

The International Newsletter of Communist Studies Online

**Der Internationale Newsletter der Kommunismusforschung.
La newsletter internationale des recherches sur le communisme.
Международный бюллетень исторических исследований
коммунизма.**

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- Socialist Power in the GDR. Microfiche Edition from the Federal Archives, Germany.

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- Proletarian Internationalism and the Czechoslovak Crisis of 1968-1969 (M. Bracke).
- Ein Lexikon Berliner Widerstandskämpfer in 10 Bänden.
- The Brazilian Left: PhD-Thesis at the University of São Paulo (D. Karepovs).
- Socialism and Sexuality Discussion List (SandS).

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- Lešnik, Avgust: The Development of the Communist Movement in Yugoslavia during the Comintern Period.
- The first Biographical Dictionary of Latin America and the Comintern by L. and V. Jelifets, P. Huber (Presentation).

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- Dokumente zur Chinapolitik der Sowjetunion und der Komintern (J. Krüger).
- Moshe Lewin: The Soviet Century, London-New York, Verso, 2005 (B. Bayerlein)
- "Mátyás Rákosi blickt zurück". Endre Kiss über die Erinnerungen Rákosis.
- Jean-Jacques Marie: Staline, Paris, Fayard, 2001 (B. Bayerlein).
- Alter L. Litvin, John L. H. Keep: Stalinism. Russian and Western Views at the Turn of the Millenium, Abingdon, UK-New York, Routledge, 2005.
- Jelica Kurjak: Political changes in Russia (Političke promene u Rusiji 1990-1996. Begrade/Beograd (Institut za medjunarodnu politiku i privredu). (A. Lesnik)
- Martin Mevius: Agents of Moscow. The Hungarian Communist Party and the Origins of Socialist Patriotism 1941-1953, Oxford-New York, Clarendon Press, 2005.

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- Update: 2004. Compiled by John Haynes and Bernhard H. Bayerlein.

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Since issue 14 (2001) and thanks to the Computer department of the Mannheim Centre for European Studies The International Newsletter of Communist Studies Online is put on the internet every three months after the publication of the paper issue. See: <http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/projekte/JHK-news>.

Von Ausgabe 14 an (2001) wird der Online-Newsletter dank der Unterstützung der Computer-Abteilung des Mannheimer Zentrums für europäische Sozialforschung (MZES) jeweils 3 Monate nach Erscheinen der Printausgabe ins Internet gestellt. Siehe: <http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/projekte/JHK-news>.

Section I

The Newsletter of the Newsletters: Communist Studies Newsletters - New Issues. Selected Items.

COMMUNIST HISTORY NETWORK NEWSLETTER, MANCHESTER, U.K.
[HTTP://LES1.MAN.AC.UK/CHNN/](http://les1.man.ac.uk/chnn/)

Issue 16, Spring 2005: Editors' introduction - *Announcements:* Building the Old Bolsheviks - A Subversive Third - Kurt Lewin - INCOMKA at the Library of Congress. *Research Note:* A Revealing Document, Willie Thompson. *Thesis Report:* 'British Communism and the Politics of Literature, 1928-1939', Philip Bounds. *Review Essay:* 'Recent work on French and Belgian communism', Kevin Morgan. *Reviews:* Cyrille Guiat, The French and Italian Communist Parties: Comrades and Culture, reviewed by Stephen Hopkins - Matthew Worley (ed): In Search of Revolution: International Communist Politics in the Third Period, reviewed by Brian Pearce - Isaiah Berlin, The Soviet Mind: Russian Culture under Communism, (edited by Henry Hardy), reviewed by Philip Bounds.

Issue 17, Autumn 2005: Editors' introduction. *Announcements:* British Communists in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (DNB) - New 'Communist Lives' series - Sally Belfrage papers - Socialist History Journal website. *Research Notes:* Women in the early CPGB: sources in the Bodleian Library', Matthew Worley. *Thesis Reports:* 'The Communist Party of the United States and the Communist International, 1919-1929' - Jacob A Zumoff. 'The Politics of Working Class Communism in Greece, 1918-1936', Anastasis Ghikas - 'West European Communism, Proletarian Internationalism and the Czechoslovak Crisis of 1968-1969: A Comparative Study of the Italian and French Communist Parties', Maud Bracke - "'The Past is Ours": The Political Usage of English History by the British Communist Party, and the Role of Dona Torr in the Creation of its Historians' Group, 1930-56', Antony Howe. Features: 'Aksel Larsen and the CIA' - Steve Parsons. 'A House on Chausseestrasse', Archie Potts.

ESTUDOS SOBRE O COMUNISMO, LISBOA, PORTUGAL
estudossobrecomunismo@yahoo.com.

- *July 2004:* CARLOS PAREDES - ACTIVIDADES DO CERMTRI - CONFERÊNCIA SOBRE DANIEL GUÉRIN (UNIVERSIDADE DE LOUGHBOROUGH - "BARREIRO RECONHECIDO", A TÍTULO PÓSTUMO, A FLORENTINO ALVES RODRIGUES - EXPOSIÇÃO SOBRE AS GREVES NO BARREIRO EM 1943 EM LISBOA.
- *August 2004:* LEMBRANDO UM COMUNISTA AMERICANO DE ORIGEM LUSÓFONA : EDWARD S. TEIXEIRA - INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER OF COMMUNIST STUDIES - Número 17 - PÁGINA PESSOAL DE JOHN EARL HAYNES - AMERICAN COMMUNIST HISTORY 3 - MORTE DE ANTÓNIO

DOMINGUES - Fernando Vieira de Sá - CARTAS NA MESA (Memórias de Bento Jesus Caraça) - COMMUNIST HISTORY NETWORK NEWSLETTER 16 - ESTADO DO III VOLUME DA BIOGRAFIA DE ÁLVARO CUNHAL - TRABALHOS SOBRE O COMUNISMO EM LINHA - Jim Prickett, Communists and the Communist Issue in the American Labor Movement, 1920-1950 - Bertrand Hamelin, "Le Parti communiste dans le Calvados de 1920 à 1939".

- *November 2004*: FERNANDO BLANQUI TEIXEIRA (1922-2004) - CATÁLOGO "RAISONNÉ" DA OBRA NEO-REALISTA DE JÚLIO POMAR - PÁGINAS SOBRE ERNESTO DE SOUSA - EXPOSIÇÃO SOBRE FERNANDO PITEIRA SANTOS (CASA ROQUE GAMEIRO - AMADORA) - LISTA DE AUTORES CENSURADOS NO NOTÍCIAS DA AMADORA - The International Newsletter of Communist Studies, Vol. X (2004), no 17.

- *December 2004*: BIBLIOGRAFIA SOBRE O PCP E A OPOSIÇÃO - 2004 - MORTE DE FERNANDO BREDERODE DOS SANTOS (1940-2004) - MORTE DE JOAQUIM CALDEIRA RODRIGUES (1925-2004) - BIBLIOFILIA - RETRATO DE UMA AVENTURA INTELECTUAL A DOIS.

- *February 2005*: Biografias de militantes comunistas e da oposição (Atualização) - NOVO NÚMERO DE COMMUNIST HISTORY NETWORK NEWSLETTER - NOVO NÚMERO DE AMERICAN COMMUNIST HISTORY - PARA A HISTÓRIA DO 18 DE JANEIRO - SÉRIE TELEVISIVA BASEADA NO LIVRO "ATÉ AMANHÃ CAMARADAS" DE ÁLVARO CUNHAL - MORTE DE MANUEL FIRMO, SINDICALISTA, ANARQUISTA E ESPERANTISTA - APRESENTAÇÃO DOS TEXTOS DE JOÃO AZEVEDO DO CARMO.

- *March 2005*: BIBLIOGRAFIA - António Nabo - REPRESENTAÇÕES DO PRESENTE NO PCP DE MONTE-MOR-O-NOVO - CARTA DE CANSADO GONÇALVES SOBRE O JOVEM CUNHAL - BIBLIOGRAFIA SOBRE O PCP E A OPOSIÇÃO - 2005 - BIOGRAFIA DE ABEL SALAZAR NAS "VIDAS LUSÓFONAS" - Natália Santos - "CATARINA EUFÉMIA: (DES) MONTAGEM DE UM MITO" - Vanessa de Almeida - ACÁCIO JOSÉ DA COSTA E O 28 DE FEVEREIRO DE 1935 NO BARREIRO - NOVO VOLUME DE POLITICAS DE LA MEMÓRIA - Políticas de la Memoria Anuario de Investigación del CeDInCI, Buenos Aires - SOBRE PETER BENENSON - UM DISCURSO ANTI-COMUNISTA NA ASSEMBLEIA NACIONAL EM 1959 - EXPOSIÇÃO E CICLO DE PALESTRAS SOBRE MARIA LAMAS NO MUSEU DA REPÚBLICA E DA RESISTÊNCIA (MARÇO 2005) - MORTE DA COMUNISTA CHILENA GLADYS MARÍN - JORNADAS SOBRE "POLÍTICAS DE ALIANZA Y ESTRATEGIAS UNITARIAS EN LA HISTORIA DEL PCE" (5,6,7 DE MAIO) EM MADRID - CAMPISMO E OPOSIÇÃO - PANFLETOS ANTI-COMUNISTAS DOS ANOS TRINTA - FONTES PARA A HISTÓRIA DO PCP: DUAS CARTAS DE PEDRO SOARES/ "LUIGI" DE ABRIL DE 1974 - FOTOGRAFIAS (INÉDITAS?) DE FUZILAMENTOS NA GUERRA CIVIL ESPANHOLA.

- *April 2005*: BIOGRAFIA DE MÁRIO PINTO DE ANDRADE - QUADROS DE AVELINO CUNHAL EM COLECÇÕES PARTICULARES (1) - CRÍTICA AO DICIONÁRIO NO FEMININO - DE "MARIA DA GRAÇA SAPINHO" A CATARINA EUFÉMIA: ALGUMAS FONTES .

- *May 2005*: BIBLIOGRAFIA SOBRE O PCP E A OPOSIÇÃO - 2005 - HOMENAGEM AO GENERAL SOUSA DIAS NA GUARDA - MORTE DE HARILAOS FLORAKIS O presidente honorário do Partido Comunista Grego (PCG) - MEMÓRIAS DE EDGAR MACIEL CORREIA (1945-2005) - FEIRA DO LIVRO DO PORTO HOMENAGEIA ÓSCAR LOPES - UMA NOVA PÁGINA PARA O ESTUDO DO COMUNISMO ESPANHOL - GUIA DA HISTÓRIA DAS ESQUERDAS BRASILEIRAS - NOVA PUBLICAÇÃO: Chapters in the History of Communist and Socialism (CHOCS) - ANTÓNIO JOSÉ SARAIVA E O MAIO DE 1968 - BIBLIOGRAFIA SISTEMÁTICA SOBRE O PCP, OS MOVIMENTOS COMUNISTAS E RADICAIS E A OPOSIÇÃO POLÍTICA E SOCIAL ATÉ 25 DE ABRIL DE 1974 (Em organização) - I PARTE.

HNET DISCUSSION NETWORK: H-HOAC. HISTORY OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM.

This network provides a forum for scholars, serious students and all who want to participate in a scholarly discussion of the history of American communism and domestic anticommunism encompassing the history of the Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA), groups that split from the CPUSA, and competing radical movements. Contributions to the list editor: H-HOAC-ED-JEH haynes@MAIL.H-NET.MSU.EDU. Website: <http://www.h-net.org/~hoac/>.

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL HISTORY. NEWS SERVICE.

Once a month IISH sends out a table of contents of news items published on the IISH website, see: listserv@iisg.nl.

February 2005: <http://www.iisg.nl/collections/ccoo.php>: A leaflet from 1965 and background information on the Comisiones Obreras in Spain

<http://www.iisg.nl/publications/newpub.html>: New publication: Deutsche Volksfront 1932-1939 by Ursula Langkau-Alex.

<http://www.iisg.nl/collections/russianpress/index.html>: A collection of unofficial periodical publications in Russia c. 1985-c.1992.

<http://www.iisg.nl/irsh/indianlabour.php>: IRSH Call for articles on Indian labour for 2006 supplement.

March 31 - April 2, 2005, Conference: "Labour History of Russia and the Soviet Union: Work in Progress", Organised by IISH, Carnegie Mellon University, and the University of East London.

March 2005: <http://www.iisg.nl/publications/newpub.html#linden>: New publication: M. van der Linden, M. Hanagan (eds.), New Approaches To Global Labor History.

<http://www.iisg.nl/collections/ceton/index.php>: Pictures of Soviet Russian experimental schools made by a Dutch school teacher, 1921.

<http://www.iisg.nl/publications/newpub.html#schendel>: New publication: Willem van Schendel, The Bengal Borderland. Beyond State & Nation in South Asia

April 4, 2005: <http://www.iisg.nl/publications/newpub.html#revolution> .Revolution and counterrevolution. Class struggle in a Moscow metal factory' by Kevin Murphy.

<http://www.iisg.nl/research/russianlabour.html>: Conference on labour history in Russia and the Soviet Union

<http://serials.ialhi.org/search.asp>: IALHI serials alerting service; search for articles and browse table of contents.

<http://www.joodsmonument.nl/index.php?lang=en>: Digital monument to the Jewish community in the Netherlands 1940-1945. Krieg

<http://www.iisg.nl/~womhist/sands-list.html>: New discussion list to promote scholarly work on socialism and sexuality.

<http://www.iisg.nl/irsh/50-1.php>: New IRSH issue: Vol 50 part 1; table of contents.

<http://www.iisg.nl/publications/respap44.pdf>: Research paper 'Urban households in Russia and the Soviet Union 1900-2000'.

<http://www.iisg.nl/collections/harmsen.html>: About the archive of Ger Harmsen at the IISH (on the occasion of his death in April 2005).

LONDON SOCIALIST HISTORIANS GROUP NEWSLETTER - IRSH@IISG.NL.
 LONDON SOCIALIST HISTORIANS GROUP ADMIN@LONDONSOCIALISTHISTORIANS.ORG

- *Issue 21 Summer 2004*: Class and Death Michael Haynes and Romy Husan, A Century of State Murder (Pluto Press, 2003) - Empires and resistance: the rise and fall of Great Powers, 8th May 2004, Institute of Historical Research, London.
- Issue 22 Autumn 2004: Socialist Historians at the ESF the London meeting of the European Social Forum this October, on Rosa Luxemburg and the Lessons of the 1905 Revolution - New Socialist Approaches to History Autumn Term 2004 - Libraries and Archives The Tamiment Library.
- *Issue 24: Summer 2005*. Call for papers: Conference about 1956 - Anne Alexander, Obituary of Taha Sa'ad Uthman - Nik Howard, review of David Renton, Classical Marxism and David Renton, Dissident Marxism - Keith Flett, review of David Black, Helen Macfarlane - News item, The Brian Manning Memorial Lecture. New Socialist Approaches to History - Marxism and Education: Renewing Dialogues VI

AKTUELLES AUS DER DDR-FORSCHUNG 1/2004. EIN NEWSLETTER DER STIFTUNG ZUR AUFARBEITUNG DER SED-DIKTATUR, BERLIN. REDAKTION: ULRICH MÄHLERT

Aus der Ausgabe 2/2004: Neues aus der Wissenschaft: „Totalitarismus und Demokratie/Totalitarianism and Democracy“, neue Zeitschrift des Hannah Arendt Instituts (HAIT). *Ausstellungen und Museen*: Blockade Leningrads 1941-1944. Dossiers, Deutsch-Russisches Museum Karlshorst - Gedenkstätte Bautzen: „Geschichte des Speziallagers in Bautzen 1945-56“. *Publikationen*: Zeitschrift des Forschungsverbundes SED-Staat (Nr. 15/2004) - Publikationen der Stiftung Aufarbeitung: - Das Handbuch „Anatomie der Staatssicherheit“, herausgegeben von der Abteilung Bildung und Forschung der Bundesbeauftragten für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR - „Vademecum Historii Najnowszej w Polsce/Vademekum, Willy-Brandt-Zentrum für Deutschland- und Europastudien der Universität Wroclaw. *Archive und Bibliotheken*: Online-Archiv: Der Volksaufstand vom 17. Juni 1953 im Spiegel der Presseberichterstattung des Jahres 2003. *Termine*: Gedenkbibliothek zu Ehren der Opfer des Stalinismus, Berlin - Internationale und interdisziplinäre DDR-Forschertagung, Europäische Akademie Otzenhausen - Centre Marc Bloch, Berlin, Workshop für Doktoranden und Nachwuchswissenschaftler "Besatzungserfahrungen in Europa 1914-1945" - Central and Eastern European Media under Dictatorial Rule in the 1940s and 1950s. Konferenz der Universität Tartu, Estland - Akademie für Politische Bildung Tutzing: Tagung „Operationsgebiet BRD - Bundesbürger im Dienst der Staatssicherheit und die Westspionage des MfS“.

- *Aus der Ausgabe 3/2004: Neues aus der Wissenschaft*: Die französische Forschung über die DDR. *Ausstellungen und Museen*: Deutschen Historischen Museums Berlin: »Mythen der Nationen. 1945 - Arena der Erinnerungen«. *Publikationen*: XV. Bautzen-Forum: »Verfolgung unterm Sowjetstern. Stalins Lager in der SBZ/DDR« - Tagungsband. Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur: »Vademekum Zeitgeschichte Polen«, »Vademekum - Contemporary History ROMANIA«. *Archive und Bibliotheken*: Teile des KOMINTERN-Archivs online. *Termine*: Veranstaltungsdatenbank »Die Zeit ist reif« - 15 Jahre friedliche Revolution.

NEWSLETTER OF HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM, WASHINGTON D.C.

The Newsletter has been replaced by the twice yearly journal, AMERICAN COMMUNIST HISTORY for articles and lengthy material and by the on-line H-HOAC for brief and time-sensitive material.

Section II

Archival Problems, Files, Institutions, Projects.

COMINTERN online now available in more than 6 countries.

<http://www.comintern-online.com/>

COMINTERN online is a result of the INCOMKA project (International Committee for the Computerization of the Comintern Archives) - the largest cooperation project ever realized between Russian and the international community of archives.

The Basic structure.

The International Newsletter has regularly related the progress of this project which consists of two components:

1. A free online inventory to the complete Comintern Archives (55,000,000 pages).
2. A subscription-based service to 1.2 million digital images of the most frequently used opisi and files (see the inventory of the digitised files in: The International Newsletter 17, 2004). The service, database and number of images will be updated on a regular basis. This online service managed by RusAR Publishers and IDC Publishers, Leiden, is free for the users of the member institutions of INCOMKA (Bundesarchiv Berlin, Germany; Library of Congress, Washington; Archives de France, Paris; Ministerio de Cultura, Madrid, Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, Bern, Open Society Archives, Budapest a.o.). First-time private users of the inventory need to register entering COMINTERN online. The options to subscribe in order to get access to the available documents are explained in the Price list.

The transliteration of the database has been improved according to the US Library of Congress transliteration system (without diacritics - consult the Help option in the database for the transliteration table. Furthermore, the possibility to use English descriptors has enhanced the search possibilities. The translation of the descriptors has been carried out as part of the INCOMKA project.

The search possibilities of COMINTERN online.

- To reduce the response times on search actions, two databases have been created:
 - * A database with the Russian records and Russian descriptors.
 - * A database using the Library of Congress transliteration of names and descriptors in English.
- Browsing: Both databases can be browsed using the tree structure in the left window on the screen. Three different trees can be selected:
 - * A hierarchical classification of the database records. A description of each item in the tree is available by pressing "show description" option (or double click on the tree item).

* Different types of descriptors have been added to each record (names, places, organisations, etc). Opening the option "show linked" will show a list with the titles of the records that are linked to the selected descriptor.

* If you want to browse the physical structure of the original Comintern archives, the "show description" option indicate the main characteristics of the selected files.

- Due to the huge size of the database, filtering is necessary for a quick selection of certain parts. An entry-box allows you to select items in any of the three trees.

Four different search possibilities are available:

1. 1. A simple search option by entering search terms in an entry-box. This option allows to search in the title and the content of the record. This information is available in Russian or in English transliteration, depending on the database selected.

2. 2. A classification or file search using the filter in either the classification or physical fond tree. The option "show description" option gives you a description of the selected item in the tree.

3. 3. A descriptor search using the filter in one of the categories of descriptors (10). The option "show linked" produces a list of files that are linked to the selected descriptor. The English version of the descriptors is linked to the transliterated database while the Russian descriptors are linked to the Russian database.

4. 4. The two search options can be combined in an advanced search. With this option you can select multiple items in the classification structure, multiple items in the descriptors and combine these with a free text search in the title and the content description of the record.

About the specifics of the database.

- The database relies on the 22.000 pages of inventories of the COMINTERN Archive and contains 230,000 records. The description of the files in the inventories has been checked and - where necessary - improved by archivists. Moreover, about 200,000 personal names have been transliterated from Cyrillic into Latin.

- Concerning the digitised images, the online database allows the access to about 1 200.000 pages of documents. These pages cover 59 sub-series that were selected by INCOMKA, after the expertise of leading COMINTERN historians. The various sub-series comprise the complete files of such organs as commissions, secretariats and departments that operated as part of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI), the "Ländersekretariats" (Country-Secretariats) and regional bureaus, the communist party delegations at the ECCI and other units of special interest such as the International Lenin school, International Workers Relief and the International Federations of Writers and Theatres.

- The digitised pages contain also the holdings of important governing organs of the COMINTERN. The total number of pages of these general sections is estimated at 3.000.000. Launch COMINTERN-online, about 30% of this most relevant part of the COMINTERN Archives accessible online. The Russian Committee on Archives made a declaration of intention to double the available number of pages within a period of two years.

For the list of scanned files and opisi and for the list of descriptors which have not been translated, see the homepage.

For private users: Subscription is possible by contacting info@idc.nl.

Countries and Institutions with access to COMINTERN-online.

Following RUSAR publishers and IDC information, the Database and the digitised documents are accessible (date: april 2005) in Germany, Hungary, Russia, Switzerland and The United States. France, Spain and Italy will follow.

Availability in Germany: • Hochschulbibliothek RWTH Aachen. • Staatliche Bibliothek (Provinzialbibliothek)Amsberg. • Universitaetsbibliothek Augsburg. • Universitätsbibliothek Bamberg. • Staatsbibliothek Bamberg. • Universitätsbibliothek Bayreuth. • Bundesarchiv Berlin. • Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. • Universitätsbibliothek der Freien Universität Berlin. • Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin/ Preußischer Kulturbesitz. • Universitätsbibliothek Bielefeld. • Universitätsbibliothek Bochum. • Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn. • Universitätsbibliothek der Technischen Universität Braunschweig. • Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen. • Universitätsbibliothek der Technischen Universität Chemnitz. • Bibliothek der Fachhochschule Darmstadt. • Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt. • Fachhochschule Deggendorf, Bibliothek. • Universitätsbibliothek Duisburg-Essen. • Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf. • Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. • Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha. • Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg. • Universitätsbibliothek Europa-Universität Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder. • Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main • Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg. • Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek Fulda. • FH Furtwangen Bibliothek. • Universitätsbibliothek Giessen. • Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen. • Universitätsbibliothek Greifswald. • Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt. • Universitätsbibliothek der Helmut-Schmidt-Universität /Universität der Bundeswehr. • Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg. • Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek Hannover. • Universitätsbibliothek und Technische Informationsbibliothek Hannover. • Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. • Hochschulbibliothek der Fachhochschule Heilbronn. • Universitätsbibliothek Ilmenau. • Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena. • Universitätsbibliothek Kaiserslautern. • Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe. • Universitätsbibliothek Karlsruhe. • Hochschulbibliothek Karlsruhe. • Universitätsbibliothek Kassel. • Universitätsbibliothek Kiel. • Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek Köln. • Bundesarchiv (Berlin). • Bibliothek der Universität Konstanz. • Universitätsbibliothek Landau. • Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig. • Bibliothek der Pädagogischen Hochschule Ludwigsburg. • Universitätsbibliothek Magdeburg. • Universitätsbibliothek Mainz. • Universitätsbibliothek Mannheim. • Universitätsbibliothek Marburg. • Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München. • Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. • Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster. • Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg a.d. Donau. • Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg. • Universitätsbibliothek Osnabrück. • Universitätsbibliothek Paderborn. • Universitätsbibliothek Passau. • Universitätsbibliothek Potsdam. • Universitätsbibliothek Regensburg. • Fachhochschule Regensburg Bibliothek. • Hochschulbibliothek Reutlingen. • Universitätsbibliothek Rostock. • Universitätsbibliothek Siegen. • Universitätsbibliothek Stuttgart. • Universitätsbibliothek Hohenheim. • Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart. • Universitätsbibliothek Trier. • Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen. • Universitätsbibliothek Ulm. • Universitätsbibliothek der Bauhaus-Universität Weimar. • Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg. • Hochschule Zittau-Goerlitz.

Availability in Hungary: • Open Society Archives, Budapest.

Availability in Russia: • State Archive for Social and Political History, Moscow (RGASPI).

Availability in Switzerland: • Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, Bern.

Availability in The United States of America: • Library of Congress, Washington.

Declassified Archival Materials from CPSU Central Committee Plenums.

In October 1995 the Center for Storage of Contemporary Documentation (TsKhSD) in Moscow (presently RGANI), which houses the former archive of the Central Committee (CC) of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU), received materials from the Russian Presidential Archive for a newly opened section known as Fond 2. The new fond (an archival term roughly translated in English as "collection") includes different versions of CPSU Central Committee plenum transcripts from 1918 to 1990 as well as secret documents that were used at the plenums. Some 845 voluminous files (dela) of declassified plenum materials from 1918 to 1941 had been available since the early 1990s at another repository in Moscow, the former Central Party Archive (now known as the Russian State Archive for Social and Political Research - RGASPI); but the newly-opened Fond 2 at RGANI is many times larger and much more comprehensive. Not only does Fond 2 add to the RGASPI collection of pre-1941 materials; it also provides full documentary coverage for the dozens of Central Committee plenums after 1941. In the huge article cited below, Marc Kramer describes and discusses the structure of Fond 2, the problems that arise when using the documents, and gives a few highlights from plenary sessions held in the 1950s and 1960s.

Source: Mark Kramer: Declassified Materials from CPSU Central Committee Plenums. Sources, Context, Highlights, *Cold War International History Project, Bulletin* 10. See also: Gael Moulec: Central Committee Plenums, 1941-1966: Contents and Implications. Online: http://www.ics.si.edu/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=library.document&id=46.

International Institute of Social History Archives: Communist International (COMINTERN). Communistische Partij Holland (CPH).

- Period : 1919-1945 m. Reproduction : 48 microfilms. Finding Aid : List.
- Biographical/historical note : The COMINTERN closely monitored adhering national communist parties; the strategies of the Communistische Partij Holland (CPH) were discussed within the COMINTERN at congresses, by its Executive Committee, by regional secretariats, by ad hoc commissions and at the COMINTERN Bureau in Berlin. Preceded by the Sociaal-Democratische Partij (SDP), founded in 1909 as a split-away from social democracy, the CPH was established in 1919; it was torn by conflict in the 1920s, resulting in the temporary existence of two communist parties; from 1935 until its dissolution in 1991 it was named Communistische Partij van Nederland (CPN).
- Contents : Selection of documents concerning the CPH and its (internal) oppositional groups consisting of minutes, reports, mandatory letters, resolutions and correspondence (mainly in German) from the archives of the COMINTERN and of organizations connected with the COMINTERN, including the Internationale Arbeiter-Hilfe, Internationale Rote Hilfe, Lenin Schule, Kommunistische Jugend Internationale, Rote Sport Internationale, Rote Gewerkschafts-Internationale and Rote Bauern-Internationale; documents written by Comintern representatives in Spain during the Civil War concerning Dutch participants in the

International Brigades; propaganda and other materials sent to Moscow by the CPN (mainly in Dutch).

• NB. Originals at the RCChIDNI, Moscow, fund 488-495, 533-535, 537, 539, 545.

Source: IISH-Website. <http://www.iisg.nl/archives/allarchc.html>

Hermann Schreyer: Die zentralen Archive Russlands und der Sowjetunion von 1917 bis zur Gegenwart (Schriften des Bundesarchivs, Bd. 60), Düsseldorf, 2003, IX, 302 S.

Die Darstellung des russischen und sowjetischen Archivwesens im 20. Jahrhundert - mit bewusster Beschränkung auf die zentrale Verwaltungsebene und die zentralen Staats-, Behörden- und Parteiarchive - beschreibt die archivgeschichtlichen Vorgänge nicht nur im engeren fachlichen Sinne, sondern vor dem Hintergrund der allgemeinen gesellschaftspolitischen Entwicklung. Im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte wird die in den verschiedenen Zeitabschnitten unterschiedliche Einwirkung politischer, wirtschaftlicher, gesellschaftlicher Kräfte auf Inhalt und Organisationsform des Archivwesens deutlich. Neben den Besonderheiten der einzelnen archivgeschichtlichen Entwicklungsetappen werden auch historisch bedingte Kontinuitäten gekennzeichnet, wie sie sich z.B. in der bis heute bedeutenden Rolle des russischen Behördenarchivwesens spiegeln. Die Darstellung stützt sich auf die neuen Forschungsergebnisse der russischen Historiker-Archivare vor allem seit der Perestrojka und bemüht sich um Ausgewogenheit, so dass die frühere Schwarz-Weiß-Malerei nicht durch eine neue ersetzt wird. Durch den Nachweis der wichtigsten zentralen Archive nach dem aktuellen Organisationsstand kann die Publikation auch eine gewisse Handbuch-Funktion erfüllen.

Quelle: <http://www.droste-verlag.de/3-7700-1614-9.html>

Dagmar Unverhau: Das "NS-Archiv" des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit. Stationen einer Entwicklung (Archiv zur DDR-Staatssicherheit, Bd. 1) 1998, 248 S.

Nach der deutschen Vereinigung im Oktober 1990 wurde bekannt, dass das ehemalige Ministerium für Staatssicherheit (MfS) - von der Öffentlichkeit in Ost und West unbemerkt - eine riesige Anzahl von vernichtet geglaubten Dokumenten der NS-Zeit aus 'sicherheitspolitischen' Erwägungen und 'politisch-operativen' Gründen in einem geheimen Archiv zusammengezogen und verwaltet hatte.

Publikationen des sozialistischen Exils und Exilpresse Online: Zwei öffentliche Digitalisierungsprojekte.

