: <http://www.boehlau.at/978-3-205-78281-0.html> zum Preis von € 39,80

Sobhanlal Datta Gupta (ed.): The Ryutin Platform. Stalin and the Crisis of Proletarian Dictatorship. Platform of the Union of Marxists-Leninists. Translated from the original Russian by Pranab Ghosh and Susmita Bhattacharya, Kolkata, Seribaan, 2010. XXXVII, 152 p. ISBN 978-81-87492-28-7.

The full text of the Ryutin Platform (“Stalin and the Crisis of Proletarian Dictatorship”), authored under the banner of the “Union of Marxists-Leninists” in 1932, an early and essential analysis of Stalinism, was published for the first time in five parts in *Izvestiia TsK KPSS*, Nos. 8-12, 1990, under the authority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The English translation has been made from this Russian text. The footnotes, provided by the Central Committee at the time of its publication, have been omitted, because most of them are concerned with technical details. It is to be kept in mind that the original manuscript of the Ryutin Platform has never been found or preserved. The published Russian text corresponds to the certified typescript of the manuscript kept in the archives, as evident in the official declaration of authentication given at the end of the document. Although this declaration does not figure in the published text, the photocopy of the last page of the document, reproduced from *Rehabilitatsiia: Politicheskie protsessy 30-50-kh godov* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1991), confirms it.

Contents: Abbreviations • A Note on the Translated Text • Preface • Editor's Introduction • The Ryutin Platform (Stalin and the Crisis of Proletarian Dictatorship): Platform of the "Union of Marxists-Leninists" • Index.

What follows is an extract of the publication.

II: Stalin as an Unprincipled Intriguer.

In the post-Lenin years, in theoretical understanding Stalin proved himself completely worthless, although in combining politics with intrigue he showed remarkable talent. After the death of Lenin he became an insolent person with every passing year.

Carefully at the beginning and subsequently all the more boldly, he threw off from himself the mask of a modest old Bolshevik; forced to carry the heavy burden of the General Secretary he more and more clearly showed aspiration to make his way to the pantheon of great people without shrinking from any means whatsoever. Already the jubilee celebration on the occasion of his fiftieth year was converted into a real coronation of his Tsardom. Thousands of most foul and vile, grovelling and cringing resolutions of greetings, emerging out of a mass drill, concocted by party trade unions and Soviet apparatuses, addressed to "the dear leader", "the best pupil of Lenin", the genius of a theoretician, poured in; tens of articles came out in "Pravda" in which many authors declared themselves as pupils of Stalin, as for example, Voroshilov, who proclaimed Stalin as the greatest theoretician, etc. – such was the basic background of the jubilee. Ultimately, to any Bolshevik, not yet lost, this is all shame for the Party. [...]

IV: Stalin as a Leader and a Theoretician.

[...] To place the name of Stalin along side the names of Marx, Engels, Lenin – this means to scoff at Marx, Engels and Lenin; it means scoffing at the proletariat, it means losing all shame and crossing all limits of meanness. To place the name of Lenin alongside the name of Stalin – this makes no difference but placing the Mount Elbrus alongside a heap of dung – to place the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin alongside the "works" of Stalin – this is like placing the works of great composers like Beethoven, Mozart, Wagner and others alongside the music of road-side organ players [of the streets].

Lenin was a leader and not a dictator; Stalin, on the contrary, is a dictator but not a leader. Proletarian revolution needs a good leader of the party. Without a leader there cannot be a Proletarian Leninist party but the proletarian revolution does not need dictators. The party and the proletariat must struggle even against the most "excellent" dictators, degeneration of the leaders into dictators and regeneration of even the most proletarian dictator. [...]

"Work" on canonisation of Stalin, in a grandiose measure, was taken up. People of all ranks, in a bid to serve the leader, chose to try to beat each other in the sphere of socialist competition and every walk of life. Theoretical articles in the journals were converted into pieces that simply solicited promotion in service and motivated understanding of political loyalty to Stalin. The Party machine precisely fulfils the "orders". [...]

In his works what is to be found is not any rich theoretical baggage but only the ability and skill to hide his wretchedness. That this was just so, that we have before us a theoretician, who is a crow in peacock's feathers – we shall demonstrate it on the most important theoretical questions.

