

Social movement auto/biographies: A rough guide to sources and resources

Peter Waterman



Malcolm X, Internationalist by Mike Alewitz (see below).
The mural was destroyed, for some reason, by the IRA.

In a rhetorically effective social movement autobiography, form enables the rhetorical functions of self-definition and social advocacy to become mutually reinforcing, so that the author's life story demonstrates the plausibility of enacting the movement's ideology at the level of the individual, while the movement's "story" provides a backdrop against which the author can achieve a meaningful form of self-definition. (Griffin 2000).

It is true that storytelling reveals meaning without committing the error of defining it, that it brings about consent and reconciliation with things as they really are, and that we may even trust it to contain eventually by implication that last word which we expect from the Day of Judgment. ([Hannah Arendt, 'Isak Dinesen: 1885 - 1963', Men in Dark Times](#))

Introductory note

Why a *rough* guide?

Because this is the first attempt (to my knowledge) at constructing such a listing. And because of a hope that others may smooth out the bumps over time. Whilst, of course, making selective use of it in their own work.¹

This list was initially dependent on my own autobio (Waterman 2014), my personal three metres plus of autobios, and therefore excessively weighted towards the Communism of my early years, the internationalism(s) of all my years. Not to speak about it being weighted toward my friends, my own self ... and even my mother! It is also weighted toward the English language and towards Britain and the Netherlands (where I have long lived and worked). Not, again, to mention - before feminists do - the bias toward the masculine gender. Such biases, however, may suggest how much there is to add about other countries, in other languages. I have nonetheless made attempts here to surpass my biases, particularly with respect to Latin American figures and their more-or-less common languages. And, well, inter/national feminist movement ones, starting with Flora Tristán.

A question arose in my mind as I was compiling this list: should I include those figures who operated or at least seem to have operated without attachment to a social movement, particularly those who operated as whistle-blowers (the clandestine/subversive/illegal act of whistle-blowing more or less requires this). The obvious case might be Julian Assange, in so far as he has or even cultivates an arrogant, unfriendly, lone-wolf image but then is surrounded by a number of wealthy supporters. Mordechai Vanunu might be another such individualist, if one who has paid an awful price for his heroic acts. I have included both below because it does seem to be increasingly the case that such self-sacrificing (even self-promoting) acts increasingly reach out to and affect a global public. This is particularly so with those who act within 'Cyberia' – the increasingly central agora of global emancipatory struggle. And if or when the behavior of such individuals prevents their iconisation, provokes controversy about the expansion of The Commons, so much the better.

I have also sought out resources *on* auto/bios, such as the one leading the Resource List below. Such resources may not themselves be focused on *social movement* figures but I consider it important to consider the auto/bio as a genre – not only of writing but, obviously, that of movies and other audio-visual forms.

Some of the entries may be problematic in so far as the subjects/objects thereof may not consider themselves as social movement activists/leaders (my mother, in her old people's home rejected my attempt to interview her as an 'internationalist'). This might be the case, also, for some academic specialists on social movements whose influence on these may be only indirect. On the other

¹ Stefan Berger, of the [Institute for Social Movements](#), Ruhr University Bochum, Germany, has expressed interest in housing such a running bibliography on the institute's website, but only if curated by someone beyond its over-committed staff.

hand, there may be here found persons so heavily engaged that their auto/bios appear as functional or even subordinate to The Movement they are identified with. I would recommend here Griffin (2000) not so much because I identify with his argument as because of his focus on 'self-definition and social advocacy' in movement auto/bios, raising questions also about those whose lives might have themselves moved from one movement to another, or to various others...

I first resisted the notion of adding the notes (in **red** below) to the entries, fearing both the work involved, then the expansion in size. Having been persuaded to nonetheless provide such, the exercise proved educative. Despite myself having this Jewish Communist internationalist background, I had not realized just what a proportion of my subjects shared this. Any eventual correction of bias here would be welcome. But it is not difficult to understand why (East) European Jews, in particular, became Communists, nor how their experiences of national persecution or discrimination might have led them to opt for that unimagined community, 'The International', and identification with other victimized persons or peoples. At least until 1956-7 and the exposure of Soviet discrimination against and brutal persecution of Jews...

Another discovery (more of a confirmation) was the extent to which at least early Communists willingly combined their internationalism with not only clandestine activity but quite specific secret service to the Soviet state. Whilst this might have first been due to a spontaneous conflation in their minds of the Comintern and the Soviet state, many continued after the (quite arbitrary Soviet) dissolution of the Comintern in 1943 (many were later abandoned, castigated, arrested or killed by that state. See Curiel, Münzenberg, Trepper, below). They thus conformed to the model, once suggested by Eric Hobsbawm. This was of the second generation - in his case actually Communist - of internationalists, as 'agents' rather than the earlier generation of 'agitators'. This was, after all, a period in which many left utopias amounted to what the East German Communists eventually called 'actually-existing socialism'. Though, it occurs to me, that for non-Communist activists such utopias might have been represented by Social-Democratic or Populist governed states. Or, for that matter, by liberal capitalist/imperial regimes (see 'Irving Brown' below).

The notes (in **red** remember) are of inconsistent nature, being created from my inevitably faulty memory, from Wikipedia, from blurbs or longer publishers' book descriptions. I started off using quotation marks to indicate those most heavily dependent on sources other than myself, but found myself editing these. I abandoned the distinction and the notes are what they are and...

... Corrections would therefore be more than welcome. Even more welcome would be a way of transforming these notes into a more standardized, if not sanitized, form. And, so, for that matter, would be the addition of relevant dates for those listed!²

² I regret I have not been able to respond to a reaction from former colleague, Bridget O'Laughlin, who emailed, 090816:

Whilst leaning heavily toward Left auto/bios (without defining 'Left'), I could not resist the temptation to include at least one entry on that ... *problematic?* ... 'international activist', Mother Teresa (see, below, 'Criticism of Mother Teresa'). She was born in Albania but worked primarily in India. She came from an 'international social movement', if one self-subordinated to a church. And she must still be an icon for millions of Catholics. She was canonized by her church – something not liable to happen to those with the critical and self-critical disposition more common, perhaps, to contemporary social movement activists. So we may be obliged to call Mother Teresa by her elevated status, Saint Teresa of Calcutta, at least if we believe in saints who do *not* go marching in...

Sister Teresa is a bird of a different feather: a liberation theologian, a feminist supporter of a woman's right to choose, a critic of not only her own church as patriarchal but also as specifically misogynist, an activist for Catalonian self-determination. She comes over as a public Catholic activist for our era, as does or did Mother Teresa for previous centuries. Moreover, Sister Teresa Forcades convinced me (a cancer and heart-disease survivor) to ignore the strong recommendation of three doctors in two countries, and reject the H1N1 vaccine approved by the World Health Organisation/Big Pharma complex. In such cases a movement may be even kick-started by an individual auto/bio.

The Mother/Sister opposition may be a bit of a stretch, in so far as the Mother was self-subordinated to her church. But this opposition hopefully raises further questions about iconophilia (icon worship) and iconoclasm (icon smashing) with respect to social movement auto/biographies or representations. These arise with respect to, for example, Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi, Rigoberta Menchú or Malcolm X. The case of Lei Feng, for example, may be an extreme one, in so far as he may have been invented or reinvented – if, again by a hegemon rather than a social movement. These and others are included, not to necessarily support iconoclasm but to problematize the matter of social movement auto/bios. More interesting and relevant to the global justice and solidarity movement may be the case of that 'icon for our times', Subcomandante Marcos (see below).

I have, as indicated above, made occasional use of Wikipedia, particularly where other up-to-date sources are missing or seem lacking. This was so for the Peruvian Hugo Blanco, even if Wikipedia reported him as still being a leader of the Trotskyist Fourth International (aka the 4I), which I believe to be more than somewhat out of date or even originally misleading. His own autobiographical note below does not mention any such leadership role. And one of the Wikipedia sources mentioned only that he was present at a 4I event at a World Social Forum.

'[T]he project is so broad that I now understand that it is just a beginning - entries are relatively few and uneven in content. If the objectives include not just getting people to think but also to contribute then I think you need some more discussion of that in the preface. It would also be useful if you named some themes or questions and made a try at putting your bibliographic entries where you think they belong, as opposed to structuring by alphabetical order.'

Well, quite, and unless I get a sudden rush of conscience and energy, this will have to remain as a suggestion to anyone prepared to take over the baton.

(I have myself taken part in events of the 4I without being either a leader or a follower of such). So an adequate auto/bio of this iconic figure of the Peruvian peasant, indigenous and environmental resistance still lies in the future I know of a new effort to interview him at length in Peru, one contribution to such being Vargas (2016).

The advantage of this list being online is, obviously, that of allowing readers doing word/name searches, whether, for example, for Mother Teresa (beatified or sanctified) or Sister Teresa (that nun for our season). More fruitfully, I would like to hope, in searches for Rigoberta Menchú and for the controversy surrounding her two 'testimonies/testimonios'. Or on other controversial icons, such as Gandhi or Malcolm X. Searches can bring together that which the Sources and Resources divide.

Acknowledgements are due to Gina Vargas, Laurence Cox, Anissa Helie and Tom Wengraf for suggestions concerning either the structuring or the content of this list.

Peter Waterman, Lima-The Hague, January-November 2016.

Sources

Adler, Ruth (Ray Waterman). 1960. 'Africa, Come Back', *Mainstream* (New York), pp. 1-34.

Despite use of pseudonyms, a lively and extensive account of the time spent in London, during an ANC-sponsored trip to West and East Europe by outstanding South African woman's leader, Lilian Ngoyi (see elsewhere).

Adler, Ruth (Ray Waterman). 1989. 'Ruth Adler: Woman of the Eighties', in *Jewish Women in London Group, Generations of Memories: Voices of Jewish Women*. London: The Women's Press: pp. 25-47.

Jewish London East Ender, Communist till 1956-7, active in solidarity with Spain, Soviet women, the Rosenbergs, South Africa. Author of two semi-autobiographical novels.

Agee, Philip. 1975. *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin.

First of the famous US intelligence/espionage whistle-blowers. Fascinating source for the 'trade union imperialism' of the US union centre, the AFL-CIO, in Latin America.

Alewitz, Mike. *Biography: About Mike*. Facebook.

Mike Alewitz is a mural painter working in the U.S. and internationally. He has traveled throughout the world creating public art on themes of peace and social justice. Alewitz has organized cultural initiatives for numerous unions and progressive organizations. Because his work is a voice for working people, he is one of the most censored artists in the world. Alewitz was a student leader at Kent State University and an eyewitness to the murders of four students in 1970. He was a leader of the national student strike that followed the massacre and has remained a life-long activist in movements for social change. For his murals, see [here](#).

Allen, Barbara. 2016. *Alexander Shlyapnikov 1885-1937: Life of an Old Bolshevik*. Chicago: Haymarket.

