

VILÉM KAHAN

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE PSEUDONYMS USED IN THE MINUTES AND REPORTS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL *

The historian who studies the history of the Comintern has to rely mainly on printed sources. For this purpose the published minutes and reports of the seven Congresses of the Comintern (1919-35) and the thirteen plenary sessions of its Executive Committee (1922-33) are of particular interest.

The use of these minutes and reports is rendered difficult by the fact that a number of the participants did not act under their real name, respectively under the assumed one they made use of permanently, but under pseudonyms. The pseudonyms that were used over a long period cause hardly any problem (e.g., the pseudonym Karski, which was used by Julian Marchlewski already from the 1890's). These pseudonyms are generally known. Little is known, however, about those chosen *ad hoc*. Up to now no systematic attempt has been made to decipher them.

The results of my research, summarized in the following list, show that such an attempt certainly is not hopeless. The list contains all the pseudonyms occurring in the minutes and reports that I have been able to identify. I have confined my study to the pseudonyms of persons who spoke or were elected on a commission; so I have not taken into account the pseudonyms that occur only on the lists of participants. In general, I have made use of the German version; for the 9th ECCI plenum the report in English was consulted, for the 11th, 12th and 13th plenary sessions the Russian version of the minutes was used. When different pseudonyms occur in other versions that were at my disposal, they are mentioned in the footnotes, as far as I was able to decipher them.

The list contains the pseudonyms of nearly all the leading officials of the international Communist movement, but also those of most officials who were less important. It shows that it happened 1) that different persons used the same pseudonym at different Congresses or plenary sessions, 2)

* This contribution is a sequel to my article "The Communist International, 1919-43: The Personnel of its Highest Bodies", in: *International Review of Social History*, XXI (1976), pp. 151-85.

that different persons used the same pseudonym at the same Congress or plenary session, 3) that the same person used different pseudonyms at different Congresses or plenary sessions, and 4) that the same person used different pseudonyms at the same Congress or plenary session.

To give some examples: the pseudonym Seemann was used by the delegate of the Mexican CP Charles Philips at the Second Congress in 1920 and by the delegate of the KAPD (Communist Workers' Party of Germany) Bernhard Reichenbach at the Third Congress in 1921; at the Sixth Congress in 1928 Charles Philips represented the CP of the USA under the pseudonym Gómez. The delegate of the CP of Germany at the Fifth Congress in 1924 Josef Winternitz gave his address under the name Ternik, while he acted under the pseudonym Sommer in the Committees. At the same Congress Fedor Raskol'nikov represented the CP of the Soviet Union under his own name and the CP of China under the name Petrov in the Commission for national and colonial affairs; further he represented the CP of the Soviet Union under his own name in the Commission for British affairs and under the name Petrov in the one for Japanese affairs. David Lipeč represented the CP of Great Britain under the name Bennett and the CP of the Soviet Union under the pseudonym Petrovskij at the Fifth Congress. The latter pseudonym was used at the same Congress by the delegate of the CP of Lithuania Karl Pojel.

From these examples it is clear that one person often represented different parties under different pseudonyms. Thus the decipherment of the pseudonyms does not only lead to the identification of several speakers or commission members, but also gives an insight into the close personal relations between the delegations of the different parties. In view of the influence of these bodies on the policies of national parties it is hardly necessary to point out how important it is for the study of the history of the national Communist parties to make sure who said what at the Congresses of the Comintern or the plenary sessions of the ECCI.

As I stated in my article "The Communist International, 1919-43", the use of pseudonyms did not only serve the purpose of protecting the delegates against persecution, but increasingly that of manipulating the organs of the Comintern and its sections, especially during Stalin's struggle against the Trockij-Zinov'ev opposition and against Bucharin. For example, the secretary-general of the CP of Rumania Baltazar, whose real name was Elek Köblös, was recalled in 1928 because of right-wing deviation; his successor was a man called Barbu, who acted under the pseudonym Petrulescu at the Sixth Congress. Barbu-Petrulescu's real name was Vitalij Holostenko; from 1922 till 1928 he had belonged to the CP of the Ukraine; in 1931 he was recalled because of left-wing deviation. He was succeeded

by a certain Horn, whose real name was Aleksander Danieluk and who came originally from Warsaw. Until 1929 he had been one of the leading officials of the CP of Poland; at the Fifth Congress he had represented this party under the pseudonym Stefański. As a result of his belonging to the Warski-Kostrzewa group he was deprived of all his functions in the CPP and transferred to the Comintern apparatus. At the 13th ECCI plenum he represented the CP of Rumania under the pseudonym Grigorescu.