Sonia Combe (ed.), in cooperation with Paul Gradvohl, Charles Kecskeméti, Antoine Marès and Jean-Charles Szurek: Archives et histoire dans les sociétés post-communistes, Paris, La Découverte, 2009. 332 p. (Collection Recherches). ISBN 978-2-7071-5731-7.

As a result of an international conference organized by the Bibliothèque de documentation internationale et contemporaine (BDIC) of the University of Paris Ouest Nanterre - La Défense and the Reserch Center of Cultures and Literatures in Central and Eastern Europe (CERCLE), this collective publication contains the achievements of a number of researchers who give an appreciation of the impact of the opening of the archives – partial and disparate depending on the different countries and the producing structures. Like the Hoover Institution in Stanford the BDIC was founded as a "Cold War library" for the purpose of Soviet Studies; thus it gathered a lot of materials and documents of this period.

The book contains an introduction by Sonia Combe ("From Sovietology to the history of the Soviet world"). The first part "Access to Archives" includes a thematical and statistical overview by Charles Kecskeméti ("Accesst to Archives: An appraisal" (21-31) and an article by Victoria Prozorova-Thomas ("Access to Soviet Archives: The difficulties of the past, the contradictions of the present" 33-63). In part II ("Historiographical contributions"), two articles concern the private archives and the diaries (Bernhard H. Bayerlein: "The history of Communism through the correspondence and the diaries of Georgi Dimitroff and Ivan Maiskii" (67-91); Jean-François Fayet: "From source to object of history: an outline history of the personnel files in the archival centers." Four contributions deal with the functioning of the "People's Democracies": Antoine Marès: "Archives and the study of foreign policy of the People's Democracies"; Irina Gidan: "How to write today the history of Romanian diplomacy of the Communist years?"; Pierre Jardin: "New archives, new history: The foreign policy of GDR"; Maria Pasztor: "The international policy of Poland seen through the archives". Five contributions deal with the relations between the State-party and society: Paul Gradvohl: "State-party and society: New readings"; Sergueï Krasilnikov: "Marginal groups of Stalinist society"; Dariusz Jarosz: "A socio-political history of meat in the People's Republic of Poland"; Andrea Pető: "Meat and questionaries: New sources for the writing of history"; Muriel Blaive: "The opening of the archives of a communist political police. The Czech case from Zdena Salivarová to Milan Kundera". Four contributions form the section "The Shoah in the East": Jean-Charles Szurek: "The Shoah in the East: New contributions, new questions"; Antonella Salomoni: "The Jewish resistance in the USSR during World War II"; Diane Afoumado: "The Shoah in Ukraine: New problems"; Krzysztof Persak: "Beyond Jedwabne". Another four contributions can be found in final section III ("The opening of the archives and the instrumentalisation of the past"): Sonia Combe: "Scholarly and political use of the past"; Thomas Lindenberger; "Police files and German social history" (interview); Mona Foscolo: "Between revelation and manipulation: the challenge of Bulgarian archives"; Krzysztof Persak: "Change and public use of Polish historiography of the second half of XXth Century"; Orgezt Azizaf: "Political and epistemological challenges of the archives in post-communist Albania".

Łukasz Kamiński, Krzysztof Persak, Jens Gieseke (eds.): Handbuch der kommunistischen Geheimdienste in Osteuropa 1944-1991, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008. 420 p. (Wissenschaftliche Reihe der BStU. 33). ISBN 978-3-525-35100-0.

NKVD – KGB – KDS – MfS – Bezpieka – Securitate – StB – AVH: die Geheimpolizeien des Sowjetblocks stehen für unendliches Leid und die Starre eines ideologisch geprägten Systems. Sie hinterließen Zehntausende von Toten und Millionen politischer Gefangener und Verfolgter. Erst nach dem Zusammenbruch des Staatssozialismus wurde es möglich, ihre geheime Geschichte offen zu legen. Das Handbuch der kommunistischen Sicherheitsapparate ist ein Kompendium dieser Forschung. In der erweiterten deutschen Ausgabe dieses Standardwerks analysiert ein internationales Team von Experten erstmals die Sicherheitsapparate aller Länder des Ostblocks in Europa. Auf breiter Quellenbasis stellen 14 Autoren aus 7 Ländern die Geheimpolizeien in ihrer historischen Entwicklung vor und porträtieren sie detailgenau. Neben Apparat, Personal und Etat beleuchten sie die Verflechtung in den politischen Hierarchien, die Stoßrichtungen und Methoden der Verfolgung sowie ihre Opfer. Kurzbiografien der führenden Geheimpolizisten und ein Fotoblock mit Bilddokumenten aus allen Ländern runden das Handbuch ab.

