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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, 1919-43: THE PERSONNEL OF ITS HIGHEST BODIES

This survey of the personnel of the highest bodies of the Comintern is meant to be a tool for researchers and historians studying the history of the international labour movement, especially of the Communist International.

So far five contributions of direct relevance to this subject have appeared. First, the book by B. Lazitch *Les partis communistes d'Europe* (Paris, 1955). However, Lazitch's data are incomplete, as he names only 140 of the *circa* 360 members and candidates who were elected to the highest bodies of the Comintern from 1919 till 1943 (I follow the terminology of the sources). Lazitch fails to mention those persons who were elected to the ECCI (Executive Committee of the Communist International) between the Congresses of the International, *viz.*, at the plenary sessions of the ECCI. Moreover, he does not give his sources, or identify pseudonyms, no more does he mention first names or the countries from which the various people came and/or which they represented.

Second, in 1973 B. Lazitch (in collaboration with M. M. Drachkovitch) published *Biographical Dictionary of the Comintern* (Stanford, 1973). This study furnishes information about 718 people who were active in the Comintern, as elected members of its bodies, as representatives of national Communist parties, as members of the apparatus, as liaison officers, etc. The author has added a list of pseudonyms. Despite the advance in the research concerning the Comintern represented by this book, I want to make some remarks about it. To begin with, I think that in view of the heuristic gaps and difficulties hampering research in this field it is a mistake that the sources used for the biographies of separate personalities are not given. This renders a comparison of the facts described with formerly published material difficult. It also leads to errors and inaccuracies. The author himself is the worst victim of his method, for he invites criticism. Once again, Lazitch's data are incomplete: of the *circa* 360 elected members and candidates of the highest bodies of the Comintern about 60 are lacking,

among them several members and candidates of the Presidium and the Political Secretariat. Still, this book is an important contribution to the research on the Comintern and I consider it as the basis for a more extensive biographical dictionary.

The third study that pays attention to the composition of the leading bodies of the Comintern is J. Degras, *The Communist International 1919-1943: Documents* (3 vols; Oxford, 1956-65). This too shows many shortcomings. Degras does not identify pseudonyms, nor does she give first names. She does not give details about her sources for the composition of the leading bodies, but only furnishes a general survey at the end of each volume of the material she has consulted. For the people elected to the Comintern bodies at various ECCI meetings, and for those elected at the Seventh Comintern Congress, she does not state the countries or the Communist parties they represented.

Finally, I want to mention two contributions on the subject published in Czechoslovakia: 1) A. Hrbatová and F. Svátek, "Přehled o složení nejvyšších orgánů Kominterny 1919-1943" (Survey of the composition of the highest bodies of the Comintern 1919-43), in: *Příspěvky k Dějinám KSC*, VI (Prague, 1966), pp. 878-943; 2) F. Svátek, "The Governing Organs of the Communist International: their growth and composition, 1919-1943", in: *History of Socialism Year Book 1968* (Prague, 1969), pp. 179-266.

These two contributions were published by the Institute of the History of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Its director at the time, Professor Pavel Reiman, candidate to the ECCI in 1928-35 and to its Presidium in 1929-31, had worked for years in the apparatus of the Comintern. So it was to be expected that these studies would have contained fewer hiatuses and inaccuracies than they do. Thus, on p. 252 of the article by Svátek we find the name Tom without a first name and instead of the name of the country a question mark. But Tom was in fact Čeněk Hruška, member of the Politbureau of the CP of Czechoslovakia, who represented that CP on the ECCI in Moscow from 1933 to 1939, using the pseudonym Tom. Michal Wolf, member of the same CP from 1921 to 1940, who, in the 1920's, was sentenced to five and a half years' imprisonment because of illegal Communist activities in Czechoslovakia, is wrongly denoted as a member of the CP of Hungary in 1935 by the same author. In both Czech contributions Weiss, who was elected to the ICC (International Control Commission) for Czechoslovakia instead of Karel Kreibich at the Sixth Congress in 1928, is mentioned without his first name. It is a pity that these Czech authors do not say anything about the identity of Weiss in a footnote, so that to this day it is unknown in Czechoslovakia who Weiss really was. I have given a few examples, but I

could have quoted many more. In spite of this I am convinced that Svátek's "The Governing Organs of the Communist International" is an excellent study and so far the most complete about the composition of the highest bodies of the Comintern.

In comparison to the titles mentioned above the survey of the composition of the highest bodies of the Comintern I have drawn up aims at greater completeness and accuracy. It goes without saying that I do not pretend to absolute perfection and completeness, for these cannot be attained without access to the relevant archives. I attach great importance to mentioning first names, to the arrangement according to countries and to the identification of pseudonyms.

A. First names

When first names are not mentioned, it is frequently impossible to identify persons. E.g., between the Second and the Third Congresses Wilhelm Koenen was elected to the Little Bureau of the ECCI (Presidium). At that time, however, his brother Bernard was one of the leaders of the KPD and also working on the apparatus of the ECCI. Another example: at the 11th ECCI plenum in 1931 Müller (no first name, no country) was elected. At that time, however, the KPD had among its leaders Oscar Müller, Herbert Müller, Georg Müller and Kurt Müller, and the Swiss CP Robert Müller, who also took part in the ECCI meetings during the 1930's. The man elected was Kurt Müller. The same is true for the name Popov. At the Third Congress Dimitar Popov was elected for Bulgaria. At the Seventh Congress Blagoj Popov was elected. In addition to these two Nikolaj Popov was active in the Comintern and headed the delegation of the CP of the Soviet Ukraine at the Seventh Congress. His address at that Congress was published with his photo in the Moscow *Pravda* in August 1935. Further, Stanke Dimitrov, member of the bureau-in-exile of the CP of Bulgaria and collaborator in the ECCI apparatus, used the pseudonym Popov in August 1935.

B. Arranging the names by countries

From such an arrangement it is possible to deduct changes in the evaluation of the revolutionary situation in various countries by the Comintern leaders. It also gives an insight into the interests of Russian foreign policy in different periods. Some examples will illustrate this.

When the plans of the Comintern and the KPD to seize power in Germany by means of an armed revolution failed in October 1923, the Comintern directed its efforts chiefly to Britain. At the Fifth Congress in 1924 Zinov'ev stated:

“Politically, the most important section of the Communist International, at present, is not the German, nor the Russian, but the British Section. Here we are faced by remarkable situations: a Party of only three to four thousand members, wields far wider influence than would appear from these figures. For in Britain we are dealing with a different tradition. MacDonald’s party is not much stronger than ours. [...] The tradition of a mass party is not known in England. [...] To form a mass party in England is the chief task of the entire present period. The conditions are there.”¹

As a result of this judgment of the situation the number of representatives of the CP of Great Britain, elected to bodies of the Comintern, was considerably larger after the Fifth Congress. Whereas at the Third Congress one ECCI member was elected and at the Fourth one ECCI member and one candidate, at the Fifth five people were elected to Comintern bodies. Of these five two were elected to the Presidium at the first session of the newly elected ECCI after the Congress. Moreover, MacManus became a member of the Orgbureau and a candidate to the ECCI Secretariat. Later the number became even larger.

Another example can be found in the shifts of the representation of the CP of China on the bodies of the Comintern after the well-known conflict of the united opposition with Stalin over the policy of Stalin and the Comintern towards China. Whereas from the First to the Fifth Congress China was either not represented at all on the bodies of the Comintern, or at most by one candidate, and after the Fifth Congress by one member on the ECCI, at the Sixth Congress six people were elected to bodies of the Comintern, while one of them was elected to the Presidium and the Political Secretariat of the ECCI as well. The changes in the interest attached to the CPs of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria by the Comintern can be seen from the numbers of representatives of these parties. Until the Seventh Congress in 1935 both parties were about equally represented. At the Seventh Congress there was a sudden change: of the four people proposed by the CP of Yugoslavia only Gorkić (Čižinski), the then secretary-general of that CP, was elected as a candidate. On the other hand, five people proposed by the CP of Bulgaria were elected to fill nine functions, two of them on the Presidium. Georgi Dimitrov also became a member of the Political Secretariat of the ECCI and Secretary-General of the Comintern. At a later stage, in the years 1938-39, the ECCI Secretariat

¹ Fifth Congress of the Communist International. *Abridged Report of Meetings held at Moscow June 17th to July 8th, 1924* (London, n.d.), p. 35.

deliberated extensively, if the CP of Yugoslavia should be dissolved.¹

C. Pseudonyms

I am convinced that the identification of the pseudonyms of the Comintern officials will be useful to fill in the gaps still to be found in a series of political biographies of these people. It can also be useful for the study of the history of various national parties. Every one who has gone deeply into the history of the Comintern knows that the identification of pseudonyms is a very complicated problem, which has given rise to numerous polemics, some of them undecided even now.²

A fact that is less known, or at least less often mentioned, is that the use of pseudonyms in the Comintern was not solely a consequence of illegality, but also had a political function – especially for certain people. For example, at the Sixth Congress Knorin and Popov, both members of the CPSU, were elected under the pseudonyms Sokolik and Lovickij as ECCI candidates for the CP of Poland. Both of them played an important part in deposing the Kostrzewa-Warski group from the leadership of the CP of Poland later on. The same thing happened to Sakun, a member of the CPSU, who was elected as candidate to the ECCI Presidium for the CP of Yugoslavia under the pseudonym Milković, and played a similar part in the expulsion of Sima Marković, the then secretary-general, from the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia.³

In some cases we find that not one but several Comintern functionaries acted under the same pseudonym at different periods, or, on the other hand, that the same person used different pseudonyms at the same time. During his work in Vienna in 1924 Georgi Dimitrov was known under the pseudonym Dimov among the members of the bureau-in-exile of the CP of Bulgaria, and among the leadership of the Balkan Communist Federation under the pseudonym Viktor, but at the same time he used the pseudonym Oswald as ECCI representative

¹ In October 1939 Jan Šverma, then head of the bureau-in-exile of the CP of Czechoslovakia situated in Paris, and candidate to the ECCI, left for Yugoslavia, instructed by the ECCI Secretariat to investigate the situation in the leadership of the Yugoslav CP, which was to be dissolved in the same way as the CP of Poland. On his return to Moscow in the spring of 1940, Šverma gave an extensive report to the ECCI Secretariat about the situation in the Yugoslav CP, refuting all the accusations made and thus stopping the dissolution. These facts, known to me owing to my association with Šverma's family for many years, are confirmed by Milovan Djilas, *Memoir of a Revolutionary* (New York, 1973), pp. 341–42.

² See J. Degras, *The Communist International 1919–1943*, II, p. 573.

³ See Tables 37 and 39, notes.

for the CP of Austria. Another example is the pseudonym Ziegler. At one time this was used by Alfred Kurella, while at the fifth congress of the Czechoslovak CP in Prague in February 1929 the ECCI was represented by Henryk Henrykowski (Saul Amsterdam) under the same pseudonym. Under his own name Egidio Gennari was elected a member of the ICC at the Fifth Comintern Congress. At the 8th ECCI plenum he also got into the Presidium and the Political Secretariat of the ECCI under the pseudonym Maggi – taking the place of Ercoli (Togliatti). He kept these places till the Sixth Congress.¹ It must be noted that by the latter elections of Gennari the statutes of the Comintern were broken, for members of the ICC were not allowed to sit on other bodies of the Comintern at the same time.²

The following survey has been arranged chronologically according to the Comintern *Congresses*. At each Congress an ECCI was elected, from the Fifth Congress an ICC too. Each newly elected ECCI then elected its executive bodies at its constituent meeting. In the course of the years the number and the names of these bodies changed.

The tables give the composition of the separate *bodies*, stating the source in each case; Nos 34, 35, 41, 42, 45-48 and 53-56 are my own account. Within the separate bodies the names are listed by *countries*. I put the USSR first (till the Fourth Congress: Russia and the other republics, the latter in alphabetical order; till the Sixth Congress: USSR and Ukrainian SSR) in view of her extraordinary part in the activities of the Comintern and because Moscow was the only and permanent seat of the Comintern. All the other countries are put in alphabetical order. Since in a number of cases the sources do not mention the countries for which people were elected to the bodies of the Comintern, I add these (with a few exceptions). This is true for the ECCI elected at the Fifth Congress; for the ECCI and ICC elected at the Seventh Congress; for the bodies of the ECCI (Presidium, Org-bureau, Secretariat, Political Secretariat) elected at the constituent meetings of the newly elected ECCIs after the Congresses; and for the

¹ Within the framework of this article it is impossible to go into the reasons why precisely Gennari, under the pseudonym Maggi, was put in Ercoli's (Togliatti's) place in 1927 and why it was that Togliatti did not return to the Political Secretariat of the ECCI until the 11th ECCI plenum in April 1931.