The practice illustrated by this example often was contrary to the rules of the Comintern and its sections. For instance, it was not permitted that members of the International Control Commission were elected on other organs of the Comintern; to evade this rule the delegate of the CP of Italy Egidio Gennari, who had belonged to the ICC from the Fifth Congress, was elected to the Presidium and the Political Secretariat of the ECCI at the 8th plenum under the pseudonym Maggi and not under his own name.

It goes without saying that it would have been desirable for me to have shown the way in which I arrived at the identification of each pseudonym, but this is impossible for reasons of space. In the first place I base my study on the available publications of the Comintern itself, which are not always consistent in the use of the pseudonyms, secondly, on the information of people who were themselves active in the organs of the Comintern or played an active part in the Communist movement of their country and, finally, on the information of authors who had or still have access to the relevant archives.

As a result of a systematic study of the publications mentioned, by comparing and combining the information they give, helped by personal knowledge, I have been able to identify most, but not all the pseudonyms occurring in the minutes and reports. The following list has by no means the pretention to be complete. Especially in the case of the representatives of the small parties in Asia, Africa and Latin America it was not always clear whether the name under which they acted was their real name. I need not emphasize either that my identification is not necessarily the last word. Nonetheless, I hope that the list below will be a useful contribution to research into the history of the Comintern.

The pseudonyms have been arranged in alphabetical order for each Congress and plenary session. The real names are given in the second column, while in the third column the section is mentioned that the person in question represented at the time. The pseudonyms are partly written in a different spelling from the one in the minutes – either as usual in the country of origin (e.g., Queiros instead of Keyros, Próżański instead of Prusanski) or in the accepted transcription (e.g., Bošković instead of Boschowitz or Boschkowitz, Hadjar instead of Hadschar); when my

spelling differs considerably from the one in the minutes, so that this might lead to doubt, the latter has been inserted into the list.

*First Congress (2-6 March 1919)*¹

Albert, Max	Eberlein, Hugo	Germany
Gruber	Steinhardt, Karl	Austria

*Second Congress (19 July – 7 August 1920)*²

Allan, Helen	Roy, Evelyn	Mexico
Allan, Robert	Roy, Manabendra Nath	Mexico ³
Artem	Sergeev, Fedor A.	Russia
Berzin	Berzin-Anderson, Jan	Latvia
Blank, Paul	Blank-Berzin, Paul	Latvia
Fraina	Corey, Lewis	USA
Hassanov	Farsi, Kerim-Aga	Persia
Lao	Lao Hsiu-chao	China
Maring	Sneevliet, Hendricus J. F. M.	Indonesia
Men'šoj	Levin, Lev S.	Russia
N	Conolly, Roddy	Ireland
Pak	Pak Chin-sun	Korea
Šablin, Nikolaj	Nedjalkov, Ivan	Bulgaria
Seemann	Philips, Charles	Mexico
Sultan-Zade, A.	Mikaeljan, Avetis	Persia
Vanini, Lorenzo	Minev, Stojan ⁴	France
Viktor	Krastýn, Karl	Latvia
X	McAlpine, Eamon	Ireland

¹ Der I. Kongress der Kommunistischen Internationale. Protokoll der Verhandlungen in Moskau vom 2. bis zum 19. März 1919 (Petrograd, 1920).

² Der zweite Kongress der Kommunist. Internationale. Protokoll der Verhandlungen vom 19. Juli in Petrograd und vom 23. Juli bis 7. August 1920 in Moskau (Hamburg, 1921); Berichte zum Zweiten Kongress der Kommunist. Internationale (Hamburg, 1921).

³ M. N. Roy from India, who lived in Mexico in the years 1917-19, had founded the CP of Mexico in 1919 at the direction of Borodin (Michail Grusenbergl), who acted as Comintern emissary in Mexico at the time.