Der Band ist das erste große Kooperationsprojekt der Aufarbeitungsinstitutionen in Ostmitteleuropa, initiiert vom polnischen Institut für Nationales Gedenken (IPN). Er präsentiert die immensen Fortschritte in der Erforschung der geheimen Verfolgungsapparate von KGB und Securitate bis zur polnischen SB und zur ostdeutschen Stasi. Damit ist eine Basis geschaffen für die umfassende vergleichende Betrachtung dieser dunkelsten Seite des sowjetischen Machtbereichs in Europa.

Beiträger: Jordan Baev (Sofia), Petr Blažek (Prag), Dennis Delatant (London/Amsterdam), Antoni Dudek (Krakau), Jens Gieseke (Berlin), Kostadin Grozev (Sofia), Andreas Hilger (Hamburg), Andrzej Paczkowski (Warschau), Gabor Tabajdi (Budapest), Krisztián Ungváry (Budapest), Nicolas Werth (Paris) und Pavel Žaček (Prag).

(<http://www.v-r.de/en/items/1001001666/>)

John Earl Haynes, Harvey Klehr, Alexander Vassiliev: Spies. The Rise and Fall of the KGB in America, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009. LIII, 650 p. ISBN 978-0-300-12390-6.

From 1993 to 1996, former KGB officer Alexander Vassiliev was permitted unique access to Stalin-era records of Soviet intelligence operations against the United States. Vassiliev had unprecedented access to documents written when the events they describe were occurring or shortly afterward – that is, contemporaneous accounts of the successes and failures of the KGB, written by the KGB itself. Years later, living in Britain, Vassiliev retrieved his extensive notebooks of transcribed documents from Moscow. In his introduction to SPIES, Vassiliev tells the story of the notebooks and his own extraordinary life.

With these notebooks, John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr have meticulously constructed a new, sometimes shocking, historical account. In their preface, Haynes and Klehr describe how they learned of Vassiliev's notebooks and recognized its significance, based on their

work with KGB and other archival materials for their previous books *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America*, *The Secret World of American Communism*, and *The Soviet World of American Communism*. As Haynes and Klehr note, Vassiliev's notebooks – which, in their more than 1,115 pages, transcribe, quote, extract, and summarize several thousand KGB documents – provide researchers with abundant material that offers both internal corroboration and ample bases for corroboration with independent sources. Despite all that has appeared the past decade, the Vassiliev notebooks offer the most complete look at Soviet espionage in America we have yet had or will obtain until the day, likely far off, when the Russian authorities open the KGB archives for independent research. [...]

SPIES portrays the difficulties of managing sources whose weaknesses, quirks, and sexual behavior often required KGB officers to act as social workers and counselors. The documents open windows into the KGB's methods: detailed instructions about contacting sources, passwords and recognition signals, and other aspects of espionage tradecraft. The material also demonstrates how pressures from Moscow sometimes sabotaged the work of KGB stations in America and how the Soviet espionage networks were ultimately destroyed. SPIES unfolds this history in riveting detail – the most complete account of Soviet espionage in the United States to date.

(From the publisher's press info)

Peter Huber, Ralph Hug (eds.): Die Schweizer Spanienfreiwilligen. Biografisches Handbuch, Zürich, Rotpunktverlag, 2009. 478 p. ISBN 978-3-85869-390-7.