Im Rahmen des von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft geförderten Projektes wurden zwischen 1998 und 2003 in der Deutschen Bibliothek Frankfurt am Main aus dem Bestand des Deutschen Exilarchivs 1933 - 1945 Frankfurt am Main und der Sammlung Exil-Literatur Leipzig ausgewählte Exilzeitungen und -zeitschriften digitalisiert. Der Zeitschriftenbestand des Deutschen Exilarchivs und der Sammlung Exil-Literatur umfaßt zusammen rund 30.000 einzelne Ausgaben und Bände zu ca. 900 Zeitschriftentiteln. Für die Digitalisierung wurden insgesamt 30 Titel ausgewählt (Umfang: ca. 100.000 Seiten), die ein möglichst breites Spektrum der Exilpresse 1933-1945 präsentieren sollen:

• *Aufbau* (New York). • *Acht-Uhr-Abendblatt* (Shanghai). • *Das Andere Deutschland/La Otra Alemania* (Buenos Aires/Montevideo). • *Das blaue Heft* (Paris). • *Der deutsche Schriftsteller* (Paris). • *Der deutsche Weg* (Oldenzaal). • *Europäische Hefte* (Prag). • *Freie deutsche Kultur* (London). • *Freie Kunst und Literatur* (Paris). • *Gelbe Post* (Shanghai). • *Gemeindeblatt der Jüdischen Gemeinde Berlin* (Berlin). • *Gemeindeblatt der Jüdischen Gemeinde Shanghai* (Shanghai). • *Internationale Literatur* (Moskau). • *The Jewish Voice of the far East* (Shanghai). • *Jüdische Revue* (Mukacevo u.a.). • *Kunst und Wissen* (London). • *Neuer Vorwärts* (Karlsbad; Paris). • *Ordo* (Paris). • *Pariser Tageblatt* (Paris). • *Pariser Tageszeitung* (Paris). • *PEM's Privatberichte* (Wien; London). • *Das Reich* (Saarbrücken). • *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle* (Shanghai). • *Shanghai Echo* (Shanghai). • *Sozialistische Warte* (Paris). • *Die Tribüne* (Shanghai). • *Über die Grenzen* (Affoltern a.A.). • *Zeitschrift für freie deutsche Forschung* (Paris). • *Die Zeitung* (London).

Zu jeder Zeitschrift gibt es eine Seite mit bibliographischen Angaben und Erläuterungen zur Digitalisierung, die jeweils über den Knopf in der Navigationsleiste erreicht wird.

Neben der Digitalisierung der Zeitschriften durch Einscannen erfolgte gleichzeitig eine formale Erschließung der wichtigsten inhaltlichen Daten nach einem vorgegebenen Erfassungsschema. Neben dem elektronischen "Blättern" in der jeweiligen Zeitschrift ist so die gezielte Suche nach Titel, Verfassern u.a. möglich.

Ferner wurde mit Hilfe einer OCR-Bearbeitung der vollständige Text des gesamten digitalisierten Zeitschriftenbestands auch unterhalb der Artikelebene erfasst. Somit besteht ebenfalls die Möglichkeit zur Volltext-Recherche innerhalb der Artikel. Für die inhaltliche Recherche im Internet steht eine Suchmaschine zur Verfügung. Es kann gleichzeitig in allen verfügbaren Zeitschriften gesucht werden, aber auch in einzelnen oder in mehreren, speziell ausgewählten.

Quelle: <http://deposit.ddb.de/online/exil/exil.htm>

International Institute of Social History Archives: Communist International (COMINTERN) - Türkiye Komünist Partisi (TKP).

- Period : (1914-) 1918-1939. Reproduction: 56 microfilms. Finding Aid : Inventory
 - Biographical/historical note : The Communist International (COMINTERN) was founded in Moscow in 1919; its aim was the expansion of communism all over the world; communist parties in a great number of countries affiliated with it.
 - Türkiye Komünist Partisi (TKP): Founded on 10 September 1920 in Baku, Azerbaijan; participated in the Turkish national liberation struggle of 1918-1922; its chairman Mustafa Suphi, general secretary Ethem Nejat and 13 of their comrades were murdered by the nationalists on the Black Sea on 28-29 January 1921; forced into illegality during most of its history and faced a large number of mass-detentions; attracted many Turkish intellectuals, among them the poet Nazim Hikmet; weakened by factional disputes over the policy of the COMINTERN and the position of the party towards the Kemalist Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP; Republican People's Party); in the 1950s its activities were mainly limited to those conducted from abroad; started Bizim Radyo (Our Radio) broadcasting from Budapest in 1958; revived in the early 1970s, adopting a new programme; started the radio station TKP'nin Sesi (Voice of the TKP) broadcasting from Leipzig; published the central committee organ Atilim from 1974; hundreds of its members were arrested after the military coup of 12 September 1980; held its 5th congress in October 1983 in Moscow; merged with the Türkiye İşçi Partisi (TİP; Workers Party of Turkey), under the name of Türkiye Birlesik Komünist Partisi, (TBKP; United Communist Party of Turkey) in 1987; upon their return to Turkey the general secretaries of both parties were immediately arrested and detained until 1990; in 1990 a group of founders of the TBKP applied for legal status of the party, but a decision of the Anayasa Mahkemesi (Constitutional Court) prohibited the TBKP in 1991.
 - Contents: Records from the COMINTERN archives relating to the TKP. Correspondence with the TKP, with communist groups in Istanbul and with forerunners, including letters and reports by B. Ferdi, General Secretary of the TKP and its representative with the COMINTERN Executive Committee; minutes of the founding congress of the TKP in 1920 and of meetings of its central committee; speeches and articles by Mustafa Suphi; statutes and programs; financial and administrative documents; correspondence by the Central Committee of the TKP, its foreign office and its organization office with branches, local committees and with members of the TKP; with Turkish prisoners of war; with communist parties and organizations in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Persia and the Soviet Union; with Soviet authorities; with the Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (Turkish Great National Assembly) and other Turkish authorities and with Turkish political parties on the military situation in Turkey and the Caucasus, on the national liberation movement in Anatolia, on Turkish volunteers for the red army, on the Congress of Peoples of the East, on internal conflicts within the TKP, on the situation of imprisoned comrades and on other subjects; letters from and manuscripts of poems and stories by Nazim Hikmet; pamphlets, leaflets and copies of periodicals. Correspondence by the Communist Youth International with the Türkiye Komünist Gençler Birliği (TKGB, Turkish Communist Youth Organization) and by the International Red Help with its Turkish section; some correspondence by the PROFINTERN (Red International of Labour Unions) and the KRESTINTERN (Peasants' International).
 - NB. Originals at the RCChIDNI in Moscow, fund 495, 533-535, 539.
- Source: IISH-Website. <http://www.iisg.nl/archives/allarchc.html>.

Mongolian Archives. A Basic Description.

A basic description of the Mongolian Archival Situation has been published in the Cold War International History Project Bulletin. See: Sergey Radchenko: Mongolian Archives, *Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, Issue 14/15, 2003/2004, p. 419-420.

International Institute of Social History Archives. Communist Parties of Azerbaijan, Iran and Turkey.

- Period : 1917-1939 (-1956). Reproduction: 12 microfilms. Finding Aid : List.
- Bio.hist.note : After the Russian October Revolution in 1917 both communism and nationalism gained in strength in the Near East; to further communism in Iran, Turkey and other countries of the Near East the COMINTERN set up a Council of Propaganda and Actions of the Peoples of the East in Baku, Azerbaijan, which had become a republic within the Soviet Union in 1920; the Congress of Peoples of the East was held here in 1920 too and in the same year the Iranian Adalat (Justice) Party, which was founded in Baku in 1917, changed its name into Ferqeh-e Komunist-e Irán (Communist Party of Iran); Iranian communists played an important role in the Soviet Socialist Republic in Gilán, in the north of Iran, which was destroyed by Rezá Khán after his seizure of power in Iran in 1921; in Turkey, communists participated in the national liberation struggle but were forced into illegality after the killing of Mustafa Suphi, chairman of the Türkiye Komünist Partisi (TKP), and other TKP leaders by the nationalists in 1921.
- Contents : Records from the archives of the Council of Propaganda and Actions of the Peoples of the East, including documents relating to the Communist Party of Iran (CPI) and the Communist Party of Azerbaijan (CPA). Council of Propaganda and Actions of the Peoples of the East (CP&APE): correspondence with the CPI and the TKP, including reports on the situation in Egypt, Iran, Palestine, Turkey and other countries; minutes of meetings of the presidium of the CP&APE and documents on the Congress of Peoples of the East. Communist Party of Iran (CPI): minutes of its second congress, of general meetings and of meetings of its Central Committee, its Foreign Bureau and its Organizational Bureau; correspondence with its members, with the CPA, the COMINTERN and other organizations; party programs; financial documents; files concerning the CPI members Bahrám Agayev, Maherram Agayev, Kamran Agazáde, Kulizáde, Salamullá Madatzáde and Hamid Sultanov; documents concerning workers' and peasant movements in Iran, the Persian school, and other subjects; manuscripts by G. Begdeli and documents from Nariman Narimanov; copies of CPI periodicals, including Beyrag-e Adalat, Hurriyat, Haqiqat and Setareh-e Sorkh and other printed material. Communist Party of Azerbaijan (CPA): correspondence with the CPI, the TKP and the COMINTERN; minutes of meetings of the Iranian section of the CPA, reports and circular letters by the COMINTERN on the situation in Iran, Turkey and on the women movement in these countries.
NB. Originals at the Central State Archives of the Social Movements and the Political Parties of the Azerbaijan Republic in Baku.
Source: IISH-Website. <http://www.iisg.nl/archives/allarchc.html>.

Socialist Power in the GDR - Records from the Foundation Archive of Parties and Mass organizations in the Federal Archives of Germany SAMO). Microfiche Edition.

- Die Akten aus dem Büro Walter Ulbricht. Records from the Office of Walter Ulbricht. Ed. by Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv, 2004. Microfiche-Edition, Silver, incl. guidebook, 1006 fiches.
- Die Akten aus dem Büro Erich Honecker. Records from the Office of Erich Honecker. Ed. by Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv, 2004. Microfiche-Edition, Silver, incl. guidebook, 1216 fiches.
- Die Protokolle des Zentralsekretariats der SED 1946 bis 1949. Minutes of the Central Secretariat of the SED from 1946 to 1949. Ed. by Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv, 2005. Microfiche-Edition. In preparation.

The publisher describes this archival publication as "pivotal source of information for historical research into the GDR and the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany" and continues: "The reports, letters, notes and instructions, notices, speeches, publications, supplements, and other documents represent a rich source of material with which to study the history of the SED and its leading executive committees and personalities, the domestic and foreign policies of the GDR, the country's international relations, and the modus operandi of state control.

- Part 1 of the series, *Records from the Office of Walter Ulbricht*, contains the files from the office of Walter Ulbricht. This part-edition includes the documents, some handwritten, taken from Walter Ulbricht's office following his death and classified as top secret in the Politburo's archive until 1989. Among the documents are discussion notes, notes on the SED's foreign and economic policy, and from 1952 onwards documents on the party and GDR government's internal exchange of information with the USSR on the shaping of European security, speeches given by SED officials at central committee conferences and meetings, the screening of SED members as well as reports and statements on military, security, cultural, sport, scientific and agricultural policies as well as on issues of the church and state and legal matters. The documents, which date from 1945 until his death in 1971, provide a comprehensive insight into Ulbricht's role in the party as First Secretary of the Central Committee and the way in which he successfully retained power, as well as into the work of the party apparatus.
- Part 2 of the series, *Records from the Office of Erich Honecker*, contains written material from Erich Honecker's office classified as confidential in the internal party archive. It includes speech scripts, discussion notes, articles, and handwritten notes on the SED's foreign and domestic policies between 1959 and 1989. Also included are reports, information and announcements on military, security, economic, cultural, sport, youth, staffing, economic and agricultural policies, along with the monthly reports issued by the SED regional secretaries on regional problems and, from the sixties onwards, public comment on political, social and personal issues. This set of political documents is a first-rate source for research on Erich Honecker's activity in the SED party apparatus and as First Secretary of the Central Committee, and provides an insight into the policies and programmes of the SED, into the GDR's perception of itself internationally, and into its relations with the Soviet Union and the

Federal Republic. Both part-editions include an index with synopses and an index of names. The finding aids can also be researched online in the State Archive."

Source: <http://www.saur.de/catalog/>.

Online-Edition. Die „Sozialistischen Mitteilungen“ 1939 - 1948.

In einer Kurzvorstellung des Projekts schreibt Heiner Lindner: "In den letzten Jahren sind mehrere Publikationen aus dem sozialistischen Exil 1933 bis 1945, ob sie in Prag, Paris, London oder in den USA erschienen sind, ins Internet gestellt worden. Das hat den Vorteil, dass diese Publikationen, die oftmals zerstreut, unvollständig und im schlechten Zustand in nur wenigen Bibliotheken und Archiven der Welt zur Verfügung stehen, nunmehr von allen interessierten Internetnutzern weltweit und kostenlos benutzt werden können, und zwar in voller Länge, ungekürzt und mit zahlreichen Suchmöglichkeiten - bis hin zur Volltextsuche. Die Onlineedition solch umfangreicher Periodika ist auch deshalb besonders wichtig, weil Bucheditionen mehrere Meter Standfläche in Bücherregalen einnehmen, während Onlineeditionen nur wenig Speicherkapazität im Computer beanspruchen. Von der Deutschen Bibliothek, Frankfurt, wurden u.a. der „Neue Vorwärts“ (herausgegeben vom Exilvorstand der SPD) sowie die „Sozialistische Warte“ (herausgegeben vom Internationalen Sozialistischen Kampfbund, ISK) im Internet veröffentlicht.

Die Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung hat zu Beginn des Jahres 2004 die Online-Edition der „Sozialistischen Mitteilungen“ (SM) ins Netz gestellt, jenes Newsletters also, der vom Exilvorstand der SPD zwischen 1939 und 1948 in London herausgegeben wurde. Die Grundlage dafür bildeten die im SOPADE-Bestand des AdSD enthaltenen Hefte. Die SM werden einschließlich der mehr als 50 Beilagen ungekürzt und authentisch wiedergegeben und durch detaillierte Erläuterungen zu Personen und Organisationen erschlossen. Parallel zur Online-Edition ist unter dem Titel „Erkämpft Eure Freiheit! Stürzt Hitler!“ eine umfangreiche Broschüre erschienen, die es dem Nutzer der Online-Edition wie dem Leser ermöglicht, sich sowohl über die zeitgeschichtlichen Rahmenbedingungen als auch über die editorische Konzeption und die inhaltlichen Schwerpunkte der SM zu informieren. Damit liegt die erste Studie überhaupt vor, die sich ausführlich mit den SM befasst. (siehe unten).

Nachdem im Frühjahr 1940 der „Neue Vorwärts“ eingestellt worden war, wurden die SM das einzige offizielle Organ der Exil-SPD während des Zweiten Weltkriegs. Es erschienen insgesamt 100 Hefte, zusätzlich etwa 50 Beilagen. Der Umfang der Hefte lag durchschnittlich bei etwa 20 Seiten, die Auflage betrug meistens 450 Exemplare. Die Redaktion der SM sah es während der gesamten Erscheinungszeit als ihre Kernaufgabe an, über das verhasste nationalsozialistische Regime aufzuklären, dessen Ausrottung sowie die vorbehaltlose Bestrafung der NS-Führungselite zu fordern und sich zugleich gegenüber dem Kommunismus abzugrenzen: „Nazi-Deutschland muss sterben, damit ein demokratisches Deutschland entstehen und die Welt in Frieden leben kann“, äußerte Hans Vogel, Vorsitzender der Exil-SPD, in den SM.

Wer sich über die Inhalte der Politik des Exilvorstands informieren möchte, für den sind die SM die weitaus wichtigste historische Quelle überhaupt. Denn der Exilvorstand wollte nach seiner Rückkehr nach Deutschland vor der Partei Rechenschaft ablegen über alles, was er im Exil gemacht hatte, und die SM waren für ihn das „Beweisstück“ (Hans Vogel 1945), in dem sein gesamtes Denken und Handeln lückenlos festgehalten wurden.

Das historische Forschungszentrum der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung plant, im Verlauf der nächsten Jahre zwei weitere Periodika aus dem Londoner Exil ins Internet zu stellen: die Zeitschrift "Renaissance" sowie die Pressekorrespondenz "Germany speaks"/"Europe speaks". Beide Periodika wurden vom Internationalen Sozialistischen Kampfbund, ISK, herausgegeben. Ihr wichtigster Herausgeber war Willi Eichler (1896-1971), der nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg viele Jahre lang Mitglied des Parteivorstands der SPD und - als Leiter der Programmkommission - federführend an der Erarbeitung des Godesberger Programms beteiligt war. „Renaissance“ erschien in nur vier Heften, ehe sie wegen Papierknappheit eingestellt werden musste. Sie wird Anfang 2006 als Internetedition vorliegen, "Germany speaks"/"Europe speaks" erst später."

Die Einleitung der online-Edition liegt auch als Buchpublikation vor. Siehe: Heiner Lindner: „Erkämpft Eure Freiheit! Stürzt Hitler!“ Die „Sozialistischen Mitteilungen“ 1939 - 1948 (Gesprächskreis Geschichte, Heft 52), Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 288 S., 28 Abbildungen, Bonn 2003.

Source: Heiner Lindner: Publikationen des sozialistischen Exils im Internet.
<http://www.fes.de/archiv/newsletter/lindner012005.htm>

Section III

Projects - Work in progress.

The Communist International and Mexico. A Publication o Documents to be published in 2005.

La Internacional Comunsta en México. Los primeros tropiezos, Antología documental. Selección, introducción y notas: Daniela Spenser. Selección, presentación y traducción: Rina Ortiz.

Contents: • Prólogo : Rina Ortiz. • Presentación: Daniela Spenser. • Cap. 1. Del socialismo al comunismo. Cap. 2. Los enviados del Comintern. • Cap. 3. "Queridos compañeros trabajadores." • Cap. 4. Las trabas para construir el partido. • Bibliografía de consulta. • Lista de documentos.

Source: Información por parte de los editores.

Maud Bracke: 'Is it Possible to be Revolutionary without being Internationalist?' West European Communism, Proletarian Internationalism and the Czechoslovak Crisis of 1968-1969. PhD in Florence.

Maud Anne Rebecca Bracke, PhD, is a Teaching assistant and tutor at Università' di Bologna, Facolta di Scienze politiche, to prof. D. W. Ellwood. She defended the Thesis at the European University Institute (EUI), Department of History and Civilisation, Florence, Italy, in March 2004. The title is: "Is it Possible to be Revolutionary without being Internationalist?' West European Communism, Proletarian Internationalism and the Czechoslovak Crisis of 1968-1969. A Comparative Study of the French and Italian Communist Parties" Supervisor: prof. A.S. Milward; Jury members: prof. E.A.Rees, prof. M. Lazar, prof. S. Pons. She says about her current research projects and interests: "Broadly speaking, my current and future research focuses on interactions between the "high politics" of the Cold War, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, and domestic political and societal change. This includes the study of political and ideological identities of the Left and socio-political mobilization, and how these are shaped by international politics. I have a particular interest in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s, but an eager to expand on this through comparisons and confrontations, both geographically and over time. My next broad framework project is an encompassing history of

the West European left and détente, 1962-1979. I am currently re-writing and editing my PhD thesis for publication, both in English and Italian."

The author has published the working paper: "Proletarian Internationalism, Polycentrism and Autonomy. The changing Perspectives of the Italian and French Communist Parties in the 'long 1960s' " in Bracke, M., Jorgensen, T., West European Communism after Stalinism. Comparative Approaches (EUI Working Paper Series, Florence, 4/2002).

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Biography of Ernest Mandel.

In 2002 Dr. Jan Willem Stutje (Amsterdam, e-mail: jst@iisg.nl) started research intended to culminate in a book-length biography of Ernest Mandel. His study is taking place in conjunction with the VUB (Vrije Universiteit, Brussels) and is funded from the Belgian Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (Academic Research Fund); research work is conducted chiefly at the IISH (International Institute of Social History), Amsterdam, the main repository of Mandel's papers. It is hoped that Stutje's biography will see the light in 2005.

Source: Lubitz' Biographical sketch of Ernest Mandel, http://www.trotskyana.net/Mandel_collection/Biography/2.1_biogr.htm

The Brazilian Left: PhD-Thesis at the Universidade de São Paulo.

Dainis Karepovs: A Esquerda e o parlamento no Brasil: O Bloco Operário e Camponês (1924-1930). 2 vols, Tese de Doutorado apresentada ao Departamento de História da Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, sob orientação do Professor Doutor Edgard Carone. 687 p., 2001.

Abstract: Almost at the same time when the monarchy collapsed in the country, the beginning of the Brazilian workers organizational process took place. In a small number and with little experience, in one hand it lacked them organizing tradition regarding either political party's and labor union aspects and, in the other hand, a greater presence in society. Significant part of the Brazilian labor class *avant-garde* had very limited political participation in the first decades of the country's republican history, and it also had a strong influence from anarchist ideas that instigated the absenteeism in electoral processes and that gave great emphasis to the so called "direct action" as a way of political actuation.

This scenario shifted in the years 1920. Firstly, because of the decline of the anarchist positions. Second, because of the intensification of workers presence on Brazilian political scene. Third, under the influence of the Russian revolution and the uprising of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) in 1922. Supporting the Communist International positions, the PCB defended, among other things, the workers participation in electoral processes and in the parliaments, trying to acquire from those occasions and places means to make denoucements, propaganda and political agitation. To accomplish this, the PCB stimulated, in the second half of the decade, the creation of a United Front political organization in order to act in this field: the Labor and Peasant Bloc. Its participation in the electoral processes, since 1925 -

through the municipal election in Santos (São Paulo State) changed the character of the Brazilian political scene. At the same time, the liberals from the republican and democratic parties were passing through a process of disaggregation of the model adopted since the monarchy's decay and tried to obstruct the bloc and the terms of the participation that went far beyond the act of voting.

Therefore, the aim here was to examine both, the path of the Labor and Peasant Bloc, as well as the actuation of its parliamentaries (João Batista de Azevedo Lima, Minervino de Oliveira and Octavio Brandão).

Ein Lexikon Berliner Widerstandskämpfer in 10 Bänden.

Ein biographisches Lexikon Berliner Widerstandskämpfer mit ca. 12.000 Namen in insgesamt 10 Bänden befindet sich in Fertigstellung. Die Erarbeitung erfolgt auf Basis des Archivmaterials der ehemaligen Widerstandskämpfer, zurückgehend auf die Initiative der Berliner Vereinigung ehemaliger Teilnehmer am antifaschistischen Widerstand, Verfolgter des Naziregimes und Hinterbliebener (BVvDN) e.V. Eine ausführlicherer Projektbeschreibung siehe: *Mitteilungen des Förderkreises, Archive und Bibliotheken zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung*, Berlin, Nr. 26, September 2004.

Socialism and Sexuality Discussion List (SandS). Announcement.

The SandS discussion list is part of an academic network promoting scholarly work on socialism and sexuality. For a history of the network's activities, see the Socialism and Sexuality Homepage: <http://www.iisg.nl/~womhist/socandsex.html>. The main purposes of the discussion list are to post announcements about forthcoming conferences and workshops, books and journals, and to support ongoing research through the exchange of information and open debate. The working languages of the list are English, French, and German. SandS is a closed list. You can participate if you are a researcher working in the field covered by the Socialism and Sexuality network. If you wish to be a subscriber or if you want more information, send an email message to Francis Ronsin (francis.ronsin@freesbee.fr) or Gert Hekma (G.Hekma@uva.nl). Jenneke Quast, S&S website onderhoud, IISG

A biographical dictionary of Jews and Arabs.

"Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate in Comintern documents." This is the working title of a biographical dictionary of Palestinians, elaborated on the basis of Comintern documents. The book is announced for publication in Israel. The Author is M. (?) Zahawi.

Section IV Materials For Biographical and Regional Studies.

Avzug Lešnik: The Development of the Communist Movement in Yugoslavia during the Comintern Period.

In Memory of Pierre Broué.

The Yugoslav Labour Movement before 1919

Two facts are characteristic of the development of the Yugoslav nations during the transition from the 19th to the 20th century:

- a considerable lagging behind in the economic and in the general social development, when compared with the Western European countries
- the uneven development of individual Yugoslav nations and regions.

Both these characteristics are a consequence of various foreign influences under which the individual Yugoslav nations had to live for several centuries.¹ The underdeveloped economy made a greater flourishing of socialist ideas and the workers' movement impossible.

In the Yugoslav regions the beginnings of the socialist and workers' movement emerge first during the seventies of the 19th century (parallel to the gradual breakthrough of capitalism). Most of the trade-union organizations and the Social Democratic parties, however, were founded in the period from 1893 to 1903. The ideological and political currents, characteristic in this period of the workers' movements in European countries, were reflected in the workers' organizations in the Yugoslav regions. The first propagators of Socialism (Svetozar Marković, Vasa Pelagić, Vitomir Korać, France Železnikar, and others), as well as the first workers' organizations, were under the influence of the socialist and workers' movement in Germany, Austria, and Russia. These Social Democratic parties were members of the Second

¹ Lešnik, Avgust: Quellen der nationalen Konflikte in Jugoslawien, in: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung /BzG/, 36 (3/1994), pp. 88-101.

International, and their ideological and political developments stayed therefore within the framework of its positions and programme. Throughout the Yugoslav regions (with the exception of Serbia, where the Social Democratic Party was legal during the whole period) workers' parties and organizations were persecuted, and at the outbreak of the First World War they were prohibited by law. At the outbreak of the First World War, the Serbian Social Democratic Party, guided by its exceptional leader Dimitrije Tucović, moved away from the positions of the Second International and embraced a revolutionary orientation.² This found expression also in its attitude towards the imperialistic war.³

From 1917 onwards, and especially in 1918, the Yugoslav territories, and especially those controlled by Austria-Hungary (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina) were caught up in the mass movements of peasants, workers and soldiers. These were brought about by social misery and national suppression, and influenced by the October Revolution and the revolutionary turmoil in Europe. These movements were spontaneous and their development bypassed the Social Democratic parties. In this period the trade-union organizations were revived and ideological differences made themselves felt in the ranks of the Social Democratic parties. In the north-western parts of the area (Slovenia, Croatia, Voivodina, Slavonia) the leadership of the Social Democratic parties wanted collaboration with the bourgeoisie and participation in the regional governments and parliaments (ministerialism); on the other hand, the leaders of Bosnian and Serbian Social Democracy adopted the position of the revolutionary class struggle and the unity of the trade-union movement.⁴ Because of this, the Serbian Social Democratic Party refused to participate in the international conference in Berne (1919), convened with the intention of reviving the Second International.⁵

At the same time, after returning to the country, the members of the Yugoslav group of Communists⁶ formed the illegal Yugoslav Communist Revolutionary Union (9 March 1919). This

² Lešnik, Avgust: Die Bewertung des 1. Weltkriegs und die Perspektive der Internationale, in: W. Hedeler et al (eds.), *Ausblicke auf das vergangene Jahrhundert. Die Politik der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung von 1900 bis 2000*, Hamburg 1996, pp. 24-32.

³ Kesić, Stojan: *Odnosi između radničkih pokreta u Jugoslovenskim zemljama do 1914* [Workers' Movement in Yugoslav Regions Until 1914], Beograd 1976; Bogdanović, Mira: Serbia, in: Linden, Marcel van/Rojahn, Jürgen (eds.): *The Formation of Labour Movements 1870-1914. An International Perspective*, Leiden/New York 1990, vol. 1, pp. 421-438.

⁴ Morača, Pero/Stojanović, Stanislav (eds.): *Zgodovina Zveze komunistov Jugoslavije* [The History of the Union of Yugoslav Communists], Ljubljana 1986, pp. 18-57 (Workers' Movements in Yugoslav regions up to the creation of the united revolutionary party).

⁵ Lešnik, Avgust: Die sozialdemokratische Bewegung am Kreuzweg zwischen 1914 und 1923, in: *JahrBuch für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung*, 2004/III (Berlin), pp. 31-50.

⁶ The federation of foreign sections and groups was founded with the CC of the Russian CP in May 1918. It was the first organized attempt at gathering left-wing forces from the ranks of volunteers, prisoners of war and emigrants who were willing to carry to their countries the experiences and the message of

organization did not only propagate the ideas of the October, and afterwards of the Hungarian Revolution, it also made organizational, military and political preparations for spreading the revolution into Yugoslavia. In a number of towns a revolutionary press emerged. At the beginning of 1919 the newspaper *Plamen* (The Flame) began to appear in Zagreb, in which well known Yugoslav intellectuals, authors, and publicists interpreted the character and the meaning of the October Revolution. Their interest helped to bring about the affirmation of Marxist ideas in the cultural sphere. In January 1919 intensive preparations began to be made for the unification of the Yugoslav workers' movement.

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1919-1941)

The Legal-Political Aspect

Under the influence of a series of concrete historical circumstances (the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the military and political predominance of the Kingdom of Serbia, the military and political weakness of the ruling circles in Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Voivodina, as well as the feebleness of the democratic forces) the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS)⁷ was created on 1 December 1918⁸ by the union of the State of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs⁹ with the Kingdom of Serbia¹⁰. The nations and national minorities which joined the new state¹¹ had different economic, political and cultural heritages, different regional and religious characteristics, and important mental differences. Nevertheless, they were in many respects close to each other; above all they were ethnically related. At the very beginning the question arose as to the form of the new state: should it be centralised or federative. Their politically more advantageous international situation made it possible for the Serbians, who emerged victorious from the World War, to impose a centralized form of government on the state together with their hegemony over the other nations of the new kingdom (in spite of the fact that when it was promulgated, equality between the nations, fraternity, and democracy were expressly emphasized). This

the Russian Revolution. From 1918 to 1919 eleven sections were founded (the Yugoslav section, in Moscow in November 1918).

⁷ Kraljevstvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca [Kraljevina SHS].

⁸ Petranović, Branko/Zečević, Momčilo (eds): *Jugoslavija 1918/1988. Tematska zbirka dokumenata [Yugoslavia 1918/1988. A Thematic Collection of Documents]*, Beograd 1988, pp. 135-144 (The Proclamation of the Kingdom of SCS, 1 December 1918).

⁹ The State of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs [*Država Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba – Država SHS*] existed from 29 October 1918, when Slovenes, Croats and Serbs seceded from Austria-Hungary.

