

1937–38. In an appendix Avtorkhanov lists the names of all Central Committee members and candidate members elected between 1898 and 1934. Of the total of 284 persons, forty-five died of natural causes prior to the Great Purge; eight committed suicide; 188 were executed or perished in Stalin's prisons; twenty-two fell into disfavor and were expelled from the Central Committee; and only twenty-one remained as survivors of the Great Purge. However, of the twenty-one survivors three were executed in 1952–54 and six (Bulganin, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Molotov, Poskrebyshev, and Khrushchev) suffered disgrace. Avtorkhanov sees the purges and the "peace of the graveyard" that subsequently characterized the CPSU as the consequence "not of the persecution mania of an ill person but [of] a profoundly thought-out strategy to ensure his [Stalin's] absolute rule against every contingency" (2:516).

Because of its contents and format the work should be of special interest to Soviet readers.

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SOVIET RUSSIA MASTERS THE COMINTERN: INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM IN THE ERA OF STALIN'S ASCENDANCY. By *Helmut Gruber*. Garden City: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1974. xvi, 544 pp. \$3.95, paper.

This volume is the second of a planned trilogy by Mr. Gruber dealing with international communism from Lenin up to the Hitler-Stalin pact (the first volume was entitled *International Communism in the Era of Lenin*). The book contains forty-four documents grouped under two headings, "The Bolshevization of the Comintern" and "The Comintern and the Colonial Peoples." The work is enriched by copious bibliographies.

The book is not intended for the general public but for specialists who have had difficulty in finding their way through the immense documentation on the contemporary Communist movement. The usefulness of such collections is indisputable, for the sources are not always accessible to historians, and the enormous mass of materials may discourage students as well as teachers. It remains to determine whether the author's selection is of a nature likely to clarify or define the politico-historical phenomena within each period in question.

Gruber justifiably comments that "no doubt there were important differences between the eras of Lenin and Stalin; but there were also striking continuities." Nevertheless, one must not confuse the superficial continuities with the profound differences, the latter having led rapidly to changing the very nature of the relations between the Soviet Communist Party and the national sections of the Comintern. The decisive influence of Lenin and his lieutenants on the Communist movement and organization was due to their real superiority, their prestige acquired in the Russian Revolution, and their experience exceeding that of the ex-socialists who joined their cause. This state of things was in the process of rapidly evolving in an egalitarian direction when the death of Lenin intervened. The influence of Stalin, the totalitarian, after a period of transition, was due to the grip of the Soviet secret services on the leadership of the Communist parties and to the considerable financial means brought into play.

One may also ask if the documents gathered by Gruber take full account of

the paths followed by the Comintern in transformation or if they cover, beneath their verbal abundance, the real outcome of the permanent crisis which reduced the revolutionary creation of Lenin to the role of servile instrument of the nationalist and imperialist foreign policy of Stalin. And how much value should be attached to the tortuous discussions of "socialism in one country," when the disputants understood "socialism" in quite different or even contradictory senses?

In order fully to understand the influence exercised by the Soviet Communist Party on the whole of international communism, one must resort to the remarkable and doubtless definitive work by Lazitch and Drachkovitch, *Lenin and the Comintern*, which Sidney Hook subjected to masterly analysis in the *Russian Review*. The two authors have scrupulously expounded, with unequalled competence, the circumstances and conditions which attended the birth and first steps of the new International, so unlike the two preceding ones. It is important to know the origins in order to interpret the consequences preceding the final mutation.

After Lenin the Comintern was torn by internecine struggles which unfolded in the Soviet Communist Party and whose true significance Communists of other countries failed to decipher. The documents assembled by Gruber usefully present the exterior and acknowledged aspect of the disagreements which ripped apart the work of Lenin; they do not appear to reveal the secret and unacknowledged reasons which led to the ignominious enserfment of this Comintern which had aroused so many naïve hopes, up to the day when Stalin would be able to suppress it by a stroke of the pen without consulting anyone, while still preserving in camouflaged form the levers of power for the use of his subversive maneuvers throughout the world.

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COMMUNISM IN SCANDINAVIA AND FINLAND: POLITICS OF OPPORTUNITY. By *A. F. Upton*. With contributions by *Peter P. Rohde* and *A. Sparring*. History of Communism series. Garden City: Anchor Press, Doubleday, 1973. x, 422 pp. \$2.95, paper.

Although this book does contain short profile histories of the Communist parties of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden by Peter P. Rohde, a former member of the Danish Communist Party, and Dr. Åke Sparring, the author of several previous studies dealing with the Swedish Communist Party, by far the greatest part of it is devoted to Professor Upton's history of the Finnish Communist Party. That Finnish communism is singled out for such lengthy treatment is justified in terms of the sizable popular support it has attracted and the major role it has played in influencing the course of Finnish history.

In tracing the fortunes of the Finnish Communist Party from its formation in 1918 to the mid-1960s, Upton relies heavily on the groundbreaking historical studies by Ilkka Hakalehto and John Hodgson and the colorful memoir accounts left by Arvo Tuominen, Niilo Wälläri, and Yrjö Leino, all of whom ultimately broke with the party. He balances these sources with the more partisan interpretations of party historians such as Antti Hyvönen and Erkki Salomaa, and with material drawn from various collections of party documents, reminiscences, and secondary accounts published by the party both before and after its return to legality in 1944.