² From the Fifth Congress the ICC was an independent body of the Comintern and was elected exclusively by the Congresses. One of its tasks was the investigation of complaints about the actions of various departments of the ECCI. *Tätigkeitsbericht der Exekutive der Kommunistischen Internationale für die Zeit vom 5. bis zum 6. Weltkongress. Die Komintern vor dem 6. Weltkongress* (Hamburg, 1928), p. 85.

bodies of the ECCI elected at the enlarged (1 to 7) and non-enlarged (8 to 13) plenary sessions of the ECCI.

Within the countries the *names* are arranged alphabetically. In the publications quoted as sources no first names are mentioned. In so far as I was able to do so from the material at my disposal or from my own knowledge, I have added the first names. However, if this would not give rise to misunderstandings, I have done so only the first time a person appears; see also the Index of names on pp. 181ff. People who do not or not only represent their national parties are put at the end of the table, e.g., Kolarov, Vasil, for the Balkans, or Kun, personally.

For the members of bodies of the Comintern who were elected under a *pseudonym*, I put their real names within brackets the first time they are mentioned, in so far as I have been able to decipher their pseudonyms. When I have not yet succeeded in deciphering the pseudonym, I have put (pseud.) after the name and, when I am not certain whether the name mentioned is a person's real name or a pseudonym, I have put (pseud.?). Brackets are used when additional information is added to a source, e.g., Zetkin (personally). When the accuracy of the additional information is doubtful a question mark is used, e.g., Lozovskij (for the RILU?).

FIRST CONGRESS (2-6 MARCH 1919)

Table 1. *The ECCI after the First Congress*¹

Russia	Zinov'ev, Grigorij E. (Radomysl'skij), Chairman; Balabanova, Anželika; Berzin, Jan A.; Bucharin, Nikolaj I.; Karachan, Lev M.; Klinger, Gustav K.; Litvinov, Maksim M. (Finkelstein); Vorovskij, Vaclav V.; and others	Poland	Marchlewski, Julian
Finland	Siroła, Yrjö	Yugoslavia	Milkić, Ilija
Latvia	Stučka, Petr		

The Secretaries of the ECCI were successively:

Russia Balabanova; Vorovskij; Berzin; Radek, Karl (Sobelsohn)

Source: G. Zinov'ev, Report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (Petrograd, 1920), pp. 4-5²

¹At the First Congress mainly questions pertaining to the programme of the Comintern were dealt with. As to the structure of the new institution, only the ECCI was elected as an executive body. The Congress directed the ECCI to elect from its ranks a Bureau of five members. The first task of this Bureau (after the Second Congress it was called the Little Bureau) was to conduct the illegal work of the separate Communist parties. A more penetrating study about the development of the structure of the Comintern bodies and their apparatus is in preparation.

²F. I. Firsov gives a slightly different list; Siroła does not appear as a member of the ECCI, but A. Men'soj and E. Rudnyánszky do. See Vtoroj Kongress Kominterna. Razrabotka kongressom idejnyh, taktičeskich i organizacionnyh osnov kommunističeskich partij (Moscow, 1972), p. 51. (From the First until the Second Congress A. G. Men'soj (L. S. Levin) under the pseudonym

SECOND CONGRESS (19 JULY – 7 AUGUST 1920)

Table 2. *The ECCI elected after the Second Congress**Members*

Russia	Zinov'ev, Chairman; Bucharin; Koboekij, Michail V.; Radek; Tomskij, Michail P. (Efremov); Šackin, Lazar M., for the YI ¹		
Georgia	Cchakaja, Michail	Hungary	Rudnyánszky, Endre
Austria	Steinhardt, Karl	Italy	Serrati, Giacinto
Britain	Quelch, Thomas		Menotti
Bulgaria	Šablin, Nikola (Nedjalkov, Ivan)	Korea	Pak (Pak Chin-sun), for the Far East countries
Czechosl.	Hůla, Břetislav	Norway	Friis, Jacob, for Scandinavia
Finland	Manner, Kullerva		
France	Rosmer, Alfred (Griot)	Persia	Sultan-Zade, Avetis (Mikaeljan), for the Near East countries
Germany	Meyer, Ernst		
Holland	Jansen, Jan (Proost, Johannes); Wijnkoop, David; Maring (Sneevliet, Hendricus J. F. M.), for Java	Poland	Radek ²
		USA	Hurvič, Nikolaj; Reed, John
		Yugoslavia	Milkič

Candidates

Russia	Berzin; Ciperovič, Grigorij V.; Lenin, Vladimir I. (Ul'janov); Pavlovič (Vel'tmann, Michail L.); ³ Stalin, Iosif V. (Džugašvili); Trockij, Lev D. (Bronstein)		
Germany	Levi, Paul	Latvia	Stučka
Italy	Cesare (Sessa, Cesare?)		

Source: 10 Let Kominterna v rešenijach i cifrach. Sostaviteli A. Tivel' i M. Chejmo (Moscow, Leningrad, 1929), p. 49⁴

Table 3. *The Little Bureau of the ECCI elected after the Second Congress*

Russia	Zinov'ev, Chairman; Bucharin; Koboekij		
Germany	Meyer	Hungary	Rudnyánszky

Source: 10 Let Kominterna, p. 293

Gaj headed the press department of the ECCI, see V. I. Lenin i VČK (Moscow, 1975), p. 409.) In 1935, in an interview with B. I. Nikolaevskij in Prague, Thomas (Jakub Reich), head of the West European Secretariat of the ECCI in Berlin from 1919 until 1925, gave the composition of the ECCI and its Bureau after the First Congress as follows. ECCI: Zinov'ev; Bucharin; Lenin; Rakovskij; Thomas; Vorovskij, Secretary; Bureau: Zinov'ev, Chairman; Bucharin; Carlo (Ljubarskij); Klinger, Administrative Secretary; Thomas; Vorovskij, Secretary; Berzin, his deputy. B. I. Nikolaevskij, "Na zare Kominterna. Rasskaz 'tovariša Tomasa'", in: Socialističeskij Vestnik, Sbornik No 1 (New York, 1964), p. 132.

¹ Youth International, from 1922 Communist Youth International, CYI, or Youth Communist International, YCI.

² Radek was elected twice, first as a member of the RCP(B), secondly as a member of the Polish CP.

³ Pavlovič (Vel'tmann) became known as Volonter.

⁴ Pravda (Moscow), 10 August 1920, omits Hůla, Meyer, Jansen, Maring and Hurvič as members, and Ciperovič, Cesare and Stučka as candidates; it mentions Levi as a member, and Čičerin, Jansen, Meyer and Varga as candidates.

Table 4. *The Little Bureau before the Third Congress*

Russia	Zinov'ev, Chairman; Bucharin; Koboekij; Radek
France	Rosmer
Germany	Koenen, Wilhelm; Meyer
	Hungary Kun, Béla; Rudnyánszky

Source: *ibid.*

THIRD CONGRESS (22 JUNE – 12 JULY 1921)

Table 5. *The ECCI elected after the Third Congress**Members*

Russia	Zinov'ev, Chairman; Bucharin; Lenin; Radek; Trockij
Ukraine	Šumskij, Aleksandr Ja.
Austria	Koritschoner, Franz
Belgium	Overstraeten, Edward
	van
Britain	Bell, Thomas
Bulgaria	Popov, Dimitar
Czechosl.	Burian, Edmund; Kreibich, Karel
Finland	Sirola
France	Souvarine, Boris (Lifšis, Boris)
Germany	Frölich, Paul; Heckert, Fritz; Münzenberg, Willi, for the YI
Holland	Jansen
	Hungary, Lékai, János, for the YI
	Italy Terracini, Umberto
	Latvia Stučka
	Norway Scheflo, Olaf
	Poland Gliński, Piotr (Królikowski, Stefan)
	Rumania Badulescu (Moscovici, Gelbert)
	Spain Merino-Gracia, Ramón
	Sweden Kilbom, Karl
	Switzerland Arnold, Emil
	USA Baldwin (Tywerousky, Oscar)
	Yugoslavia Marković, Sima

Candidates

Russia	Kamenev, Lev B. (Rosenfeld, Lev B.); Koboekij
Armenia	Kasjan, Sarkis (Ter-Kasparjan, Sarkis)
Azerbaijan	Musabekov, Gazan-Far
Georgia	Cchakaja
Australia	Freeman, Paul
China	Chan-Kai (pseud.)
Denmark	Jørgensen, Aage
Estonia	Pөгelmann, Hans
Greece	Dimitratos(, Panagis?)
	Korea Ham Man-chen
	Lithuania Angaretis, Zigmás Aleksa
	Mexico Roy, Manabendra Nath (Bhattacharya, Nanedra Nath) ¹
	Palestine Sar (pseud.)
	Persia Sultan-Zade
	South Africa Jones, David Yvon

Source: Die Tätigkeit der Exekutive und des Präsidiums des E.K. der Kommunistischen Internationale vom 13. Juli 1921 bis 1. Februar 1922 (Petrograd, 1922), pp. 5-6

¹ 10 Let Kominterna, p. 307, gives Roy for India, not for Mexico.

Table 6. *The Little Bureau elected after the Third Congress (13 July 1921)*

Russia	Zinov'ev, Chairman; Bucharin; Radek		
France	Souvarine	Hungary	Kun
Germany	Heckert	Italy	Gennari, Egidio

Source: Die Tätigkeit, op. cit., p. 7

Table 7. *The Secretariat of the ECCI elected after the Third Congress (13 July 1921)*

Finland	Kuusinen, Otto W.	Switzerland	Humbert-Droz, Jules
Hungary	Rákosi, Mátyás		

Source: *ibid.*

Table 8. *The ICC elected after the Third Congress (13 July 1921)*

Finland	Sirola	Germany	Zetkin, Clara, Chair- man; Koenen, Wilhelm
France	Vaillant-Couturier, Paul; Ker, Antoine (Keim, Louis Antoine), his deputy	Poland	Walecki, Henryk (Horwitz, Maksymilian)

Source: Die Tätigkeit, op. cit., p. 16

Table 9. *The Presidium of the ECCI elected after the 1st enlarged plenum (24 January – 4 March 1922)¹*

Members

Russia	Zinov'ev, President; Bucharin; Radek		
Czechosl.	Kreibich	Italy	Terracini
France	Sellier, Louis; Sou- varine ²	USA	Carr, James (Kat- terfeld, Ludwig)
Germany	Brandler, Heinrich		

Candidates

Finland	Kuusinen	Poland	Walecki
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Source: Die Taktik der Kommunistischen Internationale gegen die Offensive des Kapitals. Bericht über die Konferenz der Erweiterten Exekutive der Kommunistischen Internationale, Moskau, vom 24. Februar bis 4. März 1922 (Hamburg, 1922), p. 144

Table 10. *The Secretariat of the ECCI elected by the Presidium on 17 March 1922*

Finland	Kuusinen, Secretary- General	Hungary	Rákosi
Germany	Eberlein, Hugo		

Source: Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Präsidiums und der Exekutive der Kommunistischen Internationale für die Zeit vom 6. März bis 11. Juni 1922 (Hamburg, 1922), p. 8

¹ At the close of its session of 26 August 1921, the Little Bureau was abolished and converted into the Presidium of the ECCI. See Die Tätigkeit, op. cit., p. 142.

² Sellier and Souvarine had a joint vote in the ECCI. See Die Tätigkeit, p. 143.

Table 11. *The Secretariat of the ECCI before the 2nd enlarged plenum*

Russia	Kon, Feliks Ja.	Germany	Eberlein
Finland	Kuusinen	Hungary	Rákosi

Source: Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Präsidiums und der Exekutive, pp. 8, 30

Table 12. *The Presidium of the ECCI elected at the 2nd enlarged plenum (7-11 June 1922)**Members*

Russia	Zinov'ev, President; Bucharin; Radek		
Bulgaria	Jordanov, Jordan	France	Leiciague, Lucie;
Czechosl.	Jilek, Bohumil; Šmeral, Bohumír ¹	Italy	Souvarine ² Gramsci, Antonio

Candidates

Finland	Kuusinen	USA	Cook, James (Cannon, James P.)
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Source: Inprekorr, Vol. 2, p. 716 (17 June 1922)

Table 13. *The ECCI before the Fourth Congress**Members*

Russia	Zinov'ev, President; Bucharin; Lenin; Radek; Trockij; Lozovskij, Aleksandr A. (Dridzo, Salomon A.), for the RILU ³		
Ukraine	Šumskij	Holland	Jansen
Austria	Koritschoner; Schüller, Richard, for the CYI	Italy	Ambrogi, Ersilio
		Japan	Katayama, Sen
		Latvia	Stučka
Belgium	Van Overstraeten	Norway	Scheflo
Britain	Bell	Poland	Próchniak, Edward
Bulgaria	Jordanov	Rumania	Badulescu
Czechosl.	Neurath, Alois; Šmeral	Spain	Merino-Gracia
Finland	Kuusinen; Manner	Sweden	Kilbom
France	Henriet, Paul Arthur; Leiciague	Switzerland	Humbert-Droz
Germany	Eberlein; Zetkin	USA	Carr; Cook
		Yugoslavia	Marković

Candidates

Armenia	Kasjan	Greece	Dimitratos
Azerbaijan	Musabekov	Iceland	Wallenius, Allan
Georgia	Cchakaja	India	Roy
Argentina	Penelón, José F., for South America	Korea	Ham Man-chen
Australia	Earsman, W. P.	Lithuania	Angaretis
China	Chan-Kai	Palestine	Sar
Denmark	Jørgensen	Persia	Sultan-Zade
Estonia	Pögelmann	South Africa	Bunting, Sidney P.
		Turkey	Salich, Hacıoglu

Source: 10 Let Kominternu, pp. 306-07

¹ Jilek and Šmeral had a joint vote in the ECCI. See source.

