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PREFACE

For more than ten years, *ex privata diligentia*, I have been assembling bits and pieces of information with the idea of some day producing a biographical dictionary of the Comintern. The concrete possibility of transforming these collecting efforts into a publishable manuscript came about when the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University became interested in my project. First of all, its Director, Dr. W. Glenn Campbell, offered me a research grant which permitted me to finalize my investigations both at Stanford and in Europe. Furthermore, the entire technical work of producing the manuscript was done at the Hoover Institution, where several persons helped with the translation of the manuscript from French into English. Mrs. Olga Stael and Miss Ludmila Sidoroff assumed diversified tasks which included the checking and rechecking of dictionary items, and Mr. Gene Tanke and Mrs. Barbara Law provided competent editorial help. Finally, the definitive redaction of each individual biography was accomplished in close cooperation with my friend Milorad M. Drachkovitch, Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution. May all the above-mentioned persons find here expression of my gratitude for assistance which made the publication of this work possible.

Also, I would like to refer the users of this Dictionary to another study, *Lenin and the Comintern*, which I wrote in cooperation with Milorad M. Drachkovitch and which the Hoover Institution Press has published. This Dictionary is conceived as an indispensable supplement to that two-volume history of the Comintern under Lenin.

Paris, January 1972

B.L.

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INTRODUCTION

There is no need to document the fact that as a political organization the Comintern was unique in modern history. One can find no counterpart among its forebears in the international socialist movement or among its would-be successors in the international communist movement. There has never been another organization able to mobilize the masses in the same way and, without serious competition, to monopolize political and social revolution on a world-wide scale. No other central authority has emerged to direct an international movement with unquestioned and ever-growing power for nearly a quarter of a century. True, a confluence of exceptional historical circumstances favored the birth and development of the Comintern: in 1917 social and political revolution triumphed in a large country—and for the first time it was victorious in the name of a doctrine (Bolshevik-Communist) claiming universal relevance (Marxism of the Second International had confined itself to industrial societies); subsequently, a political apparatus based on that revolution and that doctrine spread its tentacles around the globe; and finally, Stalin was there to play a capital role after the mid-1920s.

However, in the face of these truths we are in danger of forgetting another factor—the character of the men who sustained that exceptional historic effort for those 25 years. If the Communist International is unique for its history, it is no less unique for the curious way in which historians have treated it. In history books it emerges as the most depersonalized phenomenon of our era, or perhaps any era, for the humans of flesh and blood who created and steered it have largely been relegated to the status of a band of Orwellian “unpersons.” There are some important reasons for this wholesale anonymity. First of all, the Comintern’s clandestine methods and general secretiveness had the purpose and effect of keeping “the class enemy” (the bourgeois world with its police, press, and prying scholars) in the dark, if not about its existence then at least as to the identity of its numerous agents. Then Stalin finished depersonalizing the organization, as well as heavily depopulating it, by politically or physically liquidating many of its members and leaders and erasing their names from its annals. In the nearly twenty years since Stalin’s death there has been some improvement in this regard in the Eastern countries but very

little in Moscow, where published writings on the Comintern and the men who shaped and ran it remain to this day as scarce as the proverbial hen's teeth—and this in the city and country where the main treasure of relevant historic information is stored. With this second, latter-day liquidation of the former communist leaders—their eradication from the pages of history—Soviet communism has continued to violate not only “formal” elementary objectivity but also the tenets of Marx and Engels, its teachers. On the role of man in history, Marx wrote: “History [itself] does nothing, possesses no immense wealth, fights no battles. It is rather man, real living man, who does everything, who possesses and fights.”¹ Agreeing, Engels wrote: “Men make their own history, whatever turn it may take, by each pursuing his own goals in his own chosen direction, and it is the sum of these numberless separate acts of will under numberless differing conditions, plus their numberless varied impacts on the outer world, that we call history.”²

While it existed, the Comintern always had a secret side, removed from the public eye. With the passage of time, however—contrary to the general rule that archives tend eventually to shed their secrecy—the files of the Comintern have receded deeper and deeper into darkness. While today, more than fifty years after its founding, we do have ready access to the bulk of the official literature published by the organization during its lifetime (for which we need only obtain a reprint of the Feltrinelli collection³), and while now there are historical accounts dealing with the Comintern in general and with its behavior and policies at specific times and places and its different national sections, we find no work devoted to the leaders of the Comintern—nothing comparable, for instance, to the coverage of Bolshevik party leaders in such compendia as the Soviet encyclopaedia *Granat*,⁴ or even to such handy manuals as *Who's Who in the U.S.S.R.*, compiled by the Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R. in Munich,⁵ or *Who's Who in Communist China*, published in Hong Kong.⁶

THE CRITERIA

To attempt to fill that gap with a work like this Dictionary, we had first to decide upon the criteria that would determine whose biographies should be included. First priority went, of course, to those approximately three hundred individuals who comprised the Comintern's overall directorate—its Executive

Committee, Executive Committee Presidium, Executive Committee Secretariat, and Control Commission. The original intention was to stop there, this simple criterion being an easy one to follow. One had only to consult the membership lists of the Comintern's executive agencies from 1919 to 1943. But as we proceeded, it soon became apparent that there were several other categories of Comintern participants deserving consideration. Consequently, the selected group was broadened to include the following:

1. Individuals who spoke at the Comintern congresses from 1919 to 1935 or were delegates to the enlarged plenary meetings of the Executive Committee from 1922 to 1933 and who also played important roles either in the communist movements of their respective countries or in the Comintern (this last criterion automatically excluded a number of speakers and delegates who figured merely as supernumeraries).

2. Members of the Comintern “apparatus”: secret emissaries sent abroad, *apparatchiki* in the central administration in Moscow, section and division heads, persons sent to Moscow by various national communist parties to serve as their representatives at Comintern headquarters, observers and spokesmen for the different national parties in the Comintern Secretariat, chiefs of the secret services of certain major Comintern sections (such as the German and French sections), and general secretaries of the important Comintern sections. The mere fact, for example, that the names of the Comintern's emissaries never appeared on membership lists of its executive agencies does not mean that those individuals did not play major roles, for they often participated in the deliberations of the Comintern Executive Committee; this was true of Y. S. Reich (“Thomas”), Gural'sky, Borodin, Stasova, and others between 1920 and 1922. Similarly, at a lower level, the fact that certain heads of the different communist parties' secret services (like Hans Kippenberger in Germany and Auguste Havez in France) never held official positions in the Comintern hierarchy, or perhaps belonged only briefly to the central committees of their respective parties, does not indicate that they did not perform vastly more important functions behind the scenes.

3. Leaders of the international organizations, especially the Red Trade Union International (Profintern) and the Communist Youth International (KIM)—mainly those appointed by the Comintern to head these movements or those who progressed through them to positions of power in the Comintern hierarchy.

4. Graduates of the four principal Comintern schools—The Communist University for Eastern Workers (*Kommunisticheskiĭ universitet trudiashchikhna Vostoka* or KUTV), the Communist University for Western National Minorities (*Kommunisticheskiĭ universitet natsional'nykh men'shin na Zapada* or KUNMZ), Sun Yat-sen University, and the Leninist School—who later played significant national or international roles in the communist movement. It was through the operation and influence of these schools that the Comintern acquired

¹ Karl Marx - Friedrich Engels, *Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Moscow, 1929) ff. I, vol. III, p. 625.

² Karl Marx - Friedrich Engels, *Œuvres philosophiques* (Paris, 1961), p. 49.

³ *The Communist International, 1919-1939*, Feltrinelli Reprint (Milan, 1967).

⁴ *Deiateli SSSR i Oktobr'skoi Revoliutsii* (Moscow, 1927-29).

⁵ Published by Intercontinental Book and Publishing Co., Montreal, 1961.

⁶ Union Research Institute, Hong Kong, 1966.

an extra dimension that enabled it to project itself into the future and transcend the confines of its official existence.

Inclusion of these four additional categories increased the number of biographies to more than 700 (718 to be exact). However, having defined and included these new categories, we found it necessary to omit certain others. Thus, for example, we did not include the leading figures in Europe's Zimmerwald Left and the Spartacus League in Germany unless they subsequently became prominent in the Comintern; nor did we include the communist militants who twenty years later fought in the International Brigades in Spain and played important political roles in their own countries afterward (such as Auguste Lecoeur in France and László Rajk in Hungary) because they held no positions in the Comintern setup. Also excluded are those persons who headed Eastern Europe's communist parties and governments during the 1968-1969 period (such as Todor Zhivkov, Enver Hoxha, Nicolae Ceaușescu, János Kádár, Alexander Dubček, and Gustav Husák) but who had no connection with the Comintern.

The included biographies are more or less current up to April 1969 (there are some additions of later date) and were written, insofar as possible, to conform to a single standard format comprising the following elements: (a) a basic biographical résumé (date of birth, nationality or national origin, social and family background, schooling, occupation or profession, and date of death, if deceased); (b) a political biography of the subject as a member of the communist party (date of joining the party, successive jobs or functions in the party hierarchy, and termination of party career, if terminated); (c) a political biography within the Comintern (nature of participation in Comintern congresses and in the enlarged Executive Committee plenums, jobs or functions in other Comintern executive agencies, missions for the Comintern, and date and circumstances of any break with the Comintern).

THE SOURCES

Having adopted this standard format, we proceeded to acquire information on more than 700 persons. That proved a formidable task. For the overwhelming majority of individuals there were no available "file cards" or established "dossiers," however sketchy, upon which to build a biography worthy of inclusion. In most cases there was a staggering discrepancy between the length of time needed to acquire even the most rudimentary information (which often took two or three years) and the paltry amount of time needed to write the biography once the information was at hand (which usually took less than an hour).

The data forming the basis of the biographies came from two sources. The first, which yielded information not contained in any of the communist or non-communist writings published during the more than half a century since 1919, consisted of our own far-reaching research and investigations, various personal

contacts, and endless careful compiling and cross-checking of the multitude of scraps and tidbits collected. Without this effort many of the biographies could not have been written at all, and essential parts would have been missing from others. Since the sources of these unpublished data were privately consulted, we are not at liberty to disclose them (some of the Comintern's quondam high officials expressly requested anonymity). It would not be feasible to cite individual references in any case, for the fragments of a given biography often came from many different places. The second source, obviously, was the literature (biographies, memoirs, pamphlets, and articles) published over the years in communist and non-communist countries. While information obtained in this way was clearly inadequate to permit the writing of this volume, it was at least relatively accessible.

Concerning the publicly available communist sources, the press of the era and historical writings, it was necessary to discard material from the Stalin period as totally unreliable, which limited us to the pre-Stalin and post-Stalin years. Foremost among usable sources in this category was Lenin's own *Complete Works*, specifically the fifth edition, which carries short biographies of the personalities mentioned.¹ Since some of those persons were active in the Comintern, these biographies proved helpful in supplying an occasional odd detail about an individual's personal life or party career but seldom gave an account of his activities in the Comintern. Moreover, because they are based on information then available from old Comintern files, these biographies naturally reflect the deficiencies of the files. It was not until the Comintern's Third Congress was convened in 1921 that the delegates were requested by its administration to fill out biographical questionnaires; as a result, those who attended the Second Congress in 1920 and whose biographies are included in Lenin's *Complete Works* (Toman and Souchy are two examples) are left without birth dates. Inaccuracies in the biographies of persons who ultimately broke with communism proved to be another weakness of this particular source. To this day, for example, Boris Souvarine is labeled a Trotskyite though he broke with that movement in 1929, and H. Guilbeaux is still called a Trotskyite though in fact he never was one.