⁴ Stojan Minev, alias Lorenzo Vanini, alias Lebedev, alias Stepanov, alias Carlo Magno, alias George Chavaroche, alias Moreno, alias Iren, was born in Bulgaria in 1891. Until the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943 he was active in its organs. In the years 1931-33 and 1937-39 he was a Comintern emissary in Spain. During World War II he worked as ECCI representative in Latin America. He did not return home after the war. In the years 1945-58 he was at the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and after 1958 at the Institute of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union. He died in Moscow in May 1959.

Third Congress (22 June – 12 July 1921)⁵

Agasada	Agha-Zade	Persia
Ballister	Minor, Robert	USA
Bergmann	Meyer	Germany
Brand	Lauer, Henryk	Poland
Friesland	Reuter, Ernst	Germany
Gliński	Królikowski, Stefan	Poland
Hempel	Appel, Jan	Germany
Kasjan	Ter-Kasparjan, Sarkis	Armenia
Marshall	Bedacht, Max	USA
Michaljak	Warszawski, Adolf	Poland
Rwal	Reicher, Gustaw	Poland
Sachs	Schwab, Alexander	Germany
Seemann	Reichenbach, Bernhard	Germany
Takeguschi	Tagushi Unzo	Japan
Walecki	Horwitz, Maksymilian	Poland
Zadek, Djavad	Djavadzade	Persia

Fourth Congress (5 November – 5 December 1922)⁶

Billings	Huiswoud, Otto	USA
Carr	Katterfeld, Ludwig	USA
Domski	Stein, Henryk	Poland
Jansen	Proost, Johannes	Holland
Keller	Fiedler, Franciszek	Poland
Kostrzewa	Koszutska, Maria	Poland
Lansing	Foster, William Z.	USA
Marshall	Bedacht, Max	USA
Michałkowski	Warszawski, Adolf	Poland
Radić	Radovanović, Ljubomir	Yugoslavia
Saša	Stokes, Rose Pastor	USA
Stanić	Novaković, Kosta	Yugoslavia
Walecki	Horwitz, Maksymilian	Poland
Warski	Warszawski, Adolf	Poland

⁵ Protokoll des III. Kongresses der Kommunistischen Internationale (Moskau, 22. Juni bis 12. Juli 1921) (Hamburg, 1921).

⁶ Protokoll des Vierten Kongresses der Kommunistischen Internationale, Petrograd-Moskau vom 5. November bis 5. Dezember 1922 (Hamburg, 1923); *Inprekorr* (German edition), Vol. 2 (1922), Nos 223-24, 226, 229-32, 236-37, 240; the representative of the CP of the USA Saša is mistakenly named as representative of the CPGB *ibid.*, No 236, p. 1755.

Fifth Congress (17 June – 8 July 1924)⁷

Alonso	Felisien, Alonso	Spain
Badulescu	Moskovici, Gelbert	Rumania
Bär	Winterich, Jean	Germany
Bennett	Lipce, David	Britain
Bini	Bibolotti, Aladino	Italy
Bošković	Filipović, Filip	Yugoslavia
Brand	Lauer, Henryk	Poland
Brandt, see Brand		
Buțureanu	Fabian, David	Rumania
Buzureanu, see Buțureanu		
Christophe	Humbert-Droz, Jules	Switzerland
Contieras, see Contreras		
Contreras	Vidali, Vittorio	Argentina
Dunajewski	Amsterdam, Saul	Poland
Edwards	Carlson, Oliver (?)	USA
Ercoli	Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
Ferri	Leonetti, Alfonso	Italy
Freimuth	Remmele, Hermann	Germany
Gebhardt	Geschke, Ottomar	Germany
Georgescu	Crisan, Aleksander	Rumania
Giraud, see Girault		
Girault, Suzanne	Depollier, Suzanne	France
Górski	Graezer, Konstanty	Poland
Grzegorzewski	Grzelczak, Franciszek	Poland
Hanada	Sano Manabu	Japan
Heinz	Neumann, Heinz	Germany
Herzog	Heckert, Fritz	Germany
Kalina	Leszczyński, Julian	Poland
Kleine	Guralski, Abraham	Germany
Krajewski	Stein, Władysław	Poland
Kulen	Čulen, Marek	Czechoslovakia
Lazić	Stefanović, Lazar	Yugoslavia
Leński	Leszczyński, Julian	Poland
Linde	Schlecht, Paul	Germany
Lothar	Jakobs, Hermann	Germany

⁷ Protokoll Fünfter Kongress der Kommunistischen Internationale (Hamburg, n.d.); Fifth Congress of the Communist International. Abridged Report of Meetings held at Moscow June 17th to July 8th, 1924 (London, n.d.). In the English version the pseudonym Brown is used for James Larkin (Ireland) and the pseudonym Schulze for Wilhelm Schumacher (Germany). The pseudonym Braun is used for Ernst Thälmann (Germany).