Though purged from Soviet history books, Shlyapnikov was a leading member of the Workers' Opposition (1919-21), and the most prominent of their ranks to call for the trade unions—as distinct from the Communist Party—to play a direct role in realizing workers' control over the economy. Despite the defeat of this position, Shlyapnikov continued to advocate views on the Soviet socialist project that provided a counterpoint to Stalin's vision. Arrested during the Great Terror, Shlyapnikov refused to confess to his alleged crimes against the party, openly declaring the charges illogical and unsubstantiated. What emerges from Allen's political portrait is an Old Bolshevik who stands in striking contrast to Stalin's and the NKVD's image of the ideal party member. See review by Ian Birchall [here](#).

Anderson, Jon Lee. 1997. *Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life*. London: Bantam.

Non-hagiographic account.

Anderson, Jon Lee, and [José Hernández](#). 2015. *Che Guevara. Una vida revolucionaria*. Graphic novel. Mexico: Sexto Piso. 172 pp.

See above.

Anderson, Perry. 2012. 'Gandhi Centre Stage'. *London Review of Books*. [Vol. 34 No. 13 · 5 July 2012](#)

Powerful contribution to the iconoclastic accounts.

Anon. 1970. *Tania, la guerilla inolvidable*. Havana: Instituto del Libro.

Hagiographic account of East German (of Argentinean origin) who accompanied Che on last fatal (for her also) expedition.

Arriola, Aura Marina. 2000. [Ese obstinado sobrevivir: autoetnografía de una mujer guatemalteca](#). (This Stubborn Survival: Autoethnography of a Guatemalan Woman). Guatemala: Ediciones del Pensativo.

Born Guatemala 1937, daughter of a politician/diplomat, educated in France and Mexico, Aura Marina became an anthropologist. She died 2007 whilst working at an academic institute in Mexico. Prior to this she had been a *guerillera* in Guatemala and the partner of guerilla leader, Ricardo Ramirez/Rolando Morán (See under Morán below). This autobiography evokes times and places she visited or lived in: The Triconcental Conference of the Peoples of African, Asia and Latin America in Havana; Hanoi, during major bombardments, 1967, as member of a Guatemalan guerilla delegation; Peking during the Cultural Revolution; seeking gothic remains in a snowy city; swimming across the River Suchiate, Guatemala, to bring (from Havana via Prague), letters from Ché Guevara to guerilla camps in the mountains of Guatemala.

Ashwari, Hanan. FemBio.

<http://www.fembio.org/english/biography.php/woman/biography/hanan-ashrawi/>

Au Lung-yu. 2006. 'Alter-Globo in Hong Kong'. *New Left Review*, 42.

Interview with leading Hong Kong labour activist/internationalist, co-founder of *Globalisation Monitor*, 1999. Deals with his life and involvement with labour, socialist and social movements in Hong Kong and China.

Barreto, Fabio (Director). [Lula, Son Of Brazil](#). (Biopic).

Hagiographic movie in commercial cinema style. Led to controversy during shortly-following presidential election.

Barrios de Chungara, Domitila (with Moemma Viezzer). 1978. *Let Me Speak: Testimony of Domitila, A Woman of the Bolivian Mines*. London: Stage 1.

Early woman activist's *testimonio*, leading to others and controversy - also about the 'co-authoring' common to such.

Bell, Thomas. 1941. *Pioneering Days*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

One of a half-dozen or more autobiographies by leading British and Comintern activists of the genre traditional to early labour movement figures in the UK.

Bensaïd, Daniel. 2013. *Daniel Bensaïd, An Impatient Life: A Political Memoir*. London: Verso.

Leading figure in the Trotskyist Fourth International.

Berger, Sarah. 2005. 'From Aldermaston Marcher to Internet Activist', in Wilma de Jong, Martin Shaw and Neil Stammers (eds), *Global Activism: Global Media*. London: Pluto: pp. 84-91.

UK activist. The title says it all.

Blanco, Hugo Galdos. 2002. [Autobiografía De Hugo Blanco Galdos: Historia de un luchador social](#). Confederación Campesina del Peru.

Brief and rare autobiographic account by a leading Peruvian peasant leader, from the 1960s till today, sometime associated with Trotskyist Fourth International, now emphasising indigenous and ecological issues.

Braam, Connie. 2005. *Operation Vula*. South Africa: Jacana Media.

Conny Braam is a respected Dutch novelist and a former head of the major Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement, from which she split on account of its moderate tactics. In her new organisation she worked with the armed wing of the African National Congress to recruit the operatives and train them as undercover agents in South Africa. She dedicated over 10 years to the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement and her role was integral to the success of the operation.

Brodie, Louise. 2011-12. ['McCrinkle, Jean \(Speaker, Female; Interviewee\)'](#).

Nine hour interview with Jean McCrinkle (b. 1937), whose political life began with her Communist actor and unionist father, Alex McCrinkle (Jock in the post-WW2 radio soap, 'Dick Barton, Special Agent'), and stepmother, Honor Arundel (film critic of the *Daily Worker*, and continued with brief membership of the British Communist Party in the 1950s (see elsewhere in this bibliography) and continued with the socialist-feminist movement, set up Women against Pit Closures. Jean travelled widely, including Italy, China and Ghana. She spent a decade or more in the Labour Party, becoming a parliamentary candidate, before breaking with this party too. Along the way she had close relationships with a couple of major British Marxist social historians. She has (co-) authored several books about such movements. A remarkably rich and frank account of her life, loves and troubles.

Brown, Irving. [Wikipedia](#).

He was the leading instrument of the CIA in particular, US imperialism in general, within the national and international trade union movement, moving through Europe, Africa and elsewhere, wherever the US state considered the 'Communist threat' to exist. In France he collaborated with Pierre Ferri-Pisani, identified (though not in this entry), as a major international drug smuggler.

Brown, Elaine. 1992. *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story*. New York: Doubleday.

Elaine Brown is an American prison activist, writer, singer, and former Black Panther Party chairwoman based in Oakland, California. Brown briefly ran for the Green Party presidential nomination in 2008. She continues to agitate politically.

Burke, Jason. 2014. '[Arundhati Roy accuses Mahatma Gandhi of discrimination](#)'. *The Guardian*.

Internationally famous Indian novelist/activist accuses Gandhi of discrimination against women and low-caste/tribals.

Caccamo, Francesco. 2007. *Jiří Pelikán, Un lungo viaggio nell'arcipelago socialista* (Jiří Pelikán, a Long Voyage Through the Socialist Archipelago). Venice: Marsilio.

Critically-minded Czech Communist, Pelikán, headed the International Union of Students in Prague in the 1950s, and Czechoslovak Radio during the Prague Spring and Soviet invasion, 1968, then edited an exile bulletin from Italy, where he was active in the Socialist Party.

Callaghan, John. 1993. *Rajani Palme Dutt: A Study in British Stalinism*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Of Swedish and Indian parentage, Dutt was the British Communist Party's leading intellectual and India specialist, with his own journal, *Labour Monthly*. He was infamous, even within the CPGB, for referring to Stalin's crimes as 'spots on the sun'.

Castaneda, Jorge. 1997. *Compañero: La Vida y Muerte de Che Guevara*. New York: Vintage. 400 pp.

Critical account by leading social-liberal Mexican writer/politician.

[Carlín \(Carlos Tovar\)](#). SoHo.

Prize-winning political cartoonist, expressing, without mercy, popular disenchantment with the political class in Peru. Other web searches in Spanish show him as a populariser of Marx and a proponent of the 4-hour working day (with text in English). So this brief autobiographical note in Spanish requires follow-up.

Cervo, Martino. 2013. *Willi Münzenberg Il megafono di Stalin*. Siena: Edizioni Cantagalli.

Critical account of the role of Willi Münzenberg as a Comintern

propagandist.

Chang, Jung. 1991. *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China*. London: Harper Collins.

Three generations of women, as seen by the granddaughter, her mother and herself being involved with the Communist Revolution and its aftermath.

Christie, Stuart. 2004. *Granny Made Me an Anarchist: General Franco, the Angry Brigade and Me*. London: Scribner.

Charming account by a Scottish anarchist, imprisoned and threatened with a death sentence in Franco's Spain, and later with imprisonment in Conservative Britain.

[Citizen Four](#). (Edward Snowden Documentary)

A real-life movie thriller, unfolding by the minute, giving audiences unprecedented access to filmmaker Laura Poitras and journalist Glenn Greenwald's encounters with Edward Snowden in Hong Kong, as he hands over classified documents providing evidence of mass indiscriminate and illegal invasions of privacy by the US National Security Agency. The movie places you in the room with Poitras, Greenwald, and Snowden as they attempt to manage the media storm raging outside, forced to make quick decisions that will impact their lives and all of those around them. The film not only shows you the dangers of governmental surveillance—it makes you feel them. After seeing the film, you will never think the same way about your phone, email, credit card, web browser, or profile, ever again.

Cockburn, Claud. 1958. *Crossing the Line*, Vol. 2, London: MacGibbon & Kee.

Brilliant British, sometime Communist, reporter/agent during Spanish civil war, edited *The Week* (anti-appeasement), later a novelist/scriptwriter.

Cockburn, Claud. 1981. *Cockburn Sums Up: An Autobiography*. London: Quartet.

See above.

Commire, Anne (ed.). 2002. 'VARGAS, Virginia (1945-). Peruvian feminist activist, in *Dictionary of Women Worldwide*. Detroit: Thomson/Gale. (3 Vols).

This entry on Gina Vargas is just one of the 25,000 entries (see further in Resources) and now inevitably dated, but gives a surprisingly accurate sketch of this energetic and productive Peruvian and international activist. Commented and extended to some extent in the autobio of her later longtime partner (see Waterman 2014).

Van Hear, Nicholas, Selina Molteno and Oliver Bakewell (eds). 2016. [A Retrospective for Robin Cohen: From the New Helots to New Diasporas](#). Oxford: Oxford Publishing Services.

Of South African Jewish origin, Robin Cohen began his academic career

in the UK with the first book on Nigerian trade unions, continuing with studies of African labour more generally, and then with the 'new international labour studies' of the 1970s. He was a co-founder of the *Newsletter of International Labour Studies* in the 1980s, his interest moving to migrants, new social movements and later to diasporas. Whilst self-admittedly coy about direct social movement activities, more-activist colleagues and students were inspired by his prolific writings.

Criticism of Mother Teresa. [Wikipedia](#).

Crook, David. (c. 2000?). *Hampstead Heath to Tienanmen: The Autobiography of David Crook*.
<http://www.davidcrook.net/simple/main.html>

Of British Jewish middle-class origin, Crook travelled widely and acted as a Comintern agent/spy in the Spanish Civil War, later settled in China, survived Cultural Revolution imprisonment. Eventually expressed limited criticism of the Chinese regime.

Cuneo, Martín. 2015. *Las diez vidas de Hugo Blanco*. Lima: Lucha Indígena. 16pp.

Pamphlet biography.

Davidson, Neil. 2004. 'The Prophet, his Biographer and the Watchtower'. *International Socialism Journal*. Issue 104.

Critical account of both Trotsky and his most famous biographer.

Davies, Angela. [FemBio](#).

A US academic and Black Power icon, who became a leading US Communist and later an activist on prisoner rights.

Deitch, Gene. 2002. *For the Love of Prague: The True Love Story of the only Free American in Prague during 30 Years of Communism*. Prague: Basset Books.

Title says it all, giving an original and vivid account of the Soviet invasion of Prague, 1968.