When not blighted by factual errors, the communist sources are riddled with lacunae concerning the roles of the various players on the Comintern stage; this was for our purposes a disqualifying flaw, and it is to be found in even the most serious of communist writings on the lives of communist leaders. The encyclopedic dictionary *Granat*, for instance, in its biographies and autobiographies of such leading Bolshevik figures as Piatakov and Raskolnikov, makes no mention of their activities in the Comintern and hurries over the roles of others (such as Manuilsky, Stasova and Sokolnikov) with a single fleeting sentence. A similar situation occurs in the biographical dictionary of the Czecho-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 8th, ed. (Moscow, 1959-64).

lovak Communist Party, which contains numerous biographies of former leaders of the party and details their personal lives and party careers but says little about their respective roles in the Comintern.⁸ Those national communist parties which have refused to de-Stalinize their history—like the French party in the West and the East German and Bulgarian parties in the East—still cultivate an entire pseudohistorical or, rather, hagiographic literature around one or two former leaders (Thorez and Cachin in France, Pieck and Thälmann in Germany, Dimitrov and Kolarov in Bulgaria) while consigning dozens of others to oblivion. Even the few biographies given in such sources are often incomplete; in the French party literature, for example, it is never mentioned that Waldeck Rochet attended the Comintern's Leninist School.⁹

In the *Who's Who* compendia published in the non-communist world, one finds biographies of only those leaders still living and in power. This severely limits the usefulness of such works since when they were compiled the overwhelming majority of the Comintern's quondam chiefs no longer held leadership posts in any party and most were long dead. Thus the very complete *Who's Who in the U.S.S.R.* omitted biographies of such important personalities of the Comintern era as Stasova and A. E. Abramovich (Zalewski), who were both in retirement when that work was published. In treating those few still active, these works too generally neglect to mention the Comintern. The same is true of *Who's Who in Communist China*, which in its detailed biographies of Chou En-lai, Kang Sheng, and Mao Tse-tung makes no mention of their positions and functions in the executive agencies of the Comintern. Even the most complete of Mao Tse-tung biographies, written by Jerome Ch'en, says nothing about Mao's appointment to the Comintern's Executive Committee at its Seventh Congress in 1935. For the other communist countries there is no comparable *Who's Who*. In Yugoslavia one was published in Belgrade in 1955, but it reports almost nothing about Comintern activities of the country's communist leaders. For East Germany one was published in several yearly editions by the Bonn government, but it offers only an occasional phrase or two about the Comintern roles of leading East German communist-party or government figures.¹⁰

Most books on the history of communism published in the West contain no *Who's Who*, though there are biographical sketches of the communist leaders in such works as Hermann Weber's document collection *Die Wandlungen des deutschen Kommunismus*.¹¹ Much biographical material is also found scattered throughout such writings as Theodore Draper's two volumes on communism

⁸ *Pravni Slovník a Deyání KSC*, vol. I, A-O; vol. II, P-Z (Prague, 1964).

⁹ In Moscow, also, this usage remains obligatory today. To quote only one example: the most important Soviet historical review, *Voprosy Istorii KPSS*, recently published (No. 10, 1970) a long biography of the American communist leader Gus Hall, without mentioning his two years away at the Leninist School in Moscow.

¹⁰ *SRZ* nos. 1 to 7, 7th edition (Bonn, 1962).

¹¹ Frankfurt am Main, 1969.

in America¹² and Ruth McVey's book on Indonesian communism.¹³ From these sources it often was possible to reconstruct or complete a biography of one or more former communist leaders. Other fragments were discovered in partial histories of various communist parties (the Bulgarian, Greek, Indian, German, Italian, and French among them).

All of these published and unpublished communist and non-communist sources helped in some measure to surmount our biggest obstacle, the lack of readily available information, but in so helping they created a new problem. Diverse sources frequently contradicted one another in certain details. Sometimes sources disagreed even about an individual's first name; for instance, Frossard was generally identified under the first name of Ludovic-Oscar instead of his true one, Louis-Oscar, and Guralsky's first initial "A" was often said to stand for Auguste though it actually stood for Abraham.

THE RESULTS

The end result of these various efforts is exemplified in the biographies of those who participated either in the Comintern congresses or in Comintern activities as a whole. Thus, starting with the founding congress in 1919, which was attended by 33 delegates with full voting rights, we included biographies of the 28 who were Europeans, excluding only the five non-Europeans representing the "unified group of Eastern peoples of Russia." At the Second Comintern Congress, in 1920, 35 members and alternates were appointed to the Executive Committee; biographies appear in this Dictionary for all of these persons except the fictional character known as "Cesare," who allegedly represented Italy but was never seen at the congress and was unknown in Italian communist circles. At the Third Congress, in 1921, the Executive Committee had 29 members with full voting rights; biographies of all have been included except for "Glinski" (the pseudonym of an unidentified Pole). At the Fourth Congress, in 1922, the Executive Committee had 35 members and alternates; only one biography is missing from this group. At the Fifth Congress, in 1924, the committee had 44 members and 28 alternates, all of whose biographies appear except those of two alternates. At the Sixth Congress, in 1928, the Executive Committee Presidium had 29 members; only one biography has been omitted (the name assumed to be fictitious, its user unidentified), but the biographies of all 11 members of the Comintern's Political Secretariat have been included. Finally, the Seventh Congress, in 1935, had an Executive Committee Presidium with a membership of 19, and 12 alternates, all of whose biographies appear.

This quick rundown of the congresses should afford at least a hint at the

¹² *The Roots of American Communism* (New York, 1957); *American Communism and Soviet Russia* (New York, 1960).

¹³ *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca, 1965).

extent to which the task of writing any history of the Comintern is wedded to the art of decoding the pseudonyms with which that history is replete from end to end. The Bolshevik party published a dictionary of pseudonyms but the Comintern never did. In the encyclopedic dictionary *Granat*, for instance, the false names under which Manuilsky and Gusev pursued some of their Bolshevik party activities were identified, but their Comintern pseudonyms were left unmentioned. Yet pseudonyms were de rigueur for two categories of Comintern dignitaries—its secret emissaries, and the leaders of the various national communist parties outlawed in their respective countries. The game is further complicated by the fact that some of these personalities did not content themselves with one pseudonym but used several, as was the case with Comintern emissaries Stepanov and Guralsky, or with Tasca, a leader of the Italian Communist Party. For these reasons an Index of Pseudonyms has been added to this Dictionary.

THE FLAWS

The success we may have achieved should not for a moment mask the flaws in our performance. This is the first biographical dictionary of the Comintern ever attempted and, like any first effort, is neither complete nor final. While conscious of the gaps we were unable to fill, we naturally are unaware of any errors that may have crept in. As for the omissions, it simply was not possible, without further delaying publication to write and include biographies of *all* the members of the Executive Committee from its birth to its demise. Of all those who belonged to that high Council from 1919 to 1943, not counting those concealed behind the ten undecoded pseudonyms, we have omitted biographies for perhaps only a dozen. The omissions, of course, increase as we descend the ladder of the Comintern hierarchy: there are almost none at the top, in the Presidium; relatively few at the next level, the Executive Committee; but there are more and more as we drop to the Comintern representatives of the different national parties and the Comintern graduates who subsequently became important functionaries in those parties. Accordingly, our Dictionary does not include biographies of the Koreans who participated in the last five Comintern congresses, or of their compatriots who graduated from Comintern schools and have played significant roles in North Korea since 1945. The same is true for Comintern administrative personnel—a biography for one of Zinoviev's two secretaries, M. Heimo, is included but not for the other, A. Tivel; similarly, we include a biography for one of Piatnitsky's first assistants, P. Wompe, but not for the other, M. Grollmann.

Another inconsistency which the reader will notice is the marked difference in the length of biographies. A person's work for or within the Comintern was not automatically equal in significance to the role he played in his own communist party. Philippe Dengel, for example, held positions of greater impor-

tance in the Comintern than did Mao Tse-tung, and O. W. Kuusinen administratively outranked Stalin; the true weight of the roles played in history by these four men fails completely to parallel their Comintern assignments. Finally, while the more than three-hundred and fifty pseudonyms successfully decoded in this Dictionary represent but a fraction of the names invented and used by members of the Comintern, we hope that even this small achievement will prove useful, since the results of any similar decoding efforts have never before been made public.

HINTS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Despite all their shortcomings, these biographies do afford multiple opportunities for studying the human elements that shaped the Comintern. From this body of information many significant features emerge—characteristic traits shared by the revolution's cadres and hence by those individuals forming the Comintern elite.

Revolution has a *geographical* coordinate. Its wellsprings are not the same in capitalist industrial countries as in colonial or semicolonial (largely agricultural) ones. The reasons why a given communist party drew adherents, and the social origins and political background of its members, varied considerably depending on geographic location. For instance, in the industrial countries the Comintern's first elites sprang from the ranks of Marxism and a prior involvement in the Socialist or trade-union movement, whereas in the colonial countries the initial leaders were largely recruited from militants engaged in a nationalist-revolutionary movement.

Age is another coordinate. In the early days, when communism first began to exert its pull and its new leaders were emerging, the Comintern's composition seemed to confirm Paul Vaillant-Couturier's observation that communism was "the youth of the world." Initially this did seem to be true of most of the communist parties in the industrial nations, and even more so in the colonial countries, where members of central committees and politburos were rarely older than thirty. It was much less true by the time the Comintern expired, when both it and the national communist parties had passed into older hands. It is even less true today, of course, when the average age of politburo members can safely be called advanced.

A *succession* (even a generation gap, as we now call it) is also discernible in the biographical fabric of the Comintern, which, like tsarist Russia's socialist movement, exhibited three main generation waves. First on the socialist scene were those born around 1850 (Plekhanov, Axelrod, and Vera Zassulich); next came those who entered the world about 1870 (Lenin and Martov); last were those born in the 1880s (Trotsky and Stalin). And so it was with the Comintern. The first wave brought to communism the fin-de-siècle generation, born in

the twilight of the nineteenth century, who were to be the first heads of the new communist parties. The next wave carried those born on the frontier of the two centuries, who moved into leadership of the different parties after the Comintern's official Bolshevization in 1924. Finally came those born in the first decade of the new century, whose rise to power and prominence took place in the Stalin era and in many cases continued even after the Comintern was dissolved in 1943.

The *backgrounds* of the different Comintern leaders show a significant sociological cleavage and subsequent transformation. In the Western nations, the first leaders of the communist parties were almost exclusively intellectuals, or semi-intellectuals in the less-developed countries, with only a sprinkling of workers at the top. Gradually these young middle-class intellectuals were replaced by working-class people of proletarian background who had graduated from one or another of the Comintern schools. If the intellectuals, by virtue of their education, were commanders of language, writers and speakers whose talents lifted them to the pinnacles of their parties, the others—men of the apparatus—inched their way upward through mastery of administrative levers.

The enormous importance of the *special schooling* received by communist cadres at party or Comintern training centers clearly emerges in these biographies. One cannot comprehend the scope of the Comintern's activities without an appreciation of the accomplishments of its system of special schools. Further study of this worldwide mass production-to-specification of needed new communist elites will greatly enhance one's understanding of the communist phenomenon during the Comintern era.

The *nature of ties* between the foreign communist leaders and the Comintern apparatus could become a field of study by itself, starting with the simple fact that these leaders made frequent prolonged visits to Moscow. A very typical feature of that curious bond was that the state of affairs then prevalent in Russia—the presence there of famine, misery, and terror—was never the reason for their subsequent break with the Comintern. Contrary to the doctrine of Marx, they did not permit themselves to be influenced by mere external material evidence; indeed, that would have quickly soured them on the new Russian communist milieu. Instead, they forced their minds to reassess what they saw around them, to see the realities that should have been or those that were proclaimed in the official dogma. Writers like Panait Istrati, who visited Russia in 1929, and André Gide, who was there briefly in 1936, needed only one quick look to see what actually was happening. But the communist leaders were different; though exposed to everyday reality far longer and more intimately than these foreign literary observers, they almost never were swayed by facts in reaching political conclusions about the communist system.

The *duration* of a communist leader's involvement with communism is another coordinate that varied between generations. The majority of those in the first generation, that of the founders (mainly intellectuals, journalists, and

politicians), remained only briefly in the party. Some disagreed with Moscow even during Lenin's era, and others followed suit when the Bolshevization of Comintern sections was decreed. The second generation of communist leaders, those who assumed posts of responsibility at the time of Bolshevization, generally were involved in Comintern affairs longer than those of the first generation. Finally, the third generation, that of *apparatchiki* and party chiefs promoted to leadership under Stalin, manifested a much more lasting fidelity to the cause of communism; even when these leaders broke with the Comintern, it was not because they openly defied Moscow but because Moscow had decided to eliminate them.