² Leiciague and Souvarine had a joint vote in the ECCI. See source.

³ Red International of Labour Unions.

Table 14. *The Presidium of the ECCI at the time of the Fourth Congress*

Russia	Zinov'ev, President; Bucharin; Radek; Šackin (for the CYI)		
Bulgaria	Jordanov	Germany	Brandler
Finland	Kuusinen	Italy	Ambrogi
France	Souvarine	USA	Carr

Source: 10 Let Kominterna, p. 307¹

Table 15. *The Secretariat of the ECCI at the time of the Fourth Congress*

Russia	Kon; Minkin, Aleksandr	Germany	Eberlein
	E.	Hungary	Rákosi
Finland	Kuusinen		

Source: *ibid.*

FOURTH CONGRESS (5 NOVEMBER – 5 DECEMBER 1922)

Table 16. *The ECCI elected at the Fourth Congress**Members*

Russia	Zinov'ev, President; Bucharin; Radek; Šackin, for the CYI; Safarov, Georgij I. (Egorov, Georgij I.), for the Eastern countries		
Australia	Garden, John S.	Japan	Katayama, for the Eastern countries
Austria	Schüller, for the CYI		
Britain	MacManus, Arthur	Mexico	Stirner, Alfred (Woog, Edgar), for South America
Bulgaria	Kolarov, Vasil, for the Balkans		
Czechosl.	Neurath; Šmeral	Norway	Scheflo, for Scandinavia
Finland	Kuusinen	Poland	Próchniak
France	Frossard, Ludvic Oscar; Souvarine	South Africa	Andrews, William H.
Germany	Hoernle, Edwin; Zetkin	Sweden	Höglund, Karl Zeth, for Scandinavia
Italy	Gennari; Gramsci	USA	Carr

Candidates

Russia	Lenin; Trockij	India	Roy, for the Eastern countries
Britain	Newbold, J. T. Walton		
Czechosl.	Muna, Alois	Italy	Bordiga, Amadeo
France	Duret, Jean (Koral, François)	Rumania	Macavei, Mihai, for the Balkans
Germany	Böttcher, Paul Herbert	USA	Damon, David (Ruthenberg, Charles Emil)

Source: Protokoll des Vierten Kongresses der Kommunistischen Internationale. Petrograd-Moskau vom 5. November bis 5. Dezember 1922 (Hamburg, 1923), p. 967

Table 17. *The Presidium of the ECCI elected at the plenary session after the Fourth Congress**Members*

Russia	Zinov'ev, President; Bucharin; Radek
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¹ This source does not mention Šmeral as a member of the Presidium.

Britain	MacManus	France	Souvarine
Bulgaria	Kolarov (for the Balkans)	Germany	Zetkin
Czechosl.	Neurath	Italy	Gennari
Finland	Kuusinen	Japan	Katayama

Candidates

Russia	Safarov (for the Eastern countries)	France	Lévy, Georges
Czechosl.	Šmeral	Germany	Hoernle

Source: Bericht der Exekutive der Kommunistischen Internationale 15. Dezember 1922 – 15. Mai 1923 (Moscow, 1923), p. 80¹

Table 18. *The Secretariat of the ECCI elected at the plenary session after the Fourth Congress*

Members

Russia	Pjatnickij, Osip A. (Taršis, Iosif A.)		
Bulgaria	Kolarov (Secretary-General)	Germany	Stoecker, Walter ²

Candidates

Finland	Kuusinen	Hungary	Rákosi
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Source: Bericht der Exekutive, op. cit., p. 7

Table 19. *The Orgbureau of the ECCI elected at the plenary session after the Fourth Congress*

Members

Russia	Pjatnickij; Safarov (for the Eastern countries)		
Austria	Schüller (for the CYI)	Finland	Kuusinen
Bulgaria	Kolarov	Germany	Hoernle
Czechosl.	Neurath	Hungary	Rákosi

Candidates

Russia	Vompe, Pavel A. ³
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Source: Bericht der Exekutive, op. cit., p. 80

Table 20. *The Presidium of the ECCI elected at the 3rd enlarged plenum (12-23 June 1923)*

Russia	Zinov'ev, President; Bucharin; Radek; Šackin (for the CYI)		
Britain	MacManus	Czechosl.	Neurath
Bulgaria	Kolarov (for the Balkans)	Finland	Kuusinen
		France	Souvarine

¹ 10 Let Komintern, p. 316, mentions Šackin and Šmeral as members, Gramsci and Neurath as candidates; it omits Safarov and Lévy as candidates.

² At the close of the plenum, Stoecker was replaced by Neurath (Czechoslovakia). See source.

³ Vompe headed the OMS (Section of International Communications) from its institution in 1921 until his death on 1 August 1925. The OMS was responsible for all secret activities of the Comintern. See Osip Pjatnickij, "Unsere Toten", in: Inprekorr, Vol. 5, pp. 1727-28 (11 August 1925).

Germany	Zetkin	Japan	Katayama (for the
Italy	Terracini	Scandinavia	Eastern countries)
			one representative

Source: Protokoll der Konferenz der Erweiterten Exekutive der Kommunistischen Internationale, Moskau, 12.-23. Juni 1923 (Hamburg, 1923), p. 321¹

Table 21. *The Secretariat of the ECCI elected at the 3rd enlarged plenum*

Members

Russia	Pjatnickij		
Bulgaria	Kolarov (Secretary-General)	Czechosl.	Neurath

Candidates

Finland	Kuusinen	Poland	Brand, Ernest (Lauer, Henryk)
Hungary	Rákosi		

Source: Inprekorr, Vol. 3, p. 1013 (9 July 1923)

Table 22. *The Orgbureau elected at the 3rd enlarged plenum*

Members

Russia	Pjatnickij		
Austria	Schüller (for the CYI)	Finland	Kuusinen
Britain	MacManus	France	Souvarine
Bulgaria	Kolarov (for the Balkans)	Italy	Terracini

Candidates

Britain	Stewart, Robert
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Source: 10 Let Kominterna, p. 316

FIFTH CONGRESS (16 JUNE – 8 JULY 1924)

Table 23. *The ECCI elected at the Fifth Congress*

Members

USSR	Zinov'ev, President; Bucharin; Kamenev; Rykov, Aleksej I.; Stalin; Hessen, Sergej M. (for the CYI)		
UkrSSR	Frunze, Michail V.; Manuil'skij, Dimitrij Z.	China	Chen Tu-hsiu
Argentina	Penelón (for Latin America)	Czechosl.	Muna; Neurath; Šmeral
Austria	Fiala, Gottlieb; Schüller (for the CYI)	Finland	Kuusinen (for Finland and the Baltic states)
Belgium	Jacquemotte, Joseph	France	Sellier; Sépard, Pierre; Treint, Albert
Britain	MacManus; Pollitt, Harry	Germany	Geschke, Ottomar; Rosenberg, Arthur; Schlecht, Paul; Zetkin (personally)
Bulgaria	Kolarov		

¹ 10 Let Kominterna, p. 316, mentions Šmeral, Bordiga and Schüller instead of Neurath, Terracini and Sackin; it adds Neurath, Terracini and Stewart as candidates.

Holland	Wijnkoop	Spain	Persolis (Pérez Solis, Oscar)
India	Roy	Sweden	Höglund; Kilbom
Italy	Bordiga; Ercoli (Togliatti, Palmiro)	USA	Foster, William Z.; Ruthenberg, Charles
Japan	Katayama		Emil
Java	Semaoen	Yugoslavia	Filipović, Filip;
Norway	Scheflo		Kaclerović, Triša;
Poland	Grzegorzewski (Grzelszczak, Franciszek)		Vujović, Voja (for the CYI)
Rumania	Cristescu, Gheorghe		

Candidates

USSR	Petrov (Raskol'nikov, Fedor F.); ¹ Pjatnickij; Trockij; Lozovskij (for the RILU?)		
Britain	Gallacher, William; Stewart	Ireland	Larkin, James
Bulgaria	Dimitrov, Georgi	Italy	Maffi, Fabrizio; Rienzi (Tasca, Angelo); Scoccimarro, Mauro
Czechosl.	Dobrovólný, Filip; Verčík, Július; Zápotocký, Antonín	Lithuania	Mickiewicz-Kapsukas, Vincas (for Finland and the Baltic states)
France	Doriot, Jacques; Girault, Suzanne (Depollier, Suzanne); Jerram, Guy	Norway	Hansen, Arvid G.
Germany	Fischer, Ruth (Eisler, Elfriede); Maslow, Arkadi (Čemerinskij, Isak); Thälmann, Ernst	Poland	Bogucki, Waclaw; Niedobytj (Ładan, Paweł)
Hungary	Kun (personally) ²	Sweden	Samuelson, Oscar
		USA	Dunne, William F.
		Yugoslavia	Marković

Source: Pjatyj Vsemirnyj Kongress Kommunističeskogo Internacionala 17 ijunja – 8 ijulja 1924 g., Stenografičeskij otčet (Moscow, Leningrad, 1925), II (Priloženija), p. 237²

¹ Fedor Raskol'nikov, born Fedor Il'in, attended the Fifth Congress as a member with voting rights of the RCP(B) delegation under the name Raskol'nikov. He was also a member with a consultative vote of the delegation of the CP of China, under the pseudonym Petrov. Under the name Petrov he directed the Eastern department of the ECCI for several years. He was apparently elected as candidate of the ECCI to the Secretariat and the Orgbureau for the Eastern countries. See source, pp. 241-43; Leo Trotzky, *Wer leitet heute die Kommunistische Internationale* (Berlin, 1930), p. 30.

² Béla Kun, relieved of all party positions in the Hungarian CP from 1922 until the first congress of the Hungarian CP held in Vienna on 18-25 August 1925, attended the Fifth Comintern Congress as a full delegate with voting rights of the RCP(B) delegation. He directed the Agitprop department of the ECCI from December 1923 on. In 1924 he was elected as candidate to the ECCI, personally. See source, p. 242; Kun Bélané, Kun Béla (Emlékezések) (Budapest, 1966); *Protokoll Fünfter Kongress der Kommunistischen Internationale* (Hamburg, n.d.), p. 1022.

³ The German edition of the report omits Schüller, Hessen and Vujović as members, and Petrov as candidate. It mentions Sokolnikov as candidate. Filipović, Kaclerović, Marković, Maslow, Scoccimarro and Chen Tu-hsiu are listed under their pseudonyms: Bošković, Marinović, Simić, Robert, Marco and Tschin Du-liu. *Protokoll Fünfter Kongress*, pp. 1021-22. The English edition of the report does not give the names of Foster and Ruthenberg; it mentions only "United States: 2 comrades". Petrov is not named as candidate, but Sokolnikov is. Filipović, Kaclerović, Marković, Maslow and Scoccimarro are given under their pseudonyms. *Fifth Congress of the Communist International*, op. cit., pp. 277-78.