Etwa 800 Freiwillige aus der Schweiz nahmen trotz Behördenverbot am Spanischen Bürgerkrieg (1936-1939) teil. Im historischen Gedächtnis der Schweiz blieben sie lange vergessen: Zumeist der Arbeiterbewegung entstammend, kämpften sie in den revolutionären Milizen oder in den Internationalen Brigaden gegen die drohende Diktatur von General Franco und für die Freiheit der Republik. Das vorliegende biografische Handbuch bringt erstmals vollständig Licht in diese kollektive Bewegung unmittelbar vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. In rund 700 Kurzbiografien wird anhand des umfangreichen Aktenmaterials aus Moskauer und Schweizer Archiven das soziale und politische Profil der Freiwilligen rekonstruiert. Im Kaleidoskop unterschiedlichster Lebensläufe und Schicksale entsteht ein eindrückliches Panorama des Spanienkriegs, der die Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts prägte. Eine ausführliche Einleitung zum Spanischen Bürgerkrieg, zu den internationalen Freiwilligen und zum Profil der Schweizer zeigt den historischen Rahmen und macht das Buch zu einem unverzichtbaren Grundlagenwerk.

(From the publisher's press info)

Alexander Rabinowitch: Die Sowjetmacht. Das erste Jahr, Essen, Mehring Verlag, 2010. 677 p. ISBN 978-3-88634-090-3.

Zum 90. Jahrestag der Oktoberrevolution erschien „The Bolsheviks in Power“ von Alexander Rabinowitch, Professor Emeritus an der Indiana University, das der Essener Mehring Verlag nun in deutscher Übersetzung herausbringt. In früheren Arbeiten widersprach Rabinowitch der gängigen westlichen Interpretation der Oktoberrevolution als linksextremistischem Putsch. Er bewertete die Bolschewiki als eine Massenpartei, die an die Macht gelangte dank „ihrer organisatorischen Beweglichkeit, ihrer Offenheit und Sensibilität für die Anliegen der Bevölkerung und ihren umfassenden, sorgfältig gepflegten Beziehungen zu den Fabrikarbeitern, den Soldaten der Petrograder Garnison und den Matrosen der Baltischen Flotte“. ¹ Der unverstellte Blick auf die russische Revolution zog weitere Fragen nach sich: Wie konnte die bolschewistische Partei in relativ kurzer Zeit zu einem der autoritärsten Machtapparate der Moderne werden? Woran scheiterten die Verwirklichung des Gleichheitsideals und der Sowjetdemokratie?

Antworten sucht Rabinowitsch in einer minutiösen Aufarbeitung des ersten Jahrs der Sowjetherrschaft in Petrograd. Äußerst feinkörnig, bisweilen Tag für Tag, zeichnet er die Ereignisse und politischen Auseinandersetzungen nach. Die ersten Dekrete der Sowjetmacht, das Scheitern und die Auflösung der Konstituierenden Versammlung, der auch innerhalb der bolschewistischen Partei heiß umstrittene Separatfrieden mit Deutschland, die verzweifelte militärische Lage, die Seuchen und die Hungersnot in Petrograd im Frühsommer 1918, schließlich der Übergang zum „roten Terror“ – diese Eckdaten bilden den Rahmen für die Schilderung.

Anfang der 1980er Jahre hatte der Autor in Moskauer und Leningrader Bibliotheken mit der Recherche begonnen. Der Band lag bereits in Entwurfsform vor, als Rabinowitch im Juni 1991 die Genehmigung erhielt, die Partei- und Regierungsarchive der Sowjetunion einzusehen. Im Jahr 1993 erhielt er Zugang zu den Archiven des KGB und begann sein Buch von Grund auf zu überarbeiten. Rabinowitch lässt den Leser freigiebig an dem reichhaltigen Archivmaterial teilhaben, das er erstmals gesichtet hat: Sitzungsprotokolle des Petersburger Komitees der Bolschewiki und anderer Petrograder Parteigremien aus dem Jahr 1918, Protokolle ihrer Bezirkskomitees, Protokolle des Rats der Volkskommissare, stenografische Mitschriften des Petrograder Sowjets und seiner Führungsgremien, Protokolle der Bezirkssowjets, interne Memoranden, Briefwechsel, persönliche Unterlagen wichtiger politischer Führer, Fallakten der Allrussischen Außerordentlichen Kommission zur Bekämpfung von Konterrevolution und Sabotage (VČK) und vieles mehr.