The modes and causes of *breaking with Moscow* comprised yet another coordinate in the political lives of one-time communist leaders. This also tended to depend on the Comintern generation to which the defector belonged and the phase of Comintern history in which the break occurred. In Lenin's day the breaks began in the parties constituting the Comintern's then most important foreign sections, which also were the first parties to have direct contact with Moscow (the German, Italian, and French sections). They increased in the years following Lenin's death and continued throughout the struggle that determined his successor. But after Stalinism, that most merciless and destructive form of communism, had settled completely over the Kremlin and the Comintern, defections and dissidence among communist leaders grew rare—for example, during Stalin's purges in the 1930s or at the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939. A paradoxical situation thus existed during the last decade of the Comintern's existence: while the number of Comintern leaders physically liquidated by Stalin's police was reaching unprecedented levels, public defection of communist leaders living outside the Soviet Union was virtually nil.

Since November 7, 1917, the history of communism has become an integral part of the history of our planet, and the history of the different communist parties is now interwoven with the history of many countries and nearly all continents. The persons whose biographies appear in this volume, whether considered "message-bearers" or "agents of subversion," all played roles in world political history. The intended purpose of this Biographical Dictionary is to bring out—if not into the light of day (it being too late for that, since most of the actors have died) at least into the light of history—what these atypical human beings did and tried to do, thereby imparting to the reader some small notion of the vast accomplishments of the Comintern and a better understanding of the events in which it was involved. We here make an attempt, modest and incomplete, to pierce the double shroud of anonymity and silence.

GUIDE TO ABBREVIATIONS

I. DIRECTING INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANS OF THE COMINTERN

- Agitprop** Agitation and Propaganda Section. Officially established by the Comintern and then introduced in its national sections at the Fourth World Congress held in November and December 1922. Originally it was subordinated to the Orgburo (see below). In fact it was an adaption, on the Comintern level, of the Bolshevik experience: in September 1920, the central committee of the Russian Communist Party had decided to establish a special Department of Agitation and Propaganda.
- ECCI** Executive Committee of the Communist International. Established at the first Comintern Congress, in March 1919, as the highest Comintern body to function between world congresses. (In theory the congresses were the supreme Comintern authority, to which the ECCI was responsible.) The ECCI had two much smaller governing organs - the Presidium (initially called the Little Bureau) and the Secretariat. Following the Comintern pattern, national communist parties introduced the same top organizational structures - a central committee in each party played the role of the ECCI on the local level, and the party politburo functioned like the Comintern's Presidium.
- ICC** International Control Commission. Introduced by the Third Comintern Congress in June and July 1921. Its role was to supervise international communist discipline and, in particular, to prevent any deviation from the official Comintern line. It was another outgrowth of the Russian communist experience transposed to the international level.

Inprekorr

Internationale Presse Korrespondenz, in German; International Press Correspondence, in English; Correspondance Internationale, in French. A semiofficial Comintern organ, established by the ECCI and published under its supervision. The first issue appeared in Berlin on September 24, 1921—in German, English, and French—as a bulletin for the workers' press. It published reports on congresses and meetings of the Comintern, its governing bodies and auxiliary organizations, and printed articles and news concerning individual communist parties throughout the world. It appeared weekly and sometimes more often. After the German October in 1923 (see below), it was temporarily printed in Vienna. In April 1926, publication of the German edition was resumed in Berlin, while the French, English, Czechoslovak, and Spanish editions appeared in Paris, London, Prague, and Madrid. The victorious Nazis destroyed its printing facilities in Berlin, but an underground edition appeared in German until January 1934. *Inprekorr's* main functions were resumed in a new publication entitled *Rundschau über Politik, Wirtschaft & Arbeiterbewegung*, printed in Basel, Switzerland, between 1935 and 1939. *Rundschau* was succeeded by *Die Welt*, which began publication in Stockholm in 1939. The English edition of *Inprekorr* was replaced by *World News and Views*, which began publication in 1933 and survived until December 19, 1953 (ten years after the official dissolution of the Comintern).

KIM

Kommunisticheskii Internatsional Molodezhi, Communist Youth International. An auxiliary Comintern organization established at a congress in Berlin in November 1919 under the leadership of Willi Münzenberg. Its second congress took place in Moscow in July 1921 (following the Third World Congress of the Comintern), when it was decided to transfer its headquarters to the Soviet capital. Despite its initial tendency toward greater autonomy within the framework of the international communist movement, the KIM progressively submitted to Comintern discipline and abandoned any autonomist efforts. It was officially dissolved at the same time as the Comintern, in May 1943.

Krestintern

Krestianskii Internatsional, Peasants' International. Another Comintern auxiliary organization, founded at an international peasant conference held in Moscow in October 1923. The establishment of the "Red" Peasant International was

the Comintern's answer to the rival "Green" Peasant International headquartered in Prague; it also was connected closely with revolutionary attempts in Bulgaria and Germany in the autumn of 1923. The statutes adopted at the founding conference stated that the purpose of the Krestintern was to "coordinate peasant organizations and the efforts of the peasants to achieve workers' and peasants' government." Despite high hopes for its further development, the Krestintern never became a serious political force. Instead of holding regular congresses at least once every two years, it held only one more conference, in November 1927. The Krestintern's organizational structure was patterned on that of the Comintern, and its first secretary-general was a prominent Bolshevik, Aleksandr Petrovich Smirnov. The Krestintern was dissolved in 1939.

KUNMZ

Kommunisticheskii universitet natsional'nykh men'shinstv Zapada, Communist University for Western National Minorities. School established by a decree of the Council of People's Commissars on November 28, 1921. Originally it set out to form political cadres from the Western national minorities of Soviet Russia (such as Volga Germans, Karelo-Finns, Byelorussians, and Poles). Later it enlarged its admission policy—in 1929-30 the KUNMZ was attended by communist militants from the Balkans, Italy, Central Europe, and Scandinavia. Its first rector, Julian Marchlewski-Karski, had a prominent revolutionary past as a militant in the Polish, German, and Russian communist parties. He was replaced, after his death in 1925, by Maria Frumkina, a former member of the Jewish Socialist "Bund" movement and a member of the Russian Bolshevik Party. In 1936 the KUNMZ ceased its activities, and Frumkina perished during Stalin's purges.

KUTV

Kommunisticheskii universitet trudiashchikhsia Vostoka, Communist University for Eastern Workers. Founded on April 21, 1921, by a joint decision of the highest councils of the Bolshevik party and the Soviet state. Its initial purpose was to give political education to cadres of the Soviet Eastern republics; soon, however, it also admitted selected candidates from the independent and colonial countries of the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean. After 1923 it had two sections, the Soviet Russian and the foreign sections. With few exceptions (such as the Indian Communist leader M. N. Roy) the KUTV's successive heads

—Grigori Isaakovich Broido, Boris Zakharovich Shumiat-
sky, and Y. Raïter—had previously occupied high posts
in the hierarchy of the Soviet state.

MOPR

Mezhdunarodnaia organizatsia pomoshchi revoliut-
sioneram. In English, International Red Aid (IRA); in Ger-
man, Internationale Rote Hilfe (IRH); in French, Secours
Rouge International (SRI). An auxiliary organization estab-
lished in 1922, when the Fourth Comintern Congress
adopted a resolution appealing to "all communist parties
to assist in the creation of organizations to render material
and moral aid to all captives of capitalism in prison." Julian
Marchlewski-Karski was named chairman of the governing
body of the new organization, which until 1924 was called
the central committee and later the executive committee.
At its first plenary session, held in June 1923, the MOPR
decided to form sections in all countries, particularly those
exposed to "White terror." The first international confer-
ence of the MOPR took place in July 1924, simultaneously
with the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and the third
congress of the Profintern. In July 1928, the MOPR had
49 foreign sections, when it organized its first world congress
in Moscow in November 1932, it was officially announced
that on January 1 of that year 67 national sections existed
(excluding the Soviet Union) with 1,278,274 individual
members. Until 1938 the MOPR was headed by Elena
Stasova; after that time its international character was de-
emphasized, and some of its Western sections, such as the
one in France were called Popular Aid instead of Red Aid.

The MOPR should be distinguished from another
Comintern front organization, Mezhrabpom (Mezhdunarod-
nata rabochiia pomoshch) - in English, Workers' Interna-
tional Relief (WIR); in German, Internationale Arbeiter-
Hilfe (IAH); in French, Secours Ouvrier International (SOI).
Established in Berlin in September 1921, Mezhrabpom's
aim was "the mobilization of the communist parties, of
the workers' masses and of the public opinion of the capitalist
countries" to contribute to relief efforts in the Soviet Union.
Willi Münzenberg was the founder and chief of this organi-
zation until 1933. In October 1935 the Secretariat of the
ECCI decided to abolish Mezhrabpom, although the deci-
sion was not announced publicly.

OMS

Otdel mezhdunarodnoi sviazi, Department for International
Liaison. Founded after the Third Comintern Congress in
1921, the OMS played a vital, though essentially under-
ground, role in Comintern history. Through OMS agents
the ECCI maintained confidential contacts with its foreign
sections and was able to supply them with political directives
as well as with financial and other kinds of aid. From 1921
until the early 1930s its head was an old Bolshevik, Iosif
Piatnitsky.

Orgburo

Organizational Bureau. Officially established by the Fourth
Comintern Congress, it also mirrored an essential institution
of the Russian Communist Party which in March 1919
established its own orgburo to deal with the party's organiza-
tional matters, leaving the politburo in charge of political
affairs. The Comintern's Orgburo controlled communist
cadres throughout the world and supervised Agitprop work
as well as the various auxiliary organizations.

Profintern

Krasnyi internatsional professional'nykh soiuзов, Red
Trade Union International. The decision to establish this
organization was taken at the Second Comintern Congress;
the founding congress of the Profintern took place in Mos-
cow in July 1921. The purpose of the Profintern was to
"organize the working masses of the world for the overthrow
of capitalism" and to "carry on decisive battles against
Amsterdam" (the reformist International Federation of
Trade Unions headquartered in Amsterdam). The constitu-
tion also stipulated that the Profintern's relationship with
the Comintern be "close and unbreakable." From its incep-
tion until its dissolution in 1937, the Profintern's secretary-
general was A. Lozovsky, a Bolshevik since 1905 who
had been expelled from the party in January 1918 and read-
mitted in December 1919.

WES

Western European Secretariat. Established in Berlin in
October 1919 by Y. S. Reich, alias "Thomas," under
express directives from Lenin. Its membership consisted
of prominent German communists and certain Comintern
secret emissaries. Initially it played an important political
role, especially in Germany, as a transmitter of Comintern
directives. It also was active politically in Western Europe.

Later it assumed primarily administrative functions, setting up teams of technicians, couriers, and liaison personnel who transmitted instructions from Moscow to Berlin or from Berlin to other parts of Europe. At the end of the 1920s a Western European Bureau (WEB), also located in Berlin, replaced the WES.

II. SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES IN RUSSIA, GERMANY AND FRANCE

CGT Confédération Générale du Travail. A French federation of trade unions established in 1895 with an ideological basis in revolutionary syndicalism. Its initial distinctive feature in the Western European labor movement was its organizational independence and unwillingness to maintain any organic links with the socialist movement on either national or international levels.

CGTU Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire. An outgrowth of the split between the French socialists and communists, the CGTU originated in June 1922 at a congress held in St.-Etienne, as a rival to the CGT. In 1923 it affiliated itself with the Profintern. Contrary to the CGT tradition of political independence, the CGTU was from the beginning an arm of the French Communist Party in the trade union field. In 1936, at the time of the Popular Front, the CGT and the CGTU merged, officially retaining the old CGT name.