Table 24. *The ICC elected at the Fifth Congress*

USSR	Kon; Sol'c, Aron A.		
Brazil	Astrogildo (Pereira, Astrojildo)	Germany	Koenig, Arthur
Britain	Murphy, John T.	Italy	Gennari
Bulgaria	Kabakčiev, Christo	Latvia	Stučka
Czechosl.	Kreibich	Lithuania	Angaretis
Denmark	Lauersen (Larsen, Axel), for Scandinavia	Mexico	Stirner
Estonia	Pögelmann	Poland	Próchniak
France	Cachin, Marcel	Turkey	Shafik (Deymer, Shafik Hüsni)
		USA	Browder, Earl Russell

Source: Pjatyj Vsemirnyj Kongress, II, p. 238

Table 25. *The Presidium of the ECCI elected at the 4th enlarged plenum (12-13 July 1924)**Members*

USSR	Zinov'ev, President; Bucharin; Stalin		
UkrSSR	Manuil'skij	Germany	Geschke; Thälmann
Britain	MacManus	Italy	Ercoli
Bulgaria	Kolarov (for the Balkans)	Japan	Katayama (for the Eastern countries)
Czechosl.	Šmeral		
Finland	Kuusinen (for Finland and the Baltic states)	Norway	Scheflo (for Scandinavia)
France	Sémard	Yugoslavia	Vujović (for the CYI)

Candidates

USSR	Kamenev; Rykov; Sokolnikov, Grigorij Ja. (Brilliant); Hessen (for the CYI)		
UkrSSR	Frunze	India	Roy (for the Eastern countries)
Britain	Pollitt		
Czechosl.	Muna; Neurath	Italy	Rienzi
France	Treint	Norway	Hansen (for Scandinavia)
Germany	Fischer; Schlecht; Zetkin (personally)	USA	Foster; Ruthenberg

Source: 10 Let Komintern, pp. 327-28¹

Table 26. *The Secretariat of the ECCI elected at the 4th enlarged plenum**Members*

USSR	Pjatnickij	Germany	Geschke
Finland	Kuusinen	Switzerland	Humbert-Droz (personally?) ²
France	Treint		

¹ Inprekorr, Vol. 4, p. 1107, lists Pollitt as a member of the Presidium, but fails to mention Foster and Ruthenberg as candidates. It refers merely to "two American comrades". J. Degras, II, p. 573, says that the names of Roy and Hessen are omitted from the list published in 10 Let Komintern. This is not correct. See source, p. 328.

² Humbert-Droz represented the ECCI in the Latin countries of Europe from 1922 to 1924, and later became responsible for these countries and Latin America in the ECCI Secretariat in Moscow. He attended the Fifth Congress as a full delegate with voting rights of the Portuguese CP. He was probably elected personally to the Secretariat and the Orgbureau. See Pjatyj Vsemirnyj Kongress, II, p. 242.

Candidates

Britain	MacManus	Germany	Zetkin, for the IWS ¹
Czechosl.	Neurath		

Source: *Inprekorr*, Vol. 4, p. 1107 (14 July 1924)

Table 27. *The Orgbureau elected at the 4th enlarged plenum*

USSR	Pjatnickij; Petrov (for the Eastern countries?)		
Austria	Schüller (for the CYI)	Italy	one representative
Britain	MacManus	Lithuania	Mickiewicz-Kapsukas
Czechosl.	one representative	Poland	Bogucki
Finland	Kuusinen	Switzerland	Humbert-Droz (personally?)
France	Treint		
Germany	Geschke	USA	Dunne
Hungary	Kun (personally)		

Source: *ibid.*

Table 28. *The Orgbureau elected at the 5th enlarged plenum (21 March – 6 April 1925)²*

USSR	Pjatnickij; Petrov (for the Eastern countries?)		
Austria	Schüller (for the CYI)	Lithuania	Mickiewicz-Kapsukas
Britain	MacManus	Poland	Bogucki
Finland	Kuusinen	Switzerland	Humbert-Droz (personally?)
France	Treint		
Germany	Geschke	USA	Dunne
Hungary	Kun (personally)		

Source: 10 *Let Kominterna*, p. 328

Table 29. *The Presidium of the ECCI elected at the 6th enlarged plenum (17 February – 15 March 1926)³*

Members

USSR	Zinov'ev, President; Bucharin; Stalin; Lominadze, Vissarion V., for the CYI; Lozovskij, for the RILU		
UkrSSR	Manuil'skij	Finland	Kuusinen, for Finland and the Baltic states
Britain	Ferguson, Aitken		
Bulgaria	Kolarov, for the Balkans	France	Sémard; Treint
		Germany	Remmele, Hermann;
China	Su-Fan (Chen Ho-sian?)		Thälmann; Zetkin (for the IWS)
Czechosl.	Šmeral		

¹ Clara Zetkin was elected to the ECCI personally and as candidate to the Secretariat for the International Women's Secretariat (IWS). See source.

² The 5th plenum does not appear to have published a list of members elected to the ECCI Presidium and Secretariat. J. Degras, II, p. 573, gives a list of the composition of the Secretariat consisting of Kuusinen, Pjatnickij, Treint, Katz, Humbert-Droz, Neurath and Kornblum. This composition is in accordance with the list of the Secretariat elected at the opening of the plenum for the duration of the plenum only. See, for instance, *Protokoll der Erweiterten Exekutive der Kommunistischen Internationale*, Moskau, 21. März – 6. April 1925 (Hamburg, 1925), pp. 1, 4.

³ On 17 March 1926 Bucharin, Thälmann and Sémard were elected as Vice-Presidents of the Comintern and the ECCI. See source.

India	Roy, for the Eastern countries	Japan	Katayama
Italy	Ercoli	USA	Ruthenberg

Candidates

Bulgaria	Dimitrov, Georgi	Yugoslavia	Bošković, Boško (Filipović, Filip); Vujović, for the CYI
Poland	Bogucki		
USA	Bedacht, Max		

Source: Inprekorr, Vol. 6, p. 794 (9 April 1926)

Table 30. *The Secretariat of the ECCI elected at the 6th enlarged plenum*

Members

USSR	Kornblum, Isak R.; Pjatnickij; Petrov (for the Eastern countries?)		
Britain	Ferguson	India	Roy, for the Eastern countries
Czechosl.	Šmeral	Italy	Ercoli
Finland	Kuusinen, for Finland and the Baltic states	Switzerland	Humbert-Droz (personally?)
France	Jacob, Henri		
Germany	Geschke		

Candidates

Bulgaria	Dimitrov, Georgi	USA	Pepper, John (Pogány, József) (personally?) ¹
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Source: *ibid.*

Table 31. *The Orgbureau elected at the 6th enlarged plenum*

Members

USSR	Pjatnickij; Petrov (for the Eastern countries?)		
UkrSSR	Manuil'skij	Germany	Geschke
Britain	Ferguson	India	Roy (for the Eastern countries)
Bulgaria	Dimitrov, Georgi	Italy	Ercoli
Czechosl.	Šmeral	Switzerland	Humbert-Droz (personally?)
Finland	Kuusinen (for Finland and the Baltic states)		
France	Treint		

In addition, the heads of the ECCI departments and the representatives of the ECCI Co-operative department, the CYI and the IWS

Candidates

USSR	Kornblum	USA	Pepper (personally?)
France	Jacob		

Source: *ibid.*

¹ József Pogány was a member of the Hungarian CP from 1919 until 1922, and from the summer of 1922 a member of the CPUSA under the assumed name of John Pepper. From 1925 on, he headed the Information department of the ECCI Secretariat in Moscow. He was probably elected as a candidate to the Secretariat and the Orgbureau for the ECCI apparatus personally.

Table 32. *The Presidium of the ECCI elected at the 7th enlarged plenum (22 November – 28 December 1926)*¹*Members*

USSR	Bucharin; Stalin; Lozovskij (for the RILU); Šackin (for the CYI)	
UkrSSR	Manuil'skij	India Roy (for the Eastern countries)
Britain	Gallacher; Murphy	
Bulgaria	Kolarov (for the Balkans)	Indonesia Semaoen
China	Tan-Pin (Tan Ping-shan)	Italy Ercoli
Czechosl.	Haken, Josef; Šmeral	Japan Katayama
Finland	Kuusinen (for Finland and the Baltic states)	Poland Próchniak
France	Crémet, Jean; Sépard	Sweden Sillen, Hugo (for Scandinavia)
Germany	Remmele; Thälmann; Zetkin (for the IWS)	USA Duncan (Minor, Robert); Ruthenberg

Candidates

USSR	Molotov, Vjačeslav M. (Skrjabin); Pjatnickij	
Argentina	Codovilla, Victorio (for South America?)	Hungary Kun
Austria	Schüller (for the CYI)	Italy Maggi (Gennari, Egidio)
France	Treint	Poland Bogucki
Germany	Geschke	Switzerland Humbert-Droz (personally?)

Source: Inprekorr, Vol. 6, p. 2842 (23 December 1926)

Table 33. *The Political Secretariat of the ECCI elected at the session of the Presidium of 20 December 1926**Members*

USSR	Bucharin; Pjatnickij	France	Crémet
UkrSSR	Manuil'skij	Germany	Remmele
Czechosl.	Šmeral (personally?) ²	India	Roy (for the Eastern countries)
Finland	Kuusinen (for Finland and the Baltic states)	Italy	Ercoli

Candidates

USSR	Molotov; Lozovskij (for the RILU)	Switzerland	Humbert-Droz (personally?)
Britain	Murphy		

Source: *ibid.*³

¹ This plenum relieved Zinov'ev from the Presidency of the Comintern and from his duties in the ECCI. It proposed to abolish the post of President of the Comintern and the ECCI. The Orgbureau and the Secretariat were abolished and merged in the Political Secretariat, created at the close of the plenum. See Inprekorr, Vol. 6, p. 2522 (23 November 1926); Protokoll Erweiterte Exekutive der Kommunistischen Internationale, Moskau, 22. November – 16. Dezember 1926 (Hamburg, Berlin, 1927), pp. 842-44; Tätigkeitsbericht der Exekutive der Kommunistischen Internationale, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

² Bohumír Šmeral, former leader of the Czechoslovak CP, was dispatched in 1926 for permanent work in the Comintern apparatus in Moscow and gradually relieved of his party positions in the Czechoslovak CP. In 1926-28 he headed the Balkan Secretariat of the ECCI in Moscow, and was probably elected to the Political Secretariat for the ECCI apparatus personally.

³ 10 Let Kominterna, p. 329, gives Bernard as a member of the Political Secretariat.

Table 34. *The Presidium of the ECCI after the 8th plenum (18-30 May 1927)*¹

<i>Members</i>			
USSR	Bucharin; Stalin; Lozovskij, for the RILU; Šackin, for the CYI		
UkrSSR	Manuil'skij	India	Roy
Britain	Gallacher; Murphy	Indonesia	Semaoen
Bulgaria	Kolarov	Italy	Maggi
China	Tan-Pin	Japan	Katayama
Czechosl.	Haken; Šmeral	Poland	Próchniak
Finland	Kuusinen	Sweden	Sillen, for Scandinavia
France	Bernard, Alfred; Sémard	USA	Duncan
Germany	Remmele; Thälmann; Zetkin, personally		
<i>Candidates</i>			
USSR	Molotov; Pjatnickij		
Argentina	Codovilla, for South America?	Hungary	Kun
Austria	Schüller, for the CYI	Italy	Ercoli
France	Treint	Poland	Bogucki
Germany	Geschke	Switzerland	Humbert-Droz, personally?

Table 35. *The Political Secretariat of the ECCI after the 8th plenum*

<i>Members</i>			
USSR	Bucharin; Pjatnickij	France	Barbé, Henri
UkrSSR	Manuil'skij	Germany	Remmele
Czechosl.	Šmeral, personally	India	Roy
Finland	Kuusinen	Italy	Maggi
<i>Candidates</i>			
USSR	Molotov; Lozovskij, for the RILU	Britain	Gallacher
		Switzerland	Humbert-Droz, personally?

Table 36. *The Presidium of the ECCI elected at the 9th plenum (9-25 February 1928)*

<i>Members</i>			
USSR	Bucharin; Stalin; Lozovskij (for the RILU); Šackin (for the CYI)		
UkrSSR	Manuil'skij	India	Roy
Britain	Gallacher; Murphy	Indonesia	Semaoen
Bulgaria	Kolarov	Italy	Ercoli; Maggi
China	Hsiang (Hsiang Chung-fa)	Japan	Katayama
		Poland	Próchniak
Czechosl.	Jílek; Šmeral	Sweden	Kilbom
Finland	Kuusinen	Switzerland	Humbert-Droz (personally)
France	Barbé; Sémard		
Germany	Remmele; Thälmann; Zetkin (personally)	USA	Engdahl, J. Louis; Foster

¹ This plenum did not elect a Presidium and a Political Secretariat. For the attendant changes, see 10 *Let Kominterny*, pp. 328-29.