¹⁰ Voivodina united with the Kingdom of Serbia on 25 November 1918 and the Kingdom of Montenegro, on 26 November 1918.

¹¹ Petranović/Zečević: *Jugoslavija 1918/1988*, p. 138: According to the census made in 1921, 11,984,991 people lived in the territory of the new state (248,666 square kilometres).

centralization was cleverly hidden behind the artificially created Yugoslav national unite which was (because of the interests of the market) also supported by the liberally oriented bourgeoisie of the other Yugoslav nations. This situation was legalized by the first Yugoslav constitution, promulgated on the day of St. Vitus, 1921 (the so-called St. Vitus' Day Constitution).¹² According to this constitution, the state was a parliamentary monarchy (with one chamber only) ruled by the Karageorgevichi (Karadjordjevići) dynasty of Serbia. The idea of one unified (Yugoslav) nation and of the abolition of the regional peculiarities came most clearly to light in the administrative-territorial division of the state into administrative units which systematically bypassed the historical borders of the individual Yugoslav countries and even ignored their names. As regards the economic, social, and, to a certain extent, the cultural policy, this constitution imitated the progressive Weimar Constitution (on 28 February 1922 the rather liberal "Law for the Protection of Workers"¹³ was accepted which legalized several important rights and freedoms, as well as institutions for the protection of workers – the chambers of labour, trade-unions, the right to strike). The main political factors in the state were – besides the royal government and the army, and, to a certain extent, the Catholic Church – the political parties. Among these, the strongest and most influential were two Serbian political parties: the National Radical Party [*Narodna radikalna stranka* - NRS], and the Yugoslav Democratic Party [*Jugoslovenska demokratska stranka* - JDS]. They supported centralism and unity, and opposed autonomy for Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The non-Serbian nations gathered primarily around their own national parties: the Croatian Republican Peasant Party [*Hrvatska republikanska seljačka stranka* - HRSS], the Slovene People's Party [*Slovenska ljudska stranka* - SLS] and the Yugoslav Moslem Organization [*Jugoslovenska muslimanska organizacija* - JMO]; they opposed centralism and the St. Vitus' Day Constitution and demanded its revision in the form of a federal reorganization. Besides these parties, two other class-oriented parties were important: the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia [*Socijalistička partija Jugoslavije* - SPJ], which though unsuccessful in the parliamentary elections, was nevertheless influential in the workers' organizations (trade-unions and chambers of labour); and the Party of Agricultural Workers [*Zemljoradnička stranka*], which won its seats in the agricultural sectors of Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, CPY [*Komunistička partija Jugoslavije* -KPJ], which emerged from the 1920 elections for the Constituent Assembly as became the third strongest political party in the state, continued to work illegally with its reduced membership after its prohibition in August 1921.

¹² Službene novine kraljevstva SHS [The Official Bulletin of the Kingdom of SCS], 28 June 1921 (The constitution of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes).

¹³ Petranović, Zečević, *Jugoslavija 1918/1988*, pp. 292-302.

During the twenties the crisis in the relations between Yugoslav nations continually deepened. It could not be solved either by frequent elections, held before the expiry of a parliament's term of office, or by the various temporary party coalitions. King Alexander could not attain national accord through parliament by means of an agreement between the parties and so he decided to stage a coup d'état on 6 January 1929.¹⁴ He suspended the constitution and parliament, he prohibited all political parties and, supported by the army, he seized absolute power, ruling by means of dictatorial decrees until 1931. The state was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (*Kraljevina Jugoslavija*) on 3 October 1929. Administratively it was divided into nine banats.¹⁵ However, under pressure from domestic opposition and foreign countries (France, Czechoslovakia), the king promulgated an imposed constitution (1931)¹⁶ introducing a two chamber parliament (the House of Deputies and the Senate), enabling political parties whose organization covered the whole of Yugoslavia to be active; they were not, however, allowed to be organized on the basis of nation, class or religion. After the murder of King Alexander (October 1934) the country was ruled by vice-regents who tried to calm down the national frictions while preserving at the same time the unitaristic and centralistic orientation. For this reason the Yugoslav Radical Union [*Jugoslovenska radikalna zajednica* - JRZ] was created in 1935 as a state party from a merging of the NRS, SLS and JMO. Intending to widen its influence, in 1936 the JRZ founded its own workers' section (the Yugoslav Labour Union) and in October 1937 also its youth organization. Yet in spite of having such influence, the JRZ never succeeded in lessening the national tensions in the state. Above all it did not succeed in settling the conflict between the Serbs and the Croats. A partial Serbo-Croatian agreement was eventually reached in 1939 between Dragiša Cvetković and Vladko Maček, yet this agreement, the result of a compromise, remained incomplete and satisfied nobody. The quick collapse of Yugoslavia during the war of April 1941 (on 17 April the Yugoslav Army capitulated) proves that the regime did not succeed in solving any of the essential problems of Yugoslav society; indeed, the state had actually disintegrated on 10 April, with the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia [*Nezavisna država Hrvatska* - NDH] in Zagreb.¹⁷

The Economic Aspect

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 313 (The Proclamation by King Alexander).

¹⁵ Službene novine Kraljevine Jugoslavije [The Official Bulletin of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia], 5 October 1929.

¹⁶ Ibidem, 3 September 1931.

¹⁷ Čulinović, Ferdo (ed.): Dokumenti o Jugoslaviji [Documents Relating to Yugoslavia], Zagreb 1968, pp. 346-387.

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia¹⁸ was clearly an agricultural state, with the private property divided into small peasant possessions. According to most criteria it was, between the two world wars, one of the least developed states in Europe.¹⁹ The industrial revolution came slowly and late, a whole century later than in the better developed European countries. The reconstruction of the country and its economic development were hindered by the consequences of the war which had just ended, and in which the Yugoslav nations had suffered heavy losses of both population and material goods.²⁰ Characteristic of the new state was the very low level of economic and cultural development,²¹ and a number of stark contrasts: between the economically relatively developed regions (Slovenia, Croatia and Voivodina) and the underdeveloped areas (Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro). In the northern and western parts of Yugoslavia, the economic and political positions of the capitalist class were based on the connections of the former feudal lords and the owners of factories and banks with foreign capital (French, British, German), which controlled enormous concessions in the fields of mining, industry, and banking. With the creation of the new state, the widening of the market and the expansion of the better developed parts was extended into the less developed areas. This united the interests of capital in all parts of Yugoslavia during the first years after the war. In the southern regions conditions inherited from the semi-feudal system continued to prevail. The agrarian reform, started in 1919,²² aimed to abolish feudal conditions (in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kosovo and Dalmatia) and to distribute large estates among the small land owners and landless people. Altogether about 1,700,000 ha of agricultural land were distributed (leased).²³ The agrarian reform continued into the thirties and was never fully completed.

The Periodization

¹⁸ Jackson, D. George: *Comintern and Peasant in East Europe 1919-1930*, New York/London 1966; Petranović, Branko: *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918-1988 [The History of Yugoslavia]*, Book I: *The Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1914-1941)*, Beograd 1988; Pirjevec Jože: *Jugoslavija 1918-1992 [Yugoslavia 1918-1992. The Emergence, Development and Dissolution of the Yugoslavia of Karadjordjević and Tito]*, Koper 1995, pp. 9-109 (1918-1941).

¹⁹ Aleksić, Dragan: *International Economic Position of Yugoslavia between the Two World Wars*, in: *Serbia in the Modernization Processes of the 20th Century*, Beograd 1994, pp. 123-132.

²⁰ The material damage caused in all parts of Yugoslavia is evaluated at 23 billion French francs. The loss of population, based on the demographic estimation, was 10%.

²¹ According to the 1931 census, 76.3% of the population supported themselves with income from agriculture and fishery, while only 10.7% were employed in industry and skilled crafts. In all parts of the state except Slovenia more than half of the population was illiterate.

²² *Službene novine Kraljestva SHS [The Official Bulletin of the Kingdom of SCS]*, 27 February 1919 (The Preliminary Decrees for the Preparation of the Agrarian Reform).

²³ In 1921, 80.4% of the population of the Kingdom of the SCS lived on income from agriculture. According to the structure of possessions, 67.8% of all people lived on possessions that were smaller than 3 ha. Altogether they possessed 28% of the total lard area.

In Yugoslav historiography the following periodization of the history of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918-1941) has been agreed upon (and in this context also that of the Communist Party). The first period covers the time from the creation of the state up to its first constitution (1 December 1918 – 28 June 1921). This was the time of revolutionary turmoil in all the areas of Yugoslavia, the time of the formation of the Communist Party, the time when the Greater Serbian bourgeoisie, aided by the bourgeoisie of other Yugoslav nations, consolidated its class power, thwarted revolutionary development, and at the same time enforced the centralized state system. The second period covers the time of an apparently parliamentary system (1921-1929). This parliamentary democracy was limited to certain classes only (the CPY was prohibited until the end of the existence of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), and even within this framework it was further limited by the powers and activity of the king. The crisis caused by the unsolved social problems was a permanent factor. Above all there was the unsolved national question, which erupted with full force. The third period covers the time of the king's dictatorship (promulgated on 6 January 1929), when the king, as the representative of the high bourgeoisie, especially that of Serbia, tried, by abrogating the constitution and using his own absolute power, to suppress by force the unsolved national question, and especially, to annihilate the revolutionary workers' movement. Nevertheless this dictatorship was gradually forced to yield to bourgeois opposition and to reintroduce an appearance of parliamentary forms into political life. This relaxation had its deeper cause in the increased acuteness of the social problem resulting from the general economic crisis. The violent death of King Alexander (October 1934) did not immediately mark the end of the dictatorship (the imposed constitution of 1931, the electoral law, the law regulating the work of political parties, etc.), yet in spite of this it represented the beginning of a new period. The fourth period covers the time of the vice-regents' rule. It continued until the Fascist states attacked Yugoslavia (6 April 1941). Characteristic of this final period is, on the one hand, the definitive reconstruction and political consolidation of the illegal CPY – within the framework of the struggle for the antifascist people's front – and, on the other hand, the ruling bourgeoisie's endeavours to consolidate its power by means of a new merging of political parties (JRZ). The defeat and disintegration of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia during the short April war was followed by the period of the war for national liberation and the people's revolution (1941-1945),²⁴ which was succeeded by Socialist Yugoslavia.²⁵

²⁴ Petranović: *Istorija Jugoslavije* [The History of Yugoslavia], Book II: The War of National Liberation and the Revolution (1941-1945); Pirjevec: *Jugoslavija* [Yugoslavia], pp. 111-152 (1941-1945).

²⁵ Petranović: *Istorija Jugoslavije* [The History of Yugoslavia], Book III: The Socialist Yugoslavia (1945-1988); Pirjevec: *Jugoslavija 1918-1992* [Yugoslavia], pp. 153-433 (1945-1992).

Archival Sources and Documents for Research of the Yugoslav Communist Movement during the Comintern Period

When we talk about historical studies on Comintern, Communism, Stalinism, and open access to the archival materials for this period we, as a matter of fact, must state that the former Archives of CC UCY in Belgrade was the central institution that - up to the fall of the Berlin wall and the opening of the Russian and East European archives - gave the access to researchers for historical studies on primary sources.

After the triumphant antifascist struggle (1941-1945) and the dispute with CPSU (during Informbureau, 1948) CPY took interest for this kind of studies. In this context in Belgrade was found the Institute for International Workers' Movement (now Institute for European Studies) that had engaged researchers for series of projects from all of Yugoslavia. Unfortunately most of the published documents and monographical studies remained, to a wider public unknown, the reason being, they are written in Yugoslav languages.²⁶ However, today - after the break up of Yugoslavia - the interest in the new formed states on the grounds of former Yugoslavia, for this sort of researches is unfortunately thoroughly different as it was before the year 1991.²⁷

Archives

The central institution which keeps and collects the archival material connected with the creation and development since 1918 of the workers' movement and the Communist Party in Yugoslavia is the Archives of the Central Committee of the Union of Yugoslav Communists (*Arhiv CK SKJ*) in Belgrade. It was founded in October 1948. At the same time Party archives were founded in each individual republic. They collect and keep material with a regional significance. Up to now it is certain that all the sources preserved in the country have been collected and the more important papers and collections in the regional, national, and federal archives have been the object of research, as have the archives in the Eastern European countries (in these, important material concerning the history of the CPY has been collected, covering also its cooperation with the parties of those countries, and the activities of the Yugoslav Communist emigrants there). The most extensive research was carried out in the Central Party Archives of the (former) Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin (now RTsKhIDNI)²⁸ in Moscow, from where were obtained more than 200,000 microcopies and pages from selected

²⁶ Dajić, Putnik: A Beograd Institute for European Studies Project, in: The International Newsletter of Historical Studies on Comintern, Communism and Stalinism, vol. 1 (1993/94), no. 3/4, pp. 57-59.

²⁷ Lešnik, Avgust: Archival sources and documents for research of the Yugoslav communist movement for the period between the two world wars, in: The International Newsletter of Historical Studies on Comintern, Communism and Stalinism, vol. II (1994/95), no. 5/6, pp. 63-68.

²⁸ *Russian Centre of Conservation and Study of Records for Modern History.*

archival material (these are predominantly Party documents that were sent by the CPY to the Comintern). On the basis of such research the CPY archives have been complemented.²⁹ The party documents are very typical as regards their external characteristics, form and contents (while it was working illegally /1921-1941/ the Party was forced to maintain methods of strict secrecy in its communications). Most frequently these documents have no stamp or seal, nor do they bear signatures. They rarely give the date and place of their origin. The documents written inside the country are usually full of abbreviations, codes, pseudonyms, frequently also ambiguities and allegorical meanings. Most of the written material (reports and other texts) was intended for the leadership of the CPY, which had worked abroad for more than ten years. This is why a considerable part of the material has either been lost or can only be found preserved in foreign archives. The documents that were sent to the organs of the Comintern are mainly preserved. The documents drawn up abroad are in foreign languages (Russian, German). In the archives of the Central Committee (CC) of the CPY there exist, among other things, the following important collections of unpublished archival material: documents concerning the CC of the CPY, the CC of the Union of the Communist Youth of Yugoslavia [*Savez komunističke omladine Jugoslavije* - SKOJ], the Communist International, the Communist Youth International (CYI), the Peasant International, the Red International of Labour Unions (RILU), the Red Aid of Yugoslavia, Yugoslav students in the USSR, the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia and memoirs. After the self abolition of the Union of Yugoslav Communists abolished itself in 1990, the archival material of the Party was transferred to the corresponding state archives of the individual republics; the material of the former Archives of the CC UYC, however, is preserved in the Archives of Yugoslavia (*Arhiv Jugoslavije*)³⁰ in Belgrade. The most important archival material covering the activity of the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia (SPY) was preserved in the Archives of the Workers' Movement (now in the *Arhiv SCG*) in Belgrade: the archives of the SPY; the collection of Vitomir Korać (a leading personality in the SPY); the papers of the CI (documents by Communists concerning Socialists).³¹

Published Documents

²⁹ Bosić, Milovan: Arhivski izvori za istoriju SKJ do 1941 godine [Archival Sources for the History of UCY Until 1941], in: *Arhivski pregled*, 2/1969, pp. 11-32.

³⁰ *Archives of Yugoslavia* was renamed 2003 into the *Archives of Serbia and Montenegro* (Arhiv Srbije i Crne Gore /SCG/).

³¹ Among the archives abroad, the largest number of documents on SPY is preserved in the International Institute of Social History (*Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis*) in Amsterdam: Archives Karl Kautsky (more than fifty letters of Yugoslav socialists); Archives of the Second International, Archives of the Labour and Socialist International - LSI (reports and letters of the leaders of SPY - mostly of Živko Topalović, a leading personality in SPY - to the executive committee of LSI and to Friedrich Adler).

A considerable part of the Communist Party's archival material has been published. Certainly all the more important material concerning the four congresses and five conferences has been published at some time in party newspapers and reviews. After the war, the surviving stenograms and notes covering individual party congresses³² and conferences³³ were published together with the necessary scholarly apparatus, as well as stenograms and documents of UCYY (Union of the Communist Youth of Yugoslavia)³⁴, Workers' Trade Unions of Yugoslavia³⁵ and Comintern³⁶. The documents of the leading party organs, especially the correspondence between party leaders, has been used and published within the frame of the series of their collected works.³⁷

The Press

A rich source for studying the history of the Communist and Socialist movements in the period between the two World Wars is also the press, calendars, May Day publications and other printed material of a similar character.³⁸ During the legal period (1919-1921), the CPY had at its disposal a rich variety of publications. Besides the daily newspaper *Radničke novine* [The Workers' Newspaper], the organ of the CPY which had a relatively large circulation (15,000), there existed 15 more periodicals and one other newspaper, with a total circulation of more than 70,000 copies. With the state law issued in 1921 all the Party papers were prohibited, and the printing establishments and Party property confiscated. The CPY endeavoured to start publishing several new legal and illegal papers. After the prohibition of the CPY and up until the end of 1924 dozens of Party, Youth, and trade-union papers were published. Several were confiscated immediately on publication of their first number others could continue appearing only for a very short time. In spite of the diminishing of the number of printed

³² Prvi (osnivački) kongres SRPJ(k) - Socijalističke radničke partije Jugoslavije (kommunista) [The First (Founding) Congress of SWPY(c) - Socialist Workers's Party of Yugoslavia (communists)], Beograd 1990; Drugi (Vukovarski) kongres KPJ [The Second (Vukovar) Congress of the CPY], Beograd 1983; Treći kongres KPJ [The Third Congress of CPY], Beograd 1986; Istorijški arhiv KPJ [The Historical Archives of CPY], vol. II: Četvrti kongres KPJ [The Fourth Congress of CPY], Beograd 1950.

³³ Istorijški arhiv KPJ [The Historical Archives of CPY], vol. II: 1.-4. zemaljska konferencija KPJ [State Conferences of CPY], Beograd 1950; Peta zemaljska konferencija KPJ [The Fifth State Conference of CPY], Beograd 1980.

³⁴ Kongresi, konferencije i sednice centralnog organa SKOJ-a [The Congresses, Conferences, and Sessions of the Central Organs of UCYY], vol. I (1919-1924), vol. II (1925-1941), Beograd 1983.

³⁵ Dokumenti Centralnog radničkog sindikalnog veća Jugoslavije 1919-1921 [Documents of the Central Committee of Workers' Trade Unions of Yugoslavia 1919-1921], Beograd 1983.

³⁶ Komunistička internacionala. Stenogrami i dokumenti kongresa I-VII [The Communist International. The Stenograms and Documents of Congresses I-VII], vol. I-XII, Beograd/Gornji Milanovac 1981-1983.

³⁷ Collected works of Filip Filipović, Djuro Djaković, Josip Broz Tito, Edvard Kardelj, Blagoje Parović, Moša Pijade, Veljko Vlahović, Boris Kidrič, and others.

³⁸ Vesović, Milan: Revolucionarna štampa u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca 1918-1929 [The Revolutionary Press in the Kingdom of the SCS 1918-1929], Beograd 1980; Vesović, Milan: Ilegalna štampa Komunističke partije Jugoslavije 1929-1941 [The Illegal Press of the CPY 1929-1941], Beograd 1989.

copies and in spite of the prohibition, there were two papers which continued to appear for a long time: *Borba* [The Struggle] in Zagreb and *Radnik* [The Worker] in Belgrade. Among the Party press, an important place was held by *Proleter* [The Proletarian], the organ of the CC of the CPY. It was started in January 1929 and it continued to appear for 14 years. Altogether 99 numbers were published.³⁹ It was printed in Zagreb, Vienna, Moscow and Brussels. The most important Comintern documents connected with the Yugoslav question were published by the Marxist newspaper *Klasna borba* [The Class Struggle], whose editors were the top leaders of the Party (1926-1937). In spite of the fact that it was conceived as a theoretical Party organ, this newspaper's primary role was to inform about the events in the life of the Party. From the middle of the thirties, the CPY endeavoured to engage non-Communists, democratically and progressively oriented people, and with them to begin to publish new literary-social and political periodicals and newspapers: *Odjek* [The Echo], *Naše novine* [Our Newspaper], *Izraz* [Expression], *Pečat* [The Press], *Naša stvarnost* [Our Reality], *Pregled* [Survey]. With the strengthening of the CPY's influence in the youth movement, in women's organizations and in trade-unions there emerged – in the thirties – a series of reviews and newspapers, both legal and illegal. The problems of the working class were also represented by the numerous papers published by Yugoslav emigrants: *Pravda* [Justice] in Canada, *Radnički glasnik* [Workers' Herald] in Chicago, *Slobodna reč* [The Free Word] in USA.

Besides the Communist press⁴⁰ there was also plenty of press from the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia - SPY [*Socijalistička partija Jugoslavije* - SPJ]. The archival copies of this press are certainly completely preserved. This was not an anti-regime party. The SPY had some thirty papers or part- and trade-union organs, which appeared continuously or periodically in many of the larger towns of Yugoslavia: *Socijalist* [Socialist], *Socijalističke radničke novine* [Socialist Workers' Newspaper], *Radničke novine* [Workers' Newspaper], *Naprej* [Forward], *Radnički pokret* [Worker's Movement], and others.⁴¹

Memoirs, Biographies, Bibliographies

The Yugoslav historiography of the communist and workers' movement is rich in numerous autobiographical works which represent authentic testimonies by the leaders of the

³⁹ After the publication of the phototypographic edition (Belgrade, 1968) four more numbers were discovered; there are indications that, besides these, three more numbers were published.

⁴⁰ Reprinted editions: *Žena danas* [The Woman Today, 1936-1940], Beograd 1966; *Dimitrovac* (May-September 1937), Beograd 1968; *Proleter* [The Proletarian], Beograd 1968; *Borba* [The Struggle, 1922-1923], Beograd/Zagreb 1972; *Ženski svijet* [The Woman World, 1939-1941], Zagreb 1979; *Radnička straža* [The Workers' Sentinel, a socialist paper, 1919-1929], Vukovar 1980; *Klasna borba* [The Class Struggle, vol. I: 1926-1929, vol. II: 1930-1934, 1937], Beograd 1984.

⁴¹ Milenković, Toma: *Socijalistička partija Jugoslavije 1921-1929* [The Socialist Party of Yugoslavia, 1921-1929], Beograd 1974, pp. 709-712 (The list of newspapers and reviews which appeared under the auspices of the SPJ).

Communist Party and other participants, speaking of the activity of the Party in the period between the two world wars. These are diaries, notes, memoirs, autobiographies, and other works. Unpublished, yet preserved, is the diary of one of the founders of the CPY: it covers the period of his participation in the Spanish Civil War.⁴² The memoirs of R. Čolaković are considered to be among the more important texts with the richest contents.⁴³ Significant are also the memoirs of other participants in the communist movement and of the bourgeois politicians.⁴⁴ Yugoslav institutions specializing in the preservation of the Party archives have used the occasion of various celebrations and jubilees to collect systematically the memoirs of various individuals. Thus, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, they collected some 1600 memoirs of the Yugoslav participants in the October revolution, and published the most important ones in a separate edition.⁴⁵ When the 40th anniversary of the creation of the CPY was celebrated, they collected more than 1,500 memoirs by the activists in the Yugoslav revolutionary movement and of these 650 have been published.⁴⁶ In a separate edition have also been published the memoirs of more than 300 participants in the Spanish Civil War.⁴⁷ Noted among the biographical works are the biographies of exceptional communist leaders in the pre-war period.⁴⁸ Also the bibliographies of the communist and workers' movements have been prepared and published.⁴⁹

⁴² Čopić, Vladimir: *Dnevnik 1935-1937* [The Diary 1935-1937], The Archives of the CC UYC, 2 Sp. IV-d/1.

⁴³ Čolaković, Rodoljub: *Kazivanja o jednom pokolenju* [Speaking about a Generation], I-II, Sarajevo 1966-1972. With these memoirs one of the oldest Yugoslav communists gave his vision of the time (1919-1941), its actors and their mutual relationships, aspirations, and destinies, the rises and falls of the CPY and of the revolutionary movement.

⁴⁴ Vukmanović, Svetozar *Tempo: Revolucija koja teče* [The Revolution which Continues], I-III, Beograd 1971; Nikoliš, Gojko: *Korjen, stablo, pavetina* [Root, Stem, Clematis], Zagreb 1980; Golouh, Rudolf: *Pol stoletja spominov* [Half a Century of Memories], Ljubljana 1966; Jakšić, Jovo: *Socijaldemokratska stranka Bosne i Hercegovine 1908-1941* [The Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1908-1941], Beograd (unpublished manuscript); Belić, Milorad: *Uspomene* [Memories], Beograd 1962 (typescript); Lapčević, Dragiša: *Poslednje godine u politici* [The Last Years in Politics], Beograd (unpublished manuscript); Topalović, Živko: *Začeci socializma i komunizma u Jugoslaviji* [The Beginnings of Socialism and Communism in Yugoslavia], London 1960; Ribar, Ivan: *Politički zapisi* [Political Notes], I-IV, Beograd 1949-1952; Stojadinović, Milan: *Ni rat, ni pakt - Jugoslavija između dva rata* [Neither War, Nor Treaty - Yugoslavia Between the Two Wars], Rijeka 1970.

⁴⁵ *Jugoslaveni u oktobarskoj revoluciji 1917-1921* [Yugoslavs in the October Revolution 1917-1921], Beograd 1977.

⁴⁶ *Četrdeset godina. Zbornik sećanja aktivista jugoslovenskog revolucionarnog pokreta* [Forty Years. An Anthology of Memoires of the Activists of the Yugoslav Revolutionary Movement], I-IV, Beograd 1960; *Bitka, kakor življenje dolga. Pričevanja o revolucionarnem in osvobodilnem boju Slovencev* [Battle, Long as Life. Testimonies of the Revolutionary and Liberation Fight of Slovenes], Ljubljana 1975.

⁴⁷ *Španija 1936-1939* [Spain 1936-1939], I-V, Beograd 1971.

⁴⁸ Djuro Djaković, *Život i djelo. Gradnja za monografiju* [Djuro Djaković, His Life and Work. Materials for a Monography], Slavonski Brod 1979; Očak, Ivan: *Vojnik revolucije. Životni i borbeni put Vladimira Čopića* [A Soldier of the Revolution. The Life and Fight of Vladimir Čopić], Zagreb 1980; Dedijer, Vladimir: *Josip Broz Tito. Prilozi za biografiju* [Josip Broz Tito. Contributions to His Biography], I-II, Beograd 1953-1981; Očak, Ivan: *Braća Cvijić* [Brothers Cvijić], Zagreb 1982; Gligorijević, Branislav: *Između revolucije i dogme. Vojislav Vujović u Kominterni* [Between the Revolution and Dogma: Vojislav

Other Sources

Besides the sources connected with the work of CPY and SPY, other sources are also important, such as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia government organs and the source materials of various political parties.⁵⁰ These are above all the legislative-normative acts, documents of government organs, army and police documents and those of organs specializing in the struggle against Communism, documentation of the courts of inquiry and official records of economic, social, and cultural institutions. In various ministries there existed special departments for the struggle against Communist activities; the organs of town police prepared special card indexes of Communists, registering more than 80% of all members of CPY. Before the war a large number of Communists was arrested and condemned to hard labour, and so large quantities of material have been preserved covering the life and work of Communists in prisons and at hard labour. According to the data thus preserved more than 1,500 court proceedings of a political character took place in the period between the two World Wars; in these more than 10,000 persons were tried. The documentation covering the examinations before the courts of inquiry represents one of the richest sets of archival papers from pre-war Yugoslavia. The archival material connected with the activity of state organs of the Kingdom of the SCS, as well as the varied material covering the activity of the bourgeois and opposition parties, are really preserved in their entirety and can be found in the Archives of Yugoslavia and in the Institute of Military History, both in Belgrade, as well as in the national and regional archives of former Yugoslavia.⁵¹ These archival sources, literature, and the socialist and communist press are complemented by the large number of bourgeois reviews and newspapers. They offer not only additional data, they help us also to reconstruct and correct individual Party positions.

Vujović in the Comintern], Zagreb 1983; Očak, Ivan: Gorkić. Život, rad , pogibija [Gorkić. His Life, Work, Ruin], Zagreb 1988.

⁴⁹ Protić, Žarko: Dokumenti i materijali Kominterne objavljeni u Jugoslaviji izmedju dva rata [Comintern documents and materials published in Yugoslavia during the two world wars], in: Medjunarodni radnički pokret, XXVII (Beograd 1984), No. 1-2, pp. 156-166; Protić Žarko/Matić, Milan/Vesović, Milan: Socialistički i radnički pokret i KPJ 1867-1941. Bibliografija 1945-1969 [Socialist and Workers' Movement and the CPY 1867-1941. Bibliography 1945-1969], Beograd 1972; Lešnik, Avgust: Bibliographical Choice of Historical Studies on Communism and Stalinism in Yugoslavia, in: The International Newsletter of Historical Studies on Comintern, Communism and Stalinism, vol. 1 (1993), no. 1/2, pp. 75-76.

⁵⁰ Popović, Jovan (ed.): A Guide Through the Holding Funds of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Beograd (Yugoslav Archives) 2000.

⁵¹ Mirčić, Radmila: Arhivska grada centralnih institucija Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918-1941 [Archival Materials of the Central Institutions of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1918-1941], in: Arhivist, XXI (Beograd 1971), pp. 80-90.

The Formation and the Development of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia during the Legal Period (1919-1921)

The call of the leadership of the Social Democratic parties of Serbia and of Bosnia and Herzegovina (January, 1919) to convoke a congress with the purpose of creating “Yugoslav Social Democracy” was soon supported by the Yugoslav Communist Revolutionary Union, by the left-wing groups in the Social Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonic, by the Dalmatian Socialists, by the Social Democratic organizations in the Slovene Littoral (in spite of the fact that this region was occupied by Italy), and by the restored Social Democratic organizations in Montenegro and Macedonia, and in the regions of Banat, Bačka and Baranja. All these organizations accepted the position that their future unified organization must have a class character and that it must not co-operate with the bourgeoisie (the anti-ministerial position). The initiative for the creation of a unified workers’ party and trade-unions was rejected by the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonic, by the opposition group in the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (the so-called *zvonaši*) and by the Slovene Social Democrats. They considered that, because of the regional and “racial” peculiarities, a federalistic organization would be best for the workers’ movement.

