

## Preface

The compilers are proud to present the third, substantially enlarged, updated and revised edition<sup>1</sup> of their international bibliography on Leon Trotsky and Trotskyism.

The present edition lists some 9,500 items, written in some 25 languages and published in some 50 countries<sup>2</sup>. The extent, variety, and circulation of the literature published on our subject - of scholarly, critical, epigonous, polemical, ephemeral, or even obscure origin - has reached such dimensions that it seemed necessary to put it together in a compact and user-friendly bibliography in order to facilitate a more helpful approach to Trotsky and Trotskyism and to make retrieval of literature less time-consuming for prospective users (scholars and students in the field of history, political and social sciences, Slavists, librarians, journalists among others). It is hoped that the present bibliography will be welcomed as a useful research tool and as a comprehensive survey of the research into the subject as it stands at this time.

We consider Leon Trotsky (1879-1940) one of the most noteworthy, original, fascinating, tragic, and controversial political figures of the 20th century. The sheer quantity of relevant publications listed here reflects his importance and topicality. At one time the hero of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917 and the creator of the Red Army, he was defeated by Stalin and the emerging party bureaucracy in the mid-1920s, exiled and later murdered on Stalin's behalf. The Trotskyist Left Opposition was the main target of the Stalinists' ideological, later bureaucratic and physical attacks and was eventually destroyed during the 1930s. The Stalinist falsifiers then systematically set out to delete everything pertaining to Trotsky's memory from the revolutionary annals. Thus in the Soviet Union (and of course in the communist parties all over the world), Trotsky became a non-person and Trotskyism became a synonym for the most perfidious form of anti-Soviet counterrevolutionary theory and practice.

In the Western world where tiny groups of Trotskyists continued to exist since the late 1920s, Trotsky was considered *persona non grata*, and thus most countries refused to grant him asylum. In the 1930s Trotsky mainly dedicated himself to the task of creating and furthering a movement which could against all odds at least maintain the traditions of anti-Stalinist as well as anti-reformist revolutionary Marxism. Thus, in 1938, after a period of unprecedented defeats of the labour movement (e.g. China 1927, Germany 1933, Austria 1934, Spain 1936/39 etc.) and the rise of fascism in Europe and after several years of splits and regroupings, Trotsky and his adherents proclaimed the "Fourth International". Considered stillborn even by some of Trotsky's followers and sympathisers, the Fourth International, or more generally

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<sup>1</sup> The first edition (458 p., 3227 items) was published in 1982; the second (XXXI, 581 p., 5009 items) in 1988. For bibliographic details see # 0040 and 0041 of the present bibliography. Both editions may be discarded now.

<sup>2</sup> For further details see first paragraph of the Introduction.

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termed, Trotskyism, for many decades survived as an idea and a programme as well as a political current at the periphery of the labour movement, although it not only suffered severely from repression and persecution (by Stalinists as well as by reactionary regimes and even by democratic governments) but also from internal demoralization, various splits and never ending factional fights<sup>3</sup>.

Between the period from the Second World War to the mid-1960s, including the years of the Cold War there were hardly any publications relating to the work and legacy of Leon Trotsky with the great exception of the unsurpassed Trotsky trilogy by Isaac Deutscher<sup>4</sup>.

It was only in the second half of the 1960s that literary and political interest in Trotsky and his ideas was reawakened. The unity of the communist "bloc" broke up totally with the Sino-Soviet schism of 1960/63, the political polarisation of the world was in the process of disintegration and the Cold War was replaced by the politics of détente while in the Third World, national and social liberation movements of various kinds challenged the old colonial powers and the United States (e.g. Cuba, Algeria, Vietnam, etc.) Most of the Western countries, where the social, political and economic contradictions became more and more evident at the end of the long post-war boom, were faced with the formation of the New Left and an unprecedented wave of student and youth protest as well as with social unrest (e.g. France 1968, Italy 1969).

In the wake of these events and developments, Trotsky's ideas could no longer be hidden or considered a taboo, and as a consequence, many of his writings began to circulate as reprints and pirated volumes. Although Trotskyism was not able to develop as a real political mass movement of decisive weight, in a few countries it began to dominate the Left for a longer or shorter period or at least was able to develop into a serious political and ideological current on the Left, beyond Stalinism and social democracy<sup>5</sup>. Altogether the organizational influence and significance of Trotskyism remained weak whereas the influence of Trotsky's

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<sup>3</sup> "Indeed, the history of Trotskyism seems to have been a history of greater and greater dissension between fewer and fewer people, all claiming that their group - and their group alone - was the one and only true heir to the great man who founded the Fourth International back in 1938" (Cox, Michael: Trotsky and his interpreters, in: *The Russian Review*, 51.1992 (1), p.88

<sup>4</sup> The three volumes of Deutscher's trilogy (*The prophet armed*, *The prophet unarmed*, and *The prophet outcast*) were originally published in Great Britain between 1954 and 1963 [for bibliographic details see sub-chapter 2.1 of the present bibliography]; they were translated into several languages. The outstanding significance and impact of this trilogy has been emphasized in many essays and reviews. "Trotsky was fortunate, however, in one respect: the fact that Isaac Deutscher became his biographer. Whatever his limits as a theorist, Deutscher served Trotsky supremely well and probably did more than a whole generation of Trotsky's feuding followers to educate people about the life and times of the great revolutionary prophet" (Cox, Michael, *op.cit.*, p.98).