CPSU Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) decided to change its name to CPSU at its 19th congress, held in October 1952.

German October The Comintern-instigated insurrectionary attempt in Germany, staged in October 1923; it failed.

KAPD Kommunistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands, German Communist Workers' Party. Founded as a rival to the German Communist Party in April 1920. A typical "left-wing" communist group with strong anarcho-syndicalist features, it never became a significant political force but gave considerable trouble to the official German Communist Party. It sent delegates to the Second and Third Comintern Congresses but was never accepted as a full-fledged Comintern

section. It was criticized by Lenin at the Third Congress and was virtually extinct by 1923.

KPD

Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, Communist Party of Germany. Formerly known as the Spartacus League, it was officially established at a Berlin congress held between December 29, 1918, and January 1, 1919. Two years later, at the Congress of Unification in Berlin (December 4-7, 1920), it merged with the left wing of the USPD to form the Vereinigte Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (VKPD), the United Communist Party of Germany. Despite the new title it usually was called simply the KPD, the term adopted in this Dictionary.

PCF

Parti Communiste Français, French Communist Party. Established in December 1920 at the Tours congress of the French Socialist Party, when the majority of left-wing and centrist socialists decided to join the Comintern and to found a separate communist party.

RCP(B)

Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). This was the official title the Bolsheviks adopted at their seventh party congress held in Petrograd in March 1918. At the fourteenth party congress in 1925, the name was changed to All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and officially retained until 1952, as indicated above (see CPSU). To simplify matters, the abbreviation RCP(B) is used for the entire period between 1918 and 1952.

RSDLP

Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. Founded at a congress in Minsk in March 1898. At its second congress (Brussels-London, July and August 1903) it split into Bolshevik and Menshevik factions, which continued to coexist within the same party until January 1912 when the Bolsheviks decided, at their Prague conference, to form a distinct political party. At the next conference, held in Petrograd in April 1917, the name of the party was changed to Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks) and eleven months later to Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

SDPPL

Social Democratic Party of [the Kingdom of] Poland and Lithuania. Established in December 1899 through the merger of the Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland (founded in 1893) and some Lithuanian social democrats.

Contrary to the Polish and Lithuanian socialist parties, whose platforms favored the establishment of Polish and Lithuanian national independence, the SDPPL advocated strict internationalist proletarian struggle and rejected nationalism. It was active only in those parts of Poland and Lithuania which belonged to the Russian empire. At the fourth congress of the RSDLP, held in Stockholm in April 1906, the SDPPL became an autonomous part of the RSDLP.

SED Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Established in April 1946 through the merger of the socialist and communist parties in the Soviet occupation zone of Germany.

SFIO Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière, French Section of the Workers' International. At a general congress held in Paris in April 1905, various separate socialist parties and groups decided to merge and establish a unified socialist party. For several decades the SFIO played a prominent role in French political life. In 1969 it changed its name to Socialist Party.

Spartacus League A group of German revolutionary Marxists which emerged in the spring of 1915 and was initially known as the Gruppe Internationale (Group International). Its ideological mentor was Rosa Luxemburg. Later it also was called the Spartakusbund, and grew in membership and influence during the war. At the Spartacus League convention held in Berlin in December 1918, the majority of delegates decided to assume a new party name, the Communist Party of Germany (KPD).

SPD Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, German Social Democratic Party. Formed at the congresses at Gotha (1875) and Erfurt (1891) through the merger of separate socialist parties of Lassallean and Marxist persuasion. Despite its officially adopted Marxist phraseology, it was essentially a reformist political party, although it tolerated more radical socialist currents within its membership. During World War I its majority supported the German government's policies. It assumed power in November 1918 and engaged in bitter political struggles with German communists. It played a major political role during the Weimar Republic.

USPD Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany. Founded in April 1917 as a minority opposition to the political line of the SPD majority. Pacifist and internationalist in ideology, it was beset from the start by a lack of political homogeneity. After the Second Comintern Congress, the party was split between partisans and opponents of immediate affiliation with the Comintern. At the party congress held in Halle in October 1920, a substantial majority of delegates favored affiliation with the Comintern. In December 1920, at the Berlin congress of unification, the USPD left wing merged with the KPD. In September 1922 the USPD minority at Halle decided to merge with the SPD.

III. NOTES ON AMERICAN COMMUNIST AND ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST MOVEMENTS

CPUSA Communist Party of the United States of America. For many years after its formal inception in 1919, the communist movement in the United States was marred by internal factional struggles. In September 1919, two rival communist parties were established, both proclaiming full support to the Comintern—the Communist Party of America (CPA), and the Communist Labor Party of America (CLPA). At the end of May 1920, part of the CPA ("Ruthenberg's faction") merged with CLPA to form the United Communist Party (UCP). A year later, in May 1921, the UCP merged with the original CPA, and a new Communist Party of America was created. All these parties worked essentially illegally, but after the Third Comintern Congress, and particularly when the new United Front line was inaugurated at the end of 1921, an open and legal U.S. communist party was established in December 1921 under the name the Workers Party of America (WPA). In April 1923, the still illegal CPA officially dissolved itself at a New York convention and encouraged its membership to join the legal WPA. Following the "Bolshevization" policy inaugurated at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924, the name of the WPA was changed in September 1925 to Workers (Communist) Party of America. At the sixth party convention, held in New York City in March 1929, a new name for the party was adopted—Communist Party

of the U.S.A., Section of the Communist International. For fifteen years the party worked as the CPUSA, but in May 1944, under the leadership of Earl Browder, it transformed itself into the Communist Political Association. The new name did not last long: at a special convention in July 1945, the "Association" name and form were abandoned and the party assumed again the title of the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA), under which it has since continued to work.

IWW

Industrial Workers of the World. An American branch of Anarcho-Syndicalism, formed at a convention in Chicago in 1905. Established in opposition to the American Federation of Labor, it was an ideologically heterogeneous organization. At first enthusiastic about the Bolshevik rule in Russia and willing to join the Comintern, it turned against it when for tactical reasons the Comintern advocated cooperation with the A.F. of L.

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 Peng Shu-chih
 Pérez Solís, Oscar
 Péri, Gabriel
 Pessi, Ville
 Pestuña, Angel
 Pestkowski, Stanislaw
 Petin, K. G.
 Petrovsky, D.
 Piatakov, Georgi
 Piatnitsky, Iouf
 Pieck, Wilhelm
 Pikel, Richard V.
 Platten, Friedrich (Fritz)
 Pogány, József
 Pögelman, Hans
 Pojel, Karl
 Polano, Luigi
 Poll, Sándor
 Pollitt, Harry
 Ponomarev, Boris
 Popov, Blagoi
 Popov, Dimitri
 Poptomov, Vladimir
 Prestes, Luis Carlos
 Próchnik, Edward
 Purman, Leon

Q

Quelch, Thorius

R

Rabaté, Octave
 Racamond, Julien
 Radek, Karl
 Radovanović, Ljubomir
 Rafes, Moisei
 Rahja, Eino A.
 Rahja, Jukka A.
 Rákosi, Mátyás
 Rakovsky, Christian
 Ramsay, David
 Rappoport, Charles
 Raskolnikov, Fedor F.
 Rau, Heinrich
 Ravestejn, Willem Van
 Ravines, Eudocio
 Reed, John
 Reich, Y. S.
 Reichenbach, Bernhard
 Reiman, Paul
 Reimann, Max
 Reinstein, Boris
 X Reissner, Larissa
 Relecom, Xavier
 Remmele, Hermann
 Renoult, Daniel
 Reuter, Ernst
 Révai, József
 Révész, Géza
 Revo, L.
 Rheiland, E.
 Riazanov, David B.
 Ríos, Fernando De Los
 Roca, Blas
 Rochet, Waldeck
 Roland-Holst, Henriette
 Rosenberg, Arthur
 Rosner, Alfred
 Rothstein, Andrew
 Rothstein, Feodor A.
 Roussios, Petros

Rovio, Gustaa
 Roy, Manabendra N.
 Rudas, László
 Rudnyánszky, Endre
 Rühle, Otto
 Rust, William
 Rutgers, Sebald Justius
 Ruthenberg, Charles E.
 Rykov, Aleksei

S

Sadoul, Jacques
 Safarov, Georgi
 Salih, Hacioglu
 Sano, Manabu
 Schalker, Cornelius J. P.
 Scheffo, Olav
 Schlecht, Paul
 Schneller, Ernst
 Scholem, Werner
 Schubert, Hermann
 Schüller, Richard
 Schütz, Josef
 Schwab, Alexander
 Schwab, Sepp
 Scoccimarro, Mauro
 Secchia, Pietro
 Sellier, Louis
 Sémard, Pierre
 Semaun
 Serge, Victor
 Serrati, Giacinto Menotti
 Shablin, N.
 Sharkey, Lawrence
 Shatskin, Lazar Abramovich
 Shehu, Mehmet
 Shkiriátov, Matvei
 Shliapnikov, Aleksandr G.
 Shumiatsky, Boris Z.
 Shumsky, Aleksandr
 Sillen, Hugo

Silone, Ignazio
 Siqueiros, David Alfaro
 Široký, Viliam
 Sirola, Yrjö E.
 Skrypnik, Nikolai
 Slanský, Rudolf
 Šmeral, Bohumír
 Smirnov, Aleksandr
 Smoliansky, G.
 Sneevliet, Hendricus
 Sochacki, Jerzy
 Sokolnikov, Grigori
 Solts, Aaron
 Souchy, Augustin
 Souvarine, Boris
 Spector, Maurice
 Spratt, Philip
 Staimer, Richard
 Stalin, Josef
 Stange, Emil
 X Stasova, Elena
 Stefanov, Boris
 Stefanović, Lazar
 Steinhardt, Karl
 Stern, Viktor
 Stewart, Robert
 Stoecker, Walter
 Strasser, Joseph
 Stringos, Leonidas
 Ström, Frederick
 Stuchka, Peter
 Šture, Václav
 Su Chao-cheng
 Subhi, Mustafa
 Sultan-Zade, A.
 Sunitsa, L. B.
 Šverma, Jan
 Szamuefy, Tibor
 Szántó, Béla

T

Tagore, Saumyendramath

Tan Ping-shan
 Tanaka, Seigen
 Tanev, Vasil
 Tanner, Jack
 Taratuta, V. K.
 Tasca, Angelo
 Teng Hsiao-ping
 Teodorovich, Ivan
 Terracini, Umberto
 Thalheimer, August
 Thälmann, Ernst
 Thøgersen, Thøger
 Thorez, Maurice
 Tkachenko, Pavel
 Togliatti, Palmiro
 Tokuda, Kyuichi
 Toman, Karl
 Tommasi, Joseph
 Tomsky, Mikhail
 Trachtenberg, Alexander
 Tranmael, Martin
 Treint, Albert
 Tresso, Pietro
 Trilisser, M.A.
 Trilla, Gabriel Léon
 Trotsky, Leon
 Tsiperovich, Grigori
 Tskhakaia, Mikhail
 Tung Pi-wu
 Tuominen, Arvo
 Tywerousky, Oscar

U

Ulanfu
 Ulanowski, Władysław
 Ulbricht, Walter
 Unger, Otto
 Unszlicht, Józef
 Urbahns, Hugo
 Urbany, Dominique
 Uribe, Vicente
 Usmani, Shaikat

V

Vaillant-Couturier, Paul
 Vajtauer, Emmanuel
 Vaněk, Miloš
 Varga, Jenő (Eugen)
 Vassart, Albert
 Verčik, Julius
 Veselinov, Jovan
 Vidali, Vittorio
 Visser, Louis de
 Vittorio, Giuseppe Di
 Vlahović, Veljko
 Voitinsky, Grigori
 Vorovsky, Vatslav
 Vries, Jo De
 Vujović, Grigor
 Vujović, Radomir
 Vujović, Voja

W

Walcher, Jakob
 Walecki, Henryk
 Wallenius, Allan
 Wandel, Paul
 Wang Chia-hsiang
 Wang Jo-fei
 Warski-Warszawski, Adolf
 Watanabe, Masanosuke
 Wehner, Herbert
 Weinstone, William W.
 Welti, Franz