The Unification of the Labour Movement

There were 432 delegates at the “Congress of Unification” in Belgrade (from 20 to 23 April 1919). They represented some 130,000 organized supporters of the workers’ class movement from all parts of the state (with the exception of Slovenia). At this congress, which was marked by opposing positions towards the concepts of the revolutionary and reformist currents, the Socialist Workers’ Party of Yugoslavia (Communists) - SWPY(c) [*Socijalistička radnička partija Jugoslavije (komunista) - SRPJ(k)*] was created. According to its statute, it was organized as a united party, and not as a union of parties. Its highest organs were the Congress and the Central Committee.⁵² All other organs (the central and regional committees, the parliamentary group, the party press) were subordinate to them. The congress accepted the fundamental document containing the party programme, *The Basis of Unification*. “The Basis of Unification” (it included the general part of the programme of the Serbian Social Democratic Party which was taken from the Erfurt Programme⁵³ of German Social Democracy)

⁵² Filip Filipović and Živko Topalović were elected secretaries, and Vladimir Čopić became organisational secretary.

⁵³ Programmatische Dokumente der deutschen Sozialdemokratie, Bonn 1990.

stated that capitalism was passing into its last phase and that the class struggle was developing “into large social revolutions”, which created conditions “for the introduction of a Communist economy”. The congress considered that “it was possible to demolish capitalism and to establish a Communist society, so that the proletariat could achieve political power”. It found that the Second International was not able to cope with this situation.⁵⁴ So it decided that the new party would join the Third International.⁵⁵

The strategic orientation towards a revolutionary struggle was not, however, accompanied by a corresponding concrete revolutionary programme. “The Practical Programme of Action” was completely oriented to a long-term political struggle within the framework of the capitalist system. It did not put forward any direct revolutionary demands on behalf of the working class, nor were its authors aware of the significance of the national and agrarian questions for the class struggle of the proletariat in a multinational and agrarian state such as the Kingdom of the SCS. The SWPY(c) considered that constitutionally the national question had been solved in 1918. It supported the idea of a unified state with a republican organization and with local self-management for regions, districts and communities. It considered that a state organized in this way offered the best chance of abolishing the historical differences between Slovenes, Croats and Serbs and merging the three “tribes” into one nation, and that such a state also offered a way of successfully conducting the class struggle, because “federalism would also be dangerous to the unity of the working class itself, and to its movement, at a time when there is the possibility of a proletarian revolution”. In this way the national movement, in a state which was shaken by deep social and national contradictions and revolutionary changes, remained outside the revolutionary strategy of the class struggle of the proletariat. With regard to the agrarian question, the congress limited itself to demanding the distribution of feudal estates among landless peasants and the abolition of feudal relations. It adopted the idea of a common class frontier of the industrial and agrarian proletariat, and not of a widely conceived union of workers and peasants. Solutions to the national, peasant and agrarian questions, suggested by the congress,⁵⁶ were not based on the objective socioeconomic and political conditions that existed in the state; they were rather the results of a synthesis of the Social Democratic ideological heritage with the experiences of the October Revolution, or the consequence of a compromise between the reformist and revolutionary ideological currents.

⁵⁴ Lešnik, Avgust: Social Democratic Reform or Communist Revolution – Historical Dilemma of the International Labour Movement (1914-1923), in: Cindrič, Alojz (ed.): A Festschrift for Ludvik Čarni (1931-1996). Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences, Ljubljana 1998, pp. 109-124.

⁵⁵ From its creation in April 1919 the CPY was always a member of the Comintern (until the dissolution of the Comintern in May 1943).

⁵⁶ Prvi (osnivački) kongres SRPJ(k) - Socijalističke radničke partije Jugoslavije (kommunisti) [The First (Founding) Congress of SWPY(c) - Socialist Workers's Party of Yugoslavia (communists)], Beograd 1990;

At the end of the first day of the congress (20 April) a conference of women Socialists was convened. It led to the unification of all previous women's movements into the United Socialist (Communist) Woman Movement [*Jedinstveni ženski socijalistički (komunistički) pokret*]. The newly founded movement adopted completely the programme of the SWPY(c). It decided to form its own regional and area movement leaderships and to start its own paper *Jednakost* [Equality].⁵⁷

At the same time as the Party congress, the congress for the unification of the trade-unions⁵⁸ took place in Belgrade (from 20 to 23 April 1919). Its participants were mainly the same delegates (432). This congress, too, adopted the principle of the unity of the class movement of workers and of the mutual alliance of the Party and trade unions. The congress founded a united centre of trade-unions, The Central Committee of Workers' Trade Unions of Yugoslavia - CCWTUY [*Centralno radničko sindikalno veće Jugoslavije - CRVSJ*],⁵⁹ which represented the majority of the workers organized in trade-unions. The close alliance between the CCWTUY and the CPY found expression, among other things, in the fact that they had common leaderships and that the Party papers were also trade-union organs. In the period 1919-1920 the CCWTUY organized many political and economic actions against employers and state authority: the typographers' strike (1919), the general strike on 20 and 21 July 1919 organized against the interventions in Russia and Hungary, the tobacco-industry workers' and railwaymen's strikes (April 1920), the strike by workers in the state mines of Bosnia and Slovenia (December 1920), and others. In this period the working class of Yugoslavia gained the introduction of the eight-hour working day, increased wages, and the improvement of working conditions, the participation of trade-union organizations in the conclusion of collective agreements, the election of workers' commissioners, and the right of workers to work.

The Party congress did not discuss the proposals for the creation of independent Communist youth organizations which were emerging both at home and abroad. Thus it was that in Yugoslavia the idea of creating an independent youth organization was born first among people at school and students who had studied abroad during the time of the First World War. The return of these young people, after the October Revolution and the big changes in the workers' movement, speeded up the creation of the Union of the Communist Youth of Yugoslavia - UCYY [*Savez komunističke omladine Jugoslavije - SKOJ*]. The UCYY was founded in Zagreb on 10 October 1919 at a conference of representatives of the Communist youth

⁵⁷ Kecman, Jovanka: *Žene Jugoslavije u radničkom pokretu i ženskim organizacijama 1918-1941* [The Women of Yugoslavia in Workers' Movement and Women Organisations 1918-1941], Beograd 1978.

⁵⁸ *Radničke novine* [Workers' News], 1 May 1919; Milenković, Toma (ed.): *Dokumenti Centralnog radničkog sindikalnog veća Jugoslavije 1919-1921* [Documents of the Central Committee of Workers' Trade Unions of Yugoslavia 1919-1921], Beograd 1983, pp. 78-79.

⁵⁹ CRVSJ (CCWTUY) was one of the founders of the Profintern (The Red Trade Union International) in 1921.

clubs and local associations, as an autonomous and independent organization. The conference elected its temporary leadership and decided to publish the paper *Crvena zastava* [The Red Banner] as the organ of UCYY. In Zagreb, too, its central committee, also temporary, was formed. It resolved to begin forming Communist youth associations throughout the country. The regional leaderships of the UCCY were founded in Ljubljana, Belgrade and Sarajevo. The UCYY had at that time about 3,000 members, organized in 37 local associations. At the time of its first congress (Belgrade, 10-14 June 1920) it had some 8,000 members. Despite being founded with the consent of the inner leadership of the SWPY(c), the creation of the UCYY was not conformable with the statutes and programme of the SWPY(c). This caused the centrists in the SWPY(c) to oppose the creation of the Communist youth organization. This opposition became even greater when the UCYY adopted the programme of the Communist Youth International - CYI (November 1919), which, with its avant-gardism, differed from the programme of the SWPY(c). In January 1920 the UCYY published its programme, which aimed at introducing socialist revolution into the Kingdom of the SCS. Although still small in number, the UCYY led – together with the SWPY(c) and with the revolutionary trade-unions – a series of political actions up to the time of the “*Obznana*”, that is the decree prohibiting all Party activity passed on 29/30 December 1920.⁶⁰

Communist participation in the social and political disturbances in 1919⁶¹ and 1920, and the Party's gains in many towns and villages during the local elections in Croatia and Montenegro, caused increased government pressure against the CPY. At the same time an ideological split developed in the Party between the centrists and the leftists. The former, who followed ideologically the example of the reformist workers' movement in Austria, Germany and France, stressed that the Kingdom of the SCS was an industrially underdeveloped state with a small working class and therefore only a gradual capitalist development could bring about conditions favourable to a future proletarian revolution. Besides this, its success would also depend on the revolutionary processes and proletarian revolutions in the developed capitalist states of Europe. They favoured the playing down the class struggle and they opposed the close connection between the political and trade-union movements of the working class. Others, convinced Communists, tried to prove that the prerequisites for a revolution already existed in Yugoslavia and that their development required an ideologically and organizationally united proletarian party and the closest possible alliance of the political and

⁶⁰ Cvetković, Slavoljub: *Napredni omladinski pokret u Jugoslaviji 1919-1928* [The Progressive Youth Movement in Yugoslavia 1919-1928], Beograd 1966; Vasić, Mirosljub: *Revolucionarni omladinski pokret u Jugoslaviji 1929-1941* [The Revolutionary Youth Movement in Yugoslavia 1929-1941], Beograd 1977.

⁶¹ More than 200.000 organized workers in the larger towns participated in a strike on 1 May 1919, manifesting their unity and solidarity with the world proletariat and supporting the young Soviet Republic.

trade-union movements. In the shadow of this conflict, which took place on the pages of the Party press, preparations were made for the second Party congress.

The Second Party Congress: the Split with the "Centrists"

In an atmosphere of clarifying the relations between the Communists and the "centrists" – who in a formally united Party differed from the former in their views on the strategy and tactics of the class struggle – the second congress of the SWPY(c) took place at Vukovar (20-24 June 1920); 347 delegates from all parts of the state participated. They represented more than 800 organizations with more than 65,000 members, while at the same time the united trade-unions had more than 208.000 members. The congress rejected the counterproposals of the minority – the centrists – and adopted the Communist proposals of the Party programme, statutes and resolution; it decided that the Party should be renamed the Communist Party of Yugoslavia /CPY/.⁶² Its programme, which was submitted by Filip Filipović, was based on the platform of the Communist International (CI) adopted at its First Congress.⁶³ Proceeding from the evaluation that the imperialistic phase in the development of capitalism had begun the programme stated that therefore the epoch of the proletarian revolution had started. The programme foresaw the struggle of the CPY to introduce the dictatorship of the proletariat and create the Soviet Republic of Yugoslavia as a member of the Soviet Federation of the Balkan-Danubian Republics. It demanded the expropriation and socialization of production and trade, the separation of church and state and the abrogation of state debts. It stated that the CPY would use all possible means to realize these aims and that it would assume power only when the majority of the proletariat and the working masses had accepted the Communist programme and aspirations. In line with this programme it adopted a resolution on the political situation and the tasks of the CPY, which laid especial stress among the fundamental party tasks on: propaganda for the revolution; the formation of a united front by the revolutionary proletariat of the Balkan-Danubian states, in agreement with the resolution of the *Balkan Communist Federation* (BCF);⁶⁴ the defence of the Soviet Union; the popularization of the new forms of proletarian democracy and of the Soviet way of organizing society and the state. The congress, however, ignored the warning about the multi-national

⁶² Drugi (Vukovarski) kongres KPJ [The Second (Vukovar) Congress of the CPY], Beograd 1983

⁶³ Komunistička internacionala. Stenogrami i dokumenti kongresa [The Communist International. The Stenograms and Documents of Congresses], vol. I, Beograd/Gornji Milanovac 1981, pp. 137-142 [Platform of the CI].

⁶⁴ The Archives of the CC UCY, the Collection: "Balkanska komunistička federacija". The *Balkan Communist Federation* (BCF) was founded at the third conference of the Balkan Social Democratic parties in Sofia on 15 January 1920, as a union of the Communist parties of Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Romania. The BCF joined the CI and became its Balkan section with the task to harmonize the decisions and actions of the Balkan Communists and to endeavour to create the Balkan Soviet Socialist Federative Republic.

character of the Yugoslav state, which urged that the national question should play a greater role in the policy of the Communist Party. On the contrary, the CPY continued to support the idea of national unity, convinced that the national question had been solved with the creation of the Yugoslav state. The structure of the Party, too, only temporarily took into consideration the peculiarities of the historical ethnic regions (for as long as the regional governments continued to exist).⁶⁵ With the decision of the congress – with its statute – the Party became centralized. The regional Party leaders were nominated by the Central Party Committee, and the local Party leaderships were also responsible for administering the regional trade-unions. The conditions for admitting new members were made stricter. Only an employed worker could apply to become a member of the Party and then only if he had been a member of the united trade-unions.

The centrists drew up a "political declaration" (Dragiša Lapčević) in opposition to this Communist programme. In it they expressed their disagreement with the Party's evaluation of the situation and the tasks it agreed to undertake ("the central task of the Party should be to work for social reform"). They demanded that the adoption of the programme should be postponed until the next congress. They also unsuccessfully opposed the centralized organization of the CPY and its organizational association with the trade-unions. After that they left the congress. In this way the Vukovar Party congress elected exclusively the communist leadership.⁶⁶

After the split at the second congress and the adoption of Bolshevik ideology by the socialist movement in the Yugoslav countries, we find among the ranks of the centrists opposition also to the ideas of the October Revolution, and especially to the policy of the CI. The well known Socialist Božidar Adžija considered that the Comintern, with its distinctly Bolshevik character, had become deviationist and that its programme could not be practically applied under the specific conditions prevailing in various countries.⁶⁷ The centrists published their *Manifesto*⁶⁸ on 25 September 1920. In it they: denied the Marxist character of Bolshevism; stated that the October Revolution was an irrational deed; linked the destiny of the world revolution with the revolutionary changes in the developed capitalist countries. They considered that in Russia the Bolsheviks had committed violence on the course of history because in Russia no

⁶⁵ Vlačić, Gordana: KPJ i nacionalno pitanje u Jugoslaviji 1919-1929 [CPY and the National Question in Yugoslavia], Zagreb 1974.

⁶⁶ Pavle Pavlović and Jakov Lastrić were elected presidents of the Central Party Committee, Sima Marković and Filip Filipović for its secretaries and Vladimir Čopić for its organisational secretary.

⁶⁷ Adžija, Božidar: Politički položaj i socijalna demokracija [The Political situation and Social Democracy], Sarajevo, 1920, pp. 29-31.

⁶⁸ Naša sporna pitanja. Manifest opozicije Komunističke partije Jugoslavije [Our Questions of Dispute. The Manifesto of the Opposition of the CPY], Beograd 1920), pp. 3-42. This Manifesto was signed by the 53 most distinguished "centrists" from Belgrade; subsequently 62 "centrists" from Bosnia have also expressed their agreement with the Manifesto. The author of this document was Živko Topalović.

economic and social conditions existed for the introduction of Communism and that this premature leap and overthrow determined the Bolsheviks' and the Russian government's whole international and foreign policy. The Manifesto asserted that the Bolsheviks wanted to impose their domination over the Third International and thus transform it into an instrument for the implementation of the USSR's foreign policy. "The Bolsheviks try to use all foreign parties as their own blind agents only. They act very rudely to all individuals and groups who preserve their own independent views. They misuse the great authority of one proletarian revolution and the great material resources of one state intending thereby to shatter the workers' world movement. Because of social weaknesses in their own country they are unconditionally forced to try to provoke as soon as possible armed uprisings in other countries in order to make their own revolution universal."⁶⁹ Furthermore, the Manifesto submitted to sharp criticism the Conditions for Admission that had been adopted by the Second Congress.⁷⁰ They considered them to be a dictate by Russian Bolsheviks which would lead to a general split in the international workers' movement, claiming that "they introduce a strict military centralization and the dictatorship of the leaders, they abolish internal party democracy, they transform the parties into closed sects". They rejected also the CI's opinion about the unavoidability of civil war and revolution and judged that a submission to Russian interests would have disastrous consequences for the workers' movement in Yugoslavia. The final conclusion of the Party opposition was: "The decisions adopted in Moscow regarding the organization of the Third International serve one purpose only: to impose by all means Russian political methods on other parties. We do not adopt this policy of a premature provocation of the revolution by force, of a damaging and premature seizure of power, because we believe that such a policy would ruin not only our Party, but also the whole working class as a class – therefore we are opposed to such an organization of the Third International."⁷¹ In December 1920 the opposition published the pamphlet *Contributions to our questions of dispute*,⁷² which shows the wider, European context of its standpoint and of its criticism of the Third International. It supported the European positions in the criticism of Bolshevism, declaring itself opposed to the acceptance of Russian experience as a universal way to a new society. Reprinting a certain number of articles written by well known critics of Bolshevism (Friedrich Adler, Otto Ruehle and others) in its pamphlet the opposition referred also to some critiques

⁶⁹ Lešnik, Avgust: The Manifesto of the Opposition of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia about the Communist International (Belgrade, 25 IX 1920), in: The International Newsletter of Historical Studies on Comintern, Communism and Stalinism, vol. I (1993/94), no. 3-4, pp. 21-25.

⁷⁰ Komunistička internacionala [The Communist International], vol. 2, Beograd/Gornji Milanovac 1981, pp. 392-396 (Conditions for Admission into the CI).

⁷¹ Lešnik, Avgust: Die Differenzierung in der KP Jugoslawiens unter dem Einfluß der 21 Bedingungen der KI, in: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung /BzG/, 37 (4/1995), pp. 81-86.

⁷² Prilozi za naša sporna pitanja, Beograd 1920.

which had appeared within the Third International itself. In this way some critically slanted articles became accessible to the Party members, including some that had appeared in the Soviet press, discussing the excessive centralization and bureaucratization of the Bolshevik party. Others revealed the views of Ukrainian Communists on Russian centralism, etc. Within a month the 53 signatories of the Manifesto were excluded from the leadership of the CPY (on the recommendation of the CI representatives), while 62 members were given Party punishments because they had expressed solidarity with the signatories.⁷³ Thus ended the first phase in the differentiation and political polarization in the Yugoslav workers' movement. For a time the centrists worked under the name of the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia - SWPY [*Socijalistička radnička partija Jugoslavije* - SRPJ]. In December 1921 they united with the Social Democrats to form the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia (SPY).⁷⁴ This represented the unification of the social reformistic groups in Yugoslavia.

The Elections for the Constituent Assembly and the Prohibition of CPY Work

In the elections for the Constituent Assembly (28 November 1920), in which 22 political parties participated, the CPY reached third place, winning 12.36% of all votes and 58 seats out of the total number of 419 places in the parliament. The Social Democrats gained 2.9% of the votes and 10 seats.⁷⁵ The strengthening of the revolutionary movement and the increased influence of the CPY gave rise to growing anxiety in the ruling class. Making use of the ebb in the revolutionary movement in Europe, and especially the defeat of the revolution in Hungary, the government decided to settle accounts with the workers' movement. The immediate cause was the miners' strikes in Bosnia and Slovenia in November 1920, during which, because of the brutality of the police, there was even some armed fighting.

Using the pretext that the CPY was making preparations for a revolution, the government promulgated the *Obznana*⁷⁶ in the night from 29 to 30 December 1920. All Communist activities were prohibited until the adoption of the new constitution. Many Party and trade-union leaders were imprisoned and the property and archives of the Party confiscated. Adapting itself to the new situation, the CPY adopted the decision of April 1921, to make preparations for a transition to operating illegally. In June it speeded up its reorganization. It decided to form an Alternative Central Party Leadership which could lead the Party if the

⁷³ Odluke Centralnog veća KPJ povodom akcije "centrumaša" [Decisions of the Central Committee of CPY in Connection with the Action of "Centrists"], *Radničke novine* [Workers' News], 28 November 1920; Vukovarski kongres KPJ [The Vukovar Congress of the CPY], pp. 268-270.

⁷⁴ Milenković, Toma: *Socijalistička partija Jugoslavije 1921-1929* [The Socialist Party of Yugoslavia], p. 73.

⁷⁵ Narodna skupština Kraljevine SHS [National Assembly of the Kingdom SCS] (ed.), *Statistički pregled izbora narodnih poslanika za Ustavotvornu skupštinu - 28 Novembra 1920* [Statistical Survey of Elections of People's Deputies into the Constituent Assembly], Beograd 1921.

⁷⁶ Službene novine Kraljevine SHS [The Official Bulletin of the Kingdom of SCS], 31 December 1920.

Party leadership was arrested. At the same time the prohibited trade unions fought to win legal status. The permission to re-start the work of the CCWTUY (Central Committee of Workers' Trade Unions of Yugoslavia) was given by the government (23 May 1921) on condition that the leaders publicly renounced all contacts with the CPY. In spite of the fact that the Plenum of the CCWTUY adopted the resolution of political neutrality for the trade-unions (June 1921), the authorities did not give permission for its work to be re-started. The leadership of the CPY then initiated a proposal for the creation of "Independent Trade Unions". This suggestion was realized at the conference of 12 trade union associations in Belgrade in September 1921. The reformist trade-union leaders, who supported the idea of subordinating trade-unions to the state organs, increased their activity at the same time. Confronted with the police terror and with the prohibition of the CPY, the party members were losing their belief in the revolutionary perspective. Anarchistic ideas of individual terror as a legitimate means in the struggle of the youth organization began to spread to the UCYY (Union of the Communist Youth of Yugoslavia) during the first half of 1921. It was in this spirit that the terrorist organization The Red Right [*Crvena Pravda*] was formed, which organized assassination attempts on the Regent Alexander and his minister Milorad Drašković. The consequence of this was the introduction of a special law which prohibited all Communist activity (2 August 1921).⁷⁷ At the same time all the Communist Members of Parliament were arrested. After this the Party operated illegally until 1941.

The Activity of the CPY during the Period 1921-1929

The Illegal Party's Breakthrough into Public Political Life

The prohibited CPY continued with its secret activity both at home and abroad as a section of the CI, yet without the possibility of making its presence felt, which alone could have made it an influential factor in the political life of the Kingdom of SCS. In spite of the fact that it was excluded from political life, in the eyes of the regime the Party remained its main adversary. The CPY was considered as an agent working for foreign interests (the CI and the USSR), as a force which was trying to use violence to reach a change in the constitutional order. Up to the end of 1921, some 70,000 Communists and trade-unions members were arrested while, at the same time there were also a large number of members who no longer carried out Party work.⁷⁸ At the conferences and congresses of the CPY reasons were discussed for the defeat

⁷⁷ Zakon o zaštiti javne bezbednosti i poretka u državi [The law of the Protection of Public Security and Order in the State], in: Službene novine kraljevine SHS [The Official Bulletin of the Kingdom of SCS], 13 August 1921.

⁷⁸ The membership of the CPY decreased from 65,000 in June 1920 to 1,000 in January 1924.

of the CPY in 1921, the questions of its organization, the factional conflicts between the "left" and "right" wings of the Party, the peasants and trade-unions problems.

After the Party became illegal, a split developed in the Alternative Central Party Leadership (Kosta Novaković, Triša Kaclerović, Moša Pijade), which was then leading the Party, as to the question whether the CPY should concern itself with reconstructing the legal forms of its work, or whether it should concentrate on its illegal activity. In September 1921 the Executive Committee of the CPY in Emigration was formed by a group of Party leaders (Sima Marković), which created in practice a double Party leadership. This was also the beginning of the factional conflict in the CPY. In order to co-ordinate their activities, the two Party leaderships met at the First State Conference (Vienna, 3-17 July 1922).⁷⁹ In their discussions two opposing standpoints were formulated: S. Marković considered that the revolution had been temporarily postponed and so it was necessary to direct activity towards the achievement of constitutional changes; K. Novaković, on the other hand, judging on the basis of positions formulated at the Third CI Congress regarding the crisis of capitalism,⁸⁰ thought that this crisis ought to be exploited in order to reach a rapid revolutionary change. Even though the views of S. Marković won the support of the majority, the disagreements in the Party leadership⁸¹ concerning the question of the subsequent development of the Yugoslav Communist movement continued. The Executive Committee of the Comintern (ECCI) intervened, supporting the legitimate leadership of the majority (the "right wing"), at the same time paying attention to the standpoint of the minority (the "left wing").⁸² In its *Resolution on the Yugoslav question*⁸³ the Fourth CI Congress came to the conclusion that in 1921 there were objective reasons for the defeat of the CPY, to which the weaknesses of its internal organization (the inclination to use the parliamentary forms of struggle) also largely contributed. It considered that the conflicts in the CPY leadership were of a personal character.

Parallel to the process of reconstructing Party organizations (up to 1923) the CPY also ran a successful action for the renewal of the legal work of the Independent Trade Unions. These represented a counterbalance to the reformist trade-unions (30,000 members) which founded – at the *Congress of unification* (Belgrade, 7-8 January 1922) – the Central Workers' Union of

⁷⁹ Prva zemaljska konferencija KPJ, Archives of the CC UCY, KI 1922/16-11.

⁸⁰ Komunistička internacionala [The Communist International], vol. 3, Beograd/Gornji Milanovac 1981, pp. 633-652.

⁸¹ Elected into the new Party leadership – The Central Party Council (Centralno partijsko vijeće) – were Sima Marković, Djuro Djaković, Slavko Kaurić, Ljubo Radovanović, Lazar Stefanović, Mihajlo Todorović, Lovro Klemenčić, Miodrag Barajević and Dragutin Bukvić.

⁸² The ECCI confirmed the decisions of the first conference, with the only difference that it nominated Triša Kaclerović for the Party leadership, instead of Lovro Klemenčić and Slavko Kaurić.

⁸³ Komunistička internacionala [The Communist International], vol. 5, Beograd/Gornji Milanovac 1981, pp. 823-826.

Yugoslavia - CWUY [*Glavni radnički savez Jugoslavije* - GRSJ] which joined the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam.⁸⁴ These Independent Trade Unions organized alone, without the support of the CWUY, several economic and political actions (e.g. in 1922 about 90,000 workers participated in the tariff and strike actions), and had nearly 30,000 members. With the creation of the Independent Trade Unions and also of other legal organizations – The Union of Workers' Youth of Yugoslavia and the Independent Workers' Party of Yugoslavia /IWPY/ [*Nezavisna radnička partija Jugoslavije* /NRPJ/] – the CPY succeeded in re-opening for itself a way into public political life. The IWPY, founded in Belgrade (13-14 January 1923),⁸⁵ emerged at a time of internal Party conflict, which had a negative influence on its results in the parliamentary elections of March 1923, when it won only 1% of the votes only and no seats. This electoral failure deepened even more the ideological and political disagreements between the left and right wings of the Party leadership.

The Struggle for a New Orientation for the Party Programme and for the Unity of the Party

The Second State Conference of the CPY (Vienna, 9-12 May 1923)⁸⁶ adopted the suggestion of the left wing: to create an illegal Party based on the system of cadres and organized on the principle of democratic centralism. At the same time the decision was taken that the leadership of the Party⁸⁷ must work inside Yugoslavia. It was concluded that the CPY must expand their influence in workers' organizations (cultural associations and sports clubs) and that combat units must be formed to defend the Party from attacks by Fascist-Nationalist organizations and, finally, that discussion should begin on the agrarian and national questions.

The debate on the national question, one of the most important discussions held by the CPY since May 1923,⁸⁸ brought about a completely new ideological and political Party strategy. In

⁸⁴ T. Milenković: *Socijalistička partija Jugoslavije* [SPY], pp. 594-633 (The Attitude of SPY Towards Trade Unions).

⁸⁵ Istorijски arhiv KPJ [Historical Archives of CPY], vol. 2, pp. 272-279. The IWPY was organized on the same principles as had been before that the legal CPY. At the end of 1923 it had 3,500 members. The bourgeois press sharply opposed the founding of this party (with the explanation that the Communists were again organizing themselves, under a new name), so did the Socialists, who maintained that the working class had no need of another party besides the SPY.

⁸⁶ Archives of the CC UCY, KI 1923/29-6. The conference took place in the presence of 34 delegates from the country, 4 emigrants and 2 CI representatives.

⁸⁷ Elected as the new leadership of the CPY were the minority representatives: Triša Kaclerović, Djuro Djaković, Simo Miljuš, Djuka Cvijić, Mitar Trifunović, and others.

⁸⁸ Pleterski, Janko (ed.): *Razprava o nacionalnem vprašanju v KPJ leta 1923. Dokumenti o oblikovanju federativnega nacionalnega programa KPJ* [The debate concerning the National Question in the CPY in 1923. The Documents Connected with the Formation of the Federative National Programme of CPY], Ljubljana 1990.

this discussion strong arguments were brought forward to support the thesis that the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes became a nation at the moment of their unification within the framework of Yugoslavia and so the theory of "national unity" (i.e. that these three peoples ought to form one nation) had no justification. Such a conclusion naturally also opened the discussion concerning the structure of the Yugoslav state and of the Party. Two concepts finally crystallized in this connection: the autonomic principle (as a substitution for the centralizing concept of the organization of the state) and the federative principle (as the best form for free economic and cultural development and for realizing the republics' national sovereignty). The majority considered (under the influence of the CI) that the Balkan Federation ought to be their first aim as an intermediate stage on the way to the creation of a Danubian-Balkan Federation. The resolution on the national question, adopted by the Third State Conference of the CPY (Belgrade, 1-4 January 1924)⁸⁹ summarized the results of the debate conducted in 1923. It supported the concept of a federative state with a republican constitution and with fully developed local self-management. Nevertheless, these CPY decisions regarding the national question did not remain in force for very long. The Fifth Congress of CI (1924) disavowed this standpoint on federative organization. In its *Resolution on the National Question in Yugoslavia*⁹⁰ it demanded the division of Yugoslavia into a number of states, requiring Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia to abandon the state of Yugoslavia and create their own independent republics. The idea of Yugoslavia's breaking up had begun to ripen in the ranks of the Balkan Communist Federation (BCF), undoubtedly with the support of CI, towards the end of 1923. Believing from the evaluation that in Western Europe a temporary stabilization of capitalism had taken place, the CI judged that the peasantry and the unsolved national question could be used in the Balkans as a means for creating a new revolution. For this reason its main attention was concentrated on Yugoslavia as the least stable link in the group of Balkan states and it proclaimed that, as an artificial creation of Versailles, Yugoslavia should be broken up.

The Third Conference also discussed the fundamentals of the strategy and tactics of the CPY. In the opinion of the new leadership of the CPY,⁹¹ the problem of organization was of essential importance for Party activity. It decided that the illegal CPY must be strengthened by the creation of Party cells in the workplaces and should seek support above all among

⁸⁹ Istorijiski arhiv KPJ [Historical Archives of CPY], vol. 2. About fifty delegates participated in this conference, representing 1,000 members of the illegal CPY.