Candidates

USSR	Molotov; Pjatnickij		
Austria	Schüller (for the CYI)	Germany	Geschke
Britain	Arnot, Robin Page; Bennett, A. J. (Lipeč, David) ¹	Hungary	Kun
		Italy	Vincenzi (pseud.)
		Poland	Purman, Leon

Source: 10 Let Kominterna, pp. 327-28*

SIXTH CONGRESS (17 AUGUST – 1 SEPTEMBER 1928)

Table 37. *The ECCI elected at the Sixth Congress**Members*

USSR	Bucharin; Manuil'skij; Molotov; Pjatnickij; Rykov; Skrypnik, Nikolaj A.; Stalin; Chitarov, Rafael M., for the CYI; ³ Lozovskij (for the RILU?)		
Argentina	Ghioldi, Rodolfo	Canada	Spector, Maurice
Austria	Koplenig, Johann	Chile	Fermin-Araja (Roças, Rufino Sanchez?)
Belgium	Jacquemotte		
Brazil	Ledo, Amerigo (Lacerda, Fernando)	China	Hsiang; Li-Kuang (Su Chao-cheng); Tsiu Vito (Chü Chiu-pai)
Britain	Bell; Campbell, John R.; Rust, William, for the CYI	Czechosl.	Gottwald, Klement; Jílek; Šmeral ⁴
Bulgaria	Kolarov		

¹ A. J. Bennett was born in Berdičev in the Ukraine as David Lipeč. He emigrated to the USA before World War I. There he used the name Dr Max Goldfarb and became a leading member of the Central Jewish Workers' Party, a member of the Bund, and a political writer on the Jewish Daily Forward. After the October Revolution, he returned to Russia and became a member of the RCP(B). During the Civil War, he served in the headquarters of the Red Army and joined the ECCI apparatus in Moscow under the name of D. Petrovskij. In the spring of 1924, under the name of A. J. Bennett, he was sent to Britain by the ECCI to act as its representative in the British CP. Later he did the same thing in the CP of France under the pseudonym Humbold. Bennett attended the Fifth and the Sixth Congresses of the Comintern as a full delegate with voting rights of the British CP. After the Sixth Congress he worked in the ECCI apparatus. At the beginning of the 1930's, he was accused of being a "Trotskyist" and expelled from the RCP(B). During Stalin's purges, he was arrested and disappeared without trace. See Pjatyj Vsemirnyj Kongress, II, p. 239; VI Kongress Kominterna, Stenografičeskij očeč (Moscow, Leningrad, 1929), V, p. 150; Melech Epstein, *The Jew and Communism 1919-1941* (New York, 1959), p. 12; J. T. Murphy, *New Horizons* (London, 1941), pp. 251, 287-88; Jules Humbert-Droz, *Mémoires, De Lénine à Staline 1921-1931* (Neuchâtel, 1971), p. 277.

² Degras, II, p. 574, gives Weinstein as candidate of the ECCI Presidium; she omits Vincenzi.

³ Rafael Chitarov, of Armenian origin, born near Tiflis, Caucasus, worked in Germany in 1921-25 under the assumed name Rudolf. He served as secretary of the regional committee of the Communist Youth League of Germany in the Ruhr, and in 1923-25 as the organizing secretary of its CC (Central Committee) in Berlin. In May 1927 he was sent to China by the CYI to act as its representative in the Chinese Communist Youth Corps. He took part in removing Chen Tu-hsiu from his post as secretary-general of the Chinese CP. See G. A. Avetisjan, Raffi Chitarov. *Očerki žizni i dejatel'nosti* (Erevan, 1971).

⁴ Šmeral took part in the Sixth Congress only as a consultative delegate without voting rights of the Czechoslovak CP. Although he had been re-elected to the ECCI, its Presidium and Political Secretariat for that CP, he was forbidden to attend the fifth congress of the latter (February 1929). He was not re-elected to the CC of the Czechoslovak CP until its seventh congress in 1936. See source, V, p. 156.

Finland	Manner; Kuusinen, personally	Lithuania	Mickiewicz-Kapsukas, for the Baltic states
France	Barbé; Sépard; Thorez, Maurice	Mexico	Carrillo, Rafael
Germany	Dengel, Philipp; Pieck, Wilhelm; Remmele; Thälmann; Blenkle, Konrad, for the CYI; Zetkin, personally	Norway	Furubotn, Peder
Greece	Syphneios (pseud.)	Poland	Leński, Julian (Leszczyński, Julian); Próchniak
Hungary	Kun	Rumania	Popescu (Pauker, Marcel)
India	Chatterji (pseud.?)	Sweden	Kilbom; Samuelson
Indonesia	Musso	Switzerland	Wieser, Fritz; Humbert-Droz, personally ¹
Italy	Ercoli; Serra (Tasca, Angelo)	Turkey	Ferdi, B. Husein (pseud.)
Japan	Kato (Sano, Manabu); Katayama, personally	Uruguay	Gomez, Eugenio
		USA	Foster; Lovestone, Jay
		Yugoslavia	Bošković

Candidates

USSR	Gusev, Sergej I. (Drabkin, Jakov); ² Hopner, Serafima I.; Jaroslavskij, Emel'jan M. (Hubelmann); Mojrova, Varvara A.		
Australia	Kavanagh, Jack	Germany	Ewert, Arthur; Heckert; Schneller, Ernst;
Britain	Horner, Arthur; Pollitt		Ulbricht, Walter
Bulgaria	Dimitrov, Georgi	Holland	Visser, Louis de
China	Chang Piao (Chang Kuo-tau); Chen Kwang (Chou En-lai); Guan-li (pseud.), for the CYI	Hungary	Varga, Jenö, personally
Colombia	Riasco-Giulio (pseud.?)	India	Naoradji (pseud.)
Ecuador		Indonesia	Darsono
Cuba	Lopez (pseud.?)	Italy	Garlandi (Grieco, Ruggero); Turini (pseud.)
Czechosl.	Reiman, Pavel; Verčik; Zápotočský	Japan	Asano (Watanabe, Masanosuke)
Denmark	Thøgersen, Thøger	Norway	Hansen
France	Doriot; Frachon, Benoît; Monmousseau, Gaston; Billoux, François, for the CYI	(Palestine?)	Šauki (pseud.), for Egypt, Palestine and Syria
		Poland	Lovickij (Popov, Nikolaj N.); ³ Purman;

¹ Humbert-Droz, head of the Latin Secretariat of the ECCI in Moscow at the time of the Sixth Congress, attended the Congress as a representative without voting rights of the ECCI apparatus. See source, V, p. 158.

² Sergej Gusev participated in the Sixth Congress and delivered a speech, using the pseudonym Travin. See source, IV, pp. 232-41.

³ Nikolaj Popov, of Russian origin, born in Kutaisi (Georgia), was a member of the RCP(B) from 1919, and the author of the Outline History of the RCP(B) published in 1926. As a party official, he served in the central apparatus of the RCP(B) in Moscow and in the Ukraine. He attended the Sixth Congress as a full delegate with voting rights of the RCP(B) of the Ukraine, but was elected as a candidate to the ECCI for the Polish CP. Popov attended the sixth plenum of the CC of the Polish CP held in Moscow in June 1929 as the representative of the ECCI, and was entrusted with the dismissal of the Kostrzewa-Warski group and with making Leński secretary-general. The Soviet literature does not mention Popov's membership of the ECCI for the Polish CP. See *Sovetskaja Istoričeskaja Enciklopedija*, XI (1963), pp. 410-11; *Ukrainska Radjan'skaja Enciklopedija*, XI (1963), p. 392; source, V, p. 156.

Poland,	Sokolik (Knorin,	USA	Gitlow, Benjamin;
continued	Vil'gel'm G.) ¹		Huiswoud, Otto E.
South Africa	Maloka (Malaka, Tan?)	Yugoslavia	Bosnić (Djaković,
Spain	Pascal (pseud.)		Djuro)
Sweden	Sillen		

Source: VI Kongress Komintern, II, pp. 198-99

Table 38. *The ICC elected at the Sixth Congress*

USSR	Cchakaja; Kon; Sol'c	Germany	Eberlein; Flieg, Leo
Argentina	Codovilla	Italy	Maggi
Bulgaria	Iskrov, Petar	Latvia	Stučka (Chairman)
China	Cheng Chen (pseud.); Hsiu Yen (Hsiang Ying?)	Lithuania	Angaretis
Czechosl.	Mondok, Ivan; ² Weiss	Persia	Shargi (pseud.)
Estonia	Anvelt, Jan	Rumania	Stefanescu (pseud.?)
Finland	Sirola	USA	Weinstone, William W.
France	Cachin	Yugoslavia	Gorkić, Milan (Čizinski, Josip), for the CYI

Source: *ibid.*

Table 39. *The Presidium of the ECCI elected at the plenary session after the Sixth Congress (5 September 1928)*

Members

USSR	Bucharin; Manuil'skij; Molotov; Pjaticnickij; Stalin; Chitarov (for the CYI); Lozovskij (for the RILU?)		
Britain	Bell	Germany	Remmele; Thälmann;
Bulgaria	Kolarov (for the Balkans)		Zetkin (personally)
China	Tsiu-Vito	Hungary	Kun
Czechosl.	Jilek; Šmeral	Indonesia	Musso
Finland	Kuusinen (personally)	Italy	Ercoli; Serra
France	Barbé; Sémard	Japan	Kato; Katayama (per- sonally)

¹ Vil'gel'm Knorin, born Wilhelm Knorinš, of Latvian origin, was a member of the RCP(B) from 1917. For several years he headed the Information and later Agitprop departments in the central apparatus of the RCP(B) in Moscow. At the fifteenth congress of the RCP(B) in 1927 he was elected a member of the CC of the RCP(B) and became first secretary of the Belorussian CP. Knorin attended the Sixth Comintern Congress as the head of the Belorussian delegation, but was elected as a candidate to the ECCI for the Polish CP under the pseudonym of Sokolik and became *de facto* head of that party. He went to Berlin, where the Politbureau of the Polish CC resided. Moreover, Knorin directed the West European Bureau of the ECCI in Berlin under the pseudonyms of Sokolik and Tischler until April 1929. At the sixth plenum of the Polish CC he reported on the situation in the RCP(B) and was elected a member of the Politbureau of the Polish CC. He played an active role in removing the Kostrzewa-Warski group. Knorin headed the Central European Secretariat of the ECCI until 29 April 1934. Soviet literature does not mention Knorin's membership of the ECCI for the Polish CP or his activities in that CP. See Bol'shaja Sovetskaja Enciklopedija, XII (1973), p. 344.

² Ivan Mondok, who emigrated to the Soviet Union in 1929, was excluded from the ICC at the 13th ECCI plenum in December 1933. He was arrested by the State Security organs of the USSR and sentenced to ten years of hard labour, and died in prison in 1941. See the report of Popov in XIII Plenum IKKI, Stenografičeskij otčet (Moscow, 1934), pp. 111-16.

Poland	Próchniak	Switzerland	Humbert-Droz (personally) ¹
S. America	Rosso (pseud.)		
Sweden	Kilborn (for Scandinavia)	USA	Gitlow

Candidates

Britain	Pollitt; Rust (for the CYI)	Poland	Leński; Purman
China	Chang Piao	USA	Foster
Germany	Heckert	Yugoslavia	Milković (Sakun, V(iktor?)) ²
Norway	Hansen (for Scandinavia)		

Source: Inprekorr, Vol. 8, p. 2115 (2 October 1928)

Table 40. *The Political Secretariat of the ECCI elected at the session of the Presidium of 5 September 1928*

Members

USSR	Bucharin; Molotov; Pjatnickij		
Britain	Bell	France	Barbé
China	Tsiu Vito	Germany	Remmele
Czechosl.	Šmeral	Italy	Serra
Finland	Kuusinen (personally)	Switzerland	Humbert-Droz (personally)

Candidates

USSR	Manuil'skij; Chitarov (for the CYI); Lozovskij (for the RILU?)
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Source: Inprekorr, Vol. 8, p. 2117³

Table 41. *The Presidium of the ECCI after the 10th plenum (3-9 July 1929)⁴*

Members

USSR	Gusev; Manuil'skij; Molotov; Pjatnickij; Stalin; Chitarov (for the CYI); Lozovskij (for the RILU?)
------	--

¹ Cf. 10 Let Kominternu, p. 341.

² V. Sakun, of Georgian origin, born in the Caucasus, was a member of the RCP(B) and worked in the apparatus of the Balkan Secretariat of the ECCI in Moscow from 1926. Early in 1928 he was sent to investigate the situation in the Yugoslav CP. Under the pseudonym Milković, he took part in the eighth conference of the CPY, held in Zagreb at the end of February 1928 as the representative of the ECCI. After the conference he submitted a report to the Balkan Secretariat, which played an important role in the removal of the Yugoslav leadership headed by Sima Marković. A conference of the CPY, organized by the Balkan Secretariat and held in Moscow in April 1928, removed the old leadership. See Mane Trbojević, VIII Mjesna Konferencija Zagrebačke Organizacije KPJ (Grada) (Zagreb, 1970), p. 19.

³ 10 Let Kominternu, p. 341, gives Ulbricht instead of Remmele as a member of the Political Secretariat; it mentions that Milković was elected as candidate to the Presidium for the Balkans and Heckert for the RILU. Chü Chiu-pai is added under the pseudonym Strachov.

⁴ This plenum carried out supplementary elections to the Presidium. It excluded Jilek, Lovestone and Spector from the ECCI. For the attendant changes, see Protokoll 10. Plenum des Exekutivkomitees der Kommunistischen Internationale, Moskau, 3. Juli 1929 bis 19. Juli 1929 (Hamburg, Berlin, n.d.), pp. 878-80. The name Randolph is sometimes spelled Randolf.