Marinović	Kaclerović, Triša	Yugoslavia
Ordon ⁸	Dąbal, Tomasz	Poland
Pepper	Pogány, József	USA
Petrov	Raskol'nikov, Fedor F.	USSR
Petrovskij	Lipец, David	USSR
Petrovskij	Pojel, Karl	Lithuania
Philipps	Aronberg, Philip	USA
Piccini	Mersú, Gustavo	Italy
Popescu	Stefanov, Boris	Rumania
Rienzi	Tasca, Angelo	Italy
Rossi	Grieco, Ruggero	Italy
Salcki	Horwitz, Maksymilian	Poland
Senko	Čopić, Vladimir	Yugoslavia
Skulski	Mertens, Stanisław	Poland
Skutzki, see Skulski		
Sommer	Winternitz, Josef	Germany
Stanisławski	Kwiatkowski, Waclaw (?)	Poland
Stefański	Danieluk, Aleksander	Poland
Stepansk, see Stefański		
Stirner	Woog, Edward	Mexico
Tani	Kondo Eizo	Japan
Ternik	Winternitz, Josef	Germany
Ulmer	Dengel, Philipp	Germany
Vasilkiv	Krilyk, Osip	Poland
Walecki	Horwitz, Maksymilian	Poland
Warski	Warszawski, Adolf	Poland
Wassilkow, see Vasilkiv		
Willi	Münzenberg, Willi	Germany

*Sixth Congress (17 July – 1 September 1928)*⁹

Agić	Brezović, Matija	Yugoslavia
Alphonso	Tohir, Mohamed	Indonesia
An	Nguyen-Van-Tao	Indochina

⁸ In the Russian version Gordon is given instead of Ordon. Pjatyj Vsemirnyj Kongress Kommunističeskogo Internacionala, 17 ijunja – 8 ijulja 1924 g., Stenografičeskij otčet (Moscow, Leningrad, 1925), I, pp. 764-66; II, pp. 241-42.

⁹ Protokoll Sechster Weltkongress der Kommunistischen Internationale, Moskau, 17. Juli – 1. September 1928 (Hamburg, Berlin, 1928); VI Kongress Komintern, Stenografičeskij otčet (Moscow, Leningrad, 1929). In the Russian version the pseudonym Stancu is used for Ion Heigl (Rumania) and the pseudonym Baltazar for Elek Köblös (Rumania).

Balthario	Köblös, Elek	Rumania
Banderas	Pestkowski, Stanisław	Poland
Bennett	Lipec, David	Britain
Bielewski	Paszyn, Jan	Poland
Brand	Lauer, Henryk	Poland
Chang Piao	Chang Kuo-tau	China
Chen Kwang	Chou En-lai	China
Choraz	Volek, Július	Czechoslovakia
Contreras	Vidali, Vittorio	Mexico
Ercoli	Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
Gallo	Longo, Luigi	Italy
Garlandi	Grieco, Ruggero	Italy
Gómez	Philips, Charles	USA
Grünbaum	Szapiro, Nathan	Poland
Hadjar	Awerbach, Wolf	Palestine
Hanin	Heigl, Ion	Rumania
Hosoi	Ichikawa Shoichi	Japan
Jones	Hall, Otto	USA
Kato	Sano Manabu	Japan
Kemény	Révai, József	Hungary
Korczik	Lohinowicz, Józef	Poland
Kostrzewa	Koszutska, Maria	Poland
Li-Kuang	Su Chao-cheng	China
Lidin	Hlebec, Albert	Yugoslavia
Limanowski	Matys, Roman	Poland
Lovickij	Popov, Nikolaj N.	UkrSSR
Mahmud	Ahmed, Habib (?)	India
Manavar	Musso	Indonesia
Mehring	Mirring, Richard	Estonia
Mikolos	Skrypnik, Nikolaj A.	UkrSSR
Najdenov	Volek, Július	Czechoslovakia
Nakovanović	Kovačević, Nikola	Yugoslavia
Narayan	Tagore, Saumendra Nath	India
Omura	Takahashi Sadaki	Japan
Padi-Animin	Alimin Mas P.	Indonesia
Pepper	Pogány, József	USA
Petrulescu	Holostenko, Vitalij	Rumania
Prózański	Olszewski, Aleksander	Poland
Raza	Shafik, Mohamed	India
Rienzi	Tasca, Angelo	Italy
Rogić	Žorga, Jakob	Yugoslavia