⁹⁰ Komunistička internacionala [The Communist International], vol. 7, Beograd/Gornji Milanovac 1982, pp. 1000-1001.

⁹¹ Elected into the leadership were mainly the supporters of the "left wing" (Triša Kaclerović /secretary/, Filip Filipović, Kosta Novaković, Simo Miljuš, Vladimir Čopić) who demanded the Bolshevization of the CPY.

industrial workers. It paid special attention to the schooling of Party cadres (KUNMZ⁹² and MLŠ⁹³) and to the publication of the illegal press. It supported the idea of a common class struggle by the Party and trade-unions (for the tactics of a united proletarian front),⁹⁴ demanding that all Communists in the trade-unions must strictly adhere to and pass on the Party's views on trade-unions policy. The new organization leads to an increase in the number of Party members (from 1,000 to 2,500 at the end of 1924).

Based on the conclusions of the Third Conference, a referendum was organized in the Party concerning its fundamental documents. They were accepted by the majority of its members, with the exception of the Belgrade Party organization. The Belgrade *Party opposition* voted against all the documents resulting from the third conference and it did not accept the newly elected leadership of the CPY, which followed the directives of the CI. The nucleus of this opposition was formed by 15 trade-union functionaries from Belgrade (their leader was the Party theoretician S. Marković), who had their largest stronghold among the independent trade-unions in Belgrade. These conflicts deepened especially after the intervention of the CI and its demand that the slogan of "self-determination of nations" must be understood as a demand for the "separation of suppressed nations and the creation of separate republics".⁹⁵ The opposition objected to this standpoint. It considered that there was no chance of a revolution in the Balkans in the immediate future, and that there was no need for the Yugoslav state to be split up. This conflict grew even more acrimonious when the Croatian Communists (following a CI directive) openly supported some separatist movements and parties (the VMRO in Macedonia and the Peasant Party /HRSS/ in Croatia), and when they began to speak publicly of the hegemonic behaviour not only of the Serbian bourgeoisie, but also of the Serbian people. In a renewed Party debate (in autumn 1924) the opposition suffered defeat and left the Party. These conflicts in the leadership of the CPY were discussed at in a special commission of the ECCI in which Stalin himself participated. The Yugoslav question was placed on the agenda of the Fifth Plenum of the ECCI (April 1925). It

⁹² KUNMZ [Communist University of the National Minorities of the West] was created by a 28 November 1921 decree of the Council of People's Commissars and charged with training party cadres from the western regions of Russia and the Volga Germans. In 1929-1930, it began to admit representatives of the communist parties of the Central European, Scandinavian and Balkan countries, as well as Italy. KUNMZ was dissolved following the decision of the ECCI's Secretariat of 7-8 May 1936.

⁹³ MLŠ [International Lenin School].

⁹⁴ The communist understanding of the united proletarian front was rejected by the SPY: "The SPY unconditionally supports the organizational unity of the working class (both in the Party and in trade unions), yet it categorically rejects the communist policy of a united front and of partial common actions [...]. An organizational unification can be made only if the communists renounce their communist principles and tactics and adopt the socialist ones." (T. Milenković: *Socijalistička partija Jugoslavije* [SPY], p. 581.)

⁹⁵ Vlačić, Gordana: *Jugoslovenska revolucija i nacionalno pitanje 1919-1927* [The Yugoslav Revolution and the National Question 1919-1927], Zagreb 1984, pp. 454-458.

condemned the views of S. Marković⁹⁶ as "Social Democratic and opportunistic" (identical with the views of the SPY),⁹⁷ because he had not supported the CI's demand that the CPY must struggle for the breaking up of Yugoslavia.

At this point it was decided to convoke a Party congress and to overcome the conflict within the leadership. The Third Party Congress (Vienna, 17-22 May 1926)⁹⁸ agreed with the evaluation reached at the Fourth CI Congress, and by the ECCI, of the reasons for the "collapse of the CPY" in 1921 and judged that the third state conference "had laid the foundations for its ideological and political Bolshevization". It agreed also with the evaluation that Yugoslavia was a product of the imperialist World war and that it suffered from its unsolved national and peasant questions. It saw a solution to this crisis in the destruction of bourgeois power and in the creation of a Balkan federation of workers' and peasants' republics. It adopted the new Statute (membership in the Party is possible only if the candidate accepts the programme and the statute of the CI and the CPY and if he is willing to carry out their decisions), it created the Central Committee (CC) as its highest organ and added to the name of the Party: CPY, Section of the CI. At the congress representatives of the both 'left' and 'right' wings practised self-criticism and expressed a desire to establish ideological and political unity within the Party. As a result of this, representatives of both factions were elected to the CC of the CPY, as well as some neutral young activists.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, not even now was the unity really established in the CPY. The difference and the conflicts in the leadership began to spread into the party organizations and came to light also in the activity of the Independent Trade Unions, whose strength and influence began to decline (membership fell from 30,000 in 1923 to 21,000 in 1927). The right wing, which believed that the trade-unions' main effort should be directed towards the skilled craftsmen, was defeated at the congress of Independent Trade Unions (1927). The congress adopted the position of the Party 'left': that the main effort should be concentrated on work among the industrial workers.

It soon became obvious that the ECCI's insistence on reconciling the factions was ineffective. Instead of pursuing concrete political work they conducted endless theoretical discussions. In

⁹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 390-394: Marković, Sima: Nacionalno pitanje u svetlosti marksizma [The National Question in the Light of Marxism].

⁹⁷ T. Milenković: Socijalistička partija Jugoslavije [SPY], pp. 658-688 (The attitude of SPY towards the national question and the organisation of the state of Yugoslavia).

⁹⁸ Treći kongres KPJ, Beograd 1926. At this congress 36 delegates participated with full voting right and 12 with a consultative voice. Also present were the representatives of the CI.

⁹⁹ Elected into the CC were: Sima Marković (political secretary), Radomir Vujović (organizational secretary), Dragotin Gustinčić, Rajko Jovanović, Djuro Salaj, Lazar Stefanović, Marcel Žorga, Kosta Novaković, Gojko Vuković, Vicko Jelaska, Janoš Domanji, Ivan Krndelj, Djuka Cvijić, Nikola Kovačević, and Filip Filipović (members).

the years 1927-1928, however, a resolute struggle against factionalism¹⁰⁰ began to be waged among the Party cadres who had come from the ranks of the industrial workers. In January 1928 Dj. Djaković appealed to the CI, attacking both groups because of their factional conflicts and because of the complete blockage of Party work, which marginalized the CPY in the political life of the state. At the eight conference of the Zagreb Party organization, in February 1928, the antifactional group, led by J. Broz, Andrija Hebrang and others, was victorious: it condemned the activity of both groups as politically damaging. After that a special consultation was organized by the ECCI in Moscow (April 1928), which replaced the members of the CC of the CPY with a temporary leadership.¹⁰¹ At the same time it addressed an *Open Letter*¹⁰² to the Party members, ordering them to contribute to the liquidation of factionalism in the Party. This letter found support in all the Party organizations, with the exception of Belgrade (the ECCI called this a "right deviation").¹⁰³

The Fourth Congress of the CPY (Dresden, 5-16 November 1928)¹⁰⁴ was convened in an atmosphere of support for the *Open Letter*. This congress, the climax in the CPY's Bolshevization, was characterized by sharp criticism of the factions that had existed till then, and especially of S. Marković, who was ordered to obey the decisions of the Party organs. He accepted the criticism and addressed a letter – an *Appeal* – to the Belgrade Party organization, which under his influence had left the CPY. The conclusions of this congress were: that the CPY must continue to be reconstructed on centralistic principles; its leadership must be composed of industrial workers;¹⁰⁵ its members must be educated in the spirit of Leninism. On the basis of evaluations made by the Sixth Congress of the CI,¹⁰⁶ that in Europe the revolutionary crisis was growing and that the time of revolutionary conflicts was

¹⁰⁰ Zagreb Party organization became the stronghold of the antifactional group. It was at the same time also one of the strongest Party organizations in the state (Djuro Djaković, Blagoje Parović, Josip Broz, Josip Kraš).

¹⁰¹ The ECCI demanded the creation of a leadership composed of workers, explaining that "the intellectuals who had led the Party so far had failed". Djaković was nominated as the secretary with the task of preparing the Party congress.

¹⁰² Klasna borba. Marksistički časopis - Organ KPJ [The Class Struggle. A Marxist Paper - Organ of CPY], 7/1928 (Reprint edition: Beograd 1984), pp. 327-333.

¹⁰³ Cvetković, Slavoljub: Idejne borbe u KPJ 1919-1928 [The Ideological Struggles in CPY], Beograd 1985.

¹⁰⁴ Istorijски arhiv KPJ [The Historical Archives of CPY], vol. II: Četvrti kongres KPJ [The Fourth Congress of CPY], Beograd 1950; Vujošević, Ubavka: Četvrti kongres KPJ - obračun sa "levim" i "desnim" frakcionaštvom [The Fourth Congress of CPY - Settling Accounts with the "Left" and "Right" Factionalism], in: Časopis za suvremeno povijest [Review for the Contemporary History], Zagreb, 2-3/1979. At this Congress 26 delegates participated. They represented 2,122 members who were organized in 365 Party cells. The CI sent to this congress Palmiro Togliatti and Dimitrij Z. Manuilski and the Communist Youth Organisation, Milan Gorkić (Josip Čižinski).

¹⁰⁵ The CC consisted of 16 members, of whom the following were elected to the Politbureau: Jovan Mališić (political secretary), Djuro Djaković (organisational secretary), Djuro Salaj, Živorad Pecarski, Lazar Stefanović (members).

¹⁰⁶ Komunistička internacionala [The Communist International], vols. 8-10, Beograd/Gornji Milanovac 1982.

approaching, the congress of the CPY forecast the imminent outbreak of a democratic-bourgeois revolt which would quickly turn into a proletarian revolution. Agreeing with the CI's judgment that the Social Democracy was a "twin of Fascism" and the main danger to the revolutionary workers' movement, it prohibited CPY members from joining the reformist trade-unions or aligning themselves with the masses gathered around the opposition bourgeois parties. The congress again adopted again the CI's standpoint¹⁰⁷ on the splitting up of Yugoslavia and the creation of independent national states within its territory.¹⁰⁸ The CPY and the CI supported this position until 1935.

The Struggle of the CPY against the Monarchical Dictatorship (1929-1934)

The CPY's Attitude towards an Armed Revolt

With encouragement of this sort from the congress the Yugoslav Communists indulged in political adventurism, which found expression in their *Appeal to the working class and peasants*, in February 1929, to start an armed uprising. This was the CPY's answer to the act with which King Alexander had introduced dictatorship on 6 January 1929.¹⁰⁹ This appeal by the Party to start an armed fight against dictatorship was strictly observed by the majority of the communists. However, their actions remained isolated; reduced to the distribution of the proclamation and to occasional clashes with the police.¹¹⁰ The appeal gave the authorities grounds for their repressive actions against the CPY, which in 1929 was a small party (about 3,500 members), sectarian, without any real influence on the wider masses and without allies among the petty bourgeoisie and peasants. In the period 1929-1931 the regime persecuted the Party, making numerous arrests and killing the top Party and SKOJ leaders. The CPY as an organization was destroyed. Its CC moved to Vienna (April 1930) and lost contact with the remaining organizations in the country.

The Reconstruction of the Communist Party

The experience of its unsuccessful conflict with the dictatorship provided the CPY with a starting point for its gradual liberation from revolutionary schemes and sectarianism. After 1932 the CPY began reconstructing itself by putting to work the new cadres, who could

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, vol. 10, pp. 1373-1378 and 1753.

¹⁰⁸ Istorijski arhiv KPJ [The Historical Archives of CPY], vol. 2, pp. 230-238.

¹⁰⁹ Službene novine Kraljevine SHS [The Official Bulletin of the Kingdom of SCS], 6 and 11 January 1929.

¹¹⁰ The constitutional crisis, deepened by the national conflicts, was not really a general state crisis and the beginning of the disintegration of the bourgeois social system, as the Party thought. The Party turned to the peasants as the most numerous social group, yet it did not have footholds in the villages, so its appeal found no wider response among the masses.

independently (without the influence of the CI and the CPY)¹¹¹ start and lead the actions of the dissatisfied masses (workers, peasants and students) at a time of great economic crisis. Because of the parliamentary crisis, numerous cultural workers joined the revolutionary movement and began to publish papers with a Marxist orientation. The membership of the CPY grew from 300 (January 1932) to 2,834 (December 1934). The CC¹¹² finally succeeded in establishing contact with the organization inside the country and in contributing to the revitalization of the work of the Party.

The Fourth State Conference (Ljubljana, 24-25 December 1934)¹¹³ was a manifestation of the CPY's reconstruction and its penetration of the political life of the country. The Conference was begun at a time when the Communist movement had not freed itself from its sectarian concepts (the concept of the revolution in two stages, of the destruction of Yugoslavia, of the formation of a "revolutionary trade-union opposition" within the reformist trade-unions), yet the conference pointed already to the new task of CPY: the struggle against the danger of Fascism, and for the creation of the Popular Front. The activity of the Party, based on such concept, helped to break the limitations of illegality during the subsequent period.

The Formation of the Antifascist Popular Front (1935-1941)

In the middle of the thirties the CPY's activity was primarily directed at putting into effect the CI's Popular Front policy. With the decision of the Plenum of the CC of the CPY (Split, 9-10 June 1935)¹¹⁴ a change occurred in the CPY's attitude towards the creation of a front for national freedom.¹¹⁵ In its national policy it no longer emphasized the division of the country but rather the right of each nation to self-determination and the possibility of a solution of the national question within the framework of Yugoslavia; this indicated a transition to the federative concept.¹¹⁶

The attempt to create an antifascist front from above, by bringing about an agreement

¹¹¹ The changes made in the period 1929-1934 by the CI in the membership of the CC of the CPY, which worked outside the country, were without influence since all this bypassed the Party organizations and the CC had no contact with the actual situation in the country.

¹¹² In December 1934 the Politbureau of the CC of the CPY consisted of the following members: Milan Gorkić (secretary), Kamilo Horvatin, Blagoje Parović, Josip Broz Tito, Adolf Muk (members).

¹¹³ Istorijski arhiv KPJ [The Historical Archives of CPY], vol. 2, p. 220.

¹¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹¹⁵ Živković, Dušan: Narodni front Jugoslavije 1935-1945 [The Popular Front of Yugoslavia], Beograd 1978.

¹¹⁶ Perović, Latinka: Od centralizma do federalizma [From Centralism to Federalism], Zagreb 1984; Pleterski, Janko: Komunistička partija i nacionalno pitanje 1919-1941 [The Communist Party and the National Question], Beograd 1971. The reason for the transition to the new (federative) national programme, which was confirmed by the ECCI in August 1936, was the strengthening of Fascism on the Yugoslav borders.

between the illegal CPY and the legal opposition parties and groups, did not succeed, as the opposition bourgeois politicians did not wish to revolutionize the masses and give them a place in the political struggle. So the CPY now turned its attention to working in the mass organizations (of workers, peasants, youth, intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie) in order to create from below and with their help (through the fight against Fascism and for "bread, peace, and freedom") a Popular Front. The CPY's new course, which obliged its members to work in the legal trade-unions, helped to strengthen the trade-union movement. The Communists were especially influential in the United Association of Workers' Trade Unions of Yugoslavia - UAWTUY [*Ujedinjeni radnički sindikalni savez Jugoslavije - URSSJ*], which fought for political and trade-union rights,¹¹⁷ for the democratization of the regime, against the danger of Fascism and war and against the high cost of living.

This widened political activity helped to speed up the process of the organizational re-ordering of the CPY. The dynamic development of political conditions in the country and the CPY's more lively political activity made even more obvious the difference between the leadership abroad and the Party at home. So in the middle of 1935, the CC of the CPY decided to create a "National Bureau" (*Zemaljski biro*) to lead the Party directly from inside the country. This organ initiated a whole series of actions, but even so there were ever more frequently calls within the Party for the CC to return home from abroad. Leading the Party grew more and more complex because of the large number of Communists who lived abroad, working in the apparatus of the CC of the CPY, in the CI, or studying in Moscow.¹¹⁸ Towards the end of 1935 there were altogether 4,500 CPY members living as political emigrants. This was the greatest number since the time when the Party was declared illegal. The increased CPY activity provoked the authorities to react with sharp, repressive measures against the CPY. In the spring of 1936 about 1,000 members were arrested and in all some 2,000 Communists saw the inside of a prison before the end of that year. Almost all the members of the National Bureau, a large number of the members of the regional leaderships, as well as some members of the CC living abroad, were arrested. The ECCI was not happy with the work of the CPY. At the consultation in Moscow (middle of August, 1936) the CC of the CPY was therefore subjected to sharp criticism, and there the decision was also made to nominate a new CPY leadership¹¹⁹ and transfer the CC's seat to inside the country.

Some of the leaders, including J. Broz, returned to the country in December 1936, where they continued to pursue an antifascist policy both at home and abroad. The CPY initiated a broad

¹¹⁷ Cazi, Josip: URSSJ i rad komunista u njemu 1929-1940 [UAWTUY and the work of communists in it], Zagreb 1978.

¹¹⁸ The Archives of the CC UCY, funds: "Yugoslavs in USSR", "Yugoslavs on Study in USSR", "Yugoslavs on Work in USSR".

¹¹⁹ Nominated to the Politbureau were (in November 1936): Milan Gorkić (general secretary), Josip Broz Tito (organizational secretary), Sreten Žujović, Rodoljub Čolaković, Franc Leskošek (members).

action for solidarity with the Spanish people 1936-1939. Organizations were created for sending volunteers to Spain. Their centre was in Paris, where the Yugoslav volunteers (1,660) were received and afterwards sent to their destination.¹²⁰ There was also a Yugoslav section with the Commissariat for the International Brigades. Half of the Yugoslav volunteers died on the Spanish battlefields.¹²¹

The crisis in the CPY continued, affected by the conditions in the USSR and the CI. Stalin's purges affected the CPY, too.¹²² More than one hundred leading Communists were arrested and most of them were shot.¹²³ Almost all those who had been leading the CC were victims: F. Filipović, S. Marković, J. Mališić, M. Gorkić.¹²⁴ Factional struggles (the existence of a parallel CPY leadership in Paris), irregular contacts with the leadership of the CI, the lack of clarity in the position of the mandatary (J. Broz) as regards his task of forming a leadership inside the country and the cessation of financial aid, were, in 1937, signals which foretold a possible dissolution of the CPY. After the liquidation of the 'centres' of factionalism among the emigrant Communists and those in prison,¹²⁵ J. Broz won the confidence of the ECCI and set up a temporary leadership inside the country (May 1938). In August 1938 he went to Moscow and with the help of Georgi Dimitrov¹²⁶ he succeeded in removing the accumulated misunderstandings and feelings of reserve towards the CPY. He was given a mandate to form the CC inside the country. In practice this was a confirmation of the temporary leadership created earlier.¹²⁷ The structure of the new, ideologically united organization, with its 4,500 members, hierarchical and monolithic, was already obvious at the CPY activists' consultation (June 1939). J. Broz succeeded in removing all those with factional ambitions and, to a large

¹²⁰ The Archives of the CC UCY, collection: "Yugoslav Volunteers in the Spanish War"; Kapor, Čedo (ed.): Španija 1936-1939 [Spain], 5 vols., Beograd 1971.

¹²¹ Lešnik, Avgust: Les volontaires yougoslaves dans la Guerre civile espagnole, in : Colloque international Les brigades internationales. Entre solidarité révolutionnaire et politique du Komintern, Lausanne 1997.

¹²² Mujbegović, Vera and Vujošević, Ubavka: Die jugoslawischen Kommunisten in den stalinistischen "Säuberungen" (1929-1949), in: Lašnik, Avgust (ed.): The Crisis of Social Ideas. A Festschrift for Marjan Britovšek, Ljubljana 1996, pp. 363-374; Očak, Ivan: Yugoslav Emigration in the Soviet Union and Stalinist "Purges", ibidem, pp. 375-397.

¹²³ Gligorijević, Branislav: Između revolucije i dogme. Vojislav (Voja) Vujović u Kominterni [Between the Revolution and Dogma. Vojislav (Voja) Vujović in the Comintern], Zagreb 1983; Očak, Ivan: Braća Cvijići, [Brothers Cvijići (Djuka and Štefek)], Zagreb 1982.

¹²⁴ Očak, Ivan: Gorkić. Život, rad i pogibija [Gorkić. His Life, Work and Ruin], Zagreb 1988.

¹²⁵ Banac, Ivo: Sa Staljinom protiv Tita [With Stalin against Tito], Zagreb 1990 [New York 1988], pp.56-118 (The Factious).

¹²⁶ Bayerlein, Bernhard (ed.): Georgi Dimitroff. Kommentare und Materialien zu den Tagebüchern 1933-1943. Berlin 2000 (G. Dimitroff - J. B. Tito).

¹²⁷ The CC's new assembly was constituted in March 1939: Josip Broz Tito (general secretary), and Edvard Kardelj, Franc Leskošek, Miha Marinko, Josip Kraš, Milovan Djilas, Aleksandar Ranković (members).

extent, in establishing the CPY's financial independence.¹²⁸

The news of the purges, the character of Stalin's power and his domination of the CI¹²⁹ gave rise to polemical discussions among part of the left intelligentsia as to the suitability of CPY policy, which it considered to be Stalinistic. The most forcible public disagreement was expressed by Miroslav Krleža in the review *Pečat* [The Press (Zagreb, 1929-1940)] which was gathering place for Zagreb and Belgrade intellectuals. This polemic caused confusion, especially among the Party intelligentsia. Tito defined the position of the Party leadership ("above all it is necessary to find solutions above all for the problems of one's own country") in the review *Proleter* [The Proletarian (May 1939)]. With this he opened the controversy known as the *Quarrel on the Literary Left*, which deepened even more after the Soviet-German Pact. While accepting the CI's evaluation of the imperialistic character of war, the CPY insisted at the same time on the right to defend the country and intensified its social demands. The CPY's rather independent policy towards the CI permitted a gradual cessation of polemics.¹³⁰

Economic difficulties, which increased with the outbreak of the World War and with the binding of the Yugoslav economy to the economy of Fascist countries, the rapid decline in the living standard and the reactionary measures taken by the government (including the setting up of concentration camps) created a more favourable climate for the strengthening of the revolutionary-democratic movement and the affirmation of the CPY. In order to weaken CPY actions, in December the regime prohibited the URSSJ [UAWTUY]¹³¹ whose membership at that time was more than 150,000 workers. In this period demonstrations, and other forms of political actions organized by the CPY, developed the character of sharp conflicts with the regime.

On the initiative of the CC the CPY made an extensive analysis of its policy and strategy. From May till September 1940 regional organizations convened conferences in which 1,500 members participated (out of a total of 7,000 CPY members and 17,800 SKOJ members). After that the Fifth State Conference was held (Zagreb, 19-23 October 1940). In the resolution of the conference the Party's fundamental tasks in the coming period were especially stressed: firstly, the determined struggle to defend Yugoslavia's independence and prevent its transformation into a colony of the Fascist powers and, secondly, the mobilization of the masses and their inclusion in the struggle to solve the most acute internal social and national

¹²⁸ Damjanović, Pero: *Tito pred nalogami zgodovine* [Tito Facing the Task of History], Ljubljana 1977, pp. 78-90.

¹²⁹ Pavlović, Živojin: *Bilans sovjetskog termidora* [The Balance of the Soviet Thermidor], Titovo Užice 1989.

¹³⁰ Lasić, Stanko: *Sukob na književni levici, 1928-1952* [Quarrel on the Literary Left], Zagreb 1970.

¹³¹ *United Association of Workers' Trade Unions of Yugoslavia*.

problems.¹³²

Armed Resistance in 1941

After the Fascist powers invaded Yugoslavia on 6 April 1941,¹³³ the CC of the CPY decided that the Party must continue to fight the aggressors, whatever the outcome of the war might be. A War Committee was founded in Zagreb (10 April 1941) with the task of making preparations for the Liberation war – for “national and social liberation”.¹³⁴ The opening of the Eastern Front (22 June 1941) created favourable conditions – according to the judgment of the CPY – to start armed fighting. On the same day the CC of the CPY issued its *Proclamation to the Nations of Yugoslavia*, calling upon it to take up arms against the occupying forces and their collaborators in the country.¹³⁵ The CPY’s international solidarity with the USSR expressed its conviction that the defence of the USSR also served the interests of the nations of Yugoslavia. This was also the meaning the CPY attached to the telegraphic message from Moscow (22 June 1941) in which the CI stressed that at the present stage it was necessary to help the USSR and not to continue the struggle for the social liberation of the subjugated nations. This established the new international watchword: the CI had abandoned its earlier evaluation of the war as imperialist¹³⁶ and demanded the postponement of revolutionary changes (the so-called second stage). This influenced the CPY, which in its proclamations increasingly stressed patriotic and libertarian keynotes at the expense of the revolutionary perspective. With the declaration of the National Liberation War - NLW [*Narodnooslobodilačka borba* - NOB] the CPY stressed the unity of all the antifascist forces in the country; this, however, did not mean abandoning the class character of the War. The Party changed the contents of its slogans, responding in this way to the directives of the CI, yet it did not change its programme of seizing political power by means of the War. The formation of the National Liberation Committees - NLC [*Narodnooslobodilački odbori* - NOO) as the new organs of state authority during the first year of resistance is, on the one hand, proof of the CPY’s revolutionary perspective within the framework of the NLW and, on the other hand, an indication of the

¹³² Peta zemaljska konferencija KPJ [The Fifth State Conference of CPY], Beograd 1980, pp. 221-241.

¹³³ Aprilski rat 1941. Zbornik dokumenata [The April War. A Collection of Documents], Beograd 1987.

¹³⁴ B. Petranović: Istorija Jugoslavije, vol. 2 [The National Liberation War and Revolution 1941-1945], pp. 483-491 (Bibliography).

¹³⁵ Petranović, Zečević: Jugoslavija 1918/1988 [A Thematic Collection of Documents], pp. 496-497 (The Proclamation of the CC CPY on the Occasion of the aggression on USSR).

¹³⁶ Cases of defeatism in the CPY 1939-1940 (after the rapid shift in the line of the CI in autumn 1939) had only a temporary and sporadic character: for a number of years the CPY had actively combated Fascist ideology in Yugoslavia.

extent to which the instructions of the CI regarding the postponement of the "second stage" were tacitly ignored during the war.¹³⁷

Conclusion

From its creation in April 1919, the CPY was always, without interruption, a member of the CI. The CI treated the CPY as it did other parties: frequently intervening in its internal problems; making decisions in connection with its internal situation; constituting and dissolving its leaderships; issuing directives and recommendations to its members. At a rough estimate the CI – at its congresses, sessions of its executive organs, and within the framework of the Balkan Communist Federation – dealt about 100 times with various aspects of the situation in the CPY. Ten special decisions were made in connection with the "Yugoslav Question". The most important ones are: the resolutions of the Fourth and Fifth CI Congresses, of the Fifth Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI (1925); of the Presidium of the ECCI (1926), and the "Open Letter" of the ECCI to the members of CPY (1928). Some 20 CI proclamations were made concerning various political events in the CPY and in Yugoslavia. Within the framework of the ECCI, two enlarged consultations of the leading CPY organs were organized (April 1928 and September 1936). Ten times a "Yugoslav Commission" was formed by the ECCI to examine the problems of the CPY, and eleven times it made changes in the leadership of the CPY.¹³⁸ Many CI instructors, entrusted with special tasks, were sent to Yugoslavia. Some 150 Yugoslav Communists participated in the CI Congresses and Plenums and the sessions of its commissions and organs. About 20 CPY members worked in the highest CI organs (Presidium, ECCI, Secretariat, CYI, Sportintern, etc.).¹³⁹ During the War the CPY maintained close contacts with the CI by means of radio and other channels of communication. The CI was regularly informed on the progress of the National Liberation War. The CPY leaders entirely supported the proposal and argumentation for the dissolution of the Comintern (May 1943).¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Morača, Pero: Odnosi između Komunističke partije Jugoslavije i Kominterne od 1941. do 1945. godine [The Relationships Between CPY and the Comintern from 1941-1945], in: Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis [Yugoslav Historical Review], 1-2/1969, pp. 94-132.

¹³⁸ Gligorijević, Branislav: Komintern i jugoslovensko i srpsko pitanje [The Comintern and the Yugoslav and Serbian Issue], Beograd 1992.

¹³⁹ See: Haynes, John: 170 000 Names for the INCOMKA [International Committee for the Computerization of the Comintern Archives] Database of the Comintern Archives. The Result of International Cooperation (Review of personal names for Yugoslavia: Avgust Lešnik), in: The International Newsletter of Communist Studies, Vol. IX (2003), No. 16, pp. 360-378.

¹⁴⁰ Lešnik, Avgust: Tretja internacionala - Komintern [The Third International - The Comintern], Ljubljana 1988, pp. 44-70.