Wicks, Harry
 Wieser, Fritz
 Wijnkoop, David
 Willems, Marc
 "Williams" (Boris Mikhailov?)
 Winzer, Otto
 Witkowski
 Wolf, Felix
 Wolfe, Bertram D.
 Wolfstein, Rosi
 Wollweber, Ernst
 Wompe, Peter
 Woog, Edgar
 Wu Hsiu-chuan

Y

Yang Shang-kun
 Yeh Chien-ying
 Yordanov, Yordan
 Yugov, Anton

Z

Zachariades, Nikos
 Zaisser, Wilhelm
 Zápotocký, Antonín
 Zetkin, Clara
 Zhdanov, Andrei
 Zinoviev, Grigori
 Žorga, Jakob
 Žujović, Sreten

LIST OF PSEUDONYMS

A

Absolu - E. Stasova
 Abusiam - Haidar
 Adamovich, Y. - V. Vorovsky
 Adolf - K. Pojel
 Albert - H. Eberlein
 Albrecht, A. - A. E. Abramovich
 Alex - H. Kippenberger
 Alexe, G. - A. Dobrogeanu-Gherea
 Alexandre - A. E. Abramovich
 Alfred - P. Togliatti
 Andrew - N. Hourwich
 Antonio - B. A. Gonçalves
 Arthur - K. H. Hoffmann
 Arwid - G. Piatakov
 Asano - M. Watanabe
 Austine - O. Rabaté

B

Badulescu, A. - Ghitsa Moscu
 Badulescu, Anna - Clara Moscu
 Baldwin - O. Tywerousky
 Ballister - R. Minor
 Barsov - M. Tskhakaia
 Barzilai - J. Berger
 Baum - F. Filipović
 Belenin - A. G. Shliapnikov
 Belov - K. Lukanov
 Benjamin - A. Guralsky

Bennet - D. Petrovsky
 Berbi - F. Maffi
 Berger, Hans - G. Eisler
 Berger, Harry - A. Ewert
 Bernard - A. Kurella
 Bertreint - A. Treint
 Beruzzi - D. Manuilsky
 Bevardis - Z. A. Angaretis
 Bevc - E. Kardelj
 Bezrabortnyi - D. Manuilsky
 Bezimeni - Z. A. Angaretis
 Birk - E. Kardelj
 Blasco - P. Tresso
 Blonina - I. Armand
 Bo Gu - Chin Pang-hsien
 Bogdanov - A. Ivanov
 Bošković - F. Filipović
 Bosnić - Dj. Djaković
 Botte - P. Secchia
 Božić - L. Stefanović
 Bracco - R. Grieco
 Brantwein - M. Borodin
 Braun - M. Broński
 Braun - A. Ewert
 Bratkowski, J. - J. Sochacki
 Bremer, P. - K. Radek
 Bronkowski - B. Bortnowski
 Brown, G. - M. Borodin
 Brooks - H. Walecki
 Brunon - L. Purman
 Bryan, J. - F. Rothstein
 Bunić, V. - S. Marković

C

Carlo - N. M. Liubarsky
 Carr, J. - L. Katterfeld
 Charpentier - J. Humbert-Droz
 Chavaroche (Dr.) - S. Mineff
 Chayen - Ho Chi Minh
 Chervonyi, A. - B. Shumiatsky
 Chiarini - A. Heller
 Christophe - J. Humbert-Droz
 Chudnovsky - N. Kovačević
 Ciobanu, M. - E. Filipovici
 Clément - E. Fried
 Contreras, C. - V. Vidali
 Cook - J. Cannon
 Corey, L. - L. Fraina
 Correnti, M. - P. Togliatti
 Crni - S. Žujović
 Czeszejko, J. - J. Sochacki

D

Dabrowski - A. Krajewski
 Damon, D. - C. Ruthenberg
 Davidsot - B. Reinstein
 de Dios, J. - A. Guralsky
 Desimoni - P. Sprati
 Dixon, J. - E. Browder
 Dolorès - D. Ibaruri
 Dombrowski, W. - A. Krajewski
 Dorsey - W. Z. Foster
 Dragačević - K. Novaković
 Dridzo - A. Lozovsky

E

Edwards - G. Eisler
 Ercoli - P. Togliatti
 Ernst - E. Gerš

F

Farkas - S. Poll
 Felix - F. Wolf
 Ferri - C. Negarville
 Finnen - E. D'Onofrio
 Florian - S. Bratman
 Foma - D. Manuilsky
 Ford - I. Amter
 Freimuth - H. Remmele
 Freitag - I. Piatnitsky
 Friedman, G. - Dj. Djaković
 Friedrich - B. Geminder
 Friesland - E. Reuter
 Funk, K. - H. Wehner
 Furini - G. Dozza

G

Gallo - L. Longo
 Garland - R. Grieco
 Garoto - L. C. Prestes
 Gebhardt - O. Geschke
 Gerbilski - W. Budich
 Germinal - M. Thorez
 Gomez (General) - W. Zaisser
 Oradov - L. Kamenov
 Green, P. - S. I. Gusev
 Grey - A. Ewert
 Grigher (Colonel) - V. Bianco
 Gruber - K. Steinhardt
 Guilleat - J. Doriot

H

Hadjar - Haidar
 Hartstein, P. - P. Levi
 Hediger (Dr.) - G. Dimitrov
 Helmuth - G. Dimitrov

Hertha - E. Stasova
 Hoffmann - R. Stamer
 Horner, K. - A. Pannekoek
 Hrabia - K. Cichowski
 Hua Fu - O. Braun

I

Ilić - R. Jovanović
 Inkov - F. Wolf
 Iranski - F. Rothstein
 Ivanov - D. Manuilsky
 Ivanov - M. Thorez

J

Jack - F. Fiedler
 Jacopo - G. Berti
 Jean - A. Ivanov
 Jean-Christophe - J. Humbert-Droz
 Jep - T. Malaka
 Joe - S. Carr
 Joseph, A. - V. Degot
 Junius - R. Luxemburg

K

Kamienski, H. - H. Stein (L. Donski)
 Kämpfer, J. - J. Marchlewski
 Kang Hsing - Kang Sheng
 Kang Sin - Kang Sheng
 Karl Iakovlevich - A. Mavrak
 Karski - J. Marchlewski
 Kato - M. Sano
 Kawamura - S. Kasuga
 Kazik - L. Purman
 Keller - F. Fiedler
 Kellermann, A. - S. Nögrádi

Kemerer, V. - V. Taratuta
 Kievsky, P. - G. Piatakov
 Kirsch - Dj. Cvijić
 Klassner - P. Wandel
 Klein - N. Kovačević
 Klein, V. - V. Serge
 Kleine - A. Guralsky
 Kochewa M. - W. Kostrzewa
 Kodra, L. - S. Malëshova
 Konrad - J. Sochacki
 Kon Sin - Kang Sheng
 Kramer, O. - B. Geminder
 Krešić - Dj. Cvijić
 Kuba - J. Hanecki

L

Lang - J. Pogány
 Langer, A. - T. Lehen
 Lanzi - P. Tresso
 Larew - F. Oelssner
 Larsky - N. M. Liubarsky
 Lassen, J. - J. Lékař
 Lauer - J. Duclos
 Laurat, L. - O. Machl (L. Revo)
 Lazić - L. Stefanović
 Lebedev - S. Mineff
 Ledo, A. - F. Lacerda
 Lenoir, P. - G. Kagan
 Léon - L. Purman
 Lepetit - A. Guralsky
 Leroux, A. - A. Tasca
 Li Teh - O. Braun
 Liao Cheng-yun - Chen Yun
 Licht - R. Vujović
 Lifschitz, M. - M. Frumkina
 Lin Pai-chu - Lin Tsu-han
 Lin Po-chu - Lin Tsu-han
 Linov - Ho Chi Minh
 Lo Fu - Chang Wen-tien

Lorenz - O. Winzer
 Louis - J. Humbert-Droz
 Luximin - M. Pauker
 Ly Thuy - Ho Chi Minh

M

Mamaevich - Chen Shao-yü
 Manavar - Musso
 Mann - L. Purman
 Marco - M. Scoccimarro
 Marek - Stanke Dimitrov
 Maria - E. Filipovici
 Marina - A. Pauker
 Maring - H. Sneevliet
 Marinović - T. Kaclerović
 Markus - T. Lehen
 Marshall - M. Bedacht
 Martin - H. Sneevliet
 Martin (Father) - M. N. Roy
 Martinović - J. Mališić
 Masci - A. Gramsci
 Max - K. Radek
 Mechanik - F. Grzegorzewski
 Medina - V. Codovilla
 Michal - M. Farkas
 Michalek - A. Warski-Warszawski
 Michelson - H. Walecki
 Mikhail - Z. A. Angaretis
 Mikolas - Z. A. Angaretis
 Miller - N. Kovačević
 Miller, F. - Y. Sirola
 Milić, M. - S. Marković
 Mitrović - G. Vujović
 Monterdo, J. - E. Ravines
 Morelli - M. Scoccimarro
 Moreno - S. Mineff
 Moskvin - M. Trilisser

N

Nadir - K. Bakdash

Narayan - S. Tagore
 Natasha - S. I. Gopner
 Negri - M. Scoccimarro
 Neuberg, A. - T. Lehen
 Neumann, W. - H. Wehner
 Nguyen Ai Quoc - Ho Chi Minh
 Niccolini - N. M. Liubarsky
 Nicoletti, M. - G. Di Vittorio
 Niessen - E. Leviné
 Nikita - N. Kovačević
 Nikolajević, B. P. - K. Horvatin
 Nizam - N. Hikmet
 Nullo - G. Pajetta

O

Octavio - H. Neumann
 Ognjanović - R. Jovanović
 Okano, S. - S. Nosaka
 Ollivier, M. - M. Goldenberg
 Orlovsky, P. - V. Vorovsky

P

Padi - M. P. Alimin
 Pai Shan - Li Li-san
 Palmi, P. - P. Togliatti
 Parabellum - K. Radek
 Paragraph - P. Stuchka
 Passionaria (La) - D. Ibarruri
 Pavel - N. Kofardzhiev
 Pavlov - I. A. Berzin
 Pavlović, I. - R. Čolaković
 Pawlowski, E. - J. Varga
 Pedro - E. Gerő
 Pepper, J. - J. Pogány
 Persolis, O. - O. Pérez Solis
 Petrov - F. Raskolnikov
 Petrova - I. Armand
 Petrović - P. Pavlović
 Petrović, P. - K. Novaković
 Petrovski, B. N. - K. Horvatin

Petrovski - K. Pojel
 Philips - H. Sneevliet
 Piatnitsa - I. Piatnitsky
 Pierre - E. Gerő
 Pilats - J. Kruminš
 Pinguino - M. Rákosi
 Pippo-Pappa - G. Dozza
 Po Ku - Chin Pang-hsien
 Popescu - M. Pauker
 Powers - J. Lovestone

Q

Queiros, A. - B. Gonçalves

R

Radić - Lj. Radovanović
 Rakov - F. Wolf
 Raymond - K. Guyot
 Renaud, H. - H. Jacob
 Richter - H. Schubert
 Rienzi - A. Tasca
 Roebuck, C. M. - A. Rothstein
 Rogić - J. Žorga
 Rosenko, M. I. - R. Čolaković
 Rossi - R. Grieco
 Rossi, A. - A. Tasca
 Roth, H. - K.-H. Hoffmann
 Rudi - R. Čolaković

S

Sacho - N. Kofardzhiev
 Sachs - A. Schwab
 Samin - R. Darsono
 Samuely - D. Manuilsky
 Sanborn - C. Ruthenberg
 Schmidt - B. Parović
 Schwarz - A. Lozovsky
 Schwarz, M. - V. Vorovsky