Rossi	Grieco, Ruggero	Italy
Samin	Darsono	Indonesia
Saris	Siantos, Giorgio (?)	Greece
Sikandar	Usmani, Shaukat	India
Spachić	Vuković, Gojko	Yugoslavia
Strachov	Chū Chiu-pai	China
Sultan-Zade	Mikaeljan, Avetis	Persia
Travin	Gusev, Sergej	USSR
Tsiu Vito	Chū Chiu-pai	China
Vries, A. de	Leeuw, Alex de	Holland
Williams	Michailov, Boris	USSR
Witkowski	Landy, Adam	Poland

*Seventh Congress (25 July – 20 August 1935)*¹⁰

Albino	Gonçalves, Bento Antonio	Portugal
André	Cvijić, Stjepan	Yugoslavia
Baldur	Rudolf, Fritz	Germany
Battista	Ciufoli, Domenico	Italy
Bielewski	Paszyn, Jan	Poland
Billet	Docker, Edward	Australia
Borches	Contreras Laborca, Carlos (?)	Chile
Boriszewicz	Orechwo, Nikolaj	Poland
Borques, see Borches		
Bronkowski	Bortnowski, Bronisław	Poland
Bueno	Calderio, Francisco	Cuba
Chajan, see Chayen		
Chayen	Lé Hông Phong	Indochina
Dolores	Ibarruri, Dolores	Spain
Draganov	Stefanov, Boris	Rumania
Ercoli	Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
Evaristo	Medrano, Trifon	Spain
Franz	Dahlem, Franz	Germany
Funk	Wehner, Herbert	Germany
Furini	Dozza, Giuseppe	Italy
Gärtner	Schmidt, Elli	Germany
Garcio	Díaz, José	Spain
Garlandi	Grieco, Ruggero	Italy

¹⁰ "Der Siebente Weltkongress der Kommunistischen Internationale", in: Rundschau über Politik, Wirtschaft und Arbeiterbewegung (Basel), Vol. 4 (1935), Nos 34-45, 47, 49-50, 52, 54, 56, 58, 60, 62, 65-66, 72, 74.

Gorkić	Čizinski, Josip	Yugoslavia
Hadjar	Halik Wilad, Mahmud	Palestine
Hadschar, see Hadjar		
Henderson	Mpama, Josie (?)	S.Africa
Henrykowski	Amsterdam, Saul	Poland
Janaka, see Tanaka		
Jussuf	Ridwan al Hilu	Palestine
Kansin, see Kon Sin		
Karl	Hähnel, Walter	Germany
Keyros, see Queiros		
Kon Sin	Kang Sheng	China
Krumov	Sitev, Ilja	Bulgaria
Kuus	Sakkart, Albert	Estonia
Leński	Leszczyński, Julian	Poland
Martyn	Ozol, Martinš	Latvia
Michal	Löwy-Wolf, Hermann Michal	Czechoslovakia
Nadir	Bagdaš, Chalid	Syria
Nisikawa	Kobayashi Yonosuke	Japan
Okano	Nosaka Sanzo	Japan
Ordeleanu	Goldberger, Nicolai	Rumania
Pjasecki	Zander, Nathan	Poland
Queiros	Gonçalves, Bento Antonio	Portugal
Raymond	Guyot, Raymond	France
Rwal	Reicher, Gustaw	Poland
Schmidt	Parović, Blagoje	Yugoslavia
Široký, ¹¹ see Syrový		
Stein	Siegmund, Kurt	Germany
Syrový	Borkanjuk, Olexo	Czechoslovakia
Tambay	Bradley, Benjamin F.	India
Tambe, see Tambay		
Tanaka	Yamamoto Kenzo	Japan
Tschou Ho Sin, see Tu Ho-shin		
Tu Ho-sin	No Kao Tsi-li	China
Ventura	Hernandes, Jesús	Spain
Walter	Ulbricht, Walter	Germany
Wang Ming	Chen Shao-yü	China
Wang Tan	Ha-Huy-Ta	Indochina
Weber	Wiatrek, Heinrich	Germany
Wieden	Fischer, Ernst	Austria