Appendix: CPY Membership

YEAR	MEMBERSHIP
April 1919	130,000
June 1920	63,000
January 1924	1,000
January 1925	2,500
November 1928	2,122
January 1932	300
January 1933	1,400
December 1934	2,834
December 1935	4,500
June 1939	4,500
September 1940	7,000
April 1941	8,000
July 1941	12,000
October 1943	20,000

**Lazar Cheifec, Victor Cheifec, Peter Huber:
“La Internacional comunista y América latina, 1919-1943. Diccionario
biografico”, Geneva, Peter Huber (Distribution), 2004, 445 pp.**

This is the first biographical dictionary describing the communists from Latin America (the Spanish introduction has been published in *The International Newsletter*, 17 (2004), mostly those who had contact with Moscow or the Comintern and also the many Comintern women and men dealing with Latin America. The biographical entries are extensive and rich because the editors had access to the personal and other secret files. The book may be ordered at: ilaranspb@hotmail.com (for the Russian Federation) and at: Peter.Huber@unibas.ch (for all other countries). Here is the complete list of persons described in the dictionary:

Abramson, Benjamin Mironovich	Ascuy (Azcuay) Miranda, Felipe	Biondi, Atilio	Campa Salazar ("Rojo"), Valentin S.
Acosta Fernandez, Bella Rosa	Augusto, José	Blanco Mendez, José	Canellas (Canelas), Antônio Bernardo
Agiar, Guillermo D.	Aviles (Avila) Ramirez, Eduardo	Bondareva ("L. Guerrero"), Lilia (Il'sa)	Cano, Angel Maria
Agosti, Hector P.	Bacaicoa, J.	Innokentievna Bonfim ("Miranda"), Antônio Maciel	Cantoni, Armando
Aguilar ("A. Zaragoza"), Manuel	Baccino ("Martinez"), Julio	Borges Carreras, José	Capello Colón, Elvira (Elsa)
Aguirre, Luis	Baeza ("Lapin"), Sergio	Elias	Carbo, Sergio
Aguirre del Cristo (S. Ramirez), Severo (Silvio)	Baquero Herrera ("René"), Rafael	Borges de Souza ("Emerson"), Erecinha (Cina)	Cardenas, Jorge E.
Aleksandrovskij (Komin-Aleksandrovskij), Michail Alekseevic	Barbosa Laureiro ("Márques", "de Oliveira"), Valduvino	Borodin, Saul Eljevich (Iljich)	Carneiro Leão, Josias
Aleman Vivas, Manuel	Barker, Tom	Bracamonte ("G. Arenas"), José	Carrasco, Felix
Alfarino, José	Barra Silva, Raúl	Brandao ("Brandon"), Satva	Carrillo Azpeitia, Rafael
Allén, José	Barra Wall, Salvador	Brandão ("Brandon"), Octávio Rego	Carrillo Puerto, Felipe
Almanza García, Manuel	Barredo (Araujo ??), Geo	Brás, Domingos	Casanova, Samuel
Almazan, Andreu	Barreiro y Oliveira ("López", "Braceras"), Alejandro	Brice o Maldonado, José	Casas, Antonio
Alonso, Manuel	Barrel, Mario	Bruno Bonilla ("Akimov", "Okimov"), P.	Castineiras, Alejandro
Alvarez Arnedo, Jeronimo	Barrera Hernandez, Filiberto	Bruno, Felicio	Castrillejo, Francisco
Alvarez Breña, Francisco	Barrios, Elias	Bukovic, Juan	Castrillón, Alberto
Alvaro ("Gabatti"), José	Barros, Juan	Cabrera, Leandro	Castro, Romeo
Amador de Siqueiros, Graciela	Basbaum ("Pereira"), Leôncio	Caggiano ("E. Ruiz"), José N.	Castro, Manuel
Aponte Hernández, Carlos	Bazán Velásquez, Armando	Calderio Antunes ("J. Acosta"), Remingo Ruben (Remigio Ruben)	Castro, Francisco
Aragon, Bruno	Becerra, Bernardo	Calderio ("B. Roca"), Blas (Francisco Vilfredo)	Castro Rebello, Eduardo
Aragon Alfonso ("C. Hernández"), Jorge	Beltrán, Pedro L.	Camargo Martin ("P. García"), Ernesto	Castro y Morales, Moises
Araujo, A.P.	Berezin, Gersh Jakovlevic		Cecchini (Chequini, Checchini), Luis
Araujo ("Arana"), Alberto	Betancourt, Romulo		Celis, Roberto
Arce, Neftali	Betancur, Alvaro		Centeno ("C. Gamarro"), José
Arce-y-Arce, José Antonio	Bezoni Mendoza Felix		Centurion, Carlos
Arévalo, Julia	Bianchi, Alfonso		Cervantes Lopez, Francisco
Arruda Câmara, Diogenes de			Chacón, Jacinto
			Chelala Aguilera, José
			Felipe
			Chiappapietra, Gilberto

Chigüichón Davila, Juan Luis	De Oliveira, José Francisco de	Fernandez Suarez ("Agramonte"), Jose Celestino	González, José Constantino
Chumblauca Canelo, Armando	De Souza (Souza; "Felicio"), José Maria de	Ferreira Lima ("M. Silva"), Hector	González Alberdi ("Bernard"), Paulino
Cisneros, Lauro	Defrutos, Victor	Ferrera (Fereira, "Nelson"), Jeime (Jaime)	González Carvajal
Codovilla, Itala Marie	Del Bosque, Jorge	Ferrera ("Karamurd", "Karamuro"), Sebastián	Delgado, Eladio Ladislao
Codovilla Ferrandi, Victorio	Delasco, Candelario	Ferroto Segura, Arnoldo	González Díaz, Galo
Cohen, Nath	Delgado, Emilio	Fierro ("Horacio"), Luis	González Mendez, Heriberto
Conde Napoles, Juan	Denis, Juan B.	Alberto	González ("Trevino"), Ambrosio
Contreras, Miguel	Díaz, Alvaro	Figuroa Botempo, Isidro	Gorcía, Pedro
Contreras Labarca (Laborca), Carlos	Díaz, Javier	Flores Magon, Enrique	Graaf, Johny de
Coral (Jasermann - Coral), Julia	Díaz, Luis	Fortoul, Carmen	Grajeda, Manuel Bautista
Corao, Manuel A.	Díaz, Domingo	Fortoul, Mariano	Grandio Leal, Carmen
Cordeiro, Cristiano	Díaz, Pedro	Fortoul Briceño, Aurelio	Grazini ("Gubinelli"), Mário
Couthino	Díaz Ortiz (Duarte Ortiz), Jorge	José	Grebennikov, Timofei Petrovic
Cortez, Fernando J.	Díaz Ramirez, Manuel	Francis ("Mata"), Eduardo	Greco (Grecco), Juan
Cosin, Jacobo	Dickinson Abreu, Antolin	Fuenmayor, Juan	Greco (Grecco), Rafael
Cossani, Eugenio L.	Dolfi, Agenore	Bautista	Guerra ("M. Ornelas"), Vicente
Cotoño Valdés, Manuel (Carlos Manuel)	Donoso Alvarez ("Muñoz"), Bernardino	Fuentes Fernández, Felipe	Guerrero ("J. Perez"), Javier
Coutinho, Rodolfo	Dos Santos, José	Gada ("A. Ramirez"), Julio	Gurvic (Gurevic?), Felix (Pinhos)
Crabb (Grab) Menendez, Conrado	Dukhovnyj (Dujovnyj), Carlos (Karl) Samojlovich	Galdames, Maclovio	Guzman, Rodolfo
Crespo, Oscar	Durán, Augusto	Galindo, Melquisidec	Haya de la Torre, Victor Raul
Creydt Abelendo, Oscar	Echeveri, Luis Hipólito	Gallardo, José	Haykis (Gajkis; Jaikis), Leon (Lev) Yakovlevich
Cuadros R., Adalberto	Echevez, Eliseo	Gallichio, Juan	Heredia, Humberto
Cuellar Jimenez, Fidedigno	Elger ("Jorge Vidal"), Solomon	Galván, Ursulo	Hernández, Marcelino
Cuenca, Maximiliano	Emoro, Carlos	Gaona, Francisco	Hernández, Benito
Cuenca, Abdel	Encina Rodriguez, Dionisio	García, Martim S.	Hernández, Alejandro
Cuervo, Emilio	Encinas ("M. Gutierrez"), Octavio Francisco	García, Cuca	Hernández, Aurelio A.
Cumes, Antonio	Escalante Dellunde, Anibal	García Agüero, Salvador	Hernández Parker, Luis
D'Acosta, George	Escalante Dellundé ("P. Roman"), Cesar	García Salgado Andres	Hernández Rodriguez ("Guillen"), Guillermo
Da Costa Pimenta, João	Escobar Diaz, Andres	Gelman, Gregorio	Hurmachea, Leopoldo E.
Da Rocha ("Bangu"), Lauro Reginaldo	Escobar ("M. Buria"), Felipe S.	(Grigorij)	Hurwitz Zender (Gurwitz-), Jacobo
Da Silva, Arnaldo	Facio Lince, Luis	Gelman ("Mauricio"), Mauricio	Ibarrola, Lucas E.
Da Silva ("E. Lunin"), Carlos Augusto da	Falcão, João da Costa	Gelt, Gabriel Jorge	Iglesia, P.
Da Silva ("Souza", "Sousa"), Elias Reinaldo	Falcón, Cesár	Ghioldi, Rodolfo José	Iglesias, Isidoro
De Dios, Juan	Falcón, Cesár	Ghioldi ("Ghitor"), Orestes Tomas	Imaz, Carlos
De Dios Romero, Juan	Faría, Jesús	Gleiser (Gleizer), Jenny (Eugi, Geni)	Iriarte ("Fermin-Araya"), Isaias
De Figueiredo, Alfonso	Fernández, Pedro	Gnozza, Rafael	Jaroshevskij, Mihail
De Freitas Guimarães ("Lima, "Martins"), Honório	Fernández Anaya ("Ramos"), Jorge	Gnudi (Gniudi) ("Oreste"), Ennio	Efimovich
De la Plaza, Salvador	Fernandez Flores, Doroteo	Gómez, Eugenio	Jaselman (Joselman), Zalman (Salmon)
De Meirelles (Meireles), Silo Soares Furtado	Fernandez Sánchez, Leonardo	Gómez, Antonio Rufino	Jobim, Danton
		Gomez Carvajal ("N. Fredos"), Emilio	Jolles, Juan
		González, Tereso	
		González, Antonio	

- Jubman ("Arias"), Marcos
 Junco Jovellanos
 Camellón ("Juarez"),
 Sandalio
 Junqueiro (Gayon?), V.
 Kantor ("J. Blanco"),
 Antonio
 Karacik (Karracik), Raoul
 Karolys, Juan F.
 Karpenko, Michail
 Key Sanchez ("Santiago"),
 Fernando
 Korobicin-Kantor,
 Aleksandr Moiseevic
 Korobycin-Kantor, Aleksej
 Edmund Pavlovic
 Kravcenko (Kraucenko),
 Eudoxia (Eudokia) M.
 Laborde ("Serrano"),
 Hernán
 Lacerda, Fernando Paiva
 de
 Lacerda, Paulo
 Lafarga (M. Romero),
 Gaston
 Lafferte Gaviño (Laferte),
 Elías
 Lago Molares ("J.
 Gonçalves"), José
 Lago ("Vargas"), Ricardo
 Lamorena, Alberto
 Lazzaraga, José
 Leão, Josias Carneiro
 Leija Paz, Felipe
 Leiva Tapia, Juan
 Segundo
 Lellas, Pablo
 Leon, Carlos
 Leon, Luis
 Leon Flores, José
 Levenson, Raquel
 Lipovetsky (Lipoveckij),
 Jacobo (Jakov)
 Lira (M. Carvajal),
 Carmen
 List Arzubide (Arzubide),
 Germán List
 Lista, Edigio
 Llorca (Agullo Yrca;
 Yorcka), Juan
 Lobo, Bernardo
 Lombardo Toledano,
 Vicente
 Loss, Pedro
 Luna, Lorenzo
 Luna ("Luis"), Angel
 Machado (Caetano
 Machado), José Caetano
 Machado Morales,
 Eduardo
 Machado Morales,
 Gustavo
 Magalhães ("Lesov",
 "Russildo"), Russildo
 Magnien Oliver Oscar
 Mahecha (Maecha), Raul
 Eduardo
 Mallen, Rafael
 Mallen (Mayen), Carlos
 Malvestiti, Próspero
 Mancilla Romero, Hugo
 Manzanell (Manzanelli),
 Jesús
 Mariátegui, José Carlos
 Marinello y Vidaurreta,
 Juan
 Mármol ("Guerrero"),
 Miguel
 Marof (G. A. Navarro),
 Tristan
 Martí, Agustín
 Farabundo
 Martínez, Luis
 Martínez, Ricardo Arturo
 Martínez, Ismael
 Martínez, Aquilino
 Martínez, Serafin
 Martínez, Macario
 Martínez, Eulalio
 Martínez Villena
 ("Angel"), Rubén Agnelio
 Maruenda, Antonio
 Mashevic, Major
 Semenovich
 Massoni, Juan B.
 Mata (nac. Stadnik),
 Klavdija Karpovna
 Matallana Neira, Heraclio
 Mayobre ("Rivas"), José
 Antonio
 Mazuera ("Masias",
 "Mantilla"), Absalon
 Medaglia ("Chr. Mora",
 "Morales"), Adolfo O.
 Medina, Antonio
 Mejia ("R. Rodriguez"),
 Diego
 Melgar Gonzales, Max
 Mella (Mc Partand), Julio
 Antonio
 Melo (Mello), Plinio
 Gomès
 Mendez, Pablo
 Mendizabal, Alfredo
 Mendizabal, Miguel Oton
 Mendoza, Rafael
 Mendoza Mamani y
 Mamani, Carlos
 Menezes, Joao (Juan)
 Merchan ("E. Andrade"),
 Victor Julio
 Meskop (Meskup), Pinjos
 (Pinjas) Moiseevich
 Mibelli, Celestino
 Milano, José Pedro
 Milessi Recalde, Rufino
 Miranda, Emidio da Costa
 Modotti, Tina
 Mogaupt (Mohaupt),
 Georg
 Monaco ("Moreno"),
 Francisco
 Monzon, Luis G. de
 Mora Valverde, Manuel
 Mora Valverde, Enrique
 Morena ("Mayorga", "J.
 Vidal"), Roberto
 Moretti ("Sarmiento"),
 Florindo Antonio
 Morones, Luis Negrete
 Moscoso ("Dumol"), José
 A.
 Moskovic, Benigno
 Mota Lima, Pedro
 Mühlberg (Molberg),
 Julius
 Mujica, Francisco J.
 Muller, Enrique German
 Muñoz, Victorio
 Muñoz, D.
 Muñoz Diez, Francisco
 Navarro Leiva, Abraham
 Nequete (Negrete; A.
 Nakt), Abilio de
 Nicolau González, Ramón
 Nieto, Josue
 Novomodnyj ("A.
 Herrero"), Jaime (Hajm)
 Obando Sanchez, Antonio
 Onofrio, Alejandro
 Ordoqui Mesa, Joaquín
 Orsabal Quintana, Arturo
 Ortelli, Angel
 Otero Silva ("Padilla"),
 Miguel
 Pacheco, Pedro
 Paredes Romero, Ricardo
 A.
 Pavletic Trujillo, Esteban
 Peano, Esteban
 Pedrosa, Mario
 Pellegrini, Augusto
 Peluffo, Leonardo
 Penelón, José Fernando
 Penichet y Gomez,
 Antonio Maria
 Pereira Duarte da Silva,
 Astrogildo
 Pereira ("P. Leonardi"),
 Antonio
 Miranda, Emidio da Costa
 Pérez Morales ("Paz"),
 Miguel
 Pérez-y-Perez, José
 Miguel
 Pesche (Pesce) Hogo
 (Eduardo)
 Peter, José
 Pevez, Juan
 Piatigorskii (Pjatagorskij),
 Leon Leonovich
 Picot (Pickot), Bernabé
 Piedrahita, Jorge
 Pintos Pereyra, Francisco
 Ricardo
 Portillo, Abel del
 Portocarrero ("Zamora"),
 Julio
 Prado Chavez, Jorge
 Preisig, Egber
 Presa, Pedro
 Prestes, Lucia
 Prestes, Luis Carlos
 Prestes, Clotilde
 Prestes Felisardo, Eloisa
 (Lisa)
 Prieto, Moises
 Prudencio dos Santos ("V.
 Marques"), Alfredo
 Quevedo, Alfredo
 Quijano, Carlos
 Quintero, Pedro
 Rajgorodskij Suria, Moises
 Ramirez, Felix
 Ramirez, José
 Ramirez, Modesto

Ramirez, Martín J.	Rosas Sanchez ("Bezas"),	Siqueira Campos,	Tortosa ("Romero"),
Ramirez de la Nuez,	Rufino	Antonio de	German
Ramiro	Rosen, Max	Siqueiros ("Suarez"),	Trista-Sokolov, Ivan
Ramos, Jorge	Rosen-Norendorf, Klara	David Alfaro	Akimovic
Ramos Pedrueza, Rafael	Maksimovna	Solaro, Humberto	Tuntar, Giuseppe
Ravetto, Carlo	Rossi, Juan	Sommi ("Torres"), Luís	Ugarte, Manuel
Ravines Perez, Eudocio	Rosso, Pedro Karlovic	Victor	Uribe Marques ("Julio
Recabarren, Luis Emilio	Roy, Luis	Sous, Lluís	Riasco"), Tomas
Recinos, Luiz Felipe	Rozovskij ("Julio	Steinmetz (Stejnmeç),	Vadillo ("Arapos"), Evelio
Refugio García, Maria del	Gómez"), Julij Isaakovic	Avrora (Aurora)	Valades, Jose Cayetano
Refugio Rodriguez, José	Rubio, José	Stepanovna	Valdes Rodriguez, José
Rego Lopez (J. Vicente),	Ruiz, Antonio	Steinmetz (Stejnmez),	Manuel
José	Saínez ("Sotomayor"),	Miklos	Valdez Perez ("M.
Reid, G.	Rafael	Stuchevskaja	Gomez"), Daniel
Reis, Dinarco	Salas, Leopoldo E.	(Morguljan), Sofja	Varela, Alberto
Rendon, Carlos	Salas ("B. Valencio"),	Semenovna	Vasconcellos, José
Reutenberg	Bernardo	Stuchevskij, Pavel	Vasquez Eguizabal, Miguel
(Reutenberg), Wolf	Saldivia Gil, Jorge	Vladimirovich	Angel
Revueltas ("Rodriguez"),	Salgado, Gustavo	Suarez, Jorge	Velasco ("Marencó"),
José	Salinas Martinez, Aquilino	Suarez Perez, Aggeo	Miguel Angel
Reznik, A.	San Vicente ("P.	Suazo, Alfredo	Velazquez Cabrera
Ribeiro Xavier	Sánchez"), Sebastian	Tamayo, José Pio	("Monpie"), Wilfredo
("Abóbora"), Eduardo	Sanchez Arango,	Tavares, Americo	Manuel
Ricardi, Claudio	Aureliano	Tealdi, Raoul	Verdadero, Virgilio
Risso, Andres	Sanchez Cabrera, Osvaldo	Teitelboim, Volodia	Vilar Aguilar ("Perez"),
Rivera, Diego	Sanchez ("J. Chaté"),	Tejada, Luis	Juan César Gervacio
Rocha (Schechter),	José Gonzalo	Tejeda Salazar, Ulises	Villagran, Luis
Hersch Borisovich	Sandino, Augusto Cesar	Telles da Cunha, Allan	Villalba, Daniel
Rodarte, Fernando	Savickij (Savitski),	Terreros (Terrero),	Villaseñor, Victor Manuel
Rodes Tomasevic, Elias	Sylvestre	Nicolas	Vivo d'Escoto, Jorge Abilio
Rodriguez, José	Scheinbaum, Solomon	Teurbe Tolon Gomez,	Vivo Laurent, Jorge Julio
Guadalupe	Iosifovich	Rogelio	Vorobev ("Salamao"),
Rodriguez, Julio	Scheinbaum, Artur	Toledo, Alfredo	Solomon (Salomao)
Rodriguez, Lirio	Schleiffer (Shleifer),	Torres, Elena	(Evgenij Leonidovich)
Rodriguez, Pablo	Bension Volfovic	Torres, Pedro	Wainwright, Juan Pablo
Rodriguez Lara, Emilio	Serra, Clementina	Torres Giraldo ("P.	Weil, Felix
Rodriguez Serrillo	Serrano Andonegui, David	Cano"), Ignacio	Weiner (Vajner), Froim
("Rosaenz"), Manuel	(Mario David)	Torres (Torres Salome?),	Gershkovich
(Samuel)	Sevillana, Hugo	Leon	Zebel, Petr
Rojas, Armando	Simkovic ("Grobart"),	Torriente Brau, Pablo de	Zepeda (Zebeda), Pedro
Romero, Francisco	Abraham (Yunger)	la	José de
Romo, Pedro	Simone, Martin		Zuñiga Cisneros, Miguel

Section V

New Publications - Reports and Reviews.

Alter L. Litvin, John L. H. Keep: Stalinism. Russian and Western Views at the Turn of the Millenium, Abingdon, UK-New York, Routledge, 2005. 248 p.

Published in January 2005, this study falls into two parts. In Pt. 1, Prof. Litvin (Kazan) discusses the treatment of the Stalinist past, especially repression, by historians and publicists in post-Soviet Russia, and focusses on the efforts made, and the obstacles encountered, to a thorough 'working up of the past'. In Pt. 2 John Keep (Bern) deals with writings since 1997 in English, French and German on a wide range of political, social-economic and cultural problems, and considers the work done by traditional empiricist and post-modernist scholars. Nationality problems are only touched on, as is the history of the Great Patriotic War. The book includes bibliographical references and index. The book is a very useful and critical report on the state-of-the-art, including for students and the interested public.

Contents: Part 1. Coping with the legacy of Stalinism: recent Russian writing: 1. Sources. 2. Stalin's biography 3. Assessing Stalin's role as leader 4. Terror. 5. Foreign policy. Old controversies, new findings. Part 2. Wrestling with revisionism: recent Western writing on Stalinism: 6. Old controversies, new approaches. 7. 'A peculiar new state': politics and government. 8. Adventures in social history: peasants and workers. 9. 'It's a woman's world': gender studies and daily life. 10. Captive minds: faith, science, history. 11. 'Koba the Dread': repression and terror. 12. No longer a riddle? Aspects of Soviet foreign policy. Conclusions.

Dokumente zur Chinapolitik der Sowjetunion und der Komintern.

Titarenko, M. L./Leutner, M. et al.: VKP(b), Komintern i Kitaj. Dokumenty, T. IV. VKP(b). Komintern i sovetskoe dviženie v Kitae. 1931-1937, č. 1 i 2, Moskva, Rosspen 2003, 1232 Seiten. (KPdSU(B), Komintern und China. Dokumente, Band IV. KPdSU(B) Komintern und die Sowjetbewegung in China, 1931-1937, in 2 Teilen).

Dieser Band der im Jahre 1994 eröffneten Dokumentenpublikation, die auf fünf Bände berechnet ist und bis zur Auflösung der Komintern 1943 reicht, umfasst die Zeit der 2. und 3. Periode der chinesischen Sowjetbewegung (1931-1937). Sie begann mit einer kurzen Ausdehnung der Sowjetstützpunkte und war danach durch Niederlagen gekennzeichnet, die an den Rand der Vernichtung führten. Die programmatischen Orientierungen der Komintern blieben bis 1935 prinzipiell unverändert. In der dritten und letzten Periode erfolgte dann die verstärkte Suche nach einem Übergang von der Politik der Sowjetisierung des Landes zur Strategie der antijapanischen nationalen Einheitsfront, deren Notwendigkeit schon früher empfunden, der aber prinzipiell noch nicht entsprochen wurde. Mit der Zerschlagung der KPD und deren Verdrängung in die Illegalität durch die Errichtung der NS-Herrschaft in Deutschland und dem Verlust des zweiten Sowjetstaates auf der Welt neben der UdSSR, hatte die Komintern ihre größte weltpolitische Einbuße nach den Enttäuschungen in der revolutionären Nachkriegskrise erlitten.

Die insgesamt 411 Dokumente, von denen etwa 95 Prozent erstmals veröffentlicht werden, stammen zumeist aus dem Russischen Staatsarchiv für sozialpolitische Geschichte (RGASPI). Sie zeugen von dem verlustreichen und widerspruchsvollen Entwicklungsweg der Moskauer China-Politik und den Anstrengungen der KP Chinas, diese umzusetzen.

Im November 1931 war es gelungen, auf der Grundlage der Sowjetstützpunkte die Chinesische Sowjetrepublik zu schaffen. Aber gleichzeitig scheiterten die Versuche, sich in den Städten dauerhaft zu verankern und eine revolutionäre Massenbewegung zu entwickeln. Die dort gewonnenen Positionen gingen verloren und konnten nicht wieder zurückgewonnen werden. Das war das Resultat der Gewerkschaftspolitik der Guomindang und des eigenen sektiererischen, linksradikalen Auftretens in der Arbeiterbewegung. Die Unterschätzung der Wirksamkeit der nationalen Propaganda isolierte die KP Chinas von den breiten Schichten der werktätigen Stadtbevölkerung und der städtischen Jugend. Dem entgegen war es gelungen, auf dem Lande, in den Gebieten zwischen den von Nanking und regionalen Gruppierungen kontrollierten Zonen, selbst in Teilen Zentral- und Südchinas bis 1934 Sowjetgebiete mit eigenen bewaffneten Kräften zu schaffen und diese zu erhalten. Es hatte sich ein Kader erfahrener militärischer und politischer Führer herausgebildet.

Die Dokumente zeugen von den zunehmenden Schwierigkeiten in den Sowjetgebieten, in den durch Guomindang-Truppen bedrängten Streitkräften der KP Chinas und von den sich pausenlos wiederholenden Schlägen, die der illegale Apparat in den Städten erlitt. Zugleich wird deutlich, dass es von Juli 1931 bis zum 7. Komintern-Kongress keine einzige ausführliche Resolution des EKKI zu den Aufgaben der KP Chinas und der Sowjetbewegung gegeben hat. Eine Reihe Dokumente bringt neue Angaben über die Haltung der KPdSU-Führung, der Komintern und der EKKI-Vertreter in China während der „Shanghaier Verteidigung“ 1932, des Aufstandes der Armee Feng Yuxiangs 1933 in Chahar, der „Fujian-Ereignisse“ 1933/34 sowie zu den Plänen, das Zentrale Sowjetgebiet im Herbst 1934 zu verlassen. In einer Vielzahl von

Dokumenten widerspiegelt sich der langwierige und widerspruchsvolle Prozess der Herausbildung der Politik der antijapanischen Einheitsfront. Er war auch 1936 noch nicht abgeschlossen und wurde vor allem von Moskau aus betrieben.

Besonders aufschlussreich ist der erstmals beinahe vollständig veröffentlichte Telegrammwechsel zwischen dem EKKI und dem ZK der KP Chinas sowie dem Shanghaier ZK-Büro. Gleiches gilt für den Telegrammwechsel zwischen dem EKKI und dem Fernostbüro in Shanghai sowie demjenigen zwischen dem Fernostbüro und dem ZK der KP Chinas in den Jahren 1932 bis 1934. Im Oktober 1934 brach der Funkverkehr zwischen dem EKKI und dem ZK der KP Chinas ab. Er konnte erst im Juni 1936 wieder aufgenommen werden. Von besonderem Interesse sind auch Dokumente, die Tätigkeit des Fernostbüros des EKKI in Shanghai betreffend. Sie vermitteln ein nun genaueres Bild von seinem Wirken, seiner Zusammensetzung, seinem Einfluss auf die Politik der KP Chinas und die Aktionen der Roten Armee. Die Innenpolitik der Sowjetregierung blieb dabei weitgehend ausgespart, was sich nicht zuletzt aus den mangelhaften Informationen darüber in Moskau erklärte.

Aus Berichten und Briefen der politischen und militärischen Vertreter des EKKI und von Mitgliedern des Fernostbüros in Shanghai werden die komplizierte Situation der Tätigkeit des Büros wie auch die Schwierigkeiten im Zusammenwirken seiner Mitglieder ersichtlich. Das bezieht sich vor allem auf R. Baker, J. Clarke, A. Ewert, N. N. Herbert, A. Rothstein, T. Ryan und M. Stern. Das ZK der KP Chinas verlor im Oktober 1934 nicht nur seine Verbindung zur Komintern, sondern auch zu den Parteiorganisationen in den meisten Provinzen. Bereits 1932 war die Verbindung zur mandschurischen Parteiorganisation abgebrochen. So wirkte denn die KPCh-Delegation beim EKKI in dieser Zeit faktisch als Zentrum der Partei.

Wer sich allerdings Dokumente über die internen Vorgänge der KPCh-Delegation, die dort stattgefundenen Diskussionen, den Meinungsbildungsprozess und das Kräfteverhältnis zwischen den einzelnen Mitgliedern erhofft, wird enttäuscht. Diese Dokumente gehören offensichtlich zu denjenigen, die 1957 an die KP Chinas übergeben wurden. Listen und Kopien davon sollen sich nach amtlichen Aussagen nicht im RGASPI befinden. Verschiedene chinesische Veröffentlichungen aus den 1990er Jahren geben einen Teil dieser Dokumente wieder. Einen befriedigenden Überblick über die finanzielle Hilfe aus Moskau für die KPCh vermitteln die Dokumente ebenfalls nicht.

Zwei Berichte von Otto Braun und einer von Mao Zeming aus dem Jahre 1939 zum Langen Marsch schließen die Sammlung ab. Ein umfangreiches Namensregister mit Kurzbiografien gibt zahlreichen Opfern der „Großen Säuberungen“ ihren Namen und Lebenslauf zurück.

Da auch diese umfangreiche Sammlung nur eine Auswahl der in Moskauer Archiven vorhandenen Dokumente enthält, bleiben viele Wünsche des Benutzers offen. So hat dieser Band wohl, wie schon die vorausgegangenen, einen beträchtlichen Beitrag zu einem korrekten und detaillierteren Bild von der China-Politik der KPdSU(B) und der Komintern gebracht, völlig zufriedenstellend ist es damit aber noch nicht geworden.

Die deutsche Fassung dieses Bandes wird, wie die beiden vorausgegangenen, in diesem Jahr im LIT Verlag erscheinen. Die über 100 englisch- bzw. französischsprachigen Dokumente (hier in russischer Übersetzung) werden dort in ihrer Originalfassung abgedruckt.

Joachim Krüger, Berlin.

Moshe Lewin: The Soviet Century, London-New York, Verso, 2005. 416 p.