Semić - S. Marković
 Senko - V. Čopić
 Sentot - H. Sneevliet
 Sergeev - V. Taratuta
 Serra - A. Tasca
 Sewer - E. Prochnik
 Shao Shan - Chou En-lai
 Silvestri - M. Scoccimarro
 Siu - Chou En-lai
 Sokolik - W. Knorin
 Sommer - M. Gorkić
 Sommer, E. - J. Revai
 Sormenti, A. - V. Vidali
 Sormenti, E. - V. Vidali
 Stanić - K. Novaković
 Stepanov - S. Mineff
 Stürner - E. Woog
 Stoinov - Sobi Dimitrov
 Stojanović - K. Novaković
 Strakhov - Chū Chiu-pai
 Strong - J. Pogány
 Struthahn, A. - K. Radek
 Sung Man-chao - Ho Chi Minh
 Sur Sikander - S. Usmani

T

Technician - J. Unszlicht
 Thal, R. - M. Goldenberg
 Than Chin - Ho Chi Minh
 Thomas - Y. S. Reich
 Tito - J. Broz
 Travin - S. I. Gusev
 Tsiu Tsiu-po - Chū Chiu-pai
 Tsiu Wito - Chū Chiu-pai

U

Ulmer - P. Dengel
 Urbani - U. Terracini
 Ursu - P. Tkachenko

V

Valle - A. Tasea
 Vanim - S. Mineff
 Varine - B. Souvarine
 Vasilevich, P. - I. A. Berzin
 Vecchini - E. Gennari
 Veteran - P. Stuchka
 Vidal, P. - E. Fischer
 Viktor - V. Taratuta
 Vitavski - B. Geminder
 Vladetić - Dj. Cvijić
 Vladimirov - V. Chervenkov
 Vlasov - V. Vlahović
 Vuković, P. - R. Čolaković

W

Wacek - W. Bogucki
 Wall, C. - Williams
 Walter - J. Broz
 Walter - W. Ulbricht
 Wang Ming - Chen Shao-yü

Wang Shan-er - Ho Chi Minh
 Werner, P. - P. Frölich
 Wieden, P. - E. Fischer
 Wiesław - W. Gomułka
 Winter - I. A. Berzin
 Winter - V. Čopić
 Wolf - M. Farkas
 Wolf - V. Vujović
 Wu Hao - Chou En-lai
 Wu Lang-fu - Ulanfu

Y

Yurovski - J. Unszlicht

Z

Zalewski - A. E. Abramovich
 Žarko - J. Veselinov
 Zelle - W. Ulbricht
 Ziegler - A. Kurella
 Ziemelis - I. A. Berzin

INDIVIDUAL BIOGRAPHIES

A

Aaltonen, Aimo. Born in the United States in 1906 to Finnish immigrants. When his parents returned with him to Finland, he became a construction worker there, and joined the communist party in 1927. From 1929 to 1931 he studied in Soviet Russia, first at the KUNMZ and then at the Comintern Leninist School. After returning to Finland he was arrested in 1935 for communist activity and held in prison until 1944. Also in 1944 he was elected to the Finnish Communist Party's central committee and politburo and the following year became party chairman. From 1945 to 1947 he served as deputy chief of the state police. In 1948 he was reelected party chairman, a position he held continuously until the fourteenth party congress in January 1966, when he was replaced by Aarne Saarinen. As party chairman he made several trips to Soviet Russia, most notably to the CPSU's twentieth congress, held in February 1956. Later he became a leader of the Stalinist faction of the Finnish Communist Party and as such took part in the party conference held in Turku in November 1968. He also relinquished his seat in the politburo and at the fifteenth congress, held in April 1969, was reelected only as a member of the central committee.

Abramovich, A. E. Born in Russia in 1888. He joined the RSDLP in 1908 and was a Bolshevik militant from the beginning. In 1911 he went to Switzerland, where he joined the Bolshevik organization first in Geneva and then at La Chaux-de-Fonds, where he also worked for the Swiss Socialist Party. He had met Lenin at Bern in 1911, and when the Bolshevik chief took up residence in Switzerland in 1914 Abramovich remained in close contact and helped him in his work. After the February 1917 revolution Abramovich returned with Lenin to Russia and in Petrograd became a district organizer for the party. Sent to the Rumanian front as a Bolshevik agitator, he returned to Petrograd in 1918 as a delegate to the seventh party congress.

He became one of the first Comintern secret emissaries to Central and Western Europe, lived during 1919 in Berlin and Munich as A. Albrecht, traveled in 1920 to France, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, and returned to Petrograd and Moscow as a member of the French delegation to the Second Comintern Congress. He attended the Tours congress of the SFTO in December 1920; in January 1921, under the name Zalewski, he was arrested in Nice, en route to Italy. His arrest led to the so-called "checks affair" which revealed that he had transferred money to the PCF on authority from Moscow.

Released by the French in 1921, he returned to Moscow. In late 1921 he was appointed secretary at the Soviet embassy in Tallin, Estonia, but in reality he supervised the liaison between Moscow and the Comintern network in Europe, an occupation he also pursued while employed at the Viennese Soviet embassy in 1924. In 1922 he also attended certain meetings of the ECCI. From 1925 to 1930 he worked for the Comintern Secretariat and remained a Comintern employee until 1931; in 1932 he was assigned to political work, and then "pedagogical work" within the RCP(B). There were indications that he was affected by the Stalinist purges but he survived them; in 1961 he was living in retirement in Liepaja (Libau), Latvia.

Ackermann, Anton. Born Eugen Hanisch in Germany in 1905; he became a stocking-weaver. In 1919 he joined the socialist youth organization and in 1926 the KPD, later becoming a permanent member of its apparatus. Sent to Moscow, he studied at the Comintern Leninist School and subsequently joined the German delegation at the ECCI. Returning illegally to Berlin in 1935 he took charge of the secret reorganization of the KPD but that same year left to attend the Seventh Comintern Congress in Moscow and did not return to Germany until 1945. In October 1935 and again in 1939 he was elected to the central committee at the national party conferences of the KPD. In 1936-37 he took part in the Spanish civil war. Returning to Moscow in 1939 he became head of the broadcasting station "Free Germany" and in 1943 helped found the "Free Germany" national committee. At the end of the war he returned to Germany; in June 1945 his name was on the first manifesto of the KPD addressed to the German people from Berlin. Upon unification of the KPD and the SPD in East Germany in 1946, he was elected to the central committee of the new party (SED) and developed the theses on the German road to socialism that in 1948 were condemned as deviationist, so that he was forced to recant. In October 1949 he was appointed undersecretary of foreign affairs for the East German government. In 1950 he was reelected to the SED central committee and named an alternate member of its politburo.

Associated with two other politburo members, Wilhelm Zaisser and Rudolf Herrnstadt, in an action against Walter Ulbricht, Ackermann was relieved of his party and government functions in the summer of 1953. In January 1954 he received a severe party reprimand, usually the last disciplinary measure before

expulsion; following de-Stalinization, he was rehabilitated in July 1956. Meanwhile he had been working since 1954 as a clerk for the ministry of culture. In 1958 he was appointed to the state planning commission, of which he later became a vice-president.

Alimin, Mas Prawirodirdjo. Born in Indonesia in 1889 into a poor family; he was adopted by a Dutch civil servant and sent to school in Batavia (Jakarta). He joined the Indonesian nationalist movement as a youth and the nationalist Sarekat Islam shortly after its founding. He moved toward the left and in 1918 joined the executive committee of the Indies Social Democratic Association (ISDV). Becoming militant in the Indonesian communist movement, he attended the Pacific Workers' Conference called by the Comintern in Canton in June 1924 and shortly thereafter went to Soviet Russia with another Indonesian communist, Musso; they were arrested in Singapore while attempting to return to Indonesia in 1927. Upon his release later in the year, he returned to Soviet Russia, studied at the Comintern Leninist School and took part in the Sixth Comintern Congress in 1928, under the pseudonym Padi.

He stayed in Soviet Russia until 1943 and was associated with the Comintern, making trips to Germany and England. In 1943 he left for Yanan (headquarters of Mao Tse-tung), where he remained until returning to Indonesia in 1946. After the failure of the communist insurrection in September 1948, he became party chief but later, in the struggle against the new party chairman, D. N. Aidit, remained in the minority faction of party leadership. In October 1953 he was removed from the party politburo and in 1954, at the party congress, from the central committee. He attempted to resume action against Aidit and his group in 1956 and again in 1961, but he met with failure both times.

Alpári, Gyula. Born in 1882. As a youth he became a Marxist socialist at the Bratislava lyceum and then joined the socialist organization in Budapest, where in January 1907 he became editor of the newspaper *Ifjú Proletár* (Young Proletarian). Later that year he took part in the founding congress of the Socialist Youth International in Stuttgart. From April 1907 to July 1908 he lived in Germany and took part in the socialist youth movement there. After his return to Budapest, as a member of the left-wing opposition, he was expelled from the Hungarian Socialist Party in 1910 but nevertheless attended the Copenhagen congress of the Second International as spokesman for the Hungarian socialist left.

Joining the Hungarian Communist Party in February 1919 he wrote for the party newspapers *Vörös Újság* (Red Gazette) and *Internationale*. When the Hungarian Soviet Republic was established in March 1919 he was named chief of the press bureau of the revolutionary government and on June 24 became the assistant of Béla Kun, commissar for foreign affairs. When the Hungarian Soviet Republic was overthrown Alpári fled to Czechoslovakia, where he worked

for the unification of various pro-communist national groups. In 1921 he attended the Third Congress of the Comintern in Moscow.

In October 1921 he became editor-in-chief of *Inprekorr* in Berlin. He continued in this office for several years and made frequent trips to Moscow—in 1924 he attended the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and was a member of its ideological commission on Leninism; in 1925 he took part in the fifth enlarged ECCI plenum and was seated on the Yugoslav commission as the Hungarian Communist Party representative; and in 1932 he took part in the twelfth enlarged plenum. Meanwhile he undertook Comintern missions in such countries as Austria, Belgium, Italy, and Sweden. From 1925 to 1928 he was a member of the central committee of the Hungarian Communist Party. After Hitler's rise he left for Switzerland, where he edited the review *Rundschau*, and then in 1935 went to Paris, where he was arrested by the Gestapo in 1940; he was murdered in July 1944 in the Sachsenhausen camp.

Ambrogi, Ersilio. Born in 1883; he became a militant in the Italian socialist movement. He was elected deputy mayor and then mayor (in October 1920) of the city of Cecina. He belonged to the Italian Communist Party (ICP) from its founding in January 1921 and was elected communist deputy to the Italian parliament. In March 1923 he went to Soviet Russia, where he represented the ICP on both the ECCI and its Presidium and also at the second enlarged plenum, held in June. After the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held in November 1922, he no longer performed executive duties but remained in Russia when the Fascist authorities sentenced him in absentia to 21 years in prison. In February 1926 he attended the sixth enlarged ECCI plenum with the Italian delegation and took part in its talks with Stalin. Suspected of sympathizing with the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition, he was expelled from the ICP in 1929, whereupon he settled in Germany. With Hitler's rise he left for Soviet Russia in 1933 and then Belgium in 1936. Arrested by German occupation authorities in November 1940 he was delivered to the Italians, who placed him in a concentration camp near Viterbo, from which he was deported to Germany in 1943. In 1945 he returned to Italy but was refused re-entry into the ICP; he then joined the Italian Socialist Party. In 1958 he was readmitted to the ICP but engaged in no special political activity; he died in 1964.

Amter, Israel. Born in the United States in 1881. Shortly after the turn of the century he joined a socialist club in Denver, Colorado, and during the course of World War I and particularly after the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, moved toward the extreme left. With the birth of the communist movement in the United States and its internal struggles, Amter became a leader of one of the two main factions. In 1922 he occasionally engaged in communist polemics under the pseudonym John Ford. At the beginning of 1923 he was designated a representative of the Communist Party of America at the ECCI. In June

of that year he attended the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI in Moscow and was there during the German October of 1923 as well as at the time of Lenin's death in January 1924. In June and July he attended the Fifth Comintern Congress and took part in its debates. Upon his return to the United States he resumed his activities in the leadership of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, notably as chairman of the New York State organization. He died in November 1954.