¹¹ Olexa Borkanjuk, who acted at the Congress under the pseudonym Syrový, is mistakenly called Široký in the source, No 54, p. 2265. The person in question is not Viliam Široký, who attended the same Congress under his own name, see *ibid.*, No 72, p. 2794.

1st enlarged plenum (24 February – 4 March 1922)¹²

Antonowicz	Brun, Julian	Poland
Borodin	Grusenberg, Michail M.	Russia
Carr	Katterfeld, Ludwig	USA
Jansen	Proost, Johannes	Holland
Marshall	Bedacht, Max	USA
Stanić	Novaković, Kosta	Yugoslavia
Walecki	Horwitz, Maksymilian	Poland

2nd enlarged plenum and proceedings of the ECCI Presidium (6 March – 11 June 1922)¹³

Avigdor	Kossoi, Jechiel	Egypt
Carlo	Ljubarskij, Nikolaj M.	Russia
Cook	Cannon, James P.	USA
Jansen	Proost, Johannes	Holland
Moore	Ballam, John J.	USA
Nicolini	Ljubarskij, Nikolaj M.	Russia
P.	Pogány, József	Hungary
R.	Rudas, László	Hungary
Walecki	Horwitz, Maksymilian	Poland
Warski	Warszawski, Adolf	Poland
Ziegler	Kurella, Alfred	Germany

3rd enlarged plenum (12-23 June 1923)¹⁴

Aoki	Arahata Katsuzo	Japan
Beruzzi	Manuil'skij, Dimitrij Z.	UkrSSR
Brand	Lauer, Henryk	Poland
Giacomo	Rákosi, Mátyás	Hungary
Jansen	Proost, Johannes	Holland
Krajewski	Stein, Władysław	Poland
Laursen	Larsen, Axel	Denmark
Negri	Scoccimarro, Mauro	Italy
Saitta	Vota, Antonio	Italy

¹² 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).

¹³ Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Präsidiums und der Exekutive der Kommunistischen Internationale für die Zeit vom 6. März bis 11. Juni 1922 (Hamburg, 1922).

¹⁴ Protokoll der Konferenz der Erweiterten Exekutive der Kommunistischen Internationale, Moskau, 12.-23. Juni 1923 (Hamburg, 1923).

Serra	Tasca, Angelo	Italy
Stirner	Woog, Edward	S.America
Sultan-Zade	Mikaeljan, Avetis	Persia
Urbani	Terracini, Umberto	Italy
Vladetić	Cvijić, Djuro	Yugoslavia

4th enlarged plenum (12-13 July 1924)¹⁵

Bošković	Filipović, Filip	Yugoslavia
Ercoli	Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
Freimuth	Remmele, Hermann	Germany
Laursen	Larsen, Axel	Denmark
Rienzi	Tasca, Angelo	Italy
Rossi	Grieco, Ruggero	Italy

5th enlarged plenum (21 March – 6 April 1925)¹⁶

Bošković	Filipović, Filip	Yugoslavia
Broniewicz	Sakowski, Leon	Poland
Domski	Stein, Henryk	Poland
Dorsey	Foster, William Z.	USA
Hadić	Mitić, Ljubomir	Yugoslavia
Hanjés	Ibanez, Jesús	Spain
Jack	Fiedler, Franciszek	Poland
Krajewski	Stein, Władysław	Poland
Marek	Dimitrov, Stanke	Bulgaria
Markowski	Lampe, Alfred	Poland
Mehring	Mirring, Richard	Estonia
Pepper	Pogány, József	USA
Petrov	Raskol'nikov, Fedor F.	USSR
Petrovskij	Pojel, Karl	Lithuania
Powers	Lovestone, Jay	USA
Reinhardt	Abusch, Alexander	Germany
Sanborn	Ruthenberg, Charles E.	USA
Simić	Marković, Sima	Yugoslavia
Tellini	Oberti, Antonio	Italy
Ursu	Antip-Tkačenko, Pavel	Rumania

¹⁵ Protokoll Fünfter Kongress, op. cit., II, pp. 1028-44.