Moshe Lewins bisher nur in französischer Sprache verfügbares Werk "Das sowjetische Jahrhundert " (Lewin, Moshe: Le siècle soviétique. Traduit de l'anglais par Denis Paillard et Florence Prudhomme, , Paris, Fayard/Le Monde diplomatique, 2003. 526 p.) ist nun auch in englischer Sprache erschienen und damit einem breiteren Interessentenkreis zugänglich gemacht worden. Es handelt sich um einen analytischen Gesamtüberblick der Geschichte der Sowjetunion von der Oktoberrevolution bis zu ihrem Kollaps 1990. Moshe Lewins Werk hat, versteht man es als Versuch, eine Metatheorie des "Sovietismus" zu entwickeln, zweifellos das Zeug, zu einem wichtigen Werkzeug für Forschung, Lehre und interessiertes Publikum zu werden. Es trägt in vielfältiger, bisweilen durchaus frappierender Weise zu einer grundsätzlich neuen Einordnung der Sowjetunion in die Geschichte des XX. Jahrhundert bei. Dies gelingt dem Autor wohl gerade dadurch, daß er sich nicht zu sehr auf die Person Stalins konzentriert. Neben dem Verhältnis von Partei und Gesellschaft greift der Autor Themen wie Bürokratiethorie, Demographie, die Ökonomie der Industrialisierung und die Kultur auf. Was die Stalinismusanalyse angeht, ging es dem Autor zwar um die inneren Beweggründe und um Stalin selbst, dies jedoch in erster Linie, um die Entscheidungsabläufe und Machtstrukturen, die Konsequenzen für das administrative, soziale und kulturelle System, um die sowjetische Gesellschaft und ihre innere Dynamik, ihre Bewegungsgesetze zu ergründen. Lewins Thesen und analytische Begriffe sind diskursprägend. So bekräftigt er den Bruch zwischen der Leninschen und der Stalinschen Epoche und bezeichnet das System (bis ca. 1956) als "bürokratischen Absolutismus", die Funktionsweise des System seit Mitte der dreißiger Jahre als "systemic paranoia", er hebt die staatliche Tradition, ja Kontinuität vom Zarismus zum Stalinismus hervor. Er wendet er sich gegen starre ideologische Interpretationsrahmen, unter die er nicht zuletzt die Totalitarismustheorie subsumiert, um zu belegen, daß mit einem solchen Paradigma weder die multiplen sozialen Transformationen, noch umgekehrt die der Herrschaft Stalins inhärente Schwäche und Bedrohung erkannt und analysiert werden könnten. Bei aller Entschiedenheit und Brutalität habe es der Stalinismus durch die umfassende Repression nicht erreicht, die latente Unzufriedenheit und Kritik aus der Gesellschaft zu beseitigen. In einer seiner zentralen Thesen erklärt Lewin das Phänomen der "Depolitisierung" der Partei, die ihre Macht und Kontrolle zugunsten der sich (vor allem nach Stalin) als beherrschende Macht konstituierenden Bürokratie vollzieht, die in Staat und Produktion verwurzelt ist (bspw. der Administratoren der Planwirtschaft).

Die einzelnen Kapitel des Buches sind nicht streng chronologisch aufgebaut, sondern nach Themenschwerpunkten geordnet, empirisch und deskriptiv orientierte Kapitel wechseln sich mit analytischen Kapiteln ab, was an der Formulierung der Titel deutlich wird: "Stalin knows where he wants to go and is going there - Autonomization versus federation? (1922-23) - Cadres into heretics -The party and its apparaty - Social flux and systemic paranoia -The impact of collectivization - Between legality and bacchanalia - How did Stalin rule? -The purges and their rationale -The scale of the purges - The camps and the industrial empire of the NKVD - Endgame - An agrarian despotism? - E pur, si muove! -The KGB and the political opposition - The avalanche of urbanization -The administrators : bruised but thriving - Some leaders - Kosygin and Andropov - Lenin's time and worlds - Backwardness and relapse -- Modernity with a twist - Urbanization : successes and failures - Labour force and demography

: a conundrum - The bureaucratic maze - Telling the light from the shade? - What was the Soviet system? Bei allen Verwerfungen und Ungeheuerlichkeiten der beschriebenen Phänomene sowjetischer Geschichte, Lewin möchte den Leser zu einer "ruhigeren", souveräneren Betrachtung der sowjetischen Geschichte und einer entsprechenden Einordnung in die Zeitgeschichte führen.

Robert Legvold schreibt über Moshe Lewines Werk in der Zeitschrift *Foreign Affairs* (Mai/Juni 2005): "Lewin asks a metahistorical question: What was the Soviet Union all about? The answer, he says, is in the essence of the system. With the benefit of hindsight and new archival sources, he strips the Stalin and subsequent Khrushchev-Brezhnev eras down to their defining nature. Our original lens, fashioned from anticommunism and the misleading frame of totalitarianism, failed us by blurring the fundamental difference between the original Bolshevik order and the "agrarian despotism" of Stalinism, and by distorting the dramatic change underway from below. In stressing (quite rightly) the capricious, paranoid, unconstrained tyranny of Stalin the man, that view underestimated both the system's accomplishments and the paradoxes that transformed it into a debauched "bureaucratic absolutism," existing only for its own sake. The Soviet Union ended as its Russian predecessor did, and for much the same reason. Because Lewin's description of the Russian and Soviet deformation parallels what Putin's Russian critics say is happening again today (albeit in milder form), history, if they are right, may be more "present" than even Lewin imagines. And if they are wrong, his account is still much more than just an acute, resonant echo of the past."

Vielleicht noch als Nachbemerkung zu dieser Kurzbesprechung: Das Verhältnis von personeller Herrschaft und Gesellschaft, von ego und politics im Stalinismus hat Lewin in einem Aufsatz für das *Jahrbuch für historische Kommunismusforschung* in prägnanter Weise analysiert. Hier führt er den Nachweis darüber, daß Staat und Gesellschaft als überragende Phänomen personeller Stalinscher Herrschaft sich zwar letztlich auf intrasubjektive Beweggründe zurückführen lassen, und Stalin seine inneren Verwerfungen auf die Gesellschaft projiziert, damit allerdings das Funktionieren des von Irrationalität durchsetzten Stalinismus als System, geschweige denn die Geschichte der Sowjetunion in toto nicht hinreichend erklärt werden kann. (Siehe: Moshe Lewin: Ego and Politics in Stalin's Autocracy, *Jahrbuch für historische Kommunismusforschung* 2003, S. 29-50).
Bernhard H. Bayerlein, Mannheim.

"Mátyás Rákosi blickt zurück". Endre Kiss über die Erinnerungen Rákosis.

Rákosi, Mátyás: *Visszaemlékezések 1940-1956* [Erinnerungen 1940-1956]. Hrsg. von István Feitl, Mária Lázár Gellériné u. Levente Sipos. 2 Bde., Budapest 1997; Ders.: *Visszaemlékezések 1892-1925* [Erinnerungen 1892-1925]. Hrsg. von István Feitl, Mária Lázár Gellériné u. Levente Sipos. 2 Bde., Budapest 2002.

Mátyás Rákosi hat eine aussergewöhnliche Laufbahn durchlaufen und er reproduziert diese Laufbahn in den *Erinnerungen* mit einer ebenso aussergewöhnlichen Offenheit und Laenge. Rákosi's Leben umfasst viele einzelne Perioden, deren Beschreibungen jedoch - alle aus unterschiedlichen Gründen - selten wertvolle Texte der historischen Erinnerung sind.

Der junge Rákosi ist einerseits Produkt eines sich rapide modernisierenden, intellektuell offenen und kreativen Landes, andererseits aber auch das seiner eigenen Gestaltung der Persönlichkeit. Seine geistige Aufnahmefähigkeit ist ausserordentlich, er kann seine Erfahrungen und Wissen aber nicht nur gut strukturieren, sondern auch stets praktisch sehen und umsetzen. Er vermochte grosses Wissen zu organisieren und anzuwenden, die Beschaffenheit von all dem bewegte sich jedoch nicht in Richtung auf das intellektuelle Wissen, sondern zeugte von einer merkwürdigen Integrationsfähigkeit von Intellektualität und gesundem Menschenverstand.

Der Prozess der Transformation des spezifisch personengebundenen Leninismus Rákosi's in seinen Stalinismus sollte dabei weder für ihn noch für die Forschung ganz aufgehen können. Die gewaltige kognitive Differenz, die zwischen diesen Polen liegt, dürfte nie ganz verbalisiert und auf diese Weise korrekt rekonstruiert werden können.

Die Periode nach 1945 sah Rákosi vor allem in apologetischer Absicht. Einerseits signalisiert er, dass er seine historische Mission zu dieser Zeit adaequat wahrgenommen habe (was für eine spaeter zu ergaenzende Interpretation so viel bedeuten würde wie, dass er zwischen seinem frühen Leninismus und dem Hochstalinismus keinen nennenswerten Unterschied erblickte). Die positive Identifizierung mit seiner ganzen bisherigen Laufbahn ist auch deshalb zu betonen, weil er als Emigrant in der bereits post-stalinistischen Sowjetunion die Möglichkeit gehabt haette, die Verantwortung für die extremsten Schauprozesse auf diese oder jene Weise auf Stalin selbst abzuschieben. In diesem Zuge geht er sogar so weit, die aggressive Verfolgung und Kriminalisierung der Kirche schon aus der sog. Koalitions-Zeit (also vor der Machtübernahme der Kommunistischen Partei 1949) eingehend darzustellen. Ferner gruppiert er die Ereignisse nach 1945 nach einer Logik der Selbstverteidigung, er zitiert oft aus eigenen Reden, in denen er nachweist, dass er all das, was spaeter als Fehler dieser Zeit angelastet war, bereits aktuell gesehen und gerügt habe (dabei verwehrt er sich stets gegen die Anklage des sogenannten "Personenkultes", der zum Charakteristikum jener Periode in Ungarn geworden ist). Dadurch entsteht keine Notwendigkeit, die sogenannte Rákosi-Zeit in Ungarn nach der Lektüre der *Erinnerungen* anders zu sehen als man es bis jetzt tat. Das will Rákosi auch gar nicht, im Gegenteil, er betrachtet sie als eine Zeit, in der alle Worte und Begriffe semantisch ganz genau das ausdrückten, was sie bedeuteten.

Die insgesamt vier Baende der *Erinnerungen* ergeben Informationen, Spuren, Hinweise auf zahlreiche Fragen, die diesen Lebenslauf und damit das Zwanzigste Jahrhundert auszeichnen. Die Darstellung jeder einzelnen Periode (auch jener, die wir in dieser Übersicht nicht nennen konnten), läßt sich an der Grenze zwischen der besonders wertvollen Quelle und der eigenen wertvollen Interpretation ansiedeln.

Rákosi identifizierte sich mit dem Stalinismus und war einer der komplexesten Protagonisten Stalinistischer Herrschaft überhaupt. Diese Identifizierung ging aber eigentlich so vor sich, dass er den Stalinismus im und mit dem Bewusstsein seines Bildes von Lenin verwirklichte, er selber wurde jetzt der allwissende Führer und er selber kommunizierte mit dem enthusiastischen Volk. Diese Vorstellung war aber nur auf Kosten eines extrem vereinfachten und zur Lüge gewordenen Geschichts- und Gesellschaftsbildes möglich. Wie Rákosi's tatsächliche, nichtsdestoweniger nicht intellektuell ausgerichtete Allwissenheit mit diesen Schematismen fertig wurde, soll auch nach der Lektüre der Erinnerungen noch ein Geheimnis bleiben.

Die beiden Doppelbände wurden vom *Napvilág* Verlag (Budapest) herausgegeben. Die ersten in zeitlicher Reihenfolge waren die beiden die spätere Periode beschreibenden Bände, während die als zweites herausgegebenen beiden Bände die Jugend und die erste große politische Periode bis 1925, d.h. zur Gefängniszeit enthalten. Die *Erinnerungen* sind in der Emigration geschrieben worden, wo Rákosi überwiegend unter sehr schlechten Bedingungen arbeiten konnte. Die zumeist hohe Qualität des Textes ist unter einem solchen Aspekt daher zu interpretieren. Sowohl die 1997 wie auch die 2002 herausgegeben (und die erste Hälfte des Lebenslaufes behandelnden) Bände wurden von István Feitl, Mária Lázár Gellériné und Levente Sipos herausgegeben. Zu den früheren Bänden schrieb Levente Sipos das Vorwort, während zu den später erschienenen neben L. Sipos István Feitl das inhaltsreiche Vorwort verfaßte.

Endre Kiss, Budapest.

Jean-Jacques Marie: Staline, Paris, Fayard, 2001. 994 p.

Zwei Jahre vor dem 50. Jahrestag des Todestags Stalins hat der französische Historiker Jean-Jacques Marie eine monumentale und empirisch sehr dichte Stalin-Biographie vorgelegt, die bisher im außerfranzösischen Raum kaum rezipiert wurde. Marie ist seit Ende der sechziger Jahre auch international mit den Standardwerken *Les paroles qui ébranlèrent le monde* (1968), *Les bolcheviks par eux-mêmes* (1968), letzteres gemeinsam mit Georges Haupt, bekannt geworden. Bis zu dessen Tod arbeitete er eng mit dem russischen Soziologen und Historiker Vadim Rogovin zusammen. Die nun vorliegende, quellengesättigte Biographie schlägt einen Bogen zu den ersten - und immer noch wertvollen Stalin-Biographien von Souvarine (1935). Und Trotzki (1947). Im typisch französischen erzählerischen, jedoch schnörkellosen Duktus hat Marie eine Vielzahl neuer Erkenntnisse integriert, angesichts des Themas in fast schon unterkühlter Weise. Herausgekommen ist ein in seiner Eindeutigkeit neuer Blick auf die Geschichte einer nach persönlichen Maßgaben errichteten Diktatur, auf Skrupellosigkeit und Haltlosigkeit als Bewegungsgesetze für Stalins Aufstieg und Herrschaft, die ideologisch durch die Brille des "Leninismus" als Sieg des Sozialismus und als entscheidender Schritt zur Emanzipation der Menschheit maskiert wurde.

Durch die parteioffizielle Überlieferungspraxis und das Totalitarismusparadigma beeinflusst, wurde trotz neuer Archivzugänge die früher klassischen Themen, die Herausbildung des "bürokratischen Absolutismus" und Stalins Rolle als "Totengräber der Oktoberrevolution" (Ch. Rakovskij) bisher weniger in das Blickfeld der Forschung genommen. Marie zeigt nun ungeschminkt einen "großen Hausherrn" im Kreml, der bei allem und jedem Lenin und den "Leninismus" vorschützte, sich de facto jedoch nicht zuletzt an ihm rächte und dafür die gesamte Gesellschaft zahlen ließ. So knapp wie sich das Inhaltsverzeichnis des Buches liest, ist auch der im Stakkato gehaltene Stil (Der Seminarist und die Mythologie (I), Stalin in der Revolution (II), Der Generalsekretär (III), Die Bürgerkriege Stalins (IV), Marschall und Generalissimus (V), Der Koloß auf tönernen Füßen (VI), der Anfang vom Ende. Dank einer ideologiekritischen Methode gelingt es dem Autor stringent darzustellen, daß und wie es Stalin gelungen ist, der Gesellschaft seinen Stempel aufzudrücken, der in seinen Attacken gegen die Eliten der Partei und der Gesellschaft, die er auf diese Weise beseitigte, de facto "das Böse" als seine eigene Handlungsweise hineinprojizierte. Unter Verarbeitung der neuen Erkenntnisse und Forschungen aus den russischen Partei- und Militärarchiven wird Stalin aus der Perspektive des Führungskerns der KpdSU, der zu seinem Hofstaat wurde, betrachtet. Stalins Einfluß auf und Wirken in der Komintern bleibt dabei etwas unterbelichtet. Außerordentlich kritisch sieht Marie trotz des Sieges der Roten Armee den gesamten Verlauf des Zweiten Weltkriegs gesehen. Während für die Anfangsphase die Konzeptionslosigkeit Stalins (einschl. des Stalin-Hitler-Paktes und die existentielle Krise der Sowjetunion durch die Alternativlosigkeit gegenüber dem "Plan Barbarossa" festgehalten wird, stellt der Autor für die zweite Phase die Brutalität und Unmenschlichkeit der Kriegführung, das schockierende Verhältnis zu den Militärs und die barbarische Mißachtung der Lebensrechte der Zivilbevölkerung im Vergleich zu anderen Stalin-Biographien deutlich heraus. Ohne selbst auf Thesen und Theorien zum Stalinismus einzugehen (was im Rahmen einer deutschen Übersetzung durchaus sinnvoll wäre), wirkt das Buch trotzdem nicht theoriefeindlich. Die Sinnfrage, die Frage nach der Stalins Haltung zugrundeliegenden Rationalität - und dabei vor allem die des Terrors - wird nicht ausgeklammert, sondern in den erzählenden biographischen

Bericht eingestreut. Es mag banal klingen, doch eine Analyse des Stalinismus erfordert es nun einmal, die Person auszuloten, ihre Handlungen nachzuzeichnen und ihre Bedeutung für die Gesellschaft aufzuzeigen.

Vielleicht hat keine andere Stalin-Biographie den Weg Stalins und seine Herrschaft, die innenpolitisch auf dem Terror und außenpolitisch auf der permanenten Schaffung und Aufrechterhaltung von Spannungen (S. 868) beruhte so "hautnah", d.h. aus der Perspektive des obersten Führungszirkels der Partei nachgezeichnet. Die Message ist überaus klar: Eine Geschichte des „sowjetischen Systems“ und des „Stalinismus“ ohne die Eigenart und das Wirken der Persönlichkeit Stalins kann nicht verstanden und geschrieben werden. Andererseits können die herausstechenden Züge seiner Person und die entscheidenden Etappen der politischen Ausrichtungen heute viel klarer benannt werden. Ein Manko: Der wissenschaftliche Apparat hat vermutlich unter der explosiven Dynamik der Erzählung gelitten. Man wundert sich, warum man bei der Zusammenstellung der Bibliographie nicht mehr Sorgfalt walten ließ, die nicht alle im Buch zitierten Buchtitel enthält.

Bernhard H. Bayerlein, Mannheim.

Jelica Kurjak: Political changes in Russia (Političke promene u Rusiji 1990-1996). Begrade/Beograd, Institut za medjunarodnu politiku i privredu, 2000. 189 p.

This study – a political-historical research on the political changes in Russia on its way from totalitarianism to democracy - is based on the author's dissertation. Russia today is an impoverished and in many ways a specific society. The consequences of the disintegration of the Soviet Empire are felt in all societal domains, perhaps first and foremost in the economic sphere. The country's potentialities are starkly depleted. In today's Russia, even basic presuppositions for a successful transition are lacking. As the country is characterized by a totalitarian system of governance, there are few possibilities for democratization after the model of known democratic systems. For these reasons, Russia finds itself in a specific situation of having to re-examine its tradition as a possible basis for the introduction of new forms of organization and governance that would be appropriate to its current circumstances. Many of the contemporary difficulties that Russia is experiencing in the realms of economic, social, military and strategic policies, national relations, and foreign policy are explained by the deep gulf between the constitutional provisions, which represent the declarative norms, and the actual possibilities to innovate in the country's system of governance. For this reason, old forms of governance are frequently continued. Sometimes they appear as unsurmountable obstacles to innovation, but at the same time these old forms of governance are heralds of the new age in Russian politics. Regardless of the difficulties arising from the historical move from one societal form into another, Russian society has taken a step out into the future. There are several indicators that confirm this view.

First, the introduction of the principle of separation of powers was meant to indicate that the current Russian leadership had adopted a democratic way of developing their society, and that it had definitively broken up with the totalitarian model of governance. The constitutional regulation of the functions of these branches of governance indicates that the future of Russia will greatly depend on the country's President. The enormous competencies that are allocated to the President, corresponding with the Russian historical and cultural tradition, have both positive and negative dimensions. The positive ones include the fact that such an extremely personalized system of governance is generally acceptable to the average Russian citizen. In a largely undefined institutional structure, a strong executive appears as a factor of stability, a guarantor of moving steadily ahead, and of the preservation of the results of societal transformation and transition so far. The most prominent negative aspect of such an orientation is the danger that the executive branch might become too independent from the rest of the system, so that it may dominate the legislative and judicial branches. In Russian political life, such tendencies are already visible. According to the Russian Constitution, the Parliament, the Government and the courts are subordinate to the President. As the President has the right to rule by decree, it is clear to what extent the political system in Russia is personalized. Some analysts already speak of a new absolutism, which they call enlightened, because, in an overall perspective, it tends to secure a move ahead for the entire Russian society. The danger of absolutism remains, but it seems early at this stage to speak of a developed and threatening absolutism. It is probably more appropriate to see in it a new form of personalized governance that is warranted by the current state of the Russian society.

Secondly, the transformation of the Soviet totalitarianism has begun with the introduction of political pluralism, with various ideologically different groups, movements, organizations and associations being active on the Russian political scene. The introduction of multi-party pluralism into the political structure of the Russian society was a key component of the Russian version of system-transformation. Not much time has passed from a monolithic and monopolistic state structure to the emergence of a diversity of organizations, as the potential for political difference in Russia had long been hidden. Russian society pulled itself out of the political chaos fairly promptly: the first parliamentary election indicated that there were two major political forces on the Russian political scene, whose actions and behavior would determine the country's future (one was a pro-western oriented liberal-democratic alliance, while the other one primarily looked at the Russian past for orientation in the future). The parties belonging to the first block have been in power from day one of the Russian reforms. Their political maturation was determined by the degree of their programmatic development. In the initial phase, these parties were on radical reformist positions, characterized by an uncritical acceptance of western European democracies as an unquestioned model for changes of Russian society. Time has shown, however, that there are no ready solutions, and that Russian economic and societal identity cannot absorb the offered degree of radicalism. These parties have therefore started to transform their programs in the direction of compromise solutions, without giving up on liberalism and democracy as their programmatic base.

The other group of parties is different (they range from nationalist, royalist, traditionally Russian, to "new left" and communist forces). From the very beginning, these parties believed that the disintegration of the Soviet Union had not been unavoidable, and that, once it had occurred, Russia did not profit sufficiently from it.

Thirdly, the multiparty parliamentarism, as a form of societal democratization, has been fully realized in Russia, at least from a formal and legal point of view. In practice, the situation is somewhat different. With some exceptions, it could be argued that there are no parties in the traditional sense in Russia, because many of them have practically no members apart from the leadership and the party apparatus, and some alliances are formed only as a function of parliamentary elections. The Parliament does not play the role that it should play and that it plays in developed parliamentary democracies. After the 1995 election, both the parties and their Parliament have found their own ways of functioning, so that today one can speak of a process of programmatic equalization of the parties, which is mainly determined by their efforts to survive in Parliament. Even in foreign policy, the differences between parties have been brought to a minimum.

Fourthly, the slow movement towards the new societal arrangements, and the preservation of old institutions and manners of governance within these new arrangements, has helped generate personification of governance. The unfinished arrangements in party organization, the instability of the Parliament, and the governmental inefficiencies in solving economic problems, have led to the Presidency appearing as the main factor of integrity of the nation, based on the need to preserve the territorial integrity (especially in the 1993 constitutional crisis), and to maintain a desirable political identity of Russia (the reformist orientation).

In crisis periods, the strong position of the Presidency can have some positive dimensions. However, if there are no political mechanisms to limit the exercise of Presidential discretion in decision-making, there is a danger that, once crises are over, power might be abused and exercised as a form of absolutism. The exceedingly strong Presidency in Russia is a critical factor, but at the same time it must be conceded that there are still societal reasons for rule

by decree. The level of democratization of the Russian society will determine the future of such a nearly absolute system of presidential governance.

Fifthly, the complex process of pluralization of the Soviet society, which resulted from internal as well as international political and economic changes, generated the issue of national emancipation. The first wave of the cave-in of the Soviet state's monolithic unity appeared as a process of creation of national movements in the non-Russian republics, whose main programmatic orientation was directed at becoming entitled to linguistic, cultural, and religious autonomy from Russia. The activities of these national movements and their political elites soon turned into open struggle for separation from the Russian state. The wave of national awakening led to the disintegration of the Soviet state, but it also jeopardized the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation. The radicalism of some national movements has largely influenced the efforts to solve the issue of defining the national identity of the Russian state.

Given the numerous unsolved issues, the current circumstances warrant that the solutions offered by the Russian actors may be considered inadequate. This concerns both those solutions that are based on the concept of a civil Russia, and those based on the notion that a "natural" Russian domination is an acceptable framework for a new national policy. Contemporary Russia is far from being at a degree of democratic development high enough to make its classification as a civil society appear plausible. On the other hand, given the inter-ethnic relations in the Russian state, one can not reasonably argue that ethnic Russians can be a priori considered dominant. Both theories are one-sided, and this is why they cannot be a sufficiently comprehensive framework for the solution of inter-ethnic problems in Russia today, concludes Jelica Kurjak.

Avgust Lešnik, Ljubljana.

Martin Mevius: Agents of Moscow. The Hungarian Communist Party and the Origins of Socialist Patriotism 1941-1953, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2005. 296 p. (Oxford Historical Monographs).

After 1945, state patriotism of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe was characterized by the widespread use of national symbols. In communist Hungary the party (MKP) widely celebrated national holidays, national heroes, erected national statues, and employed national street names. This 'socialist patriotism' had its origin in the 'national line' of the Comintern, established on Soviet instructions following the German invasion of the Soviet Union. At that time Stalin called the parties of the Comintern to oppose the Germans by issuing the call for national liberation.

This policy continued after 1945 when, as an aid in the struggle for power, the MKP presented itself as both the 'heir to the traditions of the nations' and the 'only true representative of the interest of the Hungarian people'. Paradoxically however, the Soviet origins of the national line were also one of the main obstacles to its success as the MKP could not put forward national demands if these conflicted with Soviet interests.

Martin Mevius' study reveals that what had started as a tactical measure in 1941 had become the self-image of party and state in 1953 and that the ultimate loyalty to the Soviet Union worked to the detriment of the national party - the MKP never rid itself of the label 'agents of Moscow'.

(From the publisher's presentation of the book).

Section VI International Meetings and Conferences Concerning Communist Studies.

More information and links to the following events may be consulted through specific websites, as for example: • Agenda Asia (<http://www.iias.nl/gateway/news/agasia/>). A database of Asian Studies conferences, workshops and seminars. • Calenda (<http://calenda.revues.org>). French and other social science conference announcements. • H-Net Academic Announcements (<http://www2.hnet.msu.edu/announce>). Academic conferences, calls for papers, programs and others announcements in the humanities and social sciences.

Past Meetings and Conferences 2004 - May 2005.

- Moscow, Russia, 12 February 2004: Internationale Konferenz über das Leben und Werk von Rosa Luxemburg, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Berlin.
- Paris, France, 11-12.6.2004: A l'origine d'une politique humanitaire moderne: Les réfugiés russes et le Zengor (1921-1939), Centre d'études du moinde russe, soviétique et post-soviétique.
- Paris, Nanterre, Roubaix, France, 8.-11.9.2004: XXXVe conférence de l'IALHI. International Association of Labour History Institutions.
- Loughborough, United Kingdom, 17-19 September 2004: Conference about Daniel Guérin.
- Berlin-Spandau, Germany, 22 - 24 October 2004: 9. Deutsch-Russische Herbstgespräche. Welche Geschichte formt die Gegenwart. Erinnerungskultur sechzig Jahre nach Kriegsende, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung - Deutsch-Russischer-Austausch e.V - Internationale Gesellschaft Memorial.
- Berlin, Germany, 16 November 2004: Konferenz 'Jürgen Kuczynski-Kolloquium zum 100. Geburtstag', Kollegium Wissenschaft, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftungsverbund.
- Guangzhou, Kanton, China, 21 - 22 November 2004: Rosa Luxemburg und die Nation. Wissenschaftliche Konferenz der Internationalen Rosa-Luxemburg-Gesellschaft.
- Paris, France, 30.4.-18.12.2004: Combats du siècle, Musée d'histoire contemporaine - BDIC: Droits de l'homme. Exposition,
- Brighton, United Kingdom, 13-14 December 2004: The Russian-Jewish Immigration to Germany (Weimar Republic and post-1989 Germany), Bucerius Institute for Research of

Contemporary German History and Society, Leo Baeck Institute London, Centre for German-Jewish Studies at the University of Sussex.

- Recklinghausen, Germany, 21 - 24 February 2005: Transformation der Erinnerungskulturen, Forschungsinstitut Arbeit Bildung Partizipation, Recklinghausen and Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur, Berlin.

- Marburg, 24 - 25 February 2005: Zeitgeschichte Osteuropas von den Jahren des Zweiten Weltkrieges bis in die Gegenwart, Kolloquium des Verbandes der Osteuropahistoriker/innen Deutschlands und des Herder-Instituts Marburg.

- Swansea, United Kingdom, 31 March - 2 April 2005: The Rethinking of the Social Democracy - Conference 2: The Political Economy of Social Democracy: Past, Present and Future. University of Wales, Swansea.

- Santa Barbara, California, April 29 - 30, 2005: The Cold War and its Contexts. Graduate student conference, University of California, Santa Barbara, the George Washington Cold War Group (GWCW), and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), Cold War Studies Centre (CWSC). gfuji@umail.ucsb.edu. <http://www.history.ucsb.edu/projects/ccws/>

- Youngstone, Ohio, May 18th - 21st, 2005: New Working Class Studies: Past, Present and Future. The 10th Anniversary Conference of the Center for Working-Class Studies, Youngstown State University.

- Munich, Germany, May 31th, 2005: Russische Föderation zwischen Siegesmythos und Modernisierung. Der Krieg ist aus. Diskussionsreihe mit Memorial u.a. www.ruth-dieckmann.de

- Berlin, Germany, 10 June 2005: IV. Ständiges Kolloquium zur historischen Sozialismus- und Kommunismusforschung. Wege aus der Katastrophe - Debatten über ein Nachkriegsdeutschland. Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen e.V.

Forthcoming Meetings and Conferences - 2005/2006.

- Mons, Belgium, until 11 September 2005: L'anarchisme à la UNE (Exposition). MUNDANEUM, Centre d'archives de la Communauté française.

- Warsaw, Poland, 16 -18 June 2005: The Communist Security Apparatus in East Central Europe 1944-45 to 1989. International Conference. Institute of National Remembrance - Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation (IPN). <http://www.ipn.gov.pl/conference2005/>.

- Berlin, Germany, 15 July 2005: Bilder der Deutschen im sowjetischen und russischen Film, Russisches Haus der Wissenschaft und Kultur. <http://www.russisches-haus.de>.

- Berlin, 25 - 30 July 2005: Europe - Our Common House. VII World Congress of ICCEES, International Council for Central and East European Studies, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde. Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Humboldt-Universität. <http://www.iccees2005.de/information.html>. info@iccees2005.de. Many interesting panels and round Tables. See the provisional programme on the homepage.

- Linz, Austria, September 15th - 18th 2005: Labour Biographies and Prosopography, 41th Linz Conference.

- Detroit, Michigan, October 20-22, 2005: Labor, Solidarity and Organizations. Twenty-Seventh Annual North American Labor History Conference, Wayne State University.