<sup>5</sup> In a few countries (e.g. Ceylon/Sri Lanka, Greece, Bolivia) Trotskyist parties or resistance movements led by Trotskyists played an important rôle for a longer or shorter span of time after World War II; in the United States the Trotskyist SWP and its youth wing gained considerable influence on the anti-war movement during the Vietnam war; in the 1930s American Trotskyists even gained a foothold in certain areas of the labour movement; in France Trotskyists played a decisive rôle in the May-June 1968 events and even in the 1990s they have been able to receive 2.5-5% of the popular vote in general parliamentary and presidential elections, respectively; in Britain some Trotskyist groups and factions exercised a not unimportant influence on the left wing of the Labour Party before being expelled, to mention only a few examples. The strength and weakness of the Trotskyist movement in various countries of the world has been accounted by R.J. Alexander in his *International Trotskyism 1929-1985* [see note 13]. According to Alexander, Trotskyism has been the most persistent of the opposition movements within international communism.

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ideas and his political analyses have by far surpassed the small number of organized disciples. Numerous aspects of his thought were and are still to be found in many a Western analysis of backwardness and revolution in the Third World as well as in many a Western analysis of the socio-economic and political system of the then USSR (e.g. his famous *The Revolution Betrayed*, where he analysed Soviet bureaucracy). Besides, it was undoubtedly Trotsky's life full of dramatic and sensational moments, his sparkling personality, his wide-spread interests which have inspired to this day many authors to investigate in Trotsky, the "quintessential revolutionary"<sup>6</sup>.

The revival of Trotskyism in the West has not been looked upon with approval in the Eastern "bloc". Thus a veritable flood of books, pamphlets and articles dealing with Trotskyism as an extremely dangerous challenge to "socialism" was published in the USSR and other Eastern European countries during the period from 1965 to 1985<sup>7</sup>. Although some of the old Stalinist stock-answers were no longer maintained, the treatment of Trotsky as a non-person did not change in essence before 1985/87. The attitude of the Soviet writers who denounced the hazardous character of "old" and "new" Trotskyism has correctly been described as "demonology"<sup>8</sup>. While orthodox communist parties outside the Eastern "bloc" uncritically echoed the anti-Trotskyist demonology of the Soviet ideologists, some eurocommunist parties, the Yugoslav CP and the Chinese CP - after the defeat of the so-called "gang of four" - took pains to come to differentiated assessments.

In the Soviet Union a re-assessment of Trotsky only began some two or three years after Gorbachev had been elected party leader of the CPSU in 1985. His new politics of "glasnost" also paved the way for Trotsky research in the USSR. When censorship was abolished, Soviet historians and social scientists began to publish articles (and later also books and pamphlets) about the life and work of Trotsky, about his rôle in Russian and Soviet history, about his legacy and meaning for today. Since 1988 and chiefly during the last two years of the Gorbachev era (1990/91) a veritable flood of such publications has been acknowledged<sup>9</sup>. For the first time ever, Soviet scholars participated in Trotsky conferences held in Western countries and could present and discuss their papers there. The new trends and differentiations in

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<sup>6</sup> Knei-Paz, Baruch: *The social and political thought of Leon Trotsky*. Oxford, 1978, p. VIII. The "rediscovery" of the "purist revolutionary", Leon Trotsky, even brought about a kind of "Trotsky cult" with corresponding literary and iconographical productions. Paul Preston, in this connection, titled a review article *The Trotsky industry* and wrote: "One hundred years after his birth, the architect of the October revolution occupies the highest pedestal in the Soviet pantheon of non-persons. In the capitalist world, to whose overthrow his life was devoted, he is the subject of a seemingly endless flow of books, not to mention films, television programmes and radio dramas. This is hardly surprising. It is not just that Trotsky's theoretical and practical genius is the very antithesis of Stalinist mediocrity. The continuing fascination of Trotsky for non-Marxists is in the personal tragedy of a man who flew so high and fell so hard" (Preston, Paul: *The Trotsky industry*, in: *New Society*, 51.1980 (902), p.134).

<sup>7</sup> The bulk of these items are listed in sub-chapter 7.3 of the present bibliography.

<sup>8</sup> Items dealing with anti-Trotskyist demonology of Stalinist, post-Stalinist and Maoist provenance are listed in sub-chapter 7.4, see for example the contributions by Guy Desolre [# 5594] and Robert H. McNeal [# 5606 and 5607].

<sup>9</sup> Most of these items are listed or cross-referenced in sub-chapters 3.3.15 and 3.2 of the present bibliography. Outside Russia, Volkogonov's two-volume Trotsky biography reflecting the Eltsinite viewpoint [for bibliographic details see #0341- 0346 of the present bibliography] is perhaps the best-known. It has caused a lively controversy among historians and reviewers [see sub-chapter 8.2.2 with subheading "Volkogonov"].

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Soviet/Russian Trotsky research were critically reflected and analysed in a considerable number of journal articles by Western scholars<sup>10</sup>.

After the end of the Gorbachev era and the dissolution of the USSR there was a considerable decline of Russian publications on Trotsky and Trotskyism, though scholarly interest did not fade away completely<sup>11</sup>. It should be mentioned that scholarly research in Trotsky has been stimulated and furthered by the opening up of many Soviet/Russian archives since 1991.