Dennis, Peggy. 1977. *The Autobiography of an American Communist: A Personal View of a Political Life 1925-1975*. New York: Lawrence Hill. 302 pp.

A major national and international Communist figure who eventually broke with the party. Married to US Communist leader, Eugene Dennis.

Desai, Ashwin and Goolem Vahed. 2015. *The South African Gandhi: Stretcher-Bearer of Empire*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Iconoclastic account of Gandhi's disregard for Africans during his time in South Africa.

Deutscher, Isaac. 2009. [The Prophet: Trotsky: 1879-1940 \(Vol. 1-3\)](#)

Most famous biography by Deutscher, himself of Polish Jewish origin, and a one-time dissident Polish Communist, later Trotskyist.

Ellis, Stephen. 2014. '[New Light on Nelson Mandela's Autobiography](#)', Politics Web.

A veteran writer on the African National Congress and African politics here comments on the 627-page [draft autobiography](#), of Mandela, dated 1977, that was only made public around the time of his death. It therefore long predates the famous 'autobiographical' (in quotes because redacted by a US journalist) [Long Walk to Freedom](#), published 1994, to almost universal liberal and left acclaim. Ellis reveals what had been previously concealed or denied, that Mandela had been not only, if briefly, a member of the South Africa Communist Party but also of its Central Committee. He had also accepted Soviet-style Marxism-Leninism, and favoured the SACP's switch to an armed strategy before the ANC itself did so. See also the [Wikipedia](#) entry, that fails to mention either the draft autobio or the controversy aroused by the Stephen Ellis article.

Evans, Kate. 2015. *Red Rosa: A Graphic Biography of Rosa Luxemburg*. London: Verso.

A giant of the political left, Rosa Luxemburg is one of the foremost minds in the canon of revolutionary socialist thought. She made herself heard in a world inimical to the voices of strong-willed women. Always opposed to the First World War, when others on the German left were swept up on a tide of nationalism, she was imprisoned and murdered in 1919 fighting for a revolution she knew to be doomed. In this graphic biography, writer and artist Kate Evans has opened up her subject's intellectual world to a new audience. (See elsewhere for Rosa).

Fawzy-Rossano, Didar. 1997. *Mémoires d'une militante communiste (1942-1990) du Caire à Alger, Paris et Genève. Lettres aux miens*. L'Harmattan, Paris 1997.

She was a cosmopolitan Egyptian revolutionary (1920-2011), of Italian Jewish background, a Communist, a Nationalist, related to [Henri Curiel](#) She was later involved in Europe in solidarity with Algerian independence and South African anti-Apartheid movements, escaped from a French prison, became an academic and specialist on the Sudan. See further [here](#).

Fernandez Garcia, Dina. 1998. 'Stoll "No busco hundir a Menchu"'. El libro de David Stoll sobre Rigoberta Menchú sacudira los estudios sobre Latin America' (Stoll: "I am not trying to destroy Menchu". The Book of David Stoll on Rigoberta Menchú Shakes Latin American Studies', *Prensa Libre* (Guatemala City), December 18.

Contribution to controversy surrounding the *testimonios* (customarily co-authored) of a Guatemalan and international indigenous and human rights icon, and Nobel Prize winner.

Forcades, Sister Teresa. [Wikipedia](#).

Not to be confused with Mother Teresa. Teresa Forcades is a feminist critic of the Catholic Church, a medically qualified critic of the World Health Organisation, big pharma, and a Catalan nationalist.

Frankenheimer, John. 1994. [The Burning Season](#). (Biopic about Chico Mendes).

Prize-winning movie on life, struggle and death of a labour, indigenous and human rights icon.

Freeman, Joseph. 1938. *An American Testament: A Narrative of Rebels and Romantics*. London: Gollancz. 576 pp.

For its time a remarkably critical account of the author's experience of the Comintern in Moscow.

Galeano, Eduardo. 1999. 'Disparen sobre Rigoberta' (They are Firing at Rigoberta), *Brecha: Nueva Edicion Internet* (Uruguay). January 15.

Contribution to the Rigoberta Menchú controversy.

Gandhi, Mahatma. 1927. [Autobiography: The Story of my Experiments with Truth](#).

Despite increasing criticism in the present century, still surely the outstanding Indian and international icon of non-violent protest movements.

Garvey, Marcus. [Wikipedia](#)

Marcus Mosiah Garvey, Jr., (1887–1940), was a Jamaican political leader, publisher, journalist, entrepreneur, and orator who was a staunch proponent of the [Black Nationalism](#) and [Pan-Africanism](#) movements, to which end he founded the [Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League \(UNIA-ACL\)](#). He also founded the [Black Star Line](#), a shipping and passenger line which promoted the return of the [African diaspora](#) to their ancestral lands.

Geary, Rick. 2009. [Trotsky: A Graphic Biography](#).

Goldman, Emma. 2011. *Living My Life (Two Volumes In One)*. Cosimo.

Russian Jewish working-class woman anarchist who played a major role in the US working-class movement in the early 20th century.

Gordon, Eric. 1972. *Freedom is a Word*. London: Morrow.

British Communist journalist becomes a Maoist and experiences the Chinese Cultural Revolution with wife and child. For trying to smuggle documents out of China is imprisoned in a hotel room until eventual release.

Gott, Richard. 1996. 'Che Guevara and the Congo', *New Left Review*, No. 220, pp. 3-35.

The first (?) detailed account of Che's unsuccessful attempt to export his notion of guerilla warfare to Africa. (See, further, Guevara 2000)

Grange, Bertrand de la and Maite Rico. 1997. *Marcos, la genial impostura* [Marcos, the Brilliant Impostor]. México DF.

Despite the title this is a serious work that distinguishes the two faces of this international icon of the new social emancipatory movements, the man and the myth. It may have been the first to publicise his real name, Rafael Guillén. Most writings about Marcos prefer to 'forget' this. Marcos brilliantly crossed numerous traditional social movement boundaries: between the academic and the activist, the urban and the rural, the national and the indigenous, the South and the North, the Marxist and the Indigenous/Popular, the guerilla strategy and the prefigurative, the theorist/strategist and the story-teller, the serious and the humorous. The book was originally published in French. (For an English-language and updated bio see [here](#)).

Grogan, Susan. 2002. *Flora Tristan: Life Stories*. London: Routledge.

Early-19th century French pioneer labour, socialist and feminist writer and traveller.

Grossman, Victor (Stephen Wechsler). 2003. *Crossing the River: A Memoir of the American Left, the Cold War, and Life in East Germany*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Fascinating account of a US serviceman, with a Communist or fellow-traveller background who quite literally crossed a river whilst escaping to Communist East Germany. Initially treated with considerable suspicion, the author was a faithful supporter of the state until it collapsed.

Guevara, Che. 2000. ['From Cuba to Congo, Dream to Disaster for Che Guevara. The Revolutionary Leader Describes his African War in Exclusive Extracts from his Previously Unpublished Diary'](#). *The Guardian*. August 12.

Guevara, Ernesto 'Che' Guevara. 2001. *The African Dream: The Diaries of the Revolutionary War in the Congo*. London, Harvill.

Gugelberger, Georg. 1998. 'Remembering: The Post-Testimonio Memoirs of Rigberta Menchu Tum', *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 25, No. 6, pp. 62-8.

Contribution to the controversy concerning Rigoberta's *testimonios*.

Guha, Ramachandra. 2014. *Gandhi Before India*. New York: Knopf.

Major 'pro-Gandhi' biography.

[Han Dongfan](#). Wikipedia.

An advocate for workers' rights in China for more than two decades during which time he has won numerous international awards including the 1993 Democracy Award from the U.S. National Endowment for Democracy. He helped set up the Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation (BAAF) during the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989. In August 1993 he was arrested in Guangzhou and expelled to Hong Kong. In 1994, he established

China Labour Bulletin, a Hong Kong-based non-governmental organization that seeks to uphold and defend the rights of workers across China.

Hardy, George. 1956. *Those Stormy Years: Memories of the Fight for Freedom on Five Continents*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Major contribution to early British and Comintern biographical genre.

Hill, Denis. 1989. *Seeing Red, Being Green: Life and Times of a Southern Rebel*. Brighton: Iconoclast Press.

Autobiography of British working-class unionist and Communist, from provincial Brighton, who worked at the International Union of Students in Prague, 1950s, and eventually broke with Communism.

Hitchens, Christopher. 1996. *The Missionary Position: Mother Teresa in Theory and Practice*. London: Zed Press. 98 pp.

Iconoclastic and witty account by brilliant journalist. One of several such accounts, this one criticising the Albanian nun's complicity with the Albanian Communist regime whilst making publicity and collecting funds for her charitable Indian operations.

Hobsbawm, Eric. 2002. *Interesting Times: A Twentieth-Century Life*. New York: Pantheon.

Autobiography by best-known British Communist historian, whose life spanned the 20th century.

Hooks, Margaret. 1993. *Tina Modotti: Photographer and Revolutionary*. London: Pandora. 296 pp.

An American would-be actress of Italian origin, Modotti became a photographer, involved with Mexican and other Communists and artists, she abandoned photography for Comintern work in civil war Spain.

Hooks, Margaret. 1998. *Tina Modotti: Fotógrafa y revolucionaria*. Barcelona: Plaza y Janes.

See above.

Hyde, Douglas. 1951. *I Believed: The Autobiography of a Former Communist*. London: Heinemann.

One-time journalist on the British *Daily Worker*, an example of a common Cold War genre.

Ilic, Melanie and Emilia Kosterina. 2013. 'Lyudmila Mikhailovna Alekseeva (born 1927)', in Melanie Ilic, *Life Stories of Soviet Women: The Interwar Generation*. London: Routledge.

This interview covers family background; WW2; Evacuation; attitudes to sexual relations and marriage; education professional training and work; the 1937 Terror; attitudes to Jews and minority nationalities; post-war life,

the Moscow Helsinki human-rights group; exile in the USA; the Post-Soviet era and human-rights activities in the Putin period.

Jolly, Margaretta (2006) '[Every Secret Thing: An Interview with Gillian Slovo](#)'. In: Lütge Coullie, J, Meyer, S, Ngwenya, TH and Oliver, T (eds.) *Selves in Question: Interviews on Southern African Auto/biography*. University of Hawaii Press, pp. 315-328.

Gillian is the novelist daughter of leading white South African ANC and Communist Party activists, Joe Slovo and Ruth First. Gillian also writes of her difficult relations with own hyper-activist parents.

Kadalie, C. 1970. *My Life and the ICU: The Autobiography of a Black Trade Unionist in South Africa*. London: Frank Cass.

Kadalie was the leader of first major black union organization in South Africa.

Kaminsky, Adolfo/Adolphe. [Wikipedia](#).

Born in Argentina on 1 October 1925, he was a member of the French Resistance, specialising in the forgery of identity documents, who later went on to assist Jewish emigration to the British Mandate for Palestine and then to forge identity documents for the National Liberation Front and French draft dodgers during the Algerian War (1954–62). He forged papers for thirty years for different activist groups, mainly national liberation fronts, without ever claiming payment for it. For his daughter's biography in French, see [here](#).