- London, February 4, 2006: Conference on 1956: The year of Khrushchev's secret speech, the year of the Russian invasion of Hungary and the Anglo-French invasion of Suez. Socialist Historians Group. conference2006@londonsocialisthistorians.org.
- The Hague, The Netherlands, 22-25 March 2006: European Social Science History Conference, Amsterdam (Netherlands). International Institute of Social History. Call for papers: Chair of the Labour History Network, Carolyn Brown <cbrown@panix.com>, David De Vries <devries@post.tau.ac.il> and Lex Heerma van Voss <LHV@iisg.NL>. <http://www.iisg.nl/esshc>.

Section VII

Historical Communist Studies. New publications update. Compiled by Bernhard H. Bayerlein and John Earl Haynes.

For the last update of this directory (2003/2004) see: INCS ONLINE 17 (2004).

Austria

- Rombach, Charlotte: Gelebte Solidarität. Österreichische Schutzbundkinder in der Sowjetunion 1934-1945, Wien, Alfred Klahr Gesellschaft, 2003. 151 p. (Quellen & Studien. Sonderband. 4).
- Schafranek, Hans; Tuchel, Johannes (eds.): Krieg im Äther. Widerstand und Spionage im Zweiten Weltkrieg, Vienna, Picus Verlag, 2004. 376 p.

Belgium

- Gotovich, José, Morelli, Anne (eds.): Les solidarités internationales. Histoire & perspectives, Bruxelles, Labor, 2003.

Belarus

- Adamusko, V. I. e.a. (eds.): Lagerja sovetskich voennoplennych v Belarusi 1941 - 1944: spravočnik, Komitet po Archivam i deloproizvodstvu pri sovete ministrov respubliki Belarus', Minsk, 2003. 61 p.
- Fedosov, V. V. (ed.): Archivy i občestvo segodnja. Materialy meždunarodnoj naučno-praktičeskoj konferencii. Minsk. 11-12 nojabrja 2003 g., Minsk, Belnindad, 2004. 154 p.

Czech Republic

- Kárník, Zdeněk (ed.): Bolševismus, komunismus a radikální socialismus v Československu, Praha, Dokořán, 2004. 223 p. (Studijní edice bolševismus, komunismus a radikální socialismus v Československu do roku 1989).

Estonia

- Mertelsmann, Olaf (ed.): The sovietization of the Baltic States. 1940 - 1956, Tartu, Kleio Ajalookirjanduse Sihtasutus, 2003. 254 p.

Finland

- Paastela, Jukka: Finnish communism under soviet totalitarianism. Oppositions within the Finnish Communist Party in Soviet Russia 1918 - 1935, Helsinki, Aleksanteri Inst., 2003. 360 p. (Kikumora publications. Series B. 27).

France

- Causarano, Pietro; Galimi, Valeria; Guedj, François; Romain Huret, Isabelle Lespinet-Moret, Jérôme Martin, Michel Pinault, Xavier Vigna, Mercedes Yusta (eds.) : Le XXe siècle des guerres, Paris, Editions de l'Atelier, 2004. 606 p.
- Chambarlhac, V.; Dury, M.; Hohl, T.; J. Malois: (eds.): Histoire documentaire du Parti socialiste. Tome 1, L'entreprise socialiste, 1905-1920, Dijon, Éditions universitaires de Dijon, 2005. 312 p.
- Coiffier, Patrick: Rouen sous l'occupation 1940 - 1944, Luneray, Éd. Bertout, 2004. 160 p.
- Delporte, Christian; Pannetier, Claude; Sirinelli, Jean-François e.a. (eds.): L'Humanité de Jaurès à nos jours. Actes du colloque "L'Humanité, de Jaurès à nos jours". Bibliothèque nationale de France. 01-02 avril 2004. Organisé par le Centre d'histoire culturelle des sociétés contemporaines (Université de Versailles, St Quentin-en-Yvelines), le Centre d'histoire de l'Europe du vingtième siècle (CHEVS, Fondation nationale des Sciences politiques), le Centre d'histoire sociale du XXe siècle (Université Paris I), l'Institut d'histoire contemporaine (Université de Bourgogne), Paris, Nouveau monde, 2004.
- Fraenkel, Boris: Profession Révolutionnaire, Bordeaux, Le Bord De L'Eau, 2004. 201 p.
- Le Bars, Loic: La fédération unitaire de l'enseignement (1919-1935). Aux origines du syndicalisme enseignant, Paris, Syllepse, 2005.
- Nérard, François-Xavier: Cinq pour cent de vérité. La dénonciation dans l'URSS de Staline, Paris, Tallandier, 2004.
- Sommier, Isabelle: Jean Brugié. Officier et communiste dans les guerres coloniales, Editions Flammarion, Paris, 2005.

Germany

NB: Most of the publications about the history of the GDR are not included here. See the special bibliography: Bibliographie zur Geschichte der DDR, edited by Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv, Berlin (entry below). See also the Newsletter: Aktuelles aus der DDR-Forschung, edited by Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der DDR-Diktatur, Berlin (Section I).

- Barth, Bernd-Rainer; Schweizer, Werner (eds.): Der Fall Noel Field. Schlüsselfigur der Schauprozesse in Osteuropa. Verhöre und Selbstzeugnisse 1948-1957, Berlin, BasisDruck, 2 vols., 2005 (announced).
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Section VIII

Directory of Periodicals for Historical Communist Studies and Connected Areas.

Conventional And Web-Based Electronic Journals, Newsletters, Discussion Lists, Bulletins And Services. Complement 2005.

This directory listing over 180 periodical publications with interest for communist studies aims to provide basic information about interesting periodical resources for Communist Studies in a broad sense as central part of contemporary history including all periods, all regions and all fields. The directory allows You to go to the Internet portals and sites in order to browse the tables of contents of these serials. Suggestions for completing this directory are more than welcome. The main portals consulted are: IALHI Serials Service (IALHI). <http://serials.ialhi.org/> (This service covers 113 serials in the field of labour history and communist studies and offers a Labour History Serials Alerting Service (http://serials.ialhi.org/alerting_services.asp). Another site, Historical Journals (HJG). <http://www.history-journals.de>, maintained by Sven Blascke is the most complete portal for all kind of historical journals indicating the respective home- or other pages for the tables of contents. In case the serial is not listed by the two services, the respective web-page is indicated.

Titel	Country	Art	Link
A nemzetközi munkásmozgalom történetéből	Hungary	Periodical	HJG
Ab Imperio English-Russian quarterly dedicated to studies of New Imperial History and Nationalism in the post Soviet Space.	Russia, USA		HJG
Actuel Marx	France	Periodical	IALHI
Aktuelles aus der DDR-Forschung. Ein Newsletter der Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur	Germany	Periodical and E-Newsletter	HJG
American Communist History, New York	USA	Periodical	HJG
Anarchist Studies	UK	Periodical	IALHI
Annali, Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli	Italy	Periodical	IALHI

Anthropology of East Europe Review ,Chicago	USA	Periodical	HJG
Arbeiderhistorie. årbok for Arbeiderbevegelsens Arkiv og Bibliotek	Norway	Periodical	IALHI
Arbejderhistorie. Tidsskrift for historie, kultur og politik	Denmark	Periodical	IALHI
Arbetshistoria. Meddelande från Arbetsrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek	Sweden	Periodical	IALHI
ArcheoBiblioBase. Archives in Russia, updated by the IISG, Amsterdam http://www.iisg.nl/-abb/index.html	The Netherlands	Web-service	
Archiv für die Geschichte des Widerstandes und der Arbeit, Bochum	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Archiv für Sozialgeschichte	Germany	Periodical	IALHI
Arkiv för studier i arbetsrörelsens historia	Sweden	Periodical	IALHI
Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung	Germany	Periodical	IALHI
Beiträge zur Marx-Engels-Forschung	Germany	Periodical	IALHI
Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis	Belgium	Periodical	IALHI
Berlin-Brandenburger Forum Osteuropa, Rundbrief, Berlin	Germany	E-Newsletter	
Bibliotheksbrief. Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv. http://www.bundesarchiv.de/	Germany	E-Newsletter / Periodical	IALHI
Bijdragen. Navorsings. En Studiecentrum voor de Geschiedenis van de Tweede Wereldoorlog.	Belgium	Periodical	HJG
Bollettino dell'Archivio per la storia del movimento sociale cattolico in Italia	Italy	Periodical	IALHI
Brood & Rozen. Tijdschrift voor de Geschiedenis van Sociale Bewegingen	Belgium	Periodical	IALHI
Bulletin du CEGES/ SOMA berichtenblad, Bruxelles, Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes Historiques de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale - Studie- en Documentatiecentrum Oorlog en Hedendaagse Maatschappij. http://www.cegesoma.be	Belgium	Periodical	
Bulletin für Faschismus- und Weltkriegsforschung	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Cahiers. Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes Historiques de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale. See: Bijdragen. Navorsings.	Belgium	Periodical	IALHI
Cahiers d'histoire. Revue d'histoire critique, Lyon-Grenoble e.a.	France	Periodical	HJG
Cahiers d'Histoire du Mouvement Ouvrier, Paris	France	Periodical	IALHI
Cahiers d'histoire du mouvement ouvrier, Lausanne	Switzerland	Periodical	HJG

Cahiers d'Histoire du Temps présent, Bruxelles, CEGES - Bijdragen tot de Eigentijdse Geschiedenis. http://www.cegesoma.be	Belgium	Periodical	
Cahiers du monde russe. Russie. Empire russe. Union Soviétique. États indépendants	France	Periodical	HJG
Cahiers Léon Trotsky, Grenoble	France	Periodical	IALHI
Cahiers Marxistes	Belgium	Periodical	IALHI
Central Asian Survey, London	UK	Periodical	
Central Europe , London	UK	Periodical	
Chapters in the History of Communist and Socialism (CHOCS). http://www.chocsjournal.org	United Kingdom	E-Journal (announced)	
The China Quarterly	Australia	Periodical	IALHI
Cold War History, London	UK	Periodical	HJG
Cold War International History Project Electronic Bulletin	USA	E-Journal	HJG
Cold War International History Project Working Papers	USA	Periodical	HJG
Communisme	France	Periodical	IALHI
Communist and Post-communist Studies	USA	Periodical	HJG
Communist History Network Newsletter, Manchester	UK	E-Newsletter	HJG
Communist Chronicles, Studies in Communist History, Stavanger. http://communist-chronicles.com	Norway	Web Resource	
Comparativ, Leipzig	Germany	Periodical	IALHI
Comparative Studies in Society and History, Cambridge	UK	Periodical	IALHI
Critique, Journal of Socialist Theory, Glasgow	UK	Periodical	
Deutschland Archiv. Zeitschrift für das vereinigte Deutschland	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Die Aktion. Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur, Kunst, Hamburg. http://www.poesieundkritik.de	Germany	Print Journal	
Dissidences [former Bulletin de liaison des études sur les mouvements révolutionnaires]. http://www.dissidences.net	France	Periodical	
eForum zeitGeschichte	Austria	E-Journal	HJG
Estudos sobre o Comunismo, Lisbon estudossobrecomunismo.weblog.com.pt	Portugal	E-Newsletter	
Europe Asia Studies, Glasgow	UK	Periodical	HJG
Exilforschung. Ein Internationales Jahrbuch	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Exilios y migraciones ibéricas en el siglo XX. Éxils et migrations ibériques au XXe siècle	Spain	Periodical	HJG
Forum für osteuropäische Ideen- und Zeitgeschichte	Germany	Periodical	HJG

Geschichte und Gesellschaft	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains, Paris, PUF	France	Periodical	HJG
Halbjahresschrift für südosteuropäische Geschichte, Literatur und Politik	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Histoire sociale - Social history, University of Toronto Press	Canada	Periodical	IALHI
Historia & informatica	The Netherlands	E-Journal	IALHI
Historia Actual On-Line	Spain	E-Journal	HJG
Historical Materialism jim@broomfieldcres.plus.com	UK / The Netherlands	Print Journal	
Historische Literatur http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/zeitschriften/id=283	Germany	E-Newsletter	
The History Journals Guide	Germany	E-Webservice	HJG
H-HOAC, History of American communism and domestic anticommunism encompassing the history of the Communist Party of the USA	USA	E-Discussion List	HJG
H-Labor : interested in fostering international discussion of labor history topics		E-Discussion List	HJG
H-SOZ-U-KULT. Kommunikation und Fachinformation für die Geschichtswissenschaften. Communication and Information Services for Historians http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de		E-Webservice	
HOAC Historians of American Communism Newsletter listserv@h-net.msu.edu	USA	Periodical	
IALHI News Service		E-Webservice	HJG
Iberoamericana. América Latina. España. Portugal	Germany	Periodical	HJG
ICCEES INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER, International Council for Central and East European Studies	Australia	Newsletter	
The Indian Economic and Social History Review	India, UK	Periodical	IALHI
Intermarium. The first online journal of East Central European postwar history and politics	Poland - USA	E-Journal	HJG
International Labor and Working-Class History, Cambridge UP	UK	Periodical	IALHI
The International Newsletter of Communist Studies	Germany	Newsletter	IALHI
The International Newsletter of Communist Studies	Germany	Online-Newsletter	IALHI

International Review of Social History	Netherlands	Periodical	IALHI
Internationale wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung	Germany		IALHI
Istočnik, Moscow	Russia	Periodical	HJG
Istoričeskij Archiv, Moscow	Russia	Periodical	HJG
Jahrbuch für Forschungen zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung	Germany	Periodical	nein
Jahrbuch für historische Kommunismusforschung	Germany	Periodical	IALHI
Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Journal of Cold War Studies, Harvard Project on Cold War Studies	USA	Periodical	HJG
Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, Glasgow	UK	Periodical	IALHI
Journal of Contemporary History, University of London HJG	UK	Periodical	HJG
Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies	UK	Periodical	HJG
Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans, Kingston University	UK	Periodical	HJK
Kritika. Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History, Slavica Editors, Bloomington, Indiana	USA	Periodical	HJG
La Lettre d'Espaces Marx	France	Newsletter	HJG
Labnet List. Labour Movement listserv@iisg.nl		E-Discussion List	
Labour. Le Travail	Canada	Periodical	IALHI
Labor History, Australian Society for the Study of Labour History	Australia	Periodical	HJG
Labour history review, Leeds	UK		IALHI
LAWCHA: mailing list of the Labor and Working Class History Association		E-Discussion List	HJG
Le Mouvement social	France	Periodical	IALHI
Left history, Leeds	UK	Periodical	HJG
Les Cahiers d'ADIAMOS, Dijon	France	Periodical	
Les Cahiers du C.E.R.M.T.R.I. Paris.	France	Periodical	IALHI
L'homme et la société	France	Periodical	IALHI
Marx-Engels Jahrbuch, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Marx-Engels-Marxismus-Forschung	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps, BDIC, Nanterre	France	Periodical	HJG
MEGA-Studien, Berlin	Germany	Periodical	IALHI
Mir istorii. Rossijskij elektronnyj žurnal	Russia	E-Journal	HJG
Mitteilungen des Förderkreises, Archive und Bibliotheken zur Geschichte der	Germany	Periodical	HJG

Arbeiterbewegung, Berlin			
Mitteilungsblatt des Instituts für soziale Bewegungen, Bochum	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Naučno-Informacionnyj Bjuulleten', RGASPI, Moscow	Russia	Periodical	
New political science: a journal of politics & culture	USA	Periodical	HJG
Newsletter of Historians of American Communism, Washington. See: HOAC	USA	Newsletter	
Newsletter. Social Science in Eastern Europe, Berlin	Germany	Newsletter	
North West Group for the Study of Labour History	USA	Newsletter	IALHI
Novaja i novejšaja istorija, Moscow	Russia	Periodical	HJG
Österreichische Osthefte. Zeitschrift für Mittel-, Ost- und Südosteuropaforschung	Austria	Periodical	HJG
O Olho da História, Salvador, Bahia	Brasil	Periodical	HJG
Osteuropa Zeitschrift fuer Gegenwartsfragen des Ostens	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Otečestvennaia Istorija, Moscow	Russia	Periodical	HJG
Otečestvennye Archivy, Moscow	Russia	Periodical	HJG
Passato e presente, Florence	Italy	Periodical	IALHI
Perspektiven ds, Berlin	Germany	Periodical	IALHI
Potsdamer Bulletin für Zeithistorische Studien. Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung	Germany	Newsletter	HJG
Quaderno di storia contemporanea. Rivista semestrale dell'Istituto per la storia della resistenza e della società contemporanea in provincia di Alessandria	Italy	Periodical	HJG
Quaderni di storia	Italy	Periodical	IALHI
Quaderni Pietro Tresso, Centro Studi Pietro Tresso, Italy (former Quaderni del Centro Pietro Tresso series). p.casciola@tiscalinet.it	Italy	Periodical	
Quaderni storici	Italy	Periodical	IALHI
Radical Historians Newsletter	USA	Newsletter	HJG
Radical History Review	USA	Periodical	IALHI
Rassegna di storia. Rivista dell'Istituto storico della Resistenza	Italy	Periodical	HJG
Res Publica. Belgian Journal of Political Science	Belgium	Periodical	IALHI
Revolutionary History	USA	Periodical	IALHI
Revolutionary Russia	UK	Periodical	IALHI
Ricerche di storia politica, Fondazione Feltrinelli	Italy	Periodical	IALHI
Rundbrief aus dem Thälmann-Haus.	Germany	Periodical	

Kuratorium Gedenkstätte Ernst Thälmann, Hamburg. http://www.thaelmann-gedenkstaette.de/			
Rundbrief. Willi-Bredel-Gesellschaft. Geschichtswerkstatt. http://www.bredelgesellschaft.de	Germany	Periodical	
Russian History. Histoire russe	USA	Periodical	HJG
The Russian Review, Columbus, Ohio	USA	Periodical	IALHI
Russian social science review. A journal of translations	USA	Periodical	HJG
Russian studies in history. A journal of translations	USA	Periodical	HJG
Sehepunkte	Germany	E-Journal	HJG
Slavic Review. American Quarterly of Russian, Eurasian and East European Studies	USA	Periodical	HJG
The Slavonic and East European Review	UK	Periodical	HJG
Slavonic and East European Review. American Serie	USA	Periodical	HJG
Social History and Russia. A newsletter on international cooperation in research archives, conferences and other projects in the field of social history in Russia	Netherlands	Newsletter	HJG
Socialist history	UK	Periodical	IALHI
Società e storia	Italy	Periodical	IALHI
Soudobé dějiny, Prague	Tchech Republic	Periodical	HJG
South Eastern European Politics online , Central European University, Budapest	Hungary	E-Journal	HJG
Soviet Studies in History	USA	Periodical	
Sozial.Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts	Germany	Periodical	IALHI
Spaces of Identity. Multidisciplinary online journal devoted to the issues of tradition, cultural boundaries and identity formation in Central and Eastern Europe, Vienna	Austria	E-Journal	HJG
Spagna contemporanea	Italy	Periodical	IALHI
Storica	Italy	Periodical	IALHI
Studi storici	Italy	Periodical	IALHI
Studies in East European Thought	Switzerland, Netherlands	Periodical	HJG
Südosteuropa. Zeitschrift für Gegenwartforschung	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Südostforschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Kultur und Landeskunde Südosteuropas	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Svobodnaia Mysl', Moscow	Russia	Periodical	HJG

Territoires contemporains, Bulletin de l'Institut d'Histoire contemporaine, Dijon	France	Newsletter	
Thesis Eleven. Critical Theory and Historical Sociology HJG	Australia	Periodical	HJG
Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis, AMSAB, Institute of Social History, Ghent	Belgium	Periodical	IALHI
Totalitarian movements and political religions	USA, UK, Italy	Periodical	HJG
Totalitarismus und Demokratie / Totalitarianism and Democracy, Hannah Arendt Institut, Dresden. http://www.hait.tu-dresden.de/td	Germany	Periodical	
Transit. Europäische Revue, Vienna-Boston	Austria	Periodical	IALHI
Ukraïn'kyi Istoryčnyi Žurnal, Kiev	Ukraine	Periodical	HJG
Utopian studies, St. Louis, MO	USA	Periodical	HJG
Utopie Kreativ, Berlin	Germany	Periodical	
Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Vingtième siècle. Revue d'histoire	France	Periodical	HJG
Vlaams Marxistisch Tijdschrift	Belgium	Periodical	IALHI
Voenno-istoričeskij žurnal, Moscow	Russia	Periodical	HJG
Voprosy Istorii, Moscow	Russia	Periodical	HJG
Widerspruch, Zürich	Switzerland	Periodical	IALHI
Zeithistorische Forschungen - Studies in contemporary history	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Zeitschrift des Forschungsverbundes SED-Staat. Beiträge und Informationen, Freie Universität Berlin	Germany	Periodical	HJG
Zeitschrift für sozialistische Politik und Wirtschaft	Germany	Periodical	IALHI
1999. Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Siehe: Sozial.Geschichte	Germany	Periodical	IALHI

Section IX

Links-Links-Links. Websites with Interest for Communist Studies.

100(0) Schlüsseldokumente zur russischen und sowjetischen Geschichte, Munich, Germany.	http://osteuropa.bsb-muenchen.de/index2.htm
Aktuelles aus der DDR-Forschung, Newsletter der Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur.	http://www.stiftung-aufarbeitung.de/4-2-1.php
Annals of Communism , Yale University Press	http://www.yale.edu/annals/index.htm
Arbeiteraufstand des 17. Juni 1953 in der DDR. Das reichhaltige Kooperationsangebot der Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung (des DeutschlandRadios) und des Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung Potsdam) als gemeinsame Website. Enthält Tageschroniken, Karten, Materialien, ein Forum, Veranstaltungen, Dokumentationen (Videoclips u.a.) und einen Newsletter.	http://www.17juni53.de
Archives in Russia. ArcheoBiblioBase	http://www.iisg.nl/~abb/
Archives in Ukraine, Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University	http://www.huri.harvard.edu/abb_grimsted/
Archivy Belarusi	http://archives.gov.by/
Archvy Rossii, Rosarchiv	http://www.rusarchives.ru/
Bibliothèque marxiste de Paris - French CP Archives	http://www.internatif.org/EspMarx/BMP
British Library	http://www.bl.uk/
Center for Working-Class Studies, Youngstown State University.	http://www.as.yosu.edu/~cwcs
Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Mouvements Trotskyste et Révolutionnaires Internationaux	http://www.trotsky.com.fr/
Centro de Estudios y Documentación de las Brigadas Internacionales (CEDOBI), Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Spain.	http://www.brigadasinternacionales.uclm.es
Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril, Coimbra, Portugal	http://www.uc.pt/cd25a/index.html
Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center	http://wwics.si.edu/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=topics.home
Communist Chronicles, Stavanger, Norway	http://communist-chronicles.com/

Communist History Network, Manchester, UK	http://les1.man.ac.uk/chnn/
Datenbank des deutschsprachigen Anarchismus - DadA	http://www.free.de/dada/info.html
Dictionary of Labour Biography, UK	http://www.york.ac.uk/res/dlb/
Estudos sobre a Guerra Civil Espanhola, Portugal	http://1936-1939.blogspot.com/
Estudios sobre la historia del movimiento comunista en España, Madrid, Spain.	http://blogia.com/comunismo/index.php
Fondazione Istituto Gramsci, Rome	http://www.gramsci.it/
Guia da história das esquerdas brasileiras, Brasil.	http://www.ifcs.ufrj.br/~rfcastro/gheb.htm
H-Net Humanities & Social Sciences Online Discussion Network	http://www.h-net.org/
H-Soz-u-Kult, Germany. Internet-Forum des H-Net. Kommunikation und Fachinformation für die Geschichtswissenschaften. Communication and Information Services for Historians	http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/
Harvard Project on Cold War Studies	http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~hpcws
Historical Abstracts on the Web: ABC-CLIO, Limited in Oxford, England	http://www.abc-clio.com/international/products
Historian's of American Communism	http://www.historians.org/affiliates/hisn_am_communism.htm
History Journals Guide, Stefan Blaschke, Cologne	http://www.history-journals.de/
Hoover Institution, Stanford University	http://www-hoover.stanford.edu/
Institut d'histoire contemporaine, Dijon	http://tristan.u-bourgogne.fr/html/indexihc.html
International Association of Labour History Institutions	http://www.iisg.nl/~ialhi/imembers.html
International Institute of Social History	http://www.iisg.nl/index.html
International Newsletter of Communist Studies	http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/projekte/JHK-news/
Italians in the Gulag. The Fondazione Feltrinelli (Milan) and the Memorial association (Moscow) created a website on the Italian victims of the Soviet camp system. It consists of three parts. The first presents information (maps, chronology, history) on the Gulag in general. The second is dedicated to its Italian victims, with a database containing 1026 biographical notes. Moreover, there is a full bibliography on the Gulag, compiled by Hélène Kaplan.	http://www.gulag-italia.it
Jahrbuch für Historische Kommunismusforschung	http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/projekte/JHK-news/
John Earl Haynes Historical Writings	http://www.johnearlhaynes.org/index.html
Kato Tetsuro's Global Netizen College	http://www.ff.iiij4u.or.jp/~katote/exchange.html
Knowledge Base Social Sciences in Eastern Europe The Knowledge Base Social Sciences in Eastern Europe is	http://www.cee-socialscience.net

<p>designed to provide an ongoing overview of the development of social sciences in Central and Eastern Europe. The Knowledge Base is maintained by the GESIS Service Agency Eastern Europe in cooperation with Collegium Budapest and Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris. It offers a living and long term mapping of the social science disciplines in Eastern Europe. The Knowledge Base gives access to facts and background information and it serves as a meeting point for experts. In its core the Knowledge Base contains reports from the printed version of the publication "Three Social Sciences in Central and Eastern Europe. Handbook on economics, political science and sociology (1989-2001)" as well as reviews of the country articles which were not included in the book edition. Furthermore, it provides linkages to relevant sites related to the area such as journals and bibliographical references; most important actors: persons and institutions; internet resources and scientific events. The objective of the Knowledge Base is to support scientific communication and cooperation among the community of international academics from Eastern and Western Europe via information exchange, scientific discussion and bottom-up networking on the European level. The Knowledge Base project is open for further collaborators and invites all social scientists dealing with Eastern Europe to participate in its development.</p>	
<p>Kommunisten in der Weimarer Republik. Materialien zur Sozialgeschichte, Ulrich Eumann, Germany</p>	<p>http://home.t-online.de/home/ulrich.eumann/Index.html</p>
<p>Kooperationsprojekte zwischen nordrhein-westfälischen und russischen Institutionen Internetportal. Betreut von Dr. Klaus Waschik, Lotmann-Institut für russische und sowjetische Kultur, Ruhr-Universität Bochum. Ein Gemeinschaftsprojekt des Ministeriums für Wissenschaft und Forschung des Landes NRW, des Moskauer Instituts für das Eisenbahnwesen (MIIT), des Lotmann-Instituts für russische und sowjetische Kultur sowie des Instituts für europäische Kulturen. Es soll den Austausch zwischen deutschen und russischen Partnern in Hochschule und Wissenschaft durch die Bereitstellung von Informationen über laufende oder geplante Kooperationsprojekte gezielt unterstützen und transparenter gestalten. Durch die Datenbanken und Foren dieses Portals soll über eigene Projekte oder Projektabsichten informiert, interessierte Partner für neue Kooperationen auf der deutschen bzw. der russischen Seite sowie Informationen zur Forschungsförderung gewonnen werden.</p>	<p>http://www.nrw.ru</p>
<p>Library of Congress, Washington</p>	<p>http://lcweb.loc.gov/homepage/lchp.htm</p>

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London School of Economics, Library	http://www.lse.ac.uk/library/
Maitron. Org. Site d'histoire sociale, France	http://biosoc.univ-paris1.fr/
Marxists Internet Archive	http://www.marx.org/
Memorial Deutschland e.V.	http://www.memorial.de
Nachrichtendienst für Historiker	http://www.historiker.de/
Open Society Archives, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary	http://www.osa.ceu.hu/
Otto Wolff-Datenbank Osteuropa	http://www.osteuropa.rwth-aachen.de/owdaten.html
South African Communist Party	http://www.sacp.org.za/
PORBASE - Bibliographic Search (mainly Portuguese)	http://pesquisa.bn.pt/
Popular Movements Internet Resources	http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~ad15/PopularMovementsInternetResources.htm
Public Record Office, UK	http://www.pro.gov.uk/
Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv Zürich	http://www.sozialarchiv.ch
Situationist International - Archives	http://www.nothingness.org/SI/index.html
Society for the Study of Labour History, UK	http://facstaff.uww.edu/sslh/home.html
Stalin-Era Research and Archives Project, Toronto	http://www.utoronto.ca/serap/index.htm
The Lubitz TrotskyanaNet, The Ernest Mandel Collection, Germany.	http://www.trotskyana.net/Mandel_collection/Biography/2.1_biogr.htm
University of California- Berkeley, Library	http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/
Venona, National Security Administration. Contains images of all deciphered Venona messages, texts of monographs by Robert Louis Benson.	http://www.nsa.gov:8080/docs/venona/venona
Zeitgeschichte Online, Germany (Portal)	http://www.zeitgeschichte-online.de
Zentrales Verzeichnis antiquarischer Bücher	http://www.zvab.com

Section X Miscellaneous.

The Library of Congress, Washington: Kluge Prize Winner Leszek Kolakowski.

Leszek Kolakowski was awarded the first John W. Kluge Prize at the Library of Congress, a \$1 million prize designed to honor lifetime achievement in the humanities and social sciences - areas of scholarship for which there are no Nobel Prizes. The Librarian of Congress offered a profile of Kolakowski's life and work; and, the winner gave his remarks at the Library upon acceptance of the Prize.

Source: The Library of Congress Information Bulletin, December 2004.

Ein historischer Berlin-Spaziergang.

»Hier war's. Ach, ist das schön!« (ND). Eine Berlin-Führung in die Vergangenheit mit Wolfgang Leonhard auf den Spuren der KPD und der "Gruppe Ulbricht". Die Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der DDR-Diktatur hatte sie gemeinsam mit der TAZ im Mai 2005 organisiert. Siehe hierzu das vielfältige Presseecho, z.B. <http://www.welt.de/data/2005/04/16/705128.html>, <http://www.neues-deutschland.de/artikel.asp?AID=71231&IDC=0>).

Residential Fellowships of the Woodrow Wilson International Center.

Das Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars vergibt alljährlich Residential Fellowships für Wissenschaftler mit herausragenden Vorschlägen für Forschungsprojekte in den Sozial- und Geisteswissenschaften. Nähere Informationen unter: www.wilsoncenter.org/fellowships.