¹⁶ Protokoll der Erweiterten Exekutiven der Kommunistischen Internationale, Moskau, 21. März – 6. April 1925 (Hamburg, 1925); Exécutif élargi de l'Internationale Communiste. Compte rendu analytique de la session du 21 mars au 6 avril 1925 (Paris, 1925). In the French version the pseudonym Misković is used for Mišjuković (Yugoslavia) and the pseudonym Morelli for Mauro Scoccimarro (Italy).

Viola	Flecchia, Vittorio	Italy
Vladetić	Cvijić, Djuro	Yugoslavia
Wilkowski, see Witkowski		
Witkowski	Landy, Adam	Poland

*6th enlarged plenum (17 February – 15 March 1926)*¹⁷

Braco	Grieco, Ruggero	Italy
Braun	Ewert, Arthur	Germany
Domski	Stein, Henryk	Poland
Dorsey	Foster, William Z.	USA
Ercoli	Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
Hayashi	Tokuda Kyuichi	Japan
Ognjanović	Jovanović, Rojko	Yugoslavia
Pepper	Pogány, József	USA
Redens	Bernstein, Mieczysław	Poland
Sanborn	Ruthenberg, Charles E.	USA
Stefański	Danieluk, Aleksander	Poland

*7th enlarged plenum (22 November – 16 December 1926)*¹⁸

Badulescu	Moskovici, Gelbert	Rumania
Baltazar	Köblös, Elek	Rumania
Birch	Lovestone, Jay	USA
Bošković	Filipović, Filip	Yugoslavia
Brand	Lauer, Henryk	Poland
Cavalla	Reggiani, Carlo	Italy
Duncan	Minor, Robert	USA
Ercoli	Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
Ichtiar	Awerbach, Wolf	Palestine
Leński	Leszczyński, Julian	Poland
Maggi	Gennari, Egidio	Italy
Maksymowicz	Sawrycz, Karol	Poland
Nikolaević	Horvatin, Kamilo	Yugoslavia
Omura	Takahashi Sadaki	Japan
Pepper	Pogány, József	USA
Petrov	Raskol'nikov, Fedor F.	USSR
Turjanski	Kuźma, Jaroma	Poland
Vasilkiv	Kriłyk, Osip	Poland

¹⁷ Protokoll Erweiterte Exekutive der Kommunistischen Internationale, Moskau, 17. Febr. bis 15. März 1926 (Hamburg, Berlin, 1926).

¹⁸ Protokoll Erweiterte Exekutive der Kommunistischen Internationale, Moskau, 22. November – 16. Dezember 1926 (Hamburg, Berlin, 1927).

*8th plenum (18-30 May 1927)*¹⁹

Braun	Ewert, Arthur	Germany
Ercoli	Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
Pepper	Pogány, József	USA
Petrov	Raskol'nikov, Fedor F.	USSR

*9th plenum (9-25 February 1928)*²⁰

Bennett	Lipce, David	Britain
Braun	Ewert, Arthur	Germany
Darsey, see Dorsey		
Dorsey	Foster, William Z.	USA
Ercoli	Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
Maggi	Gennari, Egidio	Italy
Pepper	Pogány, József	USA

*10th plenum (3-19 July 1929)*²¹

Banderas	Pestkowski, Stanisław	Poland
Bennett	Lipce, David	USSR
Bošković	Filipović, Filip	Yugoslavia
Chang Piao	Chang Kuo-tau	China
Dsjui Wito, see Tsju Vito		
Ercoli	Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
Garlandi	Grieco, Ruggero	Italy
Gorkić	Čižinski, Josip	Yugoslavia
Ledo-Amerigo	Lacerda, Fernando	Brazil
Leo	Häbich, Walter	Germany
Lovera	Amadesi, Luigi	Italy
Mif	Firman, Michail	USSR
Tanaka	Yamamoto Kenzo	Japan
Tschangpiau, see Chang Piao		
Tsju Vito	Chü Chiu-pai	China
Witkowski	Landy, Adam	Poland

¹⁹ Die Chinesische Frage auf dem 8. Plenum der Exekutive der Kommunistischen Internationale, Mai 1927 (Hamburg, Berlin, 1928).