Kapur, Sheka (Director), 1994. [Bandit Queen](#).

Controversial prize-winning movie based on life of notorious low-caste bandit, [Phoolan Devi](#), who takes vengeance on the higher-caste villagers who had raped her.

Kautsky, Karl. 1902. Autobiography.

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/kautsky/1902/12/autobiography.htm>

Written at the time when Kautsky was considered the heir of Marx and Engels, this is a modest account of his meeting with them in London, his collaboration and differences with other historical figures on German and Austrian Social Democracy.

Keane, John. 1995. *Tom Paine: A Political Life*. London: Bloomsbury. 644 pp.

More than any other public figure of the eighteenth century, Tom Paine strikes our times like a trumpet blast from a distant world. Setting his compelling narrative against a vivid social backdrop of pre-revolutionary America and the French Revolution, John Keane melds together the public and the shadowy private sides of Paine's life in a remarkable piece of scholarship. This is the definitive biography of a man whose life and work profoundly shaped the modern age.

Kelly, Alfred (Ed.). 1987. *The German Worker: Working-Class Autobiographies from the Age of Industrialisation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Translated selections from the autobiographies of nineteen of the now-forgotten millions who in the 19th century turned Germany into an industrial power. Provides an intimate firsthand look at how massive social and economic changes are reflected on a personal level in the everyday lives of workers.

Kester, Gerard. 2014-2015. 'Een zoektocht naar democratie: Met brieven aan mijn kleinkinderen' (A Search for Democracy: With Letters to my Grandchildren). Two Volumes. Leusden: Unpublished.

This 1,000-page political-academic-personal autobio (with a third volume planned) is by a Dutch specialist on worker self-management who spent most of his working life at the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague (1963-98). Gerard's work was mostly in Africa, mostly in collaboration with unions (local, national, regional, international), and with local universities. As a self-characterised workaholic, bike-addicted, hyperactive and travel-aholic person, he has also worked (vacationed and/or wine-tasted) in West and East Europe (mostly Yugoslavia), Asia and Latin America. The work is largely based on diaries, kept with remarkable persistence, also after his retirement from the ISS.

Kimmage, Ann. 1996. *An Un-American Childhood: A Young Woman's Secret Life Behind the Iron Curtain*. Georgia University Press: Athens and London.

Sad, if not tragic, account by the daughter of a self-exiled US Communist activist, in Cold War Prague, Moscow and Beijing.

Kimmage, Ann. 1998. 'Growing Up in Exile', in Judy Kaplan and Linn Shapiro (eds), *Red Diapers: Growing up in the Communist Left*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 184-91.

See above.

[Khaled, Leila](#). Wikipedia.

Leila Khaled is a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and an airline hijacker later released in a prisoner exchange for civilian hostages kidnapped by her fellow PFLP members. She came to public attention for her role in a 1969 hijacking, and one of four simultaneous hijackings the following year as part of Black September. 2015 she condemned ISIL as a terrorist organization. In the 1970s she was something of a popular culture icon.

Kozak, Nikolai. 2016. 'My Father Saved 30,000 People in Chile'. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p03z6238>.

Nikolai Kozak grew up thinking his father Roberto was a quiet diplomat. Then one day he found out he'd helped save 30,000 political prisoners from persecution under Augusto Pinochet's regime in Chile. As Pinochet

began persecuting his opponents, Roberto was determined to help them. He negotiated a deal to allow political prisoners to go into exile, and at great risk to himself, he personally escorted people to airports, or safe locations - he even hid people in his house. Nikolai, now an artist, tells the story of his father. Rodrigo del Villar Canas - who as a student had been detained by Pinochet - describes how Roberto helped him flee.

Krijt, Hans. 2001. *Enkele Reis Zaandam-Praag (Single Ticket Zaandam-Prague)*. Baarn: De Prom.

Krijt grew up in a Dutch working-class family, deserted from his army service during the attempt to restore Dutch power in Indonesia after WWII, and escaped to Czechoslovakia just before the Communist coup, 1948. He studied film and became a cineaste. His attempt to re-establish his family in the Netherlands failed and he returned to live and die in his country of original exile.

Kruckewitt, Joan. 2001. *The Death of Ben Linder: The Story of a North American in Sandinista Nicaragua*.

In the summer of 1983, this 23-year-old American arrived in Managua with a unicycle and a newly earned degree in engineering. In 1986, Linder moved from Managua to El Cu, a village in the Nicaraguan war zone, where he helped form a team to build a hydroplant to bring electricity to the town. He was ambushed and killed by the Contras the following year while surveying a stream.

Kuzwayo, Ellen. 1985. *Call me Woman*. London: Women's Press.

Ellen Kuzwayo was a South African Black activist whose life spanned the 20th century. While the autobiographical sections of *Call me Woman* are vivid and alive with Ellen Kuzwayo's emotional and moral strength, the parts of the book which attempt an analysis of the condition of African women in South Africa, and a description of the broad effects of apartheid, are very sketchy. There is an assumption that the experiences of the educated African classes are the experiences of all the African people, and there is a jarringly naive faith in the work of the Urban Foundation, a group of influential financiers who since 1976 have worked to co-opt middleclass Africans to accept minor changes in the status quo.

Lang, Clarence. 2011. ['Manning Marable and Malcolm X: The Power of Biography'](#), *Solidarity*.

Critical review of Marable's biography of Malcolm X.

Leather, Alan. 2005. 'Labour Union and NGO Relations in Development and Social Justice', in Alan Leather and Deborah Eade (eds) *Development NGOs and Labor Unions: Terms of Engagement*. Kumarian Press.

Provides unusually personal account of a British unionist's increasing involvement with union development-cooperation work.

Lei Feng. [Wikipedia](#).

Fascinating account of a Chinese soldier, turned into a Maoist icon, with this (at least semi-)mythical figure's fate changing after the end of the Cultural Revolution.

Leonhard, Wolfgang. 1979. *Child of the Revolution*. London: Ink Links.

Child of German Communists, refugees in the Soviet Union of the 1930s, records soberly how they became victims of the purges, his postwar return as a Communist to Eastern Germany and his break with both.

Lerner, Gerda. 2003. *Fireweed: A Political Autobiography*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Of Austrian origin, and a refugee in the USA, Lerner recounts her life as a Communist, active in its international women's movement, her persecution during the Cold War, her pioneering role in academic women's history.

London, Artur. 1970. *On Trial*. London: MacDonald.

Czechoslovak Jewish Communist, active on behalf of Soviet intelligence in Spain, imprisoned by Nazis, became Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia under Communism, imprisoned and threatened with death during Stalinist purges, survived and fled to France.

Loos, Ted. 1999. '[La Comradessa: Two biographies of an enigmatic photographer and revolutionary](#)'. (Tina Modotti). *New York Times On the Web*. May 2.

See elsewhere for Tina Modotti.

Lovestone, Jay. Wikipedia.

He was at various times a member of the Socialist Party of America, a leader of the Communist Party USA, leader of a small oppositionist party, a major anti-Communist and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) helper, and foreign policy advisor to the leadership of the AFL-CIO and various unions within it. Eventually forced out of office by the AFL-CIO following the exposure of that union's Cold War relations with the CIA.

Lubitz, Wolfgang and Petra Lubitz. 2004. [Sal Santen: Bio-bibliographical Sketch](#). Lubitz' TrotskyanaNet.

Dutch Jewish working-class socialist and resistance activist, heavily involved in international Trotskyism, arrested for printing false French currency for the Algerian resistance.

[Manning, Chelsea/Bradley](#). Wikipedia.

Chelsea Elizabeth Manning (born Bradley Edward Manning, December 17, 1987) is a United States Army soldier who was convicted in July 2013 of violations of the Espionage Act and other offenses, after disclosing to WikiLeaks nearly three-quarters of a million classified or unclassified but sensitive military and diplomatic documents. S(h)e came out during her trial as a trans woman.

Marable, Manning. 2011. *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*. New York: Allen Lane. 2011.

See elsewhere for Manning and Malcolm X.

Margolius Kovaly, Heda. 1988. *Prague Farewell*. London: Gollancz.

A Czech Jewish survivor of both Nazi concentration camps and Communist repression (her husband was executed during the purges) she became a respected translator under her second husband's name.

Martínez, Maruja. 1995. *Entre el amor y la furia: crónicas y testimonio*. Lima: Sur Casa de Estudios del Socialismo.

A rare memoir by a Peruvian woman member of a Trotskyist party affiliated to a cultish British Trotskyist 'guide' party. She survived the experience, and prison, to become a respected editor/writer with the Lima group, Sur: Casa de Estudios del Socialismo.

Mashinini, E. 1991. *Strikes have Followed me all my Life: A South African Autobiography*.

Emma started working in a textile factory and rose to become the founder of a new trade union. Shortly after this, she was arrested without charge under the South African Terrorism Act. She was mentally tortured and given subpar conditions in which to live during her stay at multiple prisons. Upon leaving prison, she resumes union work, and must deal with a variety of psychological problems. This book was written against threats of death from the South African government, and chronicles the life of a woman who endured psychological and physical torture for the cause of a free democratic government in South Africa.

McCrinkle, Jean. 2006. 'The Hungarian Uprising and a Young British Communist', *History Workshop* No. 62:194-99.

Personal experience of the crisis that seriously split the British CP. (See further Brodie (2011-12). Compare Waterman (1993), also published in *History Workshop*).

McMeekin, Sean. 2003. *The Red Millionaire: A Political Biography of Willi Münzenberg, Moscow's Secret Propaganda Tsar in the West*. Yale University Press, New Haven. 2003.

The biography that re-discovered Münzenberg for the English-speaking world.

Meana, Carlo Ripa di. 2000. *Cane Sciolto* (Unleashed Dog). Milan: Kaos Edizione.

Scion of an Italian aristocratic family, he abandoned the 'Ripa di' as a young Communist and became editor of the monthly of the International Union of Students in Cold War Prague. After abandoning Communism and reclaiming his full name, he became an Italian left ecologist politician and served briefly in the European Union.

Meeropol, Robert. 2003. *An Execution in the Family*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

One of the sons of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, executed in witch-hunt USA as 'atom spies'. The two boys were adopted by the author of the classical anti-lynching song 'Strange Fruit' and his wife. At the time of the anti-Vietnam War campaign the boys (now young men) 'came out'.

Menchu, Rigoberta. 1987. I, Rigoberta Menchú, An Indian Woman in Guatemala. London: Verso. 1987.

Best-known of the Latin-American women's *testimonios*, this one having to do with her experience as a rural Mayan girl and then a leader of indigenous resistance. Later it became a matter of considerable controversy, concerning its authenticity and representativity – and that of the *testimonio* form more generally.

Menchu, Rigoberta. 1998a. *Crossing Borders*. London: Verso. 242 pp.

Rigoberta's later adventures, including international ones, in the period that led up to her Nobel Peace Prize, 1992 and in the settlement of the civil war. And further controversy.

Menchu, Rigoberta. 1998b. *Rigoberta: La nieta de los Mayas* [Rigoberta: Granddaughter of the Mayas]. Madrid: El Pais/Aguilar. 348 pp.

See above.

Mendes, Chico. 1989. 'Peasants Speak: Chico Mendes - The Defence of Life', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 160-76.