Andrews, William. Born in Great Britain in 1870. In 1893 he emigrated to South Africa, where he worked in the mines and became militant in the trade-union movement. In 1914 he was elected president of the Labour party but in 1915, together with the left wing, he quit the party and founded the International Socialist League (ISL). In January 1919 he was elected secretary of the ISL; when the League became the South African Communist Party in August 1921, he became its secretary-general. At the Fourth Comintern Congress in November 1922 he was elected to the ECCI and in June 1923 participated in the work of the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI. As the only South African representative, he was elected to the presidium of the second congress of the League Against Imperialism, held in Frankfurt am Main in 1929. In the years following, he observed the general guidelines of the Comintern, including the "patriotic" turn after Hitler's attack on Soviet Russia. Following the postwar gold mine strike at Witwatersrand, he was accused of subversive activities. In January 1947 he made a speech at the opening of the national conference of the South African Communist Party in his capacity as the party's national chairman. At the close of the conference he was not reelected party chairman but remained a member of the central committee until 1950, the year of his death.

Andreychine, George. Born in Bulgaria. He was militant in socialist and trade-union movements in his native country at the turn of the century. Emigrating to the United States, he joined the IWW and following the U.S. entry into World War I was sentenced to several years in prison; he was released on parole and seized the opportunity to escape. He took an active part in the first Profintern congress in Moscow in July 1921 and was elected a member of its executive bureau in charge of Anglo-Saxon countries. In 1921-22 he attended some of the meetings of the ECCI and its Presidium. Upon reorganization of the Profintern in 1922, he took charge of the Balkan countries and Great Britain. When at the end of 1923 the struggle for succession to Lenin grew in intensity, he leaned toward support of Stalin's opponents. From 1924 on he ceased to hold important positions in the Profintern and Comintern, and in the years following he worked in various Soviet economic organizations and at the foreign affairs commissariat. In late 1927 he was arrested in Moscow and interned in a Siberian concentration camp, from which he was liberated

during World War II. He then worked as a translator and after the war returned to Bulgaria. Appointed chief of the Anglo-Saxon section of the Bulgarian ministry of foreign affairs, he fell victim to the purge of 1947-48.

Angarelis, Zigmas Aleksa. Born in 1882, son of a Lithuanian judge. He early became a socialist militant in tsarist Russia and in 1904 was arrested for such activities in Warsaw, where he was studying to become a veterinarian. Returning in 1906 to Vilno, capital of Lithuania, he joined the local socialist party committee. At the seventh congress of the SDPPL, held in 1907, he was elected to the central committee, a post he held until his arrest in 1909. After four years at hard labor he resumed his socialist activity and in 1917 joined the Bolsheviks. When the Lithuanian Communist Party was founded he was elected a member of its central committee; when the Soviets took over Lithuania in 1919 he became a part of the Provisional Government of the Revolutionary Peasants and Laborers of Lithuania.

As a refugee in Moscow he attended the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921, joined its ECCI in 1922, and participated in the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1923. At the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Congresses (1924, 1928, and 1935) he was elected to the ICC of which he and Jan Anvelt became leaders upon the death of Peter Stuchka, another Baltic national, in 1932. In that capacity Angarelis participated in the meetings of the enlarged plenums of the ECCI, where he rarely spoke, an exception being his speech at the eleventh plenum in 1931. He presented the report in the name of the ICC at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935. In the great purge of 1936 he took the role of accuser; however, in 1937 he was arrested as a 'Lithuanian nationalist' and was shot in May 1940. He was the author of several pamphlets and the *History of the Lithuanian Labor Party Until 1907*, published in two volumes in Russian. In fulfilling secret and propaganda activities he used several pseudonyms, including Bevardis, Bezimeni, Mikhail, and Mikolas.

Antikainen, Toivo. Born in Helsinki in 1898; he worked as a newspaper peddler and laborer. He joined the Finnish Social Democratic Party in 1915 and as a leftist worked in support of the Finnish revolution in 1918; when it failed he went to Russia, where he helped found the Finnish Communist Party (in August) and organize Finnish communist youth in Russia, in connection with which he was sent to the first Soviet Komsomol (Young Communists) congress, held in the fall of 1918. From 1918 to 1921 he fought in the Red Army during the Russian civil war and against the Kronstadt insurrection.

In 1923 he joined the central committee of the Finnish Communist Party and in 1925 became a member of its politburo; as a party representative he spoke at the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in August and September 1932. In November 1934, while on a mission to Finland, he was arrested by Finnish police and sentenced to seven years in prison and, at a new trial

in May 1936, to life imprisonment. Four years later he was released after Soviet intervention, and returned to Comintern headquarters in Moscow. In June 1940 he was nominated deputy of the Karelo-Finnish region to the Supreme Soviet and later sent to the Frunze military academy. After the German invasion he was killed in combat on October 4, 1941, "while on an important mission entrusted to him by the party," according to his official biography.

Antselovich, Naum. Born in Russia in 1888. In 1905 he belonged to the RSDLP; during the factional struggles, he became a militant Bolshevik, for which he was arrested several times and sentenced to exile. Following the revolution of February 1917 he joined the Bolshevik committee agitprop in Petrograd and at the same time held a responsible position in the electricians' union. By October he had joined the Petrograd military revolutionary committee. In 1918 he headed the Petrograd trade unions and during the civil war became assistant chief of defense for Petrograd and then assistant chief of the political department of the military revolutionary council for the southern front.

As one of Lozovsky's lieutenants, he worked for the Profintern from its inception in 1921; in November 1922 he spoke at its second congress, and at the fourth congress, held in 1928, he was an alternate member of the central council. Meanwhile he pursued careers with both the Soviet government and the RCP(B). For the government he became, in turn, assistant to the people's commissar for workers and peasants inspection, people's commissar for the lumber industry, and assistant to the minister of commerce for the Federal Republic of Russia. At the fifteenth and sixteenth party congresses (1927 and 1930) he was elected to alternate membership in the central committee. At the eighteenth congress, held in March 1939 following the Stalinist purge, he was elected to full membership. He died in 1952.

Anvelt, Jan. Born in Estonia in 1884; he became a schoolmaster, and later studied at the University of Petrograd. In 1907 he joined the Estonian socialist movement, working for it as editor-in-chief of a legal Social Democratic Party paper, *Käär* (Ray). Taking a leftist position, he supported Bolshevism completely after 1917 and with the proclamation of Soviet government in Estonia in 1918 was named its prime minister. In 1919, however, he withdrew from Estonia with the Bolshevik troops and settled in Petrograd, where he collaborated with Zinoviev on Comintern affairs. He was closely associated with Zinoviev's attempted communist putsch in Reval (Tallin) on December 1, 1924. Already a member of the Comintern central apparatus, he participated in the Third and Fourth Congresses; he spoke also at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1925. In 1928, at the close of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, he replaced his compatriot Hans Pögelman on the ICC, of which he became a leading personality. At the Seventh Congress in 1935, he was reelected to the ICC and nominated its secretary; however, in 1936, the year of Zinoviev's

trial and execution, Anvelt was relieved of his duties. Accused of "Estonian nationalist deviation," he was arrested and shot in December 1937.

Appelt, Rudolf. Born in 1900, the son of a German carpenter in the Sudetenland; he worked as a clerk and in 1919 became a member of the Czechoslovak social democratic youth movement. In 1921 he joined the youth section of the newly founded Czechoslovak Communist Party. Throughout the 1920s he held various administrative posts in the party apparatus, for which he also performed journalistic duties. In 1931 he was elected a member of the central committee and an alternate member of the politburo; in 1935 he was elected as a communist deputy. When Germany invaded the Sudetenland in September 1938 he fled to Soviet Russia, where he was placed in charge of the Comintern's central publication section. With other leading Comintern personnel, he and his wife were evacuated in 1941 to Ufa, where they continued their work. From the summer of 1943 until the war's end he was employed at Radio Moscow. In the summer of 1945 he left for Prague and in 1946 for East Germany, where he joined the central apparatus of the SED. When the Democratic Republic of Germany was proclaimed in October 1949, he was named to head its diplomatic mission to Moscow. On October 1, 1953, he was elevated to the rank of ambassador, a post he still held when he died in July 1955 after a long illness.

Aris, Mustafa. Born in Beirut in 1911. He became a printer and joined the Communist Party of Lebanon and Syria, which he represented in 1935 at the Seventh Comintern Congress in Moscow, where he remained for political indoctrination. Upon his return he was arrested and imprisoned until 1937; when he was released he became president of the typographical workers' union. In 1939 he was arrested again with Khalid Bakdash but then freed during the wartime alliance between Soviet Russia and the West. In October 1945 in Paris he represented Syria at the founding congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), but with the onset of the cold war he again found himself in conflict with national authorities and in 1949 was sentenced in absentia to a year in prison. At the second WFTU congress (1949, Milan) and the third (1953, Vienna), he was elected to the executive committee but at the fourth (1957, Leipzig) was replaced by another Lebanese representative.

Armand, Inessa. Born in Paris in 1874, the daughter of an artist; after her father's death she went to Moscow, where she taught music and French. At age 17 she married the son of the great industrialist, Armand, and in 1904 joined the RSDLP. She took part in the 1905 revolution and subsequently was arrested several times. She finally was deported to Arkhangel'sk, from which she escaped to St. Petersburg in 1908. Early in 1909 she went to Brussels, where she studied at the Free University. After several trips to Paris, where she met Lenin, she settled there in his entourage in the autumn of 1910. She worked for his political school in nearby Longjumeau and in 1911 became

secretary of the committee for the foreign organization of the Bolshevik faction of the RSDLP.

In 1912 Lenin sent her as a delegate of the Bolshevik party's central committee to Petrograd, where she was arrested in September. Buying her freedom, she lived with her children for a few months near the Volga, but in the autumn of 1913 went to Cracow, where Lenin had established a center for foreign Bolshevik activity. Early in 1914 he sent her to Paris where, using the pen name Elena Blonina, she took charge of Bolshevik agitprop activities. In the summer of 1914 she represented the Bolshevik faction at a Brussels conference called by the Socialist International Bureau for the unification of Russian socialist groups.

During World War I she lived in Switzerland and represented the Bolsheviks at the Socialist International Conference for Women (1915) and the Socialist Youth Conference (1915). She also attended the Kienthal conference (1916) under the name Petrova. At that time she translated Lenin's writings and made several trips to Paris on his behalf. After the February 1917 revolution in Russia she traveled with him and the other Russian socialists through imperial Germany to Russia and took part in the national conference of the Bolshevik party held in April in Petrograd. She remained in Russia to work for the organization of the party in Moscow and after the victory she became a member of the regional Bolshevik committee there. In addition, she headed the women's section of the party and published the newspaper *Troistskoe Internationale*. In February 1919 she and Dmitri Manuilsky went to France ostensibly for the Red Cross but in fact to establish contact with Lenin partisans there. In 1920 she was a member of the Bolshevik delegation to the Second Comintern Congress and shortly thereafter organized the International Conference of Communist Women. She subsequently went to the Caucasus for a rest, caught cholera, and died in September 1920.

Arnold, Emil. Born in 1897 in Basel; he became a militant in the socialist youth movement in 1912. In Germany, during World War I, he was arrested as a Spartacus League partisan and was sent back to Switzerland. In Basel he served as secretary in the Swiss socialist youth movement from 1917 to 1921 and collaborated closely with Willi Münzenberg in the KIM in Germany and Switzerland. He joined the Swiss Communist Party at its founding in March 1921; later that year, at the close of the Third Congress of the Comintern, he was elected to the ECCI. From 1923 on he continued to be elected to the parliament of the canton of Basel and in 1929 became its president; he also was a Basel representative to the Swiss federal parliament from 1932 to 1934 and again in 1951. Meanwhile, in 1926 he had become editor-in-chief of the party organ for Basel, *Vorwärts*, and later of another communist newspaper, *Freiheit*, which was banned in 1939. He resumed publication of *Vorwärts* in 1947.