Since the late Sixties there has been evidence of an ever-increasing interest, though chiefly academic, in Trotsky and Trotskyism that sometimes meshes with lingering radical sympathy. Let us mention some facts and developments as illustration:

Several hundred **dissertations and other university works**<sup>12</sup> have been submitted, especially during the last twenty years. The topics of these works are manifold: studies about the history of the Trotskyist movement in certain countries, about the Fourth International, about certain aspects of Trotsky's life, about some of his close collaborators and adherents, about his political, social and economic ideas. Some of the graduates remained faithful to Trotsky research even after gaining their degree and thus produced a considerable number of books and essays;

Numerous scholarly **monographs**, other **books and pamphlets, biographies** etc., not to mention the vast quantity of relevant **articles** in scholarly journals and collections, were published by scholars and other people concerned; with regard to recent years, only two outstanding works should be especially mentioned here, namely the voluminous work by R.J. Alexander about the international Trotskyist movement from the 1920s to 1985<sup>13</sup> and P. Broué's Trotsky biography<sup>14</sup>, which rates as well in importance to I. Deutscher's above-mentioned work published more than 35 years ago;

Today Trotsky scholars can consult a wealth of relevant **archives**<sup>15</sup>. The main repository of Trotsky's unpublished papers and letters is undoubtedly the Trotsky Archive at **Houghton Library**, Harvard University, Cambridge (Mass.), which has been fully accessible since 1980. There are of course many other archives and related collections where sources to Trotsky and Trotskyism are to be found; we should like to list only some of them:

**USA:** *Hoover Institution Archives* (Stanford Univ., Stanford, Cal.), including for example the B.

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<sup>10</sup> These items are listed in sub-chapter 3.3.15. We should like to emphasize the contributions by R. Binner [# 2702], P. Broué [# 2706], H. Gödeke [# 2727], A.V. Pancov [# 2753 - 2758], I.D. Thatcher [# 2781 - 2783], M. Vogt-Downey [# 2797, 2800 - 2802], M. Wehner [# 2808], and R. Zwengel [# 2813].

<sup>11</sup> "History has dealt Trotsky a perverse fate. The last of Stalinism's devils to be readmitted to secular discourse in Russia under perestroika, he was promptly blamed for inspiring his tormentors, and then he was submerged in the post-1991 anti-communist deluge that washed away practically all serious interest in the communist past" (Daniels, Robert V.: [Review], in: *Europe-Asia Studies*. 49.1997 (5), p.927).

<sup>12</sup> See for example the dissertation index of the present bibliography.

<sup>13</sup> Alexander, Robert J.: *International Trotskyism 1929-1985, a documentary analysis of the movement*. Durham and London, 1991.

<sup>14</sup> Broué, Pierre: *Trotsky*. Paris, 1988.

<sup>15</sup> Items dealing with Trotsky archives including some archive guides and related material are to be found in sub-chapters 1.1 and 1.3 of the present bibliography.

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Nikolaevsky collection, H. Solow papers, B.D. Wolfe papers, etc. Hoover Institution Archives also houses the Library of Social History collection, i.e. the bulk of collections and papers which once constituted the *Library of Social History* (New York, NY, affiliated to the Socialist Workers Party), e.g. the L. Trotsky collection, the J. Hansen archive, the Fourth International correspondence, the Socialist Workers Party records, the J.G. Wright archive, the Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan archive, the G. Healy/A. Gelfand slander campaign collection, the papers of J.P. Cannon, G. Novack, E. Reed, M. Genecin, A. Glotzer et al.; *Lilly Library* (Indiana Univ., Bloomington, Ind.), housing for example the M. Eastman and J. Dewey papers; *Special Collections Library and Labadie Collection* (Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.); *Archives of Labor & Urban Affairs* (Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State Univ., Detroit, Mich.), incl. J. Dwyer collection, R. Dunayevskaya collection, M. Glaberman collection; *Swarthmore College Peace Collection* (Swarthmore, Pa.), housing the A.J. Muste papers; *State Historical Society of Wisconsin Archives Division* (Madison, Wis.), containing for example records of the SWP, YSA, Fourth International, Spartacist League, the J.A. Robbins papers, the A. Goldman papers etc.; *Tamiment Institute / Ben Josephson Library* (New York Univ., NY), housing the papers of G. Breitman, M. Shachtman, A. Goldman, M. Harrington, the Johnson-Forest file, the records of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, etc.; *Rutgers University Libraries* (New Brunswick, NJ), housing the R.J. Alexander papers; *Bakhtmeteff Archive* (Columbia Univ., New York, NY), containing the C. Malamuth papers; *University of Texas* (Austin, Tex.), housing the J. VanHeijenoort papers; *Emory University* (Emory, Ga.), housing the T. Draper papers; *Prometheus Research Library* (New York, NY) [see also note 25];

**Great Britain:** *Modern Records Centre* (Univ. of Warwick, Coventry), housing the collections of H. Wicks, K. Tarbuck, R. Groves, D.D. Harber, F. Maitland, H. Sara, E.A. Whelan, S. Jefferys, et al., as well as papers of the International Marxist Group, Socialist Labour League, Revolutionary Communist Party, Workers' International League, etc.; *Brynmor Jones Library* (Hull Univ.), housing the J. Haston collection; *University of Glasgow Library Special Collections Department*, housing the Trotsky collection; *Socialist Platform Archive* (London); *Manchester Polytechnic Library*;

**France:** *Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine* (Nanterre), housing the papers of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, papers of E. Mandel, P. Frank, and other archival sources concerning the history of the Fourth International; *Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Mouvements Trotskyste et Révolutionnaires Internationaux* (Paris) [see also note 18], containing the J. Rous archive, etc.; *Centre de Recherches sur l'Oeuvre de Léon Trotsky* (Univ. de Grenoble II); *Office Universitaire de Recherche Socialiste* (Paris);