Brazil	Ledo, for South America	Hungary	Kun
Britain	Bell	Indonesia	Musso
Bulgaria	Kolarov (for the Balkans)	Italy	Ercoli; Garlandi
China	Tsiu Vito	Japan	Kato; Katayama (personally)
Czechosl.	Gottwald; Šmeral (personally)	Poland	Leński; Próchniak
Finland	Kuusinen (personally)	S. America	Rosso
France	Barbé; Sémard	Sweden	Kilbom (for Scandinavia)
Germany	Remmele; Thälmann; Zetkin (personally)	USA	Randolph (Weinstone, William W.)
<i>Candidates</i>			
Britain	Pollitt; Rust (for the CYI)	Norway	Hansen (for Scandinavia)
China	Chang Piao	Poland	Purman
Czechosl.	Reiman	USA	Foster
Germany	Heckert	Yugoslavia	Milković

Table 42. *The Political Secretariat of the ECCI after the 10th plenum**Members*

USSR	Molotov; Pjatnickij	Finland	Kuusinen (personally)
Britain	Bell	France	Barbé
China	Tsiu Vito	Germany	Remmele
Czechosl.	Šmeral (personally)		

Candidates

USSR	Manuil'skij; Chitarov (for the CYI); Lozovskij (for the RILU?)
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Table 43. *The Presidium of the ECCI elected at the 11th plenum (25 March – 13 April 1931)**Members*

USSR	Manuil'skij; Pjatnickij; Stalin; Čemodanov, Vasilij T. (for the CYI); Lozovskij (for the RILU)	Germany	Pieck; Remmele; Thälmann; Zetkin (personally)
Britain	Arnot; Pollitt	Hungary	Kun
Bulgaria	Kolarov	Italy	Ercoli; Garlandi
China	Chuan-Pin (Huang Ping); Su (pseud.)	Japan	Katayama
Czechosl.	Gottwald; Guttman, Josef; Šmeral (personally)	Poland	Leński; Próchniak
Finland	Kuusinen	Sweden	Sillen
France	Barbé; Cachin; Thorez	USA	Foster; Randolph

Candidates

USSR	Gusev; Knorin, Vil'gel'm G.	Norway	Furubotn
Austria	Koplenig	Poland	Bratkowski (Sochacki, Jerzy)
France	Célor, Pierre	USA	Browder
Germany	Florin, Wilhelm; Müller, Kurt; Neumann, Heinz	Yugoslavia	Bošković
Italy	Furini (Dozza, Giuseppe)		

Source: XI Plenum IKKI, Stenografičeskij otčet (Moscow, Leningrad, 1931), II, p. 246

Table 44. *The Political Secretariat of the ECCI elected at the session of the Presidium of 15 April 1931**Members*

USSR	Knorin; Manuil'skij; Pjatnickij		
Britain	Pollitt	Germany	Pieck; Thälmann
China	Chuan-Pin	Italy	Ercoli
Czechosl.	Guttman	Poland	Leński
Finland	Kuusinen (personally)	USA	Randolph
France	Thorez		

Candidates

USSR	Čemodanov (for the CYI); Lozovskij (for the RILU)		
Britain	Arnot	Italy	Furini
France	Célor	Poland	Bratkowski

Source: *ibid.*Table 45. *The Presidium of the ECCI after the 12th plenum (27 August – 15 September 1932)*¹*Members*

USSR	Manuil'skij; Pjatnickij; Stalin; Čemodanov, for the CYI; Lozovskij, for the RILU		
Britain	Arnot; Pollitt	Germany	Pieck; Remmele; Thälmann; Zetkin (personally)
Bulgaria	Kolarov		
China	Su; Wang Ming (Chen Shao-yü)	Hungary	Kun
Czechosl.	Gottwald; Guttman	Italy	Ercoli; Garlandi
Finland	Kuusinen	Japan	Katayama
France	Cachin; Thorez	Poland	Leński; Próchniak
		Sweden	Sillen
		USA	Foster

Candidates

USSR	Gusev; Knorin	Italy	Gallo, Luigi (Longo, Luigi)
Austria	Koplenig		
Britain	Shields(, James?)	Norway	Furubotn
Czechosl.	Köhler, Bruno	Poland	Bratkowski
Germany	Florin	USA	Browder

Table 46. *The Political Secretariat of the ECCI after the 12th plenum**Members*

USSR	Knorin; Manuil'skij; Pjatnickij		
Britain	Pollitt	France	Thorez
China	Wang Ming	Germany	Pieck; Thälmann
Czechosl.	Guttman	Italy	Ercoli
Finland	Kuusinen	Poland	Leński

Candidates

USSR	Čemodanov, for the CYI; Lozovskij, for the RILU		
Britain	Arnot	Poland	Bratkowski

¹ This plenum carried out supplementary elections to the Presidium. A list of members does not appear to have been published.

Table 47. *The Presidium of the ECCI after the 13th plenum (28 November – 12 December 1933)*¹*Members*

USSR	Manuil'skij; Pjatnickij; Stalin; Čemodanov, for the CYI; Lozovskij, for the RILU		
Britain	Gallacher; Pollitt	Hungary	Kun
Bulgaria	Kolarov	Italy	Ercoli; Garlandi
China	Kang Sin (Kang Sheng); Wang Ming	Japan	Okano, Susumu (Nosako, Sanzo)
Czechosl.	Gottwald; Köhler	Poland	Leński; Próchniak
Finland	Kuusinen	Sweden	Sillen
France	Cachin; Thorez	USA	Foster
Germany	Florin; Pieck; Thälmann		

Candidates

USSR	Knorin	Italy	Roncoli (Montagnana, Mario)
Austria	Koplenig	Norway	Furubotn
Britain	MacIlhon (pseud.?)	Poland	Bronkowski (Bortnowski, Bronislaw)
Czechosl.	Haken	USA	Browder
Germany	Heckert		

Table 48. *The Political Secretariat of the ECCI after the 13th plenum**Members*

USSR	Knorin; Manuil'skij; Pjatnickij		
Britain	Pollitt	Germany	Pieck; Thälmann
China	Wang Ming	Italy	Ercoli
Finland	Kuusinen	Poland	Leński
France	Thorez		

Candidates

USSR	Čemodanov, for the CYI; Lozovskij, for the RILU
Poland	Bronkowski

SEVENTH CONGRESS (25 JULY – 20 AUGUST 1935)

Table 49. *The ECCI elected at the Seventh Congress**Members*

USSR	Ežov, Nikolaj I.; Manuil'skij; Moskvín, Michail A. (Trilisser, Mejer A.); Stalin; Ždanov, Andrej A.		
Austria	Koplenig	Britain	Gallacher; Pollitt
Brazil	Prestes, Luis Carlos		

¹ For the changes brought about by the supplementary elections of this plenum, see XIII Plenum IKKI, pp. 569-70. This report omits the name of Bronkowski, who replaced Bratkowski as candidate to the Presidium and the Political Secretariat. The latter was arrested by the State Security organs of the USSR in August 1933, and committed suicide on September 4 in a Moscow prison cell. See "Autobiografia Bronisława Bortnowskiego-Bronkowskiego", in: *Z Pola Walki*, VII (1964), No 4, pp. 195-200; "Jerzy Czeszejko-Sochacki", *ibid.*, III (1960), No 4, pp. 128-47.

Bulgaria	Dimitrov, Georgi, Secretary-General; Kolarov	Hungary	Kun; Rákosi
Canada	Buck, Tim	Indochina	Chayen (Lé Hông Phong)
China	Chang Kuo-tau; Chou En-lai; Mao Tse-tung; Wang Ming	Italy	Ercoli; Garlandi
Czechosl.	Gottwald; Köhler	Japan	Ichikawa, Shoichi; Okano
Finland	Kuusinen	Palestine	Salim Abud (pseud.) (for the Near East countries)
France	Cachin; Duclos, Jacques; Marty, André; Thorez; Raymond (Guyot, Raymond) (for the CYI)	Poland	Bronkowski; Leński
Germany	Florin; Heckert; Pieck; Thälmann	Portugal	Quierós, Antonio (Gon- çalves, Bento Antonio)
Greece	Dimitriu (Zachariades, Nicholas)	Rumania	Stefanov, Boris
Holland	De Visser	Spain	Díaz, José
<i>Candidates</i>		Sweden	Linderot, Sven
USSR	Hopner; Čemodanov (for the CYI); Lozovskij (for the RILU)	USA	Browder; Foster; Green, Gilbert (Greenberg, Gilbert)
Argentina	Ghioldi		
Australia	Sharkey, Lawrence	Finland	Tuominen, Arvo
Austria	Dernberger, Kurt M.	France	Frachon
Belgium	Jacquemotte	Germany	Dahlem, Franz; Ulbricht
Britain	Campbell; Dutt, Rajani Palme	Holland	Schalkar, Cornelius
Bulgaria	Popov, Blagoj; Stojnov (Dimitrov, Sobi)	Hungary	Varga
China	Kon Sin (Kang Sheng); Po Ku (Chin Pang-hsien)	India	Bradley, Benjamin F.
Cuba	Roca, Blas	Italy	Furini
Czechosl.	Široký, Viliam; Šverma, Jan; Zápotocký; Michal (Wolf, Michal) (for the CYI)	Latvia	Kruminš, Janis
		Norway	Lövlien, Emil
		Poland	Bielewski (Paszyn, Jan); Próchniak
		Spain	Dolores (Ibarruri, Dolores)
		USA	Ford, James W.
		Yugoslavia	Gorkić

Source: Pravda, 21 August 1935

Table 50. *The ICC elected at the Seventh Congress*

USSR	Cchakaja; Škirjatov, Matvej F.; Stasova, Elena D.		
Britain	Kerrigan, Peter	Italy	Maggi
Bulgaria	Iskov	Lithuania	Angaretis
China	Tu Ho Sin (No Kao Tsi- li)	Poland	Grzegorzewski; Krajew- ski, Antoni (Stein, Wła- dysław); Walecki
Czechosl.	Šmeral		
Estonia	Anvelt (Chairman)	Sweden	Senander, Knut
Finland	Sirola	Turkey	Ferdi
France	Monmousseau	USA	Minor, Robert
Germany	Dengel; Eberlein		

Source: *ibid.*

Table 51. *The Presidium of the ECCI elected at the plenary session after the Seventh Congress (21 August 1935)*

<i>Members</i>			
USSR	Manuil'skij; Moskvina; Stalin		
Austria	Koplenig	France	Cachin; Marty; Thorez
Britain	Pollitt	Germany	Florin; Pieck
Bulgaria	Dimitrov, Georgi, Secretary-General; Kolarov	Italy	Ercoli
		Japan	Okano
China	Wang Ming	Poland	Leński
Czechosl.	Gottwald	USA	Foster
Finland	Kuusinen		
<i>Candidates</i>			
USSR	Lozovskij (for the RILU)		
Britain	Gallacher	Germany	Heckert
China	Kon Sin	Italy	Garlandi
Czechosl.	Köhler; Michal (for the CYI)	Poland	Bronkowski
		Sweden	Linderot
Finland	Tuominen	USA	Browder
France	Raymond (for the CYI)		

Source: Pravda, 22 August 1935

Table 52. *The Secretariat of the ECCI elected at the session of the Presidium of 21 August 1935*

<i>Members</i>			
USSR	Manuil'skij	Finland	Kuusinen
Bulgaria	Dimitrov, Georgi, Secretary-General	France	Marty
		Germany	Pieck
Czechosl.	Gottwald	Italy	Ercoli
<i>Candidates</i>			
USSR	Moskvina	Germany	Florin
China	Wang Ming		

Source: *ibid.*Table 53. *The ECCI at the beginning of World War II*

<i>Members</i>			
USSR	Manuil'skij; Stalin; Ždanov		
Austria	Koplenig	Germany	Florin; Pieck; Thälmann
Brazil	Prestes	Greece	Dimitriu
Britain	Gallacher; Pollitt	Holland	De Visser
Bulgaria	Dimitrov, Georgi, Secretary-General; Kolarov	Hungary	Rákosi
		Indochina	Chayen
Canada	Buck	Italy	Ercoli; Garlandi
China	Chou En-lai; Mao Tse-tung; Wang Ming	Japan	Ichikawa; Okano
		Palestine	Salim Abud (for the Near East countries)
Czechosl.	Gottwald; Köhler		
Finland	Kuusinen	Portugal	Quierós
France	Cachin; Duclos; Marty; Thorez; Raymond, for the CYI	Rumania	Stefanov
		Spain	Díaz

Sweden	Linderot	USA	Browder; Foster; Green
<i>Candidates</i>			
USSR	Hopner; Lozovskij	Finland	Tuominen
Argentina	Ghioldi	France	Frachon
Australia	Sharkey	Germany	Dahlem; Ulbricht
Britain	Campbell; Dutt	Holland	Schalker
Bulgaria	Stojnov	Hungary	Varga
China	Kon Sin; Po Ku	India	Bradley
Cuba	Roca	Italy	Furini
Czechosl.	Široký; Šverma; Zápo- tocký; Michal, for the CYI	Norway	Lövlien
		Spain	Dolores
		USA	Ford

Table 54. *The ICC at the beginning of World War II*

USSR	Cchakaja; Škirjatov; Stasova		
Britain	Kerrigan	Germany	Dengel; Florin (Chairman) ¹
China	Tu Ho-sin		
Czechosl.	Šmeral	Italy	Maggi
France	Monmousseau	Sweden	Senander
		USA	Minor

Table 55. *The Presidium of the ECCI at the beginning of World War II**Members*

USSR	Manuil'skij; Stalin		
Austria	Koplenig	Finland	Kuusinen
Britain	Pollitt	France	Cachin; Marty; Thorez
Bulgaria	Dimitrov, Georgi, Secre- tary-General; Kolarov	Germany	Florin; Pieck
		Italy	Ercoli
China	Wang Ming	Japan	Okano
Czechosl.	Gottwald	USA	Foster

Candidates

USSR	Lozovskij	Finland	Tuominen ³
Britain	Gallacher	France	Raymond, for the CYI
China	Kon Sin	Italy	Garlandi
Czechosl.	Köhler; Michal, for the CYI ²	Sweden	Linderot
		USA	Browder

¹ Florin replaced Anvelt as member and chairman of the ICC in 1937. Anvelt was arrested in Moscow and shot.