Between the wars Arnold was a member of the central committee of the

Swiss Communist Party. He joined the politburo of the Swiss Labor Party when it was founded in 1943 and remained a party member until September 1956, when he broke away on the eve of the Hungarian revolution. During the course of his career he was arrested several times for his socialist and communist activities—in 1919, when he was sentenced to four months in prison for subversive activity; in 1944, when the party was being outlawed but amnesty saved him from a three-month prison sentence; and in 1953, when he received an eight-month sentence following a speech in Budapest.

Arnot, Robin Page. Born in 1890 in England. He studied history and economics, joined the socialist movement, and became an extreme leftist at the close of World War I. In 1920, as secretary of the Labour Research Department (founded in 1912 by Sidney and Beatrice Webb), he militantly supported the establishment of the British Communist Party and urged the alignment of the Department with communism. In 1924 he was elected to the control commission of the British Communist Party and in 1925 was arrested with other party leaders for conspiracy. In Moscow in February 1928 he was elected to alternate membership of the Presidium of the ECCI and in August addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. At the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1929, while the British Communist Party leadership was being criticized, Manuilsky complimented him upon being a good party theoretician. At the eleventh enlarged plenum in April 1931 he was promoted to full membership in the Presidium and made an alternate member of the Comintern political Secretariat. In England he was director of Marx House from 1933 until 1947; although he ceased party leadership activities after 1938 he remained a party member. In 1967 he was still on the executive committee of the Labour Research Department and wrote *The Impact of the Russian Revolution in Britain*, dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution—the latest of numerous works published during his political career.

Avigdor (pseud.). Born Yehiel Kossol in the Ukraine in 1892; he was active in the Jewish Socialist Party (Bund) in tsarist Russia. Threatened with repression, he emigrated just before World War I to the United States, where he joined the campaign to form a pro-Entente Jewish legion. In 1918 he left for Palestine and two years later for Soviet Russia, where he put himself at the disposal of the Comintern apparatus and subsequently was placed in charge of Middle Eastern affairs. Following the first Egyptian Communist Party congress in 1921 the Comintern sent him to Egypt to gather information on the standing of that party. After his return to Soviet Russia he attended the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1922, under the pseudonym Avigdor, as representative of the Egyptian party. Under that name in 1923 he published an article on the Palestinian labor movement, and another on Egypt, in *Inprekorr*. When the Fifth Congress of the Comintern decided to "Bolshevize" its sections in

1924 he was sent to the Near East to enforce the Moscow directives but was arrested and sentenced to prison. After his return he taught at the Institute of Red Professors but in 1932 was sent again to inspect communist work in the Near East. He later resumed teaching in Soviet Russia but was arrested in 1936. He died in deportation in 1938 and was rehabilitated posthumously.

Avramov, Ruben. Born Ruben Levy in 1900 into a Bulgarian Jewish family. In 1921 he joined the Bulgarian Communist Party and in 1923 headed the regional committee of communist youth in Sofia. Despite the failure of the September 1923 communist insurrection, he continued as an underground militant until 1925, when he fled the country following the April bombing of the cathedral of Sofia by Marco Friedmann and other young party militants; he was sentenced to death in absentia. In Soviet Russia he attended the Leninist School of the Comintern. Following graduation he continued to work in Russia for the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Comintern, which sent him to Spain on several missions during the civil war there. He lived in Russia from 1939 until 1945 and then returned to Bulgaria, where he was elected to the central committee of the communist party in 1945, 1948, 1954, 1962, and 1966. In 1952, still using the name Ruben Levy, he signed articles for the Cominform organ which was attacking "Tito's fascist clique"; in 1953 he changed his name to Avramov. From 1954 to 1957 he was minister of education for the Bulgarian government; from 1963 to 1968 he was director of the Bulgarian Communist Party Institute of History; in 1968 he was nominated director of the Institute for Ideological Questions; and in March 1969 he represented the Bulgarian Communist Party and spoke at the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the founding of the Comintern in Moscow. Also in that year he collaborated in editing a work on the Comintern published in Moscow by the Marx-Lenin Institute.

Axelrod, L. Tobias. Born in Moscow in 1888, son of a merchant. He became active in the Jewish Socialist Party (Bund) and participated in the revolution of 1905. In 1909 he was deported to Siberia but in 1910 escaped to Switzerland, where he contacted Lenin. In 1917 he joined the Bolshevik party and was entrusted with the publication of Lenin's "Farewell Letter to the Swiss Workers." Returning to Russia after the Bolshevik victory he headed the Soviet government's news bureau until July 1918, when he went to Germany with the Soviet diplomatic delegation as representative of the Rosta press agency. When the delegation was expelled in November 1918 he remained in Germany, participating in revolutionary activities in Berlin (January 1919) and in Munich (April). Arrested and deported to Russia he headed the Comintern press in 1920 and 1921 and at the Third Congress of the Comintern directed publication of its daily bulletin. In 1922 he was transferred to the commissariat of foreign affairs and finally to the state publishing house. He died during the Stalinist purges of 1938.

B

Bachvarov, Krum. Born in a Bulgarian village in 1897 and educated in the town of Vidin. In 1918 he joined the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (Teantaks), which in 1919 became the Bulgarian Communist Party. As a party committee member for the district of Vidin he was sent with the Bulgarian delegation to Moscow in 1922 to attend the third congress of the KIM and the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. In September 1923 he participated in the communist insurrection in Bulgaria. After its failure he fled to Yugoslavia and returned secretly for underground political work during 1924-25; later the party sent him to Soviet Russia. In Leningrad he graduated from the Lenin politico-military academy in 1928 and then, during a teaching career headed the local group of exiled Bulgarian communists. He later joined the Red Army, and was made a brigade commissar in 1936. As a result of the Stalin purges, however, he was arrested and put to death in 1937.

Bacilek, Karol. Born in Bohemia in 1896, son of a Slovak mason, he worked in his youth as an apprentice locksmith, metalworker, and railway employee. He joined the Czechoslovak Communist Party when it was founded in 1921 and in 1930 became organizational secretary of its Slovak branch. Later he was sent to Moscow to attend the Leninist School of the Comintern, from which he graduated in 1935. After returning to Czechoslovakia he rejoined the party apparatus and was arrested several times. In 1939, following the Munich agreement and the resultant dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, he escaped to Leningrad, from which he was returned to his country secretly during the war. He remained there permanently after the Slovak insurrection of August 1944. He entered the Slovak party secretariat and in 1949, following the Prague coup, became a member of the central committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. In 1950 he was appointed chairman of the Slovak council of commissars, in September 1951 minister of state control for Czechoslovakia, and in January 1952 minister of state security, a post he held during the Slanský trial of November 1952. In January 1953 he became deputy prime minister of Czechoslovakia, while holding simultaneous positions as an army general and a member of the party politburo. In September 1953 he became secretary-general of the Slovak Communist Party, a post he held until his dismissal in April 1963. At that time he also was excluded from the presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and two months later from the presidium of the Slovak Communist Party. At the time of "Prague's Spring" in 1968, he was excluded from the party for his participation in the political trials and repression against the communist militants in the 1950s.

Bakdash, Khalid. Born in Damascus in 1910 into a Kurd-Moslem family. He joined the Syrian Communist Party in 1930, translated the *Communist Manifesto* into Arabic in 1932 and became a member of the Syrian party's central committee in 1933. Arrested several times for political activity he left that year to study at the Leninist School of the Comintern in Moscow. In 1934 he was appointed secretary of the Syrian Communist Party, which he represented as a speaker, using the pseudonym Nadir, at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935. In 1936 he returned to Syria, where the outlook for communists had improved following the victory of the Popular Front in France. He then went to Paris for Franco-Syrian negotiations. In 1937 he was again in Paris, to attend an international trade-union conference and to lead a Syrian Communist Party delegation on an official visit to the PCF. That same year he again visited the Soviet Union.

In December 1939 the French authorities arrested him for having a communist defeatist attitude toward the war. In 1943 he campaigned unsuccessfully for election to the Syrian parliament. While serving as secretary-general of the Syrian Communist Party's central committee, he published the official party newspaper, *Sawt-al-Sha'ab* (Voice of the People). In October 1952 he addressed the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B) in Moscow and in 1956 attended the twentieth congress of the CPSU. In 1954 he became the first communist to be elected to an Arab parliament but was forced to leave Syria after the formation of the United Arab Republic. In June 1958 he spoke for his party at the Bulgarian Communist Party congress in Sofia; in September and October 1959 he was in Peking during the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic of China; and in November 1960 he headed his party delegation to the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow.

Despite the rupture of the Egyptian-Syrian union in 1961 Bakdash again was refused entrance into Damascus. In October he led the Syrian party delegation to the twenty-second congress of the CPSU in Moscow. Meanwhile he often visited Prague and collaborated on the official review of the Moscow-oriented international communist movement, *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (*World Marxist Review*). In March 1965 he headed his party delegation to a Moscow consultative conference of 19 communist parties planning a world communist congress. In October he attended an international communist conference held in celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. In April 1966 (following the Syrian coup d'état of February 23, which brought to power radical elements of the Ba'th Party) he returned to Damascus, where he continued to play an important domestic and international role. His speech at the February 1968 conference of communist parties in Budapest prompted the Rumanian delegation to leave the meeting. In March 1969 he returned to Moscow for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Comintern. In June of the same year he was again the spokesman for

his party at the international conference of communist and workers' parties in Moscow.

Balabanova, Angelica. Born in the Ukraine in 1878 into the family of a wealthy landowner; in 1897 she left Russia to study at the Free University of Brussels. She became a socialist and moved to Italy, where she worked for the Italian Socialist Party from 1900 until her expulsion from the country. In Switzerland she became friends with Benito Mussolini (then a militant young socialist in exile); they returned to Italy to become editors of *Avanti*, the socialist party organ. Meanwhile Balabanova represented her party at the Second International and attended the final meeting of its International Bureau in Brussels on the eve of World War I.

Unlike Mussolini, who favored Italian participation in the war, she took an internationalist and pacifist position. In September 1914 she attended the first conference of the socialist parties of Italy and Switzerland (both neutral countries) at Lugano, where the pacifist position was supported. She participated also in two conferences of the internationalist-pacifist Zimmerwald movement (the first taking place in Zimmerwald in September 1915, and the second in Kienthal in April 1916) and was elected a member of its International Socialist Committee (ISC) at Bern. Following the Russian revolution of February 1917 she went to Stockholm to prepare for the third Zimmerwald movement conference. Returning to Russia in September 1917 she became a member of the Bolshevik party.

Because of her European labor contacts and international prestige she was sent to join the Soviet embassy in Switzerland. She returned to Russia when the embassy personnel were expelled from Switzerland after the November 1918 strike and in March 1919 she represented the Zimmerwald ISC at the founding congress of the Comintern, in which she had a consultative vote. As secretary of the ECCL, she soon found herself in conflict with Comintern president Zinoviev and was dismissed and sent on a political mission to the Ukraine. At the Second Congress of the Comintern (July-August 1920) she proposed, in Giacinto Serrati's name, an amendment (concerning Freemasonry) to the 21 conditions for admission to the Comintern.

After 1920 Balabanova no longer was active in the Comintern and her request to leave Russia was granted early in 1922. At the beginning of 1924 the central committee expelled her from the RCP(B). In Central and Western Europe she resumed socialist activities and headed a bureau of socialist parties not wishing to follow either the Second or Third International, an effort dubbed by the communists "International No. 2-3/4" (as opposed to "International No. 2-1/2"). In Paris she worked for the Italian socialist immigration until her departure for the United States in 1935, where she lived during World War II; she returned to Italy in 1946. At the time of the postwar socialist split, she supported the anti-communist faction of Saragat against the

pro-communist faction of Nenni and participated several times in meetings of the Socialist International. She died in Rome in November 1965. Balabanova's memoirs were published in three editions—in German in 1928 (*Erinnerungen und Erlebnisse*), in English in 1938 (*My Life As a Rebel