**The Netherlands:** *Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis* (Amsterdam), housing the collections and papers of L. Trotsky, L. Sedov, E. Mandel, I. Deutscher, G. Scheuer, R. Rosdolsky, R. Prager, H. Sneevliet, G. Vereeken, and of other individuals as well as of several organisations; *Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie* (Amsterdam);

**Austria:** *Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes* (Vienna), housing the collections of G. Scheuer, J. Hindels et al.;

**Switzerland:** *Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv* (Zurich), containing the Dossiers IV. Internationale, Schweiz etc.;

**Germany:** *Trotzkismus-Archiv* (Lehrstuhl für Politische Wissenschaft und Zeitgeschichte, Univ. Mannheim), containing for example the G. Jungclas archive; *Archiv APO und Soziale Bewegungen* (Zentralinstitut für Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung der Freien Univ., Berlin), containing for instance the archive of P. Brandt; *Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorga-*

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*nisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv* (Berlin); *Zentralarchiv des Bundesbeauftragten für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der Ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (BStU)* (Berlin);

**Norway:** *Arbeiderbevegelsens Arkiv og Bibliotek* (Oslo);

**Denmark:** *Arbejderbevaegelsens Bibliotek og Arkiv* (Copenhagen);

**Italy:** *Fondazione Feltrinelli* (Milan), housing for example the Blasco archive; *Centro Studi Pietro Tresso* (Foligno) [see also note 22];

**Spain:** *Comité de Documentación Histórica sobre el Trosquismo Español* (Barcelona); *Fundación Pablo Iglesias* (Madrid)<sup>16</sup>.

Researchers investigating in the history and organizational structures of Trotskyist groups and parties should consult the archives which are run by some Trotskyist organizations; while many of these groups and parties prefer to keep their documents strictly under lock and key, others at least have given partial or restricted access to serious researchers and still others have deposited their documents and papers at public libraries and archives, sometimes subject to special conditions on when and how some sections are opened to the public. With regard to Russian archives (see above) it should be mentioned that a British publishing house has recently started to publish in co-operation with scientific institutions great sections of archive files on microfiche or microfilm, so that such repositories can be used all over the world<sup>17</sup>.

Since the 1970s a considerable number of **research institutes and related institutions** were founded by Trotskyist scholars and activists; some of these are affiliated to certain parties or groups, others consider themselves independent and not dictated by party policy. There follows a brief listing of the most relevant institutions together with a selection of their publications:

The **CERMTRI** (Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Mouvements Trotskyste et Révolutionnaires Internationaux) is situated in Paris and runs a considerable collection of Trotskyist serials and internal bulletins from France and abroad; it has been producing regularly *Les cahiers du C.E.R.M.T.R.I.* since 1977<sup>18</sup>;

The **Institut Léon Trotsky** now at Grenoble was founded in Paris in 1978 and since then has been directed by French historian and Trotsky scholar Pierre Broué. The main tasks of the institute are to publish a French-language edition of Trotsky's works and the scholarly journal *Cahiers Léon Trotsky*<sup>19</sup>;

The British comparative institution is **Socialist Platform** (London), which has published *Rev-*

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<sup>16</sup> One should not forget that several Trotsky scholars or some (ex-)Trotskyist militants have considerable private archival collections at their disposal.

<sup>17</sup> For example: *Leaders of the Russian revolution*, published on microfiche and microfilm by Chadwyck-Healey in co-operation with the Committee for Archival Affairs of the Government of the Russian Federation. Part 7 of the "Leaders ..." series is titled *Trotsky, L.D.* and consists of 1129 microfiches.

<sup>18</sup> Address: CERMTRI, 28 rue de Petites-Ecuries, 75010 Paris, France. 85 issues of *Les cahiers du C.E.R.M.T.R.I.* have been published by now.

<sup>19</sup> Address: Pierre Broué, BP 276, 38407 Saint Martin d'Hères Cedex, France. 60 issues of the journal mentioned above have been published between 1979 and 1997 as well as 27 volumes (issued in two series) of Trotsky's *Oeuvres*.

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*olutionary History* since 1988<sup>20</sup> as well as some monographs;

In Japan the **Torotsuki Kenkyusho** [Trotsky institute of Japan] was founded in 1990 and has published *Torotsuki-kenkyu* [Trotsky Studies] since 1991<sup>21</sup> as well as works by Trotsky, some of them in Japanese for the first time;

In Foligno (Italy) Paolo Casciola, expert on the history of the revolutionary movement in Italy, runs the **Centro Studi Pietro Tresso**; three series comprising dozens of monographic items about Italian Trotskyism and related topics as well as some pamphlets have been published since 1986<sup>22</sup>;

In Glasgow (Scotland) Ian D. Thatcher, author of a thesis about Trotsky's attitudes towards the First World War, launched, together with some other Trotsky scholars, the *Journal of Trotsky Studies* in 1993. It is an annual aiming to encourage the advancement of Trotsky studies through the publication of relevant articles and hitherto untranslated works, both primary and secondary sources, in English<sup>23</sup>;

In 1994 the **Committee for the Study of Leon Trotsky's Legacy** was launched<sup>24</sup>, for the main purpose of promoting a deeper and broader study and understanding of the ideological legacy of Trotsky, and of the relationship of his ideas to problems of social development, especially by the issuing or re-issuing of Trotsky's main works in Russian and by undertaking a series of four conferences on Leon Trotsky, held at Moscow and Sankt Peterburg respectively since 1994;

Two examples of institutions connected with certain Trotskyist groups or currents should be mentioned here: the **Prometheus Research Library** at New York City, sponsored by the Spartacist League of the U.S.<sup>25</sup> and the **International Institute for Research and Education (IIRE)** at Amsterdam<sup>26</sup> which was founded in 1981. It is sponsored by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and aims at the development of education and research on socialism and democracy, stimulates and organizes courses, seminars and study groups and publishes *Notebooks for Study and Research* (in English and French), *Working Papers* (in

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<sup>20</sup> Address: Socialist Platform Ltd., BCM 7646, London WC1N 3XX, Great Britain. Al Richardson is editor of the journal mentioned above, of which some 23 issues have been published up to now.