² Michal Wolf attended the 13th ECCI plenum as the representative of the Czechoslovak Communist Youth League under the pseudonym Michal in December 1933, and at the sixth congress of the CYI in October 1935 he was elected secretary. He was transferred from the Czechoslovak CP to the Hungarian CP in Moscow in 1940. During World War II he was employed at Radio Kossuth in Moscow and entrusted with political work among prisoners of war in the USSR. Assuming the name of Mihaly Farkas, he emigrated to Hungary at the end of 1944 and became a member of the Hungarian CP leadership. From 1948 to 1953 Farkas was a member of the Politbureau, deputy secretary-general of the Hungarian CP and Minister of National Defense. He was expelled from that party and arrested in 1956, sentenced in Budapest in 1957, but later released from prison. He died in 1965. See XIII Plenum IKKI, pp. 376-80; Munkásmozgalomtörténeti Lexikon (Budapest, 1972), p. 146.

³ Tuominen was expelled from the ECCI and the Finnish CP at the end of 1939.

Table 56. *The Secretariat of the ECCI at the beginning of World War II*¹*Members*

USSR	Manuil'skij		
Bulgaria	Dimitrov, Georgi, Secretary-General	France	Marty
		Germany	Pieck
Czechosl.	Gottwald	Italy	Ercoli
Finland	Kuusinen	Spain	Díaz; Dolores

Candidates

China	Wang Ming	Germany	Florin
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Table 57. *The Dissolution of the Communist International on 15 May 1943*

The resolution of the ECCI Presidium recommending the dissolution was signed by the following members:²

USSR	Manuil'skij; Ždanov		
Austria	Koplenig	Finland	Kuusinen
Bulgaria	Dimitrov, Georgi; Kolarov	France	Marty; Thorez
		Germany	Florin; Pieck
Czechosl.	Gottwald	Italy	Ercoli

The following representatives of the Communist parties appended their signature to the resolution:

Finland	Lehtinen, Inkeri	Rumania	Pauker, Ana
Hungary	Rákosi	Spain	Ibarruri, Dolores
Italy	Bianco, Vincenzo		

Source: "Postanovlenie Prezidiuma Iсполnitel'nogo Komiteta Kommunističeskogo Internacionala", in: *Kommunističeskij Internacional*, 1943, No 5-6, pp. 8-10

INDEX OF NAMES

The numbers refer to the tables.

Ambrogi, E., 13, 14	Badulescu (Moscovici, G.), 5,	Bennett, A. J. (Lipeč, D.), 36,
Andrews, W., 16	13	36 n.
Angaretis, Z. A., 5, 13, 24, 38,	Balabanova, A., 1	Bernard, A., 33 n., 34
50	Baldwin (Tywerousky, O.), 5	Berzin, J. A., 1, 1 n., 2
Anveit, J., 38, 50, 54 n.	Barbé, H., 35, 36, 37, 39, 40,	Bianco, V., 57
Arnold, E., 5	41, 42, 43	Bielewski (Paszyn, J.), 49
Arnot, R. P., 36, 43, 44, 45, 46	Bedacht, M., 29	Billoux, F., 37
Asano (Watanabe, M.), 37	Bell, Th., 5, 13, 37, 39, 40,	Blenkle, K., 37
Astrogildo (Pereira, A.), 24	41, 42	Böttcher, P., 16

¹ When Hitler attacked the USSR on 22 June 1941, an enlarged session of the ECCI Secretariat appointed a triumvirate consisting of Dimitrov, Manuil'skij and Ercoli. This was entrusted with the day-to-day management of the ECCI during World War II. See *Meždunarodnoe Kommunističeskoe raboče i nacional'noosvoboditel'noe dviženie, II (1939-1973 gg.)* (Moscow, 1974), p. 21.

² The resolution was signed only by those members of the ECCI Presidium living in the Soviet Union during World War II. Stalin, who was a member of the Presidium, was not among those who signed. It is not known how Ždanov came to sign this resolution as a member of the Presidium. Officially he was elected only as an ECCI member at the Seventh Congress.

- Bogucki, W., 23, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34
 Bordiga, A., 16, 20 n., 23
 Bortnowski, B., see Bronkowski
 Bošković, B. (Filipović, F.), see also *sub voce*, 23 n., 29, 37, 43
 Bosnić (Djaković, Dj.), 37
 Bradley, B. F., 49, 53
 Brand, E. (Lauer, H.), 21
 Brandler, H., 9, 14
 Bratkowski, J. (Sochacki, J.), 43, 44, 45, 46, 47 n.
 Bronkowski (Bortnowski, B.), 47, 47 n., 48, 49, 51
 Browder, E. R., 24, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55
 Bucharin, N. I., 1, 1 n., 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 23, 25, 29, 29 n., 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40
 Buck, T., 49, 53
 Bunting, S. P., 13
 Burian, E., 5
 Cachin, M., 24, 38, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55
 Calderio, F., see Roca, B.
 Campbell, J. R., 37, 49, 53
 Cannon, J. P., see Cook, J.
 Carlo (Ljubarskij, N. M.), 1 n.
 Carr, J. (Katterfeld, L.), 9, 13, 14, 16
 Carrillo, R., 37
 Cchakaja, M., 2, 5, 13, 38, 50, 54
 Célor, P., 43, 44
 Čemodanov, V. T., 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49
 Cesare (Sessa, C.?), 2, 2 n.
 Chan-Kai, 5, 13
 Chang Kuo-tau, 49
 Chang Piao (Chang Kuo-tau, see also *sub voce*), 37, 39, 41
 Chatterji, 37
 Chayen (Lé Hông Phong), 49, 53
 Chen Kwang (Chou En-lai, see also *sub voce*), 37
 Chen Shao-yü, see Wang Ming
 Chen Tu-hsiu, 23
 Cheng Chen, 38
 Chin Pang-hsien, see Po Ku
 Chitarov, R. M., 37, 37 n., 39, 40, 41, 42
 Chou En-lai, 49, 53
 Chuan-Pin (Huang Ping), 43, 44
 Chü Chiu-pai, see Stachov and Tsiu Vito
 Čičerin, G. V., 2 n.
 Čiperović, G. V., 2, 2 n.
 Čižinski, J., see Gorkić, M.
 Codovilla, V., 32, 34, 38
 Cook, J. (Cannon, J. P.), 12, 13
 Crémet, J., 32, 33
 Cristescu, G., 23
 Dahlem, F., 49, 53
 Damon, D. (Ruthenberg, Ch. E., see also *sub voce*), 16
 Darsono, 37
 Dengel, Ph., 37, 50, 54
 Dernberger, K. M., 49
 Deymer, Sh. H., see Shafik
 Díaz, J., 49, 53, 56
 Dimitratos, P., 5, 13
 Dimitriü (Zachariades, N.), 49, 53
 Dimitrov, G., 23, 29, 30, 31, 37, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 56 n., 57
 Dimitrov, S., see Stojnov
 Djaković, Dj., see Bosnić
 Dobrovolný, F., 23
 Dolores (Ibarruri, D., see also *sub voce*), 49, 53, 56
 Doriot, J., 23, 37
 Dozza, G., see Furini
 Duclos, J., 49, 53
 Duncan (Minor, R., see also *sub voce*), 32, 34
 Dunne, W. F., 23, 27, 28
 Duret, J. (Koral, F.), 16
 Dutt, R. P., 49, 53
 Earsman, W. P., 13
 Eberlein, H., 10, 11, 13, 15, 38, 50
 Engdahl, J. L., 36
 Ercoli (Togliatti, P.), 23, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 56 n., 57
 Ewert, A., 37
 Ežov, N. I., 49
 Ferdi, B. H., 37, 50
 Ferguson, A., 29, 30, 31
 Fermin-Araja (Roşas, R. S.?), 37
 Fiala, G., 23
 Filipović, F., 23
 Fischer, R. (Eisler, E.), 23, 25
 Flieg, L., 38
 Florin, W., 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 54 n., 55, 56, 57
 Ford, J. W., 49, 53
 Foster, W. Z., 23, 23 n., 25, 25 n., 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55
 Frachon, B., 37, 49, 53
 Freeman, P., 5
 Friis, J., 2
 Frölich, P., 5
 Frossard, L.-O., 16
 Frunze, M. V., 23, 25
 Furini (Dozza, G.), 43, 44, 49, 53
 Furubotn, P., 37, 43, 45, 47
 Gallacher, W., 23, 32, 34, 35, 36, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55
 Gallo, L. (Longo, L.), 45
 Garden, J. S., 16
 Garlandi (Grieco, R.), 37, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55
 Gennari, E., 6, 16, 17, 24
 Geschke, O., 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36
 Ghioldi, R., 37, 49, 53
 Girault, S. (Depollier, S.), 23
 Gitlow, B., 37, 39
 Gliński, P. (Królikowski, S.), 5
 Gomez, E., 37
 Gonçalves, B. A., see Quierós, A.
 Gorkić, M. (Čižinski, J.), 38, 49
 Gottwald, K., 37, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57
 Gramsci, A., 12, 16, 17 n.
 Green, G. (Greenberg, G.), 49, 53
 Grieco, R., see Garlandi
 Grzegorzewski (Grzelszczak, F.), 23, 50
 Guan-Li, 37
 Gusev, S. I. (Drabkin, Ja. D.), 37, 37 n., 41, 43, 45
 Guttmann, J., 43, 44, 45, 46
 Guyot, R., see Raymond
 Haken, J., 32, 34, 47
 Ham Man-chen, 5, 13
 Hansen, A. G., 23, 25, 37, 39, 41
 Heckert, F., 5, 6, 37, 39, 41, 47, 49, 51
 Henriët, P. A., 13
 Hessen, S. M., 23, 23 n., 25, 25 n.
 Höglund, K. Z., 16, 23
 Hoernle, E., 16, 17, 19
 Hopner, S. I., 37, 49, 53