Leitfaden des Autors ist die Suche nach Ereignissen und Momenten, die Einblicke ermöglichen „in die zentralen, immer noch rätselhaften Fragen über die Verwandlung der bolschewistischen Partei und der Sowjets nach der Oktoberrevolution und das Auseinanderklaffen ihrer ursprünglichen Ziele und ersten Ergebnisse“. ² Zwar kann allein der Verlauf des ersten Jahrs der Sowjetmacht diese Frage nicht umfassend beantworten. Doch mit der Sorgfalt und Gewissenhaftigkeit, die er seinem Thema entgegenbringt, dürfte Rabinowitch auf lange Sicht Maßstäbe für die weiteren Forschungen auf diesem Gebiet gesetzt haben.

¹ Alexander Rabinowitch: *The Bolsheviks in Power. The First Year of Soviet Rule in Petrograd*, Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Press, 2007, S. IX, aus dem Englischen.

² Ebd., S. XIII.

Grigorij Grigorov: Povoroty sud'by i proizvod. Vospominanija. 1905-1927 gody, Moskva, OGI, 2005. 536 p. (Častnyj archiv). ISBN 5-94282-281-6; Grigorij Grigorov: Povoroty sud'by i proizvod. Vospominanija. 1928-1972, [Akko, Israel], s.p., [2008]. 682 p. No ISBN.

Not many members of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union survived Stalin's terror regime. Those who wrote about their experiences of struggle and repression constitute even a lesser quantity. In 2005, the OGI publishing house released such a rare document – the first volume of the memoirs of Grigorii Isaevich Grigorov (1900-1994), revolutionary, scientist, dissident and Gulag inmate. Born into a Jewish craftsman family, Grigorov joins the revolutionary movement as a teenager, takes part in the revolutions of February and October 1917, fights on the side of the Reds in the Civil War, becomes imprisoned by Denikin and is freed again by Nestor Makhno. After the war, Grigorov succeeds in obtaining a proper education through *rabfak* institutions, specialises himself in philosophy and becomes a "red professor", obtaining a doctoral degree with a monograph on Spinoza and being close to Abram Deborin, Evgenii Preobrazhenskii and David Riazanov. Having an independent mindset and not being content with the bureaucratisation of the party, Grigorov associates himself with the Opposition from 1923 on, and is forced to move to Siberia, where he can work relatively freely due to his friendship with Vladimir Kosior. From 1926 on, when the struggle between the United (Communist) Opposition and Stalin's circle reaches a new level, Grigorov takes part in the work of clandestine circles, crossing paths with Lev Trotskii, Karl Radek, Victor Serge and other prominent oppositionists. The first volume ends with the author's expulsion from the party in 1927.

A planned 2nd volume did not see the light in Russia for unknown reasons. Instead, Grigorov's son, who lives in Israel, has put out a very limited print run of the 2nd volume in 2008. Dealing with the period between 1928 and 1972, it proves to be a fascinating and highly valuable source on the Stalin era. In 1928, after the "capitulation" of Radek, Preobrazhenskii and Smilga, Grigorov is more than ever active for the Opposition - yet in a way that fails to please him: Carrying out the controversial tactical decision of the Left Opposition's leadership to disband oppositionist groups in order to be able to operate within the party, he goes on a liquidatory mission into the Soviet province, including the Caucasus, and is confronted with frustration of rank-and-file oppositionists who are not at all willing to give up the organised struggle. In the same year, Grigorov faces arrest and deportation to a village in the Ural, where he spends the next two years together with Decist leader Vladimir Smirnov, first-hand experiencing the brutal peasant collectivisation. After a brief period of freedom back in Leningrad, Grigorov and his wife (an old Bolshevik revolutionary herself) get arrested straight after the Kirov murder in 1934. What follows is an odyssey through several Gulag camps, where the couple manages to stay together for most of the time. Grigorov experiences the Trotskyist prisoners' famous hunger strike in Vorkuta (in which he does not take part) and the massacre that followed thereafter – and it is striking that the information on these events, which he brought to paper in the 1970s-1980s without access to any sources, corresponds with the findings of recent research.¹ After being released in 1939, again his freedom does not last long: he is mobilized into the army for the war against Finland, captured by enemy troops and spends the following (comparably easy) years as a POW in Finland. In 1944, after the Soviet Union made peace with Finland, Grigorov is arrested again by the infamous SMERSh counter-intelligence, and another