<sup>21</sup> Address: Trotsky Institute of Japan, Atorie Mi-Yu No. 105, Bira 4, Kumagawa 510, Fussa-City, Tokyo 197, Japan. Nobuo Yukawa is the chairman of the institute. Since 1991 23 issues of the journal mentioned above have been published.

<sup>22</sup> Address: Paolo Casciola, C.P. 154, 50100 Firenze, Italy. The series mentioned above are: *Quaderni del Centro Pietro Tresso* with sub-series *Studi e ricerche* (totally 40 issues published) and *Dagli archivi del bolscevismo* (totally 19 issues), and *Quaderni Pietro Tresso* (5 issues published by now).

<sup>23</sup> Address: Editors, Journal of Trotsky Studies, Institute of Russian and East European Studies, Glasgow University, 29 Bute Gardens, Glasgow, G12 8RS, Scotland, United Kingdom.

<sup>24</sup> Address: PO Box 1890, New York, NY 10009, USA. Pierre Broué is president of the Committee, Marilyn Vogt-Downey and Aleksej Gusev are international coordinators.

<sup>25</sup> Address: Box 185, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, USA, library location: 11 Lispenard Street, New York, NY 10013. James M. Robertson is director of the PRL.

<sup>26</sup> Address: Willemsparkweg 202, 1071 HW Amsterdam, The Netherlands, (postal address: Postbus 53290, 1007 Amsterdam, The Netherlands). IIRE functions at the same time as educational and research centre, conference centre and library. Peter Drucker and Robert Went are currently running the institute. IIRE also houses the **Ernest Mandel Study Centre (EMSC)**, established in 1996 in honor of the late Ernest Mandel, the founder and chairman of IIRE. It was launched on the first anniversary of his death together with an international seminar on his contributions to economic and social thought. The Centre plans to continue the tradition with an annual Ernest Mandel lecture.

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English, French and Spanish) and a *Newsletter*;

In the United States, France, Germany, Italy and Mexico multi-volume **collected works** by Trotsky have been published, each of them of course representing a selection only, since a complete collection of all his writings, including letters and the like, would, conservatively estimated, fill some 80 to 100 volumes<sup>27</sup>;

**Bibliographies** are indispensable prerequisites for serious historical research. The late Louis Sinclair (1909-1990) endeavoured to record chronologically the vast literary heritage of Trotsky and to publish his *Trotsky : a bibliography*, an outstanding example of meticulousness and persistence<sup>28</sup>;

To prove the scholarly relevance and topicality of Trotsky once again, it should be mentioned that a whole series of important **international conferences and symposia** on the life, work, and legacy of Leon Trotsky were held between 1979 and 1996 (4 of which were held in 1990 alone) to which hundreds of distinguished scholars, noted research fellows, and Trotskyist (ex-)activists contributed papers and discussions<sup>29</sup>. Without laying claim to its completeness, what follows is a listing of international Trotsky conferences held since 1979, in chronological order:

1. International conference The Trotsky-Stalin Conflict and Russia in the 1920s, held at **Garden City, NY (USA)**, March 9-10, 1979;
2. Convegno Internazionale di Studi in Occasione del 40° Anniversario della Morte di Leon Trockij, held at **Follonica (Italy)**, Oct. 7-11, 1980;
3. Coloquio Trotsky, Revelador Político del México Cárdenista, held at **Mexico City (Mexico)**, May 18-22, 1987;
4. Internationales Symposium Leo Trotzki - Kritiker und Verteidiger der Sowjetgesellschaft, held at **Wuppertal (Germany)**, March 26-29, 1990;
5. International Conference Trotsky after 50 Years, held at **Aberdeen (Great Britain)**, July 31-Aug. 4, 1990;
6. Simpósio Internacional Passado e Presente do Socialismo - 50° Aniversário da Morte de Leon Trotsky, held at **São Paulo (Brazil)**, Sept. 10-14, 1990;
7. International Symposium to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of Trotsky's Death, held at **Tokyo (Japan)**, Nov. 2-4, 1990;
8. Meždunarodnaja Naučnaja Konferencija Idejnoe Nasledie Trockogo: Istorija, Sovremennost', held at **Moscow (Russia)**, Nov. 10-12, 1994 [being the 1st conference of the Committee for the Study of Leon Trotsky's Legacy];
9. International Conference The Revolution Betrayed - 60 Years Later, held at **Moscow (Rus-**

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<sup>27</sup> For a thorough review and comparison of the French, American and German editions of Trotsky's collected works see Binner, Rolf: Alte und neue Trockij-Editionen, in: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*. N.F. 37.1989 (3), p.393-414 [see # 6533 of the present bibliography].

<sup>28</sup> Sinclair, Louis: *Trotsky : a bibliography*. Vol. 1-2, Aldershot, 1989. An earlier version was published in 1972 by Stanford University Press. For this and other bibliographic items, such for example the bibliographies presented by J. Pluet-Despatin, C. Franzén, and A.M.R. Penn and ourselves, see sub-chapter 1.1 of the present bibliography.