- Horner, A., 37
Hsiang (Hsiang Chung-fa), 36, 37
Hsiang Chung-fa, see Hsiang
Hsiu Yen (Hsiang Ying?), 38
Huiswoud, O. E., 37
Hüla, B., 2, 2 n.
Humbert-Droz, J., 7, 13, 26, 26 n., 27, 28, 28 n., 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 37 n., 39, 40
Hurvič, N., 2, 2 n.
- Ibarruri, D., 57
Ichikawa, Sh., 49, 53
Iskrov, P., 38, 50
- Jacob, H., 30, 31
Jacquemotte, J., 23, 37, 49
Jansen, J. (Proost, J.), 2, 2 n., 13
Jaroslavskij, E. M. (Hubelmann, M. I.), 37
Jerram, G., 23
Jílek, B., 12, 12 n., 36, 37, 39, 41 n.
Jörgensen, A., 5, 13
Jones, D. Y., 5
Jordanov, J., 12, 13, 14
- Kabakčiev, Ch., 24
Kaclerović, T., 23
Kamenev, L. B. (Rosenfeld, L. B.), 5, 23, 25
Kang Sheng, see Kang Sin and Kon Sin
Kang Sin (Kang Sheng), 47
Karachan, L. M., 1
Kasjan, S. (Ter-Kasparjan, S.), 5, 13
Katayama, S., 13, 16, 17, 20, 23, 25, 29, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45
Kato (Sano, M.), 37, 39, 41
Katterfeld, L., see Carr, J.
Katz, I., 28 n.
Kavanagh, J., 37
Ker, A. (Keim, L. A.), 8
Kerrigan, P., 50, 54
Kilbom, K., 5, 13, 23, 36, 37, 39, 41
Klinger, G. K., 1, 1 n.
Knorin, V. G., 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48
Kobeckij, M. V., 2, 3, 4, 5
Köhler, B., 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55
Koenen, W., 4, 8
Koenig, A., 24
- Kolarov, V., 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 29, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55, 57
Kon, F. Ja., 11, 15, 24, 38
Kon Sin (Kang Sheng), 49, 51, 53, 55
Kopenig, J., 37, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55, 57
Koritschoner, F., 5, 13
Kornblum, I. R., 28 n., 30, 31
Krajewski, A. (Stein, W.), 50
Kreibich, K., 5, 9, 24
Królikowski, S., see Gliński, P.
Kruminš, J., 49
Kun, B., 4, 6, 23, 23 n., 27, 28, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49
Kuusinen, O. W., 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 28 n., 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57
- Lacerda, F., see Ledo, A.
Ładain, P., see Niedobytyj
Larkin, J., 23
Larsen, A., see Lauersen
Lauer, H., see Brand, E.
Lauersen (Larsen, A.), 24
Lé Hông Phong, see Chayen
Ledo, A. (Lacerda, F.), 37, 41
Lehtinen, I., 57
Leiciague, L., 12, 12 n., 13
Lékai, J., 5
Lenin, V. I. (Ul'janov, V. I.), 2, 5, 13, 16
Leński, J. (Leszczyński, J.), 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51
Leszczyński, J., see Leński, J.
Levi, P., 2, 2 n.
Levin, L. S., see Men'soj, A. G.
Lévy, G., 17, 17 n.
Li-Kuang (Su Chao-cheng), 37
Linderot, S., 49, 51, 53, 55
Lipeč, D., see Bennett, A. J.
Litvinov, M. M. (Finkelstein), 1
Ljubarskij, N. M., see Carlo
Lövlén, E., 49, 53
Lominadze, V. V., 29
Longo, L., see Gallo, L.
Lopez, 37
Lovestone, J., 37, 41 n.
Lovickij (Popov, N. N.), 37, 37 n.
- Lozovskij, A. A. (Dridzo, S. A.), 13, 23, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53, 55
- Macavei, M., 16
MacIlhon, 47
MacManus, A., 16, 17, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28
Maffi, F., 23
Maggi (Gennari, E., see also *sub voce*), 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 50, 54
Malaka, T., 37
Manner, K., 2, 13, 37
Manuil'skij, D. Z., 23, 25, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 56 n., 57
Mao Tse-tung, 49, 53
Marchlewski, J., 1
Marco (Scoccimarro, M., see also *sub voce*), 23 n.
Maring (Sneevliet, H. J. F. M.), 2, 2 n.
Marinović (Kaclerović, T., see also *sub voce*), 23 n.
Marković, S., 5, 13, 23, 39 n.
Marty, A., 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57
Maslow, A. (Čemerinskij, I.), 23
Men'soj, A. G. (Levin, L. S.), 1 n.
Merino-Gracia, R., 5, 13
Meyer, E., 2, 2 n., 3, 4
Michal (Wolf, M.), 49, 51, 53, 55, 55 n.
Mickiewicz-Kapsukas, V., 23, 27, 28, 37
Mikaeljan, see Sultan-Zade, A.
Milkić, I., 1, 2
Milković (Sakun, V.), 39, 39 n., 41
Minkin, A. E., 15
Minor, R., 50, 54
Mojrova, V. A., 37
Molotov, V. M. (Skrjabin, V. M.), 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42
Mondok, I., 38, 38 n.
Monmousseau, G., 37, 50, 54
Montagnana, M., see Roncoli
Moscovici, G., see Badulescu
Moskvin, M. A. (Trilisser, M. A.), 49, 51, 52
Müller, K., 43
Münzenberg, W., 5

- Muna, A., 16, 23, 25
 Murphy, J. T., 24, 32, 33, 34, 36
 Musabekov, G.-F., 5, 13
 Musso, 37, 39, 41
 Naoradj, 37
 Nedjalkov, I., see Šablin, N.
 Neumann, H., 43
 Neurath, A., 13, 16, 17, 17 n., 18 n., 19, 20, 20 n., 21, 23, 25, 26, 28 n.
 Newbold, J. T. W., 16
 Niedobytýj (Eadan, P.), 23
 No Kao Tsi-li, see Tu Ho-sin
 Nosako, S., see Okano, S.
 Okano, S. (Nosako, S.), 47, 49, 51, 53, 55
 Overstraeten, E. van, 5, 13
 Pak (Pak Chin-sun), 2
 Pascal, 37
 Paszyn, J., see Bielewski
 Pauker, A., 57
 Pauker, M., see Popescu
 Pavlovič, M. L. (Vel'tmann, M. L.), 2, 2 n.
 Penelón, J. F., 13, 23
 Pepper, J. (Pogány, J.), 30, 30 n., 31
 Pereira, A., see Astrogildo
 Pérez Solis, O., see Persolis
 Persolis (Pérez Solis, O.), 23
 Petrov (Raskol'nikov, F. F.), 23, 23 n., 27, 28, 30, 31
 Pieck, W., 37, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57
 Pjatnickij, O. A. (Taršis, I. A.), 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 28 n., 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48
 Po Ku (Chin Pang-hsien), 49, 53
 Pögelmann, H., 5, 13, 24
 Pogány, J., see Pepper, J.
 Pollitt, H., 23, 25, 25 n., 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53, 55
 Popescu (Pauker, M.), 37
 Popov, B., 49
 Popov, D., 5
 Popov, N. N., see Lovickij
 Prestes, L. C., 49, 53
 Próchniak, E., 13, 16, 24, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49
 Proost, J., see Jansen, J.
 Purman, L., 36, 37, 39, 41
 Quelch, Th., 2
 Quierós, A. (Gonçalves, B. A.), 49, 53
 Radek, K. (Sobelsohn, K.), 1, 2, 2 n., 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20
 Rákosi, M., 7, 10, 11, 15, 18, 19, 21, 49, 53, 57
 Rakovskij, Ch., 1 n.
 Randolph (Weinstone, W. W., see also *sub voce*), 41, 41 n., 43, 44
 Raskol'nikov, F. F., see Petrov
 Raymond (Guyot, R.), 49, 51, 53, 55
 Reed, J., 2
 Reiman, P., 37, 41
 Remmele, H., 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 40 n., 41, 42, 43
 Riasco-Giulio, 37
 Rienzi (Tasca, A.), 23, 25
 Robert (Maslow, A., see also *sub voce*), 23 n.
 Roca, B. (Calderio, F.), 49, 53
 Roncoli (Montagnana, M.), 47
 Rosenberg, A., 23
 Rosmer, A. (Griot, A.), 2, 4
 Rosso, 39, 41
 Roy, M. N. (Bhattacharya, N. N.), 5, 5 n., 13, 16, 23, 25, 25 n., 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36
 Rudnyánszky, E., 1 n., 2, 3, 4
 Rust, W., 37, 39, 41
 Ruthenberg, Ch. E., 23, 23 n., 25, 25 n., 29
 Rykov, A. I., 23, 25, 37
 Šablin, N. (Nedjalkov, I.), 2
 Šackin, L. M., 2, 14, 16, 17 n., 20, 20 n., 32, 34, 36
 Safarov, G. I. (Egorov, G. I.), 16, 17, 17 n., 19
 Salich, H., 13
 Salim Abud, 49, 53
 Samuelson, O., 23, 37
 Sano, M., see Kato
 Sar, 5, 13
 Šauki, 37
 Schalker, C., 49, 53
 Scheflo, O., 5, 13, 16, 23, 25
 Schlecht, P., 23, 25
 Schneller, E., 37
 Schüller, R., 13, 16, 19, 20 n., 22, 23 n., 27, 28, 32, 34, 36
 Scoccimarro, M., 23
 Sellier, L., 9, 9 n., 23
 Semaoen, 23, 32, 34, 36
 Sémard, P., 23, 25, 29, 29 n., 34, 36, 37, 39, 41
 Senander, K., 50, 54
 Serra (Tasca, A.), 37, 39, 40
 Serrati, G. M., 2
 Šafik (Deymer, Sh. H.), 24
 Shargi, 38
 Sharkey, L., 49, 53
 Shields, J., 45
 Sillen, H., 32, 34, 37, 43, 45, 47
 Simić (Marković, S., see also *sub voce*), 23 n.
 Široký, V., 49, 53
 Sirola, Y., 1, 1 n., 5, 8, 38, 50
 Škirjatov, M. F., 50, 54
 Skrypnik, N. A., 37
 Šmeral, B., 12, 12 n., 13, 14 n., 16, 17, 17 n., 20 n., 23, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 33 n., 34, 35, 36, 37, 37 n., 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 50, 54
 Sneevliet, H. J. F. M., see Maring
 Sochacki, J., see Bratkowski, J.
 Sokolik (Knorin, V. G., see also *sub voce*), 37, 37 n.
 Sokolnikov, G. Ja. (Brilliant, G. Ja.), 23 n., 25
 Sol'c, A. A., 24, 38
 Souvarine, B. (Lifšis, B.), 5, 6, 9, 9 n., 12, 12 n., 14, 16, 17, 20, 22
 Spector, M., 37, 41 n.
 Stalin, I. V. (Džugašvili, I. V.), 2, 23, 25, 29, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55
 Stasova, E. D., 50, 54
 Stefanescu, 38
 Stefanov, B., 49, 53
 Steinhart, K., 2
 Stewart, R., 20 n., 22, 23
 Stirner, A. (Woog, E.), 16, 24
 Stoecker, W., 18, 18 n.
 Stojnov (Dimitrov, S.), 49, 53
 Strachov (Chü Chiu-pai), 40 n.
 Stučka, P., 1, 2, 2 n., 5, 13, 24, 38
 Su, 43, 45
 Su Chao-cheng, see Li-Kuang
 Su Fan (Chen Ho-sian?), 29
 Sultan-Zade, A. (Mikaeljan), 2, 5, 13
 Šumskij, A. Ja., 5, 13

- Šverma, J., 49, 53
 Sypheios, 37
- Tan-Pin (Tan Ping-shan), 32, 34
- Tan Ping-shan, see Tan-Pin
- Tasca, A., see Rienzi and Serra
- Terracini, U., 5, 9, 20, 20 n., 22
- Thälmann, E., 23, 25, 29, 29 n., 32, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53
- Thögersen, Th., 37
- Thomas (Reich, J.), 1 n.
- Thorez, M., 37, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53, 55, 57
- Togliatti, P., see Ercoli
- Tomskij, M. P. (Efremov, M. P.), 2
- Treint, A., 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 28 n., 29, 31, 32, 34
- Trilisser, M. A., see Moskvina, M. A.
- Trockij, L. D. (Bronstein, L. D.), 2, 5, 13, 16, 23
- Tschin Du-liu (Chen Tu-hsiu, see also *sub voce*), 23 n.
- Tsiu Vito (Chü Chiu-pai), 37, 39, 40, 41, 42
- Tu Ho-sin (No Kao Tsi-li), 50, 54
- Tuominen, A., 49, 51, 53, 55, 55 n.
- Turini, 37
- Tywerousky, O., see Baldwin
- Ulbricht, W., 37, 40 n., 49, 53
- Vaillant-Couturier, P., 8
- Varga, J., 2 n., 37, 49, 53
- Verčik, J., 23, 37
- Vincenzi, 36
- Visser, L. de, 37, 49, 53
- Vompe, P. A., 19, 19 n.
- Vorovskij, V. V., 1, 1 n.
- Vujović, V., 23, 23 n., 25, 29
- Walecki, H. (Horwitz, M.), 8, 9, 50
- Wallenius, A., 13
- Wang Ming (Chen Shao-yü), 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56
- Watanabe, M., see Asano
- Weinstein, 36 n.
- Weinstone, W. W., 38
- Weiss, 38
- Wieser, F., 37
- Wijnkoop, D., 2, 23
- Wolf, M., see Michal
- Woog, E., see Stirner, A.
- Zachariades, N., see Dimitriou
- Zápotocký, A., 23, 37, 49, 53
- Ždanov, A. A., 49, 53, 57, 57 n.
- Zetkin, C., 8, 13, 16, 17, 20, 23, 25, 26, 26 n., 29, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45
- Zinov'ev, G. E. (Radomysl'skij, G. E.), 1, 1 n., 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 23, 25, 29, 32 n.