²⁰ Communist policy in Great Britain. The Report of the British Commission of the Ninth Plenum of the Comintern (London, 1928).

²¹ Protokoll 10. Plenum des Exekutivkomitees der Kommunistischen Internationale, Moskau, 3. Juli 1929 bis 19. Juli 1929 (Hamburg, Berlin, 1929).

11th plenum (25 March – 13 April 1931)²²

Bogen	Dua, Gerszon	Poland
Bojko	Vasilev, Ilja	Bulgaria
Bošković	Filipović, Filip	Yugoslavia
Bratkowski	Sochacki, Jerzy	Poland
Chuan Pin	Huang Ping	China
Ercoli	Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
Farkas	Poll, Sándor	Hungary
Garlandi	Grieco, Ruggero	Italy
Henrykowski	Amsterdam, Saul	Poland
Horenko	Mazur, Franciszek	Poland
Kowalczuk	Hiler, Aleksander	Poland
Leński	Leszczyński, Julian	Poland
Mehring	Mirring, Richard	Estonia
Narayan	Tagore, Saumendra Nath	India
Ryng	Heryng, Jerzy	Poland
Sultan-Zade	Mikaeljan, Avetis	Persia
Walecki	Horwitz, Maksymilian	Poland

12th plenum (27 August – 15 September 1932)²³

Aki	Yamamoto Masami	Japan
Antonio	Gonçalves, Bento Antonio	Portugal
Bratkowski	Sochacki, Jerzy	Poland
Bronkowski	Bortnowski, Bronisław	Poland
Ercoli	Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
Furini	Dozza, Giuseppe	Italy
Gallo	Longo, Luigi	Italy
Henrykowski	Amsterdam, Saul	Poland
Leński	Leszczyński, Julian	Poland
Maria	Filipovici, Elena	Rumania
Okano	Nosaka Sanzo	Japan
Pringle	Gebert, Bolesław	USA
Randolph	Weinstone, William ²⁴	USA
Švábová	Švermová, Marie	Czechoslovakia

²² XI Plenum IKKI, *Stenografičeskij otčet* (Moscow, 1931-32).

²³ XII Plenum IKKI, *Stenografičeskij otčet* (Moscow, 1933).

²⁴ In his article "35 lat w USA", in: *Z Pola Walki*, II (1959), No 4, p. 142. Boleslaw Gebert states that at the 12th ECCI plenum Robert Minor acted under the pseudonym Randolph. From the minutes of the sixteenth congress of the CPSU it is clear, however, that Randolph was the pseudonym of William W. Weinstone. *Šestnadcatyj s"ezd VKP(b)*, *Stenografičeskij otčet* (Moscow, 1931), p. 777.

Wang Ming	Chen Shao-yü	China
Wiktorowicz	Zambrowski, Roman	Poland

13th plenum (28 November – 12 December 1933)²⁵

André	Cvijić, Stjepan	Yugoslavia
Dybov	Dybov-Planinski	Bulgaria
Ercoli	Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
Grigorescu	Danieluk, Aleksander	Rumania
Jaroslav	Schram, Augustin	Czechoslovakia
Kan Sin	Kang Sheng	China
Krajewski	Stein, Władysław	Poland
Krause	Deglavs, Fricis	Latvia
Leński	Leszczyński, Julian	Poland
Michal	Wolf, Michal	Czechoslovakia
Mif	Firman, Michail	USSR
Okano	Nosaka Sanzo	Japan
Oldner	Goldhammer, Géza	Czechoslovakia
Rajić	Čižinski, Josip	Yugoslavia
Richter	Schubert, Hermann	Germany
Roncoli	Montagnana, Mario	Italy
Szekerski	Spiegel, Meier	Poland
Walecki	Horwitz, Maksymilian	Poland
Wang Ming	Chen Shao-yü	China

²⁵ XIII Plenum IKKI, Stenografičeskij otčet (Moscow, 1934).