<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, with regard to most of the conferences listed here, the majority of the papers presented remained unpublished, but at least some significant publications emanated from some of those events, e.g.: *Pensiero e azione politica di Lev Trockij*. Firenze, 1980 [for bibliographic details see # 0087]; *The Trotsky reappraisal*. Edinburgh, 1992 [see # 0098]; *Leo Trotzki - Kritiker und Verteidiger der Sowjetgesellschaft*. Mainz, 1993 [see # 0082]; *Idejnoe nasledie L.D. Trockogo: istorija i sovremennost'*. Moskva, 1996 [see # 0079]. You can find all items emanating from conferences as well as reports about them by checking the conference index of the present bibliography.

sia), Nov. 22-24, 1996 [being the 3rd conference of the Committee].

Despite the variety and breadth of scholarly activities in the field of Trotsky research, plenty of scope remains for ongoing studies and investigations. The compilers would be pleased if the present bibliography could stimulate further scholarly activities.

Concluding this preface, we would like to express our deepest thanks and great respect to all persons who contributed in many ways to our project, for example by providing bibliographical information, addresses, or photostats of rare items. Obviously, it is impossible to list them all. However, we feel bound to express our special thanks to the following people for their exceptional assistance and advice: Paolo Casciola (Florence), Louis Eemans (Paris), Christer Franzén (Saltsjö-Boo), Ludwik Hass (Warsaw).

# Introduction

## 1. General presentation. Selection procedures. Scope and limits

The present bibliography is the result of some twenty years of intensive research, acquisition, and correspondence. Dozens of catalogues (card, COM, online), hundreds of current and retrospective bibliographies as well as other reference tools (printed media as well as CD-ROM publications), abstracting services, online databases etc. were consulted; furthermore several thousand volumes of relevant journals, collective works, dissertations or similar publications were researched systematically. Nevertheless it would be presumptuous to claim perfection or completeness for even as a labour of love, the chances of inadvertent exclusions are enormous. Rather, with the present bibliography it is intended to combine comprehensive and selective qualities. It should be noted that a very large number of items were examined by the compilers, most of them being from their personal collection.

Regarding the various **types of material**, the following publications were taken into account:

- Books, pamphlets and other separately published items;
- Reports;
- Dissertations, master theses and other university publications;
- Transcripts of congressional hearings;
- Collections, conference proceedings, Festschriften and related items;
- Bibliographies, archive guides, inventories and the like;
- Articles, essays and other contributions published in scholarly and other journals;
- Sections of books and relevant chapters dealing with Trotsky and Trotskyism;
- Scholarly book reviews and related items;
- Obituaries, memoirs, and reminiscences.

Thus independently published works as well as component parts are listed; with regard to

university works and to certain manuscripts some unpublished works are listed too.

Some following types of material remained unconsidered: nonprint media such as audiovisuals, databases and microfilm publications as well as archival materials and other unpublished items (with a few exceptions mentioned above). Contributions to newspapers (i.e. to the daily and weekly press) remained largely uncovered as well as most of the more polemical and ephemeral articles published in serial publications issued by the many rival Trotskyist parties, groups and grouplets.

With regard to the question whether a certain item should be admitted or not, problems have arisen necessarily with those titles which - despite all attempts - could not be located or which, although dealing with the subject of this bibliography, do so only in a broader context, e.g. works about the Russian revolution and its outcome, such as E.H. Carr's famous multi-volume 'A History of the Russian Revolution'. In such cases the compilers had to decide more or less arbitrarily, while being aware that another compiler had made another decision.

With respect to the **quality and the political provenance of the material**, the bibliography's coverage is comprehensive, and as politically neutral as possible, and includes decidedly anti-Trotskyist as well as obviously partisan publications, Western as well as Soviet publications, scholarly as well as popular publications, critical as well as ephemeral publications.

With regard to the **contents**, the bibliography's scope covers all aspects (biographical, theoretical, political etc.) of Leon Trotsky's life and work, including his rôle in history, his legacy, and his influence, as well as Trotskyism, first as an oppositional tendency within the ruling Bolshevik party and within the Comintern during the 1920s, then as an international anti-Stalinist, anti-reformist political and intellectual movement from the 1930s to the present day. Finally, a new chapter was added to this edition (chapter 9) providing chiefly biographical information about a number of selected deceased Trotskyists (incl. former Trotskyists and Trotskyist dissidents).

This general presentation should be concluded with some remarks concerning the **languages and countries of the publications considered**: only those items were admitted which were available in one of the following European languages (in alphabetical order): Belorussian, Bulgarian, Catalan, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, Flemish, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Icelandic, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, Slovene, Spanish, Swedish, Ukrainian, Welsh.

The following table shows the distribution of items according to languages:

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English:	40.8%	Italian:	5.5%	Dutch:	0.8%
Russian:	17.2%	Spanish:	2.4%	Polish:	0.6%
German:	15.1%	Portuguese:	0.9%	Danish:	0.5%
French:	13.9%	Swedish:	0.8%	Others:	1.5%

The following table shows the distribution of items according to their places of publication:

USA:	21.6%	Canada:	0.9%	Denmark:	0.5%
USSR:	18.0%	Spain:	0.9%	Poland:	0.5%
Britain:	14.8%	Sweden:	0.8%	Yugoslavia:	0.5%
France:	14.2%	Switzerland:	0.8%	Others:	2.6%
Germany:	12.9%	Brazil:	0.7%		
Italy:	6.0%	Mexico:	0.7%		
Austria:	1.2%	Belgium:	0.7%		
Netherlands:	1.2%	Australia:	0.5%		

The present bibliography lists 9,534 items in total published between 1905 and early 1998. The following table shows the distribution of files according to years of publication:

Pre-1920:	0.1%	1940-1949:	2.7%	1970-1979:	22.9%
1920-1929:	10.2%	1950-1959:	3.4%	1980-1989:	21.1%
1930-1939:	6.1%	1960-1969:	9.7%	1990-1998:	23.8%

## 2. Arrangement of material. Main part and indexes

The present bibliography is divided into three parts: main section (or bibliography proper), six indexes, and a list of abbreviations.

The **main part** or core of the bibliography is a classified list, divided into 9 main **chapters** which are split up into more than 100 sub-chapters according to contents and to formal aspects. In these smallest subdivisions the entries are arranged alphabetically (see below) according to author and/or title. The **system of classification** can be found on pages XXIII - XXVII.

All entries are assigned arabic numbers in numerical sequence, in order to provide a direct method of locating each entry through the indexes. At the top of each page the respective chapter is indicated for first-glance information.

It was decided to list each item only once, under the dominant topic involved. Many items, however, might have been classified equally well under two, three or even more different chapters or sub-chapters. Thus **cross-references** have been made at the very end of the (sub-)chapters, preceded by "see also".

User's access to the bibliography is by two methods or by a combination of the two:

1. Selecting the subject of interest in the system of classification and then browsing through the respective chapters/sub-chapters; 2. Selecting a certain index (e.g. if looking for a certain author or for papers presented at a certain conference) and then tracing the respective item numbers in the main part.

There are six indexes at your disposal:

- **Author index**, arranged alphabetically by names of authors, editors, compilers, and of corporate bodies if mentioned in the main entry as editing or issuing agency. Please note that translators and names being part of the title proper remained unconsidered. Variants (e.g. in spelling) of personal or corporate names not selected for use in the headings were entered in the author index as " → " references. If known to the compilers, years of birth and death as well as other additional information were added to the names in brackets.

- **Title index**, arranged in alphabetical order. All titles listed in the main part were considered, i.e. titles of anonymously published works as well as of works filed under authors' names. In cases where the topic of a book, pamphlet or article is reflected by its sub-title rather than its title proper, sub-titles were indexed, too. On the other hand, very unspecific titles proper (e.g. "Trotsky" only) or "uniform titles" (supplied titles, see Introduction, paragraph 3) remained unconsidered.

- **Source index**, arranged alphabetically by authors/titles of those monographs, collections, journals and other sources from which component parts (articles, chapters, etc.) have been drawn. With regard to journals, only title and place of publication are given (and ISSN if known), in case of works with single or multi-authorship the same rules apply as described under paragraph 3 of the Introduction, with one exception: author's Christian names were given as initials only.

- **Series index** lists alphabetically series titles, omitting their numbering.

- **Dissertation index**. It lists dissertations, theses and other university works, arranged by places and names of universities or similar institutions. It should be noted that trade editions of university works were generally not included here.

- **Conference index** lists alphabetically (with cross-references) congresses, conferences, symposia and the like from which items for the main part were drawn. Individual contributions to conferences as well as collections (e.g. proceedings) as results of such conferences were added; furthermore this index refers to reports and similar items **about** such conferences.

### **3. Construction of entries and bibliographic style**

The structure of the entries and the usage of description signs (colons, dashes, etc.) are largely based upon the International Standard Bibliographic Description, the standard on which the cataloguing rules of most libraries are based. Therefore it should be sufficient to sketch the arrangement of entries briefly and add some peculiarities of bibliographic style if

necessary:

There are two basic types of entries: those used for independently published items and those used for component parts. **Entries of independently published items** follow this order:

1. Title phrase and statement of authorship area, i.e. main title, other titles, sub-title(s), principal and subsidiary authors and contributors as recorded from the title page or its substitute. Omissions and additions made by the compilers are enclosed in square brackets. The following peculiarities should be noted: there are only **main entries** under an author's name (in case of works authored by one to three persons, first author's name is used as **heading**) or under title proper, but not under corporate bodies.
2. Edition area, i.e. edition statement and statement of authorship relating to the edition, recorded from information within the document. Please note that "first editions" are not mentioned.
3. Imprint area, i.e. place of publication, name of publisher or issuing agency, and year of publication.
4. Collation area, i.e. number of pages.
5. Notes area (see below).

**Entries of component parts** (i.e. dependently published items such as essays and contributions to journals and collections) follow this order:

1. Title phrase and statement of authorship area, recorded from the entire document (preceded by heading in case of entries filed under an author's name, see above).
2. Source area, i.e. after "in:" follows the title of the journal or author and title of the work which contains the respective item. Source statements referring to monographs generally comprise author and/or title, place and year of publication, pagination for the quoted component part; for journals, the preceding "in:" is followed by the journal title (plus sub-title and/or issuing agency, if necessary), place of publication, ISSN, volume, year of publication, issue and page number.
3. Notes area (see below).

Now, some peculiarities should be mentioned:

For **authors' names as headings** standardized forms of spelling are used, i.e. regardless of the way in which an author's name appears in a document, all editions and translations of his works are entered under a uniform heading, transliterated if necessary, e.g. all writings by Bucharin are filed under the name heading "Bucharin, Nikolaj Ivanovič" whereas on the title pages of the respective works are "N. Bucharin", "Nikolai Bukharin", or "N. Boukharine". If the heading varies from the form on the title page, it is repeated in the author statement. Missing or abbreviated first names are, if possible, supplied in the heading. As mentioned above, all

different forms and spellings are cross-referenced in the author index.

Writings of authors using a **pseudonym** are filed under this form only if it is better known than the real name or if the real name is unknown. As a rule, however, entry is made under the real name, and the present name is added in square brackets in the author statement. "Famous" pseudonyms (e.g. Stalin, Radek) are only explained in the author index. Writings **initialled** only (e.g. by B.A.) are entered under the author's complete name if known, or under their titles and treated as anonymously published works. Acronyms and initialisms are entered or cross-referenced in the author index.

In case of single author publications, the author's name is repeated in the **author statement** only if the name heading differs from the form actually used in the document. In case of more than three authors, only the first mentioned author is considered, the rest are indicated by "[et al.>". The same applies to editors and other subsidiary authors. Particles like "von", "par", "by" which introduce an author statement are generally neglected.

In the edition area of the entries, information of imprints, reprints or editions are quoted. Neglected are the **first** edition, illustrations, sizes, prices, bindings or paper qualities.

Apart from the titles proper, common **bibliographic abbreviations** are used. **Omissions** and **additions** by the compilers are identified by square brackets "[...]".

In case of **multi-volume** publications, the total number of volumes is indicated in the imprint area of the entry, the volume listing, as a rule, is given in the notes area.

**Dissertations** and other **university works** are entered somewhat differently from other monographs: Heading, title phrase and author statement is followed by collation; starting on the next line, dissertation statement follows consisting of location, name of institution, type of publication (using English terms unless there is no equivalent), and year of graduation (e.g. "Durham, NC, Duke Univ., diss., 1980").

**Source statement:** Special issues of a journal, even if published with a distinct title, are generally indicated by the title of the journal. Exceptions, however, are made in case of some Russian university publications of the "Učenyje zapiski" type. Journal issues referred to by months or seasons are always entered with the corresponding English terms.

**Bibliographical notes:** whenever it seemed necessary or useful, bibliographical notes providing supplementary information were added to the entries, en petit. For example:

- International Standard Book Number (ISBN);
- Tables of contents;
- Original titles;
- Titles of other editions and/or translations;
- Notes concerning conferences and symposia;
- Notes referring to the review section of the present bibliography;
- Anglicization of titles proper

In some chapters **uniform titles** (supplied titles) in square brackets are used for certain types of documents. Uniform titles precede the title description and author statement; specific titles, if any, are entered after the uniform title. The following uniform titles are used: "[Review]", "[Review article]", "[Resolution]", "[Obituary]", "[Biographical sketch]", "[Autobio-

graphical sketch]", "[Foreword]", "[Postface]". Please note that references to related titles as well as anglicizations are omitted if uniform titles were used as headings. Book reviews, obituaries and similar types of documents which, as a rule, are lacking distinct titles proper are filed with the heading "[Anonymous]" if the author could not be identified.

#### **4. Some notes about certain chapters**

At the end of this introduction, we should like to give some brief information concerning certain chapters of the present bibliography:

- Sub-chapter 1.1: please note that so-called "hidden" bibliographies are not listed here;
- Sub-chapter 1.2: entries of the various component parts of a collection listed here are filed individually in the relevant sub-chapters;
- Sub-chapter 1.4: please note that general encyclopaedias are neglected;
- Sub-chapter 3.15: this sub-chapter has been added to this third edition due to the fact that there was no suitable chapter in the second edition. It covers items of Soviet and Western provenance which deal with the re-evaluation and the re-assessment of Trotsky and Trotskyism in the Soviet Union during the Gorbachev era;
- Sub-chapter 5.4: please note that the items listed here are only partly cross-referenced to other chapters; as to Lenin it should be mentioned that only such items which were published independently, i.e. in book form were considered;
- Sub-chapter 5.5: only resolutions of the supreme authorities of the CPSU and of the supreme bodies of the Comintern are entered here. All entries are headed by the uniform title "[Resolution]" plus the date of adoption and the name of the body which adopted it. The sequence of entries is chronological according to the date of adoption;
- Chapter 8: here you find the book review section of the present bibliography. Since most reviews and review articles lack distinct titles and many of them are published anonymously, some deviations from the standard description have to be made, e.g. the usage of uniform titles (see above). In sub-chapter 8.1.2 the original titles of Trotsky's works serve as sub-divisions, in sub-chapter 8.2.2 authors and titles of the secondary works under review serve as sub-divisions;
- Chapter 9: this chapter has been added. It chiefly provides biographical information about a selection of deceased Trotskyists, including some who were committed to the Trotskyist movement only for a certain span of their lives. The selection is more or less arbitrary and it goes without saying that the compilers do not claim any completeness.

#### **5. Note on transliteration**

Items which are printed in non-Latin characters, mainly Cyrillic ones, have been transliterated (romanized) according to ISO recommendation R 9 (2. ed. 1968) with the single exception of the Russian character "X" which is transliterated as "Ch" instead of "H". It should be noted that the transliteration used here partly differs from transliterations widely used by American, British and French libraries and documentation centres.

## **6. Note on technical instruments used**

All entries and indexes of the present bibliography derive from a computer-aided database. Its software, ALLEGRO-C, was especially created for bibliographic and/or library concerns and was developed by a team of the Braunschweig Technical University headed by Mr. Eversberg. Without this eminently professional and multi-functional software this present third edition would not have come into existence.

*W. und P. Lubitz*

*Berlin-Schmargendorf, Nov. 7, 1997*