¹ Comp.: Jean-Jacques Marie: Der Widerstand der Trotskisten im Gulag 1936 bis 1938. Der Hungerstreik und das Massaker in Vorkuta. In: *Jahrbuch für Historische Kommunismusforschung* (2007), pp. 117-136; Id.: Les trotskystes à Vorkouta. In: *Cahier du mouvement ouvrier* (2007), N° 34.

period of GULag imprisonment begins, ending only in March 1955. During the times of Khrushchev and Brezhnev, Grigorov works as a schoolteacher and succeeds to get back into science, shifting to geology (using the experience he gained participating as forced laborer in geological expeditions during his imprisonment). His monograph on the entanglements of philosophy and geography gets published in Kiev in 1983,² while his memoirs, which he has been secretly writing from the mid-1960s until 1983, of course remain unpublished during Soviet times. During late perestroika, in 1988, Grigorov writes a letter to Soviet historian Vladimir Billik where he shares his memories on the encounters with Trotskii.³ Shortly after, in 1989, he immigrates to Israel together with his son's family, where he dies in 1994.

The memoirs of Grigorii Grigorov, contemporary of the 20th century in a literal sense, have an immense historical value for scholars of the Left Opposition, but also they are fruitful as a source for several aspects of the Russian Revolution, the early Soviet Union and the times of Stalinism. And, above all, they are a highly fascinating read.

While volume one is sold out, volume two can be obtained from Grigorov's relatives for € 20 incl. shipping. Orders may be directed to IrenaB@ges.co.il (you can write in Russian, English, and Hebrew).

(Gleb J. Albert, Bielefeld)

McMullen, David Lee: *Strike! The Radical Insurrections of Ellen Dawson.* Foreword by Richard Greenwald and Timothy Minchin, Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2010. 264 p. ISBN 978-0-8130-3486-7.

Strike! The Radical Insurrections of Ellen Dawson, by David Lee McMullen, is the first biography of a young woman who took the radicalism of Scotland's Red Clydeside to the United States, where she became the first woman elected to a national leadership position in an American textile union.

Born to working class poverty in Barrhead, an industrial village on the outskirts of Glasgow in 1900, Dawson was exposed to the socialist idea of cooperation during her early years. Then, as World War I began, she went to work in the local textile mills during the years of Red Clydeside, perhaps the most turbulent period of Scottish labor history, a time dominated by communists such as John Maclean, socialists such as James Maxton, and women's labor activists such as Mary Macarthur.

During the economic collapse that struck Britain in the months following the war, Dawson migrated first to England and then on to the United States, where she settled in Passaic, New Jersey, a large textile center on the outskirts of metropolitan New York City. There she became a leader in the 1926 Passaic strike, followed by leadership roles in the 1928 New Bedford, Massachusetts strike, and the 1929 Gastonia, North Carolina strike, the three most important American textile strikes of the period. As such, she was a key member of the Passaic Radicals, a group headed by Albert Weisbord. During these years, she held leadership positions in the American Federation of Labor's United Textile Workers' Union

² G. I. Grigorov: Prichinnost' i svyazi v geografii. Metodologicheskii aspekt, Kiev, Vishcha Shkola, 1983.

³ Grigori Grigorov: Souvenirs sur Trotsky. In: *Cahiers du mouvement ouvrier* (2005), N° 27, pp. 67-72.

and, after being expelled from the UTW, helped to found the National Textile Workers' Union of America, where she was elected first vice president.

Between strikes, Dawson was active in the campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti, International Women's Day celebrations in New York City, and the communist workers movement of the period. She also traveled to Russia as part of a women's delegation, and in 1929 she was named to the executive committee of the Communist Party USA as a follower of Jay Lovestone. She was expelled from the party at the end of the year, as Joseph Stalin took control of the communist movement in the United States.

Despite efforts to have her deported, she continued her radical activities into the early 1930s, serving as a key figure in Lovestone's Communist Party of the U.S.A. (Majority Group), and writing for *Revolutionary Age*. Then, as the Great Depression engulfed America, she ended her career as an activist. She married, worked in the textile industry until retirement, dying in Florida in 1967.

Strike! offers a personal account of the Scottish Diaspora, especially the connection between Red Clydeside and the radical labor activists in the United States during the late 1920s; it demonstrates the difficulty associated with reconstructing the life of a working-class woman, especially a communist; and it examines the powerlessness of workers' cause in a capitalist society.

Comments by early reviewers of the book are extremely positive. Daniel Lee Georgianna (University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth) said, "Anyone interested in labor history or women's history will find this book of great use." Mary Anne Trasciatti (Hofstra University) noted that the book "paints a vivid portrait of the people, places, and events that shaped Dawson and that she, in turn, shaped."

Strike! will be available from the University Press of Florida in August 2010. Additional information can be found at <http://www.upf.com/book.asp?id=MCMUL001>

Xavier Botterman: Histoire du mouvement communiste à Verviers. 1919-1940. Avant-propos de Milou Rikir, Bruxelles, CARCOB, 2009. 193 p. (Travaux historiques. 3). ISBN 978-2-87188-009-7.

L'intense développement de l'industrie de la laine a provoqué à Verviers la formation de deux classes aux intérêts contradictoires : la bourgeoisie patronale et le prolétariat ouvrier. Ce conflit a donné lieu à la naissance rapide d'un mouvement ouvrier marqué dès ses débuts par un fort courant révolutionnaire. Ainsi, Verviers sera longtemps un foyer anarchiste important. C'est dans ce contexte particulier que le Parti communiste s'installe dans la région verviétoise dès 1921. Il ne cessera d'être en continuel progrès durant tout l'Entre-deux-guerres. Les communistes représentent une fraction non négligeable de la gauche dans le centre industriel verviétois, dès 1925 au moins : 14 % de son électorat alors, puis un cinquième au début des années 1930, un tiers enfin en 1936. Sa force syndicale n'a pas d'équivalent dans d'autres coins de Wallonie. Faut-il pour autant en conclure que Verviers a été une ville « rouge » ? Pour répondre à cette question, l'auteur a autant considéré les spécificités de la région verviétoise que les décisions prises par la IIIe Internationale en fonction de l'évolution mondiale de la société. Son étude est présentée dans une triple perspective – internationale, nationale et locale – et suit les grandes étapes historiques ayant marqué le mouvement communiste à Verviers dans ses vingt premières années d'existence.

Version retravaillée et complétée d'un mémoire de licence défendu avec succès en 1998 à l'Université de Liège, le présent ouvrage raconte l'histoire du mouvement communiste à Verviers de 1919 à 1940. Dans une perspective plus large, cette oeuvre illustre comment le Parti communiste a été profondément marqué par les changements qui sont intervenus dans le contexte socio-politique mouvementé de l'entre-deux-guerres.

Manuel Bueno Lluch, Sergio Gálvez Biesca (eds.): Nosotros los comunistas. Memoria, identidad e historia social, Madrid-Sevilla, Fundación de Investigaciones Marxistas, Atrapasueños, 2009. 457 p. (FIM historia). ISBN: 978-84-87098-52-9.

«Nosotros, los comunistas» es un libro que habla de la otra cara de la historia del comunismo. A saber: la protagonizada por sus militantes. Si el PCE ha sido denominado como el «partido del antifranquismo» se debe, principalmente, a su capital humano. Ahora bien, a pesar de su protagonismo en los resultados finales de la transición, el papel de la militancia comunista ha sido relegado de los relatos institucionales y académicos. Esta obra, por el contrario, se interna en las vivencias, ilusiones y fracasos de las mujeres y hombres comunistas que encabezaron la resistencia y oposición antifranquista. Presenta, por tanto, una historia desde abajo y con los de abajo.

El presente volumen colectivo recoge las ponencias del II Congreso de Historia del PCE organizado por la Fundación de Investigaciones Marxistas. En aquel encuentro se abordó, por vez primera, de forma rigurosa la «historia social del comunismo». Sus resultados ahora ven la luz y lo hacen de la mano de sus mejores conocedores. A través de sus respectivos epígrafes se exploran las que hasta el momento habían sido las facetas menos conocidas de esta singular historia: Culturas militantes; Imagen, memoria e imaginario colectivo; Los comunistas en los movimientos sociales; El proyecto cultural comunista y los intelectuales; Las mujeres y el PCE, a lo que se suman las reflexiones personales de los profesores Josep Fontana y Francisco Fernández Buey.

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