On life, struggle and assassination of Brazilian labour, indigenous and human rights icon.

Mendes, Chico. 1992. *Fight for the Forest* (Updated Edition). London: Latin America Bureau.

See above.

Menting, Marcel. ????. '[Sal Santen \(1915-1998\): Verslonden door de revolutie](#)'. (Sol Santen (1915-1998): Devoured by the Revolution). *Onvoltooid Verleden: Nieuwsbrief voor de geschiedenis van sociale bewegingen*.

In June 1960 the Amsterdam stenographer and Trotskyist was, together with Greek and International Trotskyist leader, Michel Raptis, condemned to one year of prison for their attempt to forge French francs for the Algerian FLN.

Miles, Jonathon. 2010. *The Dangerous Otto Katz: The Many Lives of a Soviet Spy*. New York: Bloomsbury.

Otto Katz, a.k.a André Simone, of Czech Jewish origin, was one of the most influential agents of the Soviet Union during the 1930s and 1940s. He participated in all the major Comintern disinformation campaigns in the 1930s, under the leadership of Willi Münzenberg, who he may have helped

assassinate. He was framed up and killed during the Czechoslovak witch-hunt of the Cold War period.

Miloslavich, Diana (ed). 2000. [The Autobiography of María Elena Moyano](#). University Press of Florida.

Only partly autobiographic, mostly tributes to the outstanding 'popular feminist' in the Peru of the 1980s. Moyano, Deputy Mayor of Villa el Salvador (VES, the Soweto of Lima), stood up in particular for women in squatter settlements, gained international recognition, and confronted the Maoist Shining Path terrorist movement when it tried to take over VES. She was assassinated in front of her children, and her body set on fire. Her death marked a significant moment in popular revulsion against Shining Path.

Morais, Fernando. 1990. *Olga: The 'Gift' to Hitler*. London: Halban. 245 pp.

Olga Benario was a German Jewish Communist. Aged 19 she organised a prison raid to free her lover. Together they escaped to Moscow. She was later trained and chosen to serve as bodyguard to the legendary Brazilian Communist leader, the ex-military man, Luis Carlos Prestes, who became her lover. Involved in a Soviet-backed but disastrous Communist revolution in Brazil, they were rapidly captured. She was imprisoned and then deported to Nazi Germany, where she was eventually executed. She was an early one of a number of European women who identified with Latin American revolutions and revolutionary leaders, most of whom were killed for their pains.

Mother Jones. <http://www.biography.com/people/mother-jones-9357488>

Mary Harris Jones was born in 1830 in County Cork, Ireland. She lost her family to a yellow fever outbreak and her home in the great Chicago fire. She became a labour activist and was given the nickname "Mother Jones." She was a campaigner for the United Mine Workers Union, founded the Social Democratic Party and helped establish the Industrial Workers of the World. Jones died in 1930.

Naidoo, Kumi. [Wikipedia](#).

Charismatic South African activist of Asian descent, prominent in Social Forums and international NGOs such as Civicus and Greenpeace.

Neruda, Pablo. 1977. *Memoirs*. London: Souvenir. 370 pp.

Latin America's greatest poet, a Communist politician, exiled, sometime diplomat, widely travelled, identified with Stalinism, awarded a Stalin Peace Prize in 1953, forceful critic of US imperialism.

Ngoyi, Lilian. 2012. 'Letters from South Africa', in Helen Lauer and Kofi Anyidoho (Eds), *Reclaiming the Human Sciences and Humanities Through African Perspectives* (Volume 1). Legon: Subsaharan Africa Publishers. Pp. 521-37.

Fullest available, if partial, autobiographical account of an outstanding ANC activist, a founder of its women's wing, who travelled to both Western and Eastern Europe/USSR, during the height of Apartheid repression. Enriches numerous shorter biographical entries to be found online. Mentions UK stay with Ray Waterman (see Ruth Adler) who wrote about her using pseudonyms.

[Nijmeier, Tanja](#). 'A Dutch Guerillera: The Foreign Face of FARC's Civil War', *Spiegel Online International*. March 2, 2014.

Interview with and biography of the Dutch woman who fought for a decade for the Colombian FARC guerilla movement and who reappeared in public as a spokesperson during negotiations with the Colombian government in Havana.

O'Laughlin, Bridget. 2014. 'Ruth First: a Revolutionary Life in Revolutionary Times', *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 41, Nr. 139.

Writing about the life of Olive Schreiner, Ruth First hoped that biography could capture the dilemmas of a white South African woman and writer at the turn of the twentieth century, caught in a world that made her, but in which she could not bear to live as it was. Ruth First, too, struggled her entire life against the injustices of race and class in southern Africa, but she did so with a confidence, joy and energy that Schreiner never achieved. Written on the basis of conversations with Ruth First in Mozambique in the last period of her life, this paper explores the possibilities and dilemmas posed by her commitment to a disciplined collective revolutionary project embedded in strong nationalist movements.

Marc Becker, *Mariátegui and Latin American Marxist Theory*, Latin American Series, No. 20, Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Monographs in International Studies, 1993.

O'Lincoln, Tom. 199?. 'A South American Revolutionary: Jose Carlos Mariátegui and Peruvian Socialism'. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/mariategui/biography/biography.htm>

Mariátegui, the first major Marxist theoretician in Latin America. Although identified with, first, the Russian Revolution and later the Comintern, Mariátegui had experience in the turbulent Italy of the years after WWI, and never visited Russia nor became part of the Comintern apparatus. So, although a founder of both the first Marxist party in Peru and its first trade union confederation, he also considered its indigenous peoples as a revolutionary force. See also [here](#).

Ostrovsky, Nikolai. [Wikipedia](#).

Ostrovsky, totally devoted to the Russian Revolution, fighter in the Civil War, later disabled and blind, wrote a book, variously translated as 'How Heroes are Made' or 'How the Steel was Tempered', an international icon of Stalin's Russia.

Pedraglio, Santiago. 2014. 'Gustavo Gutiérrez, en *Conversaciones con ojos del siglo XX*. Lima: Universidad Católica del Perú. Pp. 155-87.

Well-known Peruvian academic and journalist interviews Peruvian founder of the Theology of Liberation.

Pedraglio, Santiago. 2014. 'Hugo Blanco Galdós', en *Conversaciones con ojos del siglo XX*. Lima: Universidad Católica del Perú. Pp. 374-98.

Well-known Peruvian academic and journalist interviews veteran peasant, ecological and indigenous activist.

Pelikán, Jiří. 1975. *S'ils me tuent* (If They Should Kill Me). [Account recorded by Frédéric de Towarnicki]. Paris: Bernard Grasset.

Interview with dissident Czech Communist, one time General Secretary of the International Union of Students, Director of Czechoslovak Radio during Prague Spring and Soviet Invasion of 1968, later editor of exile magazine in Rome.

Perrault, Giles. 1970. *The Red Orchestra*. London: Mayflower Books.

This was the name given by the Nazis to what they considered the most formidable Soviet spy network during WW2. Its head was the Polish Jew, Leopold Trepper, who had long worked as a Soviet agent. Trepper was eventually arrested by the Nazis but escaped to join the French resistance. On return to the Soviet Union he was imprisoned by Stalin but survived and opted to return to Poland, where he was active in Polish Jewish affairs. Attacked by the Polish Communist regime during an anti-Jewish purge, he landed up in Israel where he eventually died.

Perrault, Giles. 1987. *A Man Apart: The Life of Henri Curiel*. London: Zed Books.

Henri Curiel (1914-1978) was a Jewish cosmopolitan revolutionary activist. Born in Egypt, Curiel led the communist Democratic Movement for National Liberation until he was expelled from Egypt in 1950. Settling in France, Curiel aided the Algerian Front de Libération Nationale and co-founded 'Solidarité', which supported other Third World revolutionary movements. In 1978 Curiel was assassinated in Paris; his murderer has never been identified. This book is Part 1 of the French original.

Persepolis. The Movie. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persepolis_%28film%29.

Animated semi-autobiographical movie about a young rebellious Iranian woman who survives persecution in Iran and discrimination in Europe. Subject of both international awards and controversy.

Petersson, Frederik. 2013. "We Are Neither Visionaries Nor Utopian Dreamers". Willi Münzenberg, the League against Imperialism, and the Comintern, 1925 – 1933'. Doctoral Thesis, Abo Academy, Turku, Finland. https://www.doria.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/90023/petersson_fredrik.pdf?sequence=2.

This book represents the product of a very substantial amount of original research which transforms our understanding of the history of the League against Imperialism. Until Petersson availed himself of the opportunities afforded by the opening of the Russian archives comparatively little was known about the LAI, its organisation, its relations with the Comintern, or the role of its principal players, particularly that of Willi Münzenberg. Petersson has transformed that situation, and tracked the complex history of the development of the LAI as a result of his extensive research in the archives of RGASPI (Moscow), SAPMO-BA ZPA (Berlin), IISG (Amsterdam), together with a number of other minor sources.

Podbrey, Pauline. 1993. *White Girl in Search of the Party*. Durban: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press.

A lively account by a Jewish immigrant from Lithuania who arrived in South Africa in the 1930s. While still a schoolgirl, she was active in trade union affairs, and this autobiography provides an account of life among the comrades in Durban and Cape Town, in the 1940s and the early 1950s. Covers the years from 1952 to 1955, which Podbrey and her husband, H. A. Naidoo, spent in Budapest - an experience which led them to complete disillusionment with Communism.

Polak, Chaja. 2004. *Salka*. Amsterdam: Meulenhof.

Novel closely based on life of the author's mother, Annie Fels (a.k.a. Kupferschmidt, Polak), Dutch Jewish Communist resistance activist who survived Auschwitz and became a leader of the International Auschwitz Committee. Author was herself born during WWII and only re-united with her mother at its end.

Politkovskaya, Anna. 2007. *A Russian Diary*. London: Harvill Secker.

Harrowing account by outstanding Russian journalist and opponent of Putin, eventually assassinated. Substantial editorial introduction.

Poniatowska, Elena. 1997. *Tinisima*. London: Faber and Faber. 357 pp.

Mexican writer's account, based on the life of Tina Modotti, the photographer and revolutionary involved with the circle around Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo.

Porter, Cathy. 1988. *Larisa Reisner*. London: Virago. 195 pp.

Reisner was perhaps the model Russian revolutionary woman, joined the Bolshevik Party after the Revolution, played a leadership role during the Civil War, travelled to Afghanistan, reported the (Soviet-supported but failed) German Revolution, had a relationship with Karel Radek. Died before the rise of Stalin.

Post, Ken. *Memoirs*. Unpublished. The Hague.

Born to a working-class family in South-East England, was a brilliant kid

who got a scholarship to Cambridge, got into African studies, firstly post-independence Nigerian politics. He became a Marxist in the mid-1960s, was involved with student and popular radicalism in the Jamaica of the late-1960s (leading to his forced departure from its university and the country), landed at the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. As Professor of Politics, he was the most prolific author there, writing on social classes, movements and processes in West Africa, Yugoslavia, Algeria, Vietnam, Jamaica, Europe, as well as several theoretical works on Marxism. Whilst the peak of his social-movement engagement was in Jamaica, he was also the point of reference for staff and student (would-be) Marxists, and involved in occasional protests within the institute.

Rénique, José Luis. 1997. [‘El Perú de Maruja Martínez: Reflexiones en torno a un libro excepcional’](#). *Cyberallu*.

A review of the book and life of Martínez, for whom see elsewhere.

Revkin, Andrew. 1990. *The Burning Season: The Murder of Chico Mendes and the Fight for the Amazon Rain Forest*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

See elsewhere.

Revkin, Andrew. 1992. *Chico Mendes: Su lucha y su muerte por la defensa de la selva amazonica* (Chico Mendes: His Struggle and His Death in Defence of the Amazon Forest). Mexico DF: Paidós. 253 pp.

See elsewhere.

Ridenour, Ron. 1986. *Yankee Sandinistas: Interviews with North Americans Living and Working in the New Nicaragua*. Willimantic (CT): Curbstone Press. 175 pp.

Includes author’s thoughtful reflections.

Riordan, Jim. 2009. *The Spy who Played for Spartak*. London: Harper Perennial.

Former British soldier and Russia-watcher who switched allegiances. Later became academic in UK. Whether he did actually play for Spartak is elsewhere questioned.

Rodinson, Maxime. 2006. [‘Sultan Galiev - a Forgotten Precursor: Socialism and the National Question’](#), *Europe Solidaire sans Frontieres*.

This is actually a book review by a great Marxist scholar which deals with the Tatar, Mirsaid Sultan Galiev, an almost forgotten figure of early Soviet history. His career from protégé of Stalin (when Stalin was Commissar of Nationalities) to victim of Stalin is a poignant commentary on the failure of the Russian revolution to live up to its early promise in the eyes of many that it professed to liberate. For Galiev’s earlier life, [check here in Wikipedia](#).

Rodriguez, Spain. 2008. *Che: A Graphic Biography*. London/New York: Verso Books.

One of several such graphic bios.

Rohter, Larry. 1998. 'Special Report: Tarnished Laureate: Nobel Winner Accused of Stretching Truth in Her Autobiography', *New York Times*, December 15.

Major contributor to the controversy.

Rojas, Marta and Mirta Rodriguez Calderón (eds). 1971. *Tania: The Unforgettable Guerilla. The Scrapbook of a Young Girl who Worked for the Revolution in Cuba and Died with Che in the Bolivian Jungle*. New York: Vintage. 210 pp.

English version of a Cuban book.

Rosenstone, Robert. 1975. *Romantic Revolutionary: A Biography of John Reed*. New York: Vintage.

Best known for his account of the Russian Revolution, *Ten Days that Shook the World*, US journalist, John Reed, supported the IWW (aka Wobblies), rode with Pancho Villa during the Mexican Revolution, and was involved in the creation of the US Communist Party. He is buried, alongside other heroes of the Revolution, at the base of the Kremlin Wall.

Rowbotham, Sheila. 2000. *Promise of a Dream: Remembering the Sixties*. London: Penguin.

Delightful and thoughtful reflection of the 1960s by this famous British feminist historian and thinker.

Rowbotham, Sheila. 2009. *Edward Carpenter: A Life of Liberty and Love*. London: Verso Books.

Carpenter was a British poet, thinker, writer, a late-19th century, early socialist, homosexual, libertarian. This is one of the author's various historical works.

Rowbotham, Sheila. 2011. 'The Revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg', *The Guardian*. 5 March 2011.

Review of the English-language publication of Rosa's letters.

Rütters, Peter. 2001. [Interview with Dan Gallin](#). Global Labour Institute.

Gallin is best known as the retired long-term General Secretary of the International Union of Food and Allied Workers (IUF). But he has long been a socialist and internationalist, tracing his inspiration to independent socialist unionism of the 1920s-30s. After retirement he founded the Global Labour Institute and has, in this capacity and his own writings, shown himself to be a fierce critic of the traditional union internationals, and to be, perhaps, the international trade union veteran most open to the new kinds of workers and the new kinds of social movements.

Russell, Sam. 2011. 'Moscow-Havana-Prague: Recollections of a Communist Foreign Correspondent, Sam Russell'. *20th Century Communism: A Journal of International History*. No. 3.

Sam Russell (originally Lessor) was an East London Jewish Communist and long-time journalist for and Foreign Editor of the *Daily Worker/Morning Star*. He here confesses to a mixture of cynicism and naivety concerning the Communist world he made propaganda for.

Ryder, Guy. [Wikipedia](#).

Ryder has surely to be seen as an icon of 'social-partnership' national and international unionism, having risen from the one to the other and presently being General Secretary of the International Labour Organisation. He had two university degrees before entering union employment with the TUC in the UK. He was appointed a Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) in 2009.

Sack, Jon, Adam Shapiro, Lucha Castro. 2015. *La Lucha: The story of Lucha Castro and Human Rights in Mexico*. London: Verso.

Through individual stories, such as that of Lucha ('Fight' in Spanish), a feminist human rights activist, and the notorious Ciudad Juarez, shows in stripbook form the heroic but heart-rending struggle for human rights in Mexico.

[Samuel, Raphael](#). [Wikipedia](#).

Samuel, from a Jewish Communist family (on his mother's side) joined the Communist Party of Great Britain as a schoolboy and left following the Soviet Union's invasion of Hungary in 1956. At Balliol College, Oxford he became a member of the brilliant Communist Party Historians Group. He co-founded the journal, *Past and Present* in 1952, and the Partisan Coffee House in 1956 in Soho, London, as a meeting place for the British New Left. He founded the History Workshop movement at the union-connected Ruskin College, Oxford. Samuel and the *History Workshop* journal and movement powerfully influenced the development of the approach to historical research and writing known as 'history from below'.

Satrapi, Marjane. 2007. *The Complete Persepolis*. (Graphic Novel). New York: Pantheon.

See 'Persepolis'.

Saul, John. 2009. *Revolutionary Traveler: Freeze-Frames from a Life*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Press.

Widely respected Canadian Africanist writer/activist/academic, whose Thirdworldism has been tempered after the liberation of Southern Africa in general and South Africa in particular. His itinerary is interspersed with long extracts from his writings.

Sayle, Alexei. 2010. *Stalin ate my Homework*. London: Sceptre.

Famous Liverpool comedian, of Communist and partly-Jewish working-class origin, gives droll account of his family and youth, (mis-)adventures on East European vacations, but no actual evidence concerning the book's title.

[Shiva, Vandana](#). Wikipedia.

An Indian scholar, environmental activist and anti-globalization author. Shiva, currently based in Delhi, has authored more than twenty books. She is one of the leaders and board members of the International Forum on Globalization and a figure of the global solidarity movement known as the alter-globalization movement. She received the Right Livelihood Award in 1993, and numerous other prizes.

Studer, Brigitte. 2015. *The Transnational World of the Cominternians*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.

The 'Cominternians' who staffed the Communist International in Moscow from its establishment in 1919 to its dissolution in 1943 led transnational lives and formed a cosmopolitan but closed and privileged world. Full of sympathy, eager to learn, hopeful of emulating Bolshevik success 'at home', they were first-hand witnesses to the difficulties of the young Russian Revolution, before seeing it descend into the terror to which many of them fell victim.

Semprun, Jorge. 1980. *Communism in Spain in the Franco era: The Autobiography of Federico Sanchez*. Harvester Press.

Fascinating and revealing account, based on the brilliant author's own life, also as a resistance fighter in France, and later as a clandestine Communist during the Franco period and its overthrow.

Sen, Mala. 1991. *India's Bandit Queen: The True Story of Phoolan Devi*. Pandora/ HarperCollins.

See elsewhere.

Shakur, Assata. 1988. *Assata: An Autobiography*. London: Zed Books.

Belies the fearsome image of Assata (JoAnne Chesimard) long projected by the US media and the state. Recounts the experiences that led her to a life of activism and portrays the strengths, weaknesses, and eventual demise of Black and White revolutionary groups at the hand of government officials. Two years after her conviction for the death of a state trooper, Assata Shakur escaped prison. She was given political asylum by Cuba.

Singh, Rama. 2016. 'If Gandhi must fall, so should all our gods and all our heroes', [McMaster University](#).

Forceful response to the 'anti-Gandhi' wave in Ghana, itself following the iconoclastic South African book by Desai and Vahed (see elsewhere).

Šlingova (a.k.a Wilbraham, a.k.a. Sling-Fagan), Marian. 1968. *Truth Will Prevail*. London: Merlin Press.

Marian Wilbraham, from a middle-class family in the UK, became a Communist peace and student activist in pre-WW2/wartime Britain. She met and married Czechoslovak Jewish Communist, Otto Šling. After playing a prominent role in the new Communist state, he was framed up during the anti-semitic show trials and executed. Marian was separated from her children and persecuted for many years. She eventually became a respected translator, her boys permitted university education. Somehow she kept her faith in Communism. After the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, she returned to the UK and married British Jewish Communist veteran, Hymie Fagan.

Sneevliet, Henk. [Wikipedia](#).

Henk Sneevliet came from a Dutch working-class family, was a trade union militant, went to Dutch colonial Indonesia, where he supported left nationalist movements, returned to the Netherlands, joined the Communist Party and the Comintern. He was sent as a Communist agent to China, represented Indonesia at a Comintern Conference. In the 1930s broke with the Dutch CP, and was part of a revolutionary resistance network when he was caught by the Nazis and executed.

Soderbergh, Steven (Director). 2008. *Che*.

Rather than follow a standard chronological order, the films offer an oblique series of interspersed moments along the overall timeline. *Part One* is entitled *The Argentine* and focuses on the Cuban Revolution from the landing of Fidel Castro, Guevara, and other revolutionaries in Cuba to their successful toppling of Fulgencio Batista's dictatorship two years later. *Part Two* is entitled *Guerrilla* and focuses on Guevara's attempt to bring revolution to Bolivia and his demise. Both parts are shot in a cinéma vérité style, but each has different approaches to linear narrative, camerawork, and the visual look.

Spenser, Daniela. 2010. '[El viaje de Vicente Lombardo Toledano al mundo del porvenir](#)', *Desacatos*, núm. 34

Vicente Lombardo Toledano (VLT) was the pre-eminent and quasi-mythical union leader in Mexican history. This paper traces the itinerary of Vicente Lombardo Toledano to the Soviet Union and puts the ideas of the Mexican traveller into a broader perspective. It explores both the enthusiasm and the fear that his lectures provoked in Mexico and the world on his return to Mexico, in the fall of 1935. This was a moment in which the political elite and the population were divided between supporters and opponents of President Lázaro Cárdenas. [See further here](#). The author is completing a full-length biography of VLT.

Sullivan, Linda. 2013. 'One Woman's Fight for Water Against Gold in Peru'. [The Detail](#).

Account of how an Irishwoman got involved in a major regional campaign against ecologically-destructive extractivism in Peru.

Stevenson, Graham. [Falber, Reuben](#).

Reuben Falber was a British Communist stalwart, of low profile but evident accounting capacities, who liased with Soviet diplomats to receive the 'Moscow Gold' that Communist leaders always denied and party members scoffed at. Finally exposed by a UK newspaper, he compared this Soviet money to that which rich British Conservatives gave to their own party. This is one of numerous British Communist bios in Graham Stevenson's substantial listing.

Stewart, Bob. 1967. *Breaking the Fetters*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

A classical British Communist autobio, this time by a working-class Scottish unionist and prohibitionist, who worked at one time for the Comintern. His clandestine Comintern activities are not relayed here.

Stock, Jonathon. 2014. '[A Dutch Guerillera: The Foreign Face of FARC's Civil War](#)', *Der Spiegel Online*.

The Dutch Tanja Nijmeijer spent more than 10 years fighting with the armed rebel FARC group in the jungles of Colombia. More recently, she has been part of the guerillas' peace negotiating team in Cuba. The latest case of a European woman identifying with guerilla movements in Latin America?

Stoll, David. 1998. *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of all Poor Guatemalans*. Boulder: Westview. 336 pp.

A major contribution to the extensive controversy.

Taibo, Paco Ignacio. 1999. *Guevara, also Known as Che*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Mexican novelist and historian Paco Ignacio Taibo II here captures the life and character of Che Guevara, the preeminent Latin-American revolutionary of the late twentieth century. In the years since he died, fascination with Che and his independent and pragmatic brand of Guerilla Marxism have become increasingly focused.

Taibo II, Paco Ignacio. 2011. *Arcángeles*. Editorial Planeta Mexicana

In these pages there parade beings who chose to take the revolutionary path of no return: Friedrich Adler who believed in assassination on moral grounds; Librado Rivera, believer in the power of the written word; Larisa Reisner and Adolph Joffe, Bolsheviks of the early twentieth century; Sebastian San Vicente, an orthodox anarchist; Peng Pai, the convinced Marxist agrarian; Piero Malaboca, an outspoken red internationalist; Rivera and Siqueiros, revolutionary painters; Buenaventura Durruti, anarchist; Juan R. Escudero, the Communist mayor of Acapulco; Max Hölz, German

revolutionary; Raul Diaz Arguelles a convinced Guevarist in the Latin American the 1960s.

[The Square. Al Midan](#) (original title). 2014. Documentary, 1hr 35min.

We meet five courageous characters, a variety of Egyptians, and we learn why they devoted the last two years of their lives to protesting in The Square. The way they speak about their country is heartbreakingly direct, and when they suffer for their goals it's heartbreaking. Interesting, too, is the balance of art, protest, technology, discussion, and music in the protester's toolkits. The picture is up-close, traumatic, and fast-paced.

Thorez, Maurice. 1949. *Fils du peuple* (Son of the People). Paris : Editions Sociales.

Autobio of the miner and labour activist who became the long-term General Secretary of the Stalinist French Communist Party.

Tolentino, Jia. 2014. 'Interview: Dr. Rebecca Gomperts, who Brought Women Abortions by Sea', *Jezebel: Sheroes and Zeroes*.

Gomperts is the Dutch physician who runs a ship providing abortions in international waters for women from countries where these are illegal.

Tom, Petrus. 1985. *My Life Struggle*. Johannesburg: Ravan

Petrus Tom became an activist in the South African SACTU union confederation, allied with the ANC and the Communist Party. After its repression and the imprisonment/exile of these, he became an activist in the politically-autonomous but militant FOSATU confederation that eventually became the COSATU. One of a series of worker pamphlets published under Apartheid by Ravan Press.

Trepper, Leopold. 1977. *The Great Game: Memoirs of a Master Spy*. London: Joseph.

Autobiography of Trepper (see elsewhere), written after he had been released by the Polish Communist state and settled in Israel.

Trevizan, Liliana (2001). "Virginia Vargas". [Notable Twentieth-Century Latin American Women: A Biographical Dictionary](#) (1st ed.). Westport, Conn. [u.a.]: Greenwood Press. pp. 287–291.

Virginia (Gina) Vargas Valente is a leading Peruvian, Latin American and international feminist activist and writer. This may currently be the most substantial and up-to-date biographical note on Gina (see also elsewhere).

Trincher, G. C. Rutgers and K Trincher. 1974. *Rutgers: Zijn leven en streven in Holland, Indonesië, Amerika en Rusland* (Rutgers: His Life and Struggles in Holland, Indonesia, America, and Russia). Moscow: Progress Books.

Sebald Rutgers (1879-1961) was a Dutch engineer who became a Marxist, played a leading role in revolutionary socialist organisations in the US, went to post-revolutionary Russia, met Lenin, worked for the Comintern, was involved in a major Soviet 'internationalist' industrialisation project

there, returned to the Netherlands in 1938. He is said to have played a role in resistance to the Nazis. For a less red-starry-eyed account, also in Dutch, see [here](#). This says that if he had not left Russia at that time he would have been caught up in one of Stalin's show trials of engineers.

Tristan, Flora. 1986. *Peregrinations of a Pariah*. London: Virago. 312 pp.

Memoirs of the journey made by the French pioneering socialist/feminist to Peru, where she hoped – but failed – to get recognition from her dead father's family. After a depressing account of her lengthy sea voyage she gives a lively account of a Peru which had recently won independence from Spain. (See elsewhere for Flora).

Trotte, Margarethe von. 1986. [Rosa Luxemburg](#). (Movie)

Polish Jewish Marxist, Rosa Luxemburg, theorises and strategises about internationalism and revolution during the era of the German and Russian empires. While she campaigns relentlessly for her beliefs, getting repeatedly imprisoned in Germany as well as in Poland, she spars with lovers and comrades until she is assassinated by the extreme-right *Freikorps* for her leadership of the Spartacist uprising after World War I in 1919. (See further for Rosa).

Trouw. 1998. 'Rigoberta's Niet-Gebeurd is al te Waar' (What Did Not Happen to Rigoberta is only too True), *Trouw*, 17 December 1998.

Tsuzuki, Chushichi. 1991. Tom Mann, 1856-1941: The Challenges of Labour. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 288 pp.

Biography of famous British engineering worker unionist who played a leading role in the New Unionism of the 1890s, was an active syndicalist (left libertarian) socialist leader, travelled with his tools and organizing experience to Australia and South Africa, became a leading British Communist.

Vanaik, Achin. 2003. 'A Life of the Mind', *Biblio: A Review of Books* (New Delhi), March-April. P. 21.

Review of Eric Hobsbawm's autobio. Vanaik denies Hobsbawm was a Stalinist (see elsewhere).

[Vanunu, Mordechai](#). Wikipedia.

Vargas, Gina. 2013. ['Cuarenta años no es nada! En el dolor de la pérdida'](#).

Personal memories of the coup in Chile, September 11, 1973, by a Peruvian studying sociology with outstanding Latin American left academics, and heavily involved with the Left movement in Santiago at that time.

Vargas, Gina. 2016. 'Hugo Blanco: Traspasando Décadas, Fronteras y Movimientos' (Hugo Blanco: Across Decades, Frontiers and Movements)

Born in the Peruvian Andes, 1934, first known internationally as a leader of landless Quechua peasants. He has survived imprisonment, a death sentence, exile, a life-threatening illness, and was once

elected to the Peruvian parliament. He has been an active supporter of the most recent radical-democratic social movements in Peru and is currently editor of *Lucha Indígena* (Indigenous Struggle). This item is a contribution to a forthcoming compilation scheduled for publication by the Programa Democracia y Transformación Global, Lima, 2017.

Vásquez Perdomo, María Eugenia. 2005. [My Life as a Colombian Revolutionary: Reflections of a Former Guerrillera](#). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Gripping account of her experiences as a member of M-19, one of the major guerrilla movements in Colombia's tumultuous modern history. Vásquez took part in some of the M-19's boldest operations in the 1970s and 1980s and became one of its leaders. When she tells of her love affairs with some of M-19's top leaders, she cannot separate romance from camaraderie or escape a sense of impending tragedy. She gives us an unsparing analysis of what it meant to be a woman in the movement and how much her commitment to radical politics cost her.

Wainright, Hilary. 2015. 'Why I Became a Feminist Socialist', *Jacobin Magazine*. December 28.

Veteran British feminist, socialist and labour activist/writer on the relationship between her 1960s left feminism and contemporary emancipatory movements.

Walesa, Lech. [Wikipedia](#).

See elsewhere.

Waterman, Peter. 1993. 'Hopeful Traveller: The Itinerary of an Internationalist', *History Workshop*, No. 35, Spring, pp. 165-184.

First sketch of what later became a full-scale autobio (Waterman 2014).

Waterman, Peter. 2002. 'Of Saints, Sinners and Compañeras: Internationalist Lives in the Americas Today', <http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/saints.html>

Full draft of paper later submitted, in radically cut and updated form, to the Special Issue of *Interface Journal* on 'Social Movement Auto/Bios.

Waterman, Peter. 2006. 'Agents of the Revolution and/or the Soviet State?' ([Review Article, Unpublished](#)).

Review of Kevin Morgan, Gidon Cohen and Andrew Flinn (eds), *Agents of the Revolution: New Biographical Approaches to the History of International Communism in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*. Bern: Peter Lang. 2005.

Waterman, Peter. 2008. [The Worlds of International Communism and Communist Internationalism: Lost but not \(to be\) Forgotten](#).

Illustrated paper reviews various autobiographical or biographical pieces on Communists and includes an autobiographical sketch.

Waterman, Peter. 2014. [*From Coldwar Communism to the Global Justice Movement: Itinerary of a Long-Distance Internationalist*](#). Into-Ebooks.com.

Personal/political autobio, of English Jewish Communist, who after witnessing Soviet invasion of Prague leaves both 'the Communist world and the world of Communism', later becoming an academic specialist/activist on labour and other internationalisms.

Watters, Frank. 1992. *Being Frank: The Memoirs of Frank Watters*. Doncaster: Askew Design and Print.

Classical British working-class Communist autobio, though mostly of Post-WWII vintage, Frank becoming a fulltime CPGB organizer in the Midlands, remaining in the party until his death.

Weissberg, Alexander. 1952. *Conspiracy of Silence* (Later *The Accused*). London: Hamish Hamilton.

Account by physicist of Polish-Austrian Jewish origin, who emigrated to the USSR to help build communism and fell foul of the Great Purges. His account of Stalin's regime, attempting to get him to play a star part in a show trial, is riveting. He was handed over to the Nazis at the time of the Nazi-Soviet pact. He survived this and played a role in the Warsaw Ghetto uprising of 1943. (For a 1952 review, see [here](#)).

Wolf, Markus. 1997. *Man without a Face: The Autobiography of Communism's Greatest Spymaster*. New York: Public Affairs. 411 pp.

Wolf was the long-standing chief of Communist East Germany's foreign intelligence operations. (In)famous for exploiting sex to trap West Germans into spying for the East. Identifying with Gorbachev, he resigned his post just before East Germany collapsed.

Yousafzai, Malala. 2013. *I Am Malala: The Girl who Stood up for Education and was Shot by the Taliban*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.

The Pakistani schoolgirl who promoted education for girls, was subject to an assassination attempt, survived and became a Western icon. (See further [here](#), where some criticism of her Nobel award and idolisation can be found).

Zaagsma, Gerben. 2010 '[Naftali Botwin - a Jewish Communist Hero in Interwar Poland](#)', paper *Cult of Heroes in Central Europe 1880-1939 - Practices and Representations* (Central European University, Budapest, 12-13 November 2010).

Zirin, Dave. 2016. '[The Hidden History of Muhammad Ali](#): Muhammad Ali's resistance to racism and war belongs not only to the 1960s, but the common future of humanity'. *Jacobin*.

Resources

a/b. *Auto/biography Studies*.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/raut20/current>

Arfuch, Leonor. 2010. *El espacio biográfico: Dilemas de la subjetividad contemporánea*. Buenos Aires: Efe.

Leonor Arfuch borrows the concept of 'biographical space' to reflect on the construction of a particular sphere of interaction that begins in the conversational dynamics that characterize interviews, life stories, autobiographical accounts and, in general, any of the methods that support work in recovering the testimony of the other. Her biographical space refers us, then, to the narration of experiences, experiences both individual and social. Basically, in all cases, it is the presence, proximity, between researcher and subject researched, or what is the same, between known and unknown subject.

Autobiographical Manuscripts in the Tamiment Library.

https://www.nyu.edu/library/bobst/research/tam/bio_mss.html

[Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly](#).

[Biography and Memoir](#). Oakland: PM Press.

Chansky, Ricia and Emily Hipchen (Eds). 2015. *The Routledge Auto|Biography Studies Reader* (Routledge Literature Readers). Routledge: London.

Commire, Anne (ed.). 2002. *Dictionary of Women Worldwide*. Detroit: Thomson/Gale. (3 Vols).

Contains 25,000 brief biographical entries, historical and contemporary, providing complete biographical information for most entries.

Cosslett, Tess, Celia Lury and Penny Summerfield (Eds). 2000. *Feminism and Autobiography: Texts, theories, methods*. London: Routledge.

[Dictionary of Labour Biography](#). (UK). Palgrave-Macmillan.

Dimensions of Socialism Workshop. 2010. *Biographies & Narratives I and II*. International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

<https://socialhistory.org/en/events/dimensions-socialism>

Feminists' Memoires/Autobiographies.

<https://www.librarything.com/list/322/all/Feminists-memoirs%25252Fautobiographies>.

Ganz, Marshall. 2001. '[The Power of Story in Social Movements](#)'. Prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Anaheim, California.

'When we tell our story we do identity work, reenacting who we have been and forging the persons we become. As an interaction among speakers and listeners, story telling is culture forging activity, constructing shared understandings of how to manage the risks of uncertainty, anomaly, and

unpredictability grounded in recollection of how we dealt with past challenges’.

Graaf, Anouk van der. 2016. [*Powerful Patterns of Persuasion: Reading the Activist Autobiography: Social Movement Techniques and the African-American Literary Tradition in the Life Narratives of Black Nationalists Malcolm X, James Forman and Angela Davis, 1965-1975.*](#) MA Thesis, University of Utrecht.

Griffin, Charles J. G. 2000. [“Movement as Motive”: Self-Definition and Social Advocacy in Social Movement Autobiographies’.](#) *Western Journal of Communication*. Volume 64, Issue 2.

‘In a rhetorically effective social movement autobiography, form enables the rhetorical functions of self-definition and social advocacy to become mutually reinforcing, so that the author's life story demonstrates the plausibility of enacting the movement's ideology at the level of the individual, while the movement's “story” provides a backdrop against which the author can achieve a meaningful form of self-definition’.

Gugelberger, Georg (ed.). 1996. *The Real Thing: Testimonial Discourse and Latin America*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Jolly, Margaretta. 2000. ‘The Exile and the Ghost-Writer: East-West Biographical Politics and The Private Life of Chairman Mao’. *Biography*, 23 (3). pp. 481-503.

Investigates the biography as text to consider the light it throws on the form and function of political biography in the 1990s. Argues that both Li's debunking and eyewitnessing are more coded and constructed than their apparently ‘confessional’ stance encourages us to believe, particularly since when it first appeared, the biography was ghost-written, in English, by American sinologist Anne Thurston. Concludes that when viewed in relation to biography as a genre, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao* tells us about as much about current uses of biography as about the history of Mao himself, with important messages about cultural perceptions of the individual in both China and in the United States.

Jolly, Margaretta (ed). 2001. *Encyclopedia of Life Writing: Autobiographical and Biographical Forms*. Vols. 1-2. London: Fitzroy-Dearborne.

King, Jamilah and Stokely Baksh. 2011. [*Seven Revolutionary Icons Being Used to Pimp Capitalist Excess, War and Vanilla Ice Cream.*](#) Alternet.

How even revolutionary icons can be commodified by the capitalism they opposed.

Lütge Coullie, J, Meyer, S, Ngwenya, TH and Olver, T (eds.) *Selves in Question: Interviews on Southern African Auto/biography*. University of Hawai`i Press, pp. 315-328.

[Marxist Internet Archive](#). Biographies.

Extensive alphabetical listing of Marxists which uses Google as its 'internal' search tool.

McIlroy, John, Kevin Morgan and Alan Campbell (eds). 2001. *Party People, Communist Lives: Explorations in Biography*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

This book, consists of a collection of biographical essays. In the last 10 years, there has been an increased interest in biography and life histories. The contributors share the belief that 'writing biography can be an exciting and rigorous way of writing history, one which restores the flesh and blood, the inspiration and perspiration, to Communist lives'. They bring together a collection of very diverse essays focused on the period 1920-1940, topped by a chapter by Kevin Morgan, about the historiography of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and Communist biography.

Morgan, Kevin, Gidon Cohen and Andrew Flinn (eds). 2005. *Agents of the Revolution: New Biographical Approaches to the History of International Communism in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*. Oxford and Bern: Peter Lang.

Movies For Socialists. <http://culturewarreporters.com/2015/05/05/movies-for-socialists/>

Mulhern, Francis (ed). 2011. *Lives on the Left: A Group Portrait*. London: Verso.

The extended critical interview is especially flexible as a form, by turns tenacious and glancing, elliptical or sustained, combining argument and counter-argument, reflection, history and memoir with a freedom normally denied to its subjects in conventional writing formats. *Lives on the Left* brings together sixteen such interviews from *New Left Review* in a group portrait of intellectual engagement in the twentieth century and since. Four generations of intellectuals discuss their political histories and present perspectives, and the specialized work for which they are, often, best known. *Lives on the Left* includes interviews with Georg Lukács, Hedda Korsch, Jean-Paul Sartre, Dorothy Thompson, Jiří Pelikan, Ernest Mandel, Luciana Castellina, Lucio Colletti, K. Damodaran, Noam Chomsky, David Harvey, Adolfo Gilly, João Pedro Stédile, Asada Akira, Wang Hui and Giovanni Arrighi.

Perkins, Margo. 2000. *Autobiography as Activism: Three Black Women of the Sixties*. University Press of Mississippi.

A study of the Black Power narratives of Angela Davis, Assata Shakur (a.k.a. JoAnne Chesimard), and Elaine Brown as instruments for radical social change. Recipient of the Mississippi University for Womenas Eudora Welty Prize

Pittaway, Mark. 2005. 'Introduction: Workers and Socialist States in Postwar Central and Eastern Europe'. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 68(Fall) pp. 1-8.

Poitevin, Guy. '[Dalit Autobiographical Narratives: Figures of Subaltern Consciousness, Assertion and Identity](#)'.

Popkin, Jeremy. 2005. *History, Historians, and Autobiography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<http://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/H/bo3534022.html>

[Revolutionary Lives](#): Critical Biographies of Radical Legends. (Series). London: Pluto Press.

Selected Marxist Writers. [Marxist Internet Archive](#).

Simón, Yar. 2015. '[These Anti-Princess Books Give Young Girls Badass Latina Heroines to Look up to](#)'.

The first two children's books in the series deal with the Mexican artist/activist Frida Kahlo and the Chilean protest singer/songwriter, Violeta Parra. A promised further work is on Juana Azurduy, a Bolivian guerilla/military leader who spoke Spanish, Quechua and Aymara.

Socialist Biographies and Autobiographies.

<http://www.newsfromnowhere.org.uk/books/DisplayBooklist.php?BookListID=80>

Socialist History. ?????'. '[Biography and Political Uses of Memory](#)', *Socialist History*, Issue 34.

Within the communist and socialist tradition processes of memory and the construction of identity have been highly politicised. One notable arena for the development of this has been in the writing and rewriting of biography and autobiography. The theme articles in this issue of *Socialist History* consider the nature of writing about the self and the political uses of such historical writing.

Socialist, capitalist, anarchist and communist movies.

<http://www.imdb.com/list/ls008325243>

Sparrow, J. W. 2007. 'Engineering your own Soul: Theory and Practice in Communist Biography and Autobiography'

<https://researchbank.rmit.edu.au/eserv/rmit:9551/Sparrow.pdf>

Through the life of an Australian left intellectual, explores the different strands of thought within Australian communism, the impact of Stalinisation on the movement both in Australia and overseas, and the personal and political difficulties confronting anti-Stalinist radicals.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1988. 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Demonstrates concern for the processes whereby postcolonial studies ironically reinscribe, co-opt, and rehearse neo-colonial imperatives of political domination, economic exploitation, and cultural erasure. Suggests that any attempt from the outside to ameliorate their condition by

granting them collective speech invariably will encounter the following problems: 1) a logocentric assumption of cultural solidarity among a heterogeneous people, and 2) a dependence upon western intellectuals to "speak for" the subaltern condition rather than allowing them to speak for themselves.

Stevenson, Graham. 2004-. A Compendium of Communist Biographies.

http://www.grahamstevenson.me.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=section&id=2&Itemid=92.

A formidable compendium by a longtime British working-class union and Communist activist, son-in-law of Frank Waters (see elsewhere).

Tappan, Mark. ?????. [Autobiography, mediated action, and the development of moral identity](#). Education and Human Development, Colby College, Waterville, Maine.

'Explores a sociocultural approach to the development of moral identity, by considering the ... autobiography of Ingo Hasselbach. Hasselbach, the founder (in 1991) of the National Alternative neo-Nazi party in East Germany, writes about his childhood and youth, how and why he embraced the neo-Nazi perspective, and how and why he ultimately repudiated the movement that he had helped to create'.

TAS (The Autobiography Society). <http://auto-biography.org/>

Wengraf, Tom. 2001. *Qualitative Research Interviewing: Biographic Narrative and Semi-Structured Methods*. London: Sage.

Chapter 6 provides a do-it-yourself manual for those interested in doing narrative interviews with selected movement people whose stories and experience they want to get to know and/or don't want to get lost. Or (cheaper) contact tom.wengraf@gmail.com for a free 'Quick Outline Sketch' of the method. Or see [here](#).

[Wikipedia](#).

A massive and growing resource for biographies, whether of social-movement figures or not. Their accuracy or adequacy is sometimes indicated by Wikipedia itself. Elsewhere, of course, this and other such listings are to be used with caution.

[Writing Lives](#). Collaborative Research Project on British Working-Class Autobiography.

Yow, Valerie. 1994. *Recording Oral History: A Practical Guide for Social Scientists*. Thousand Oaks: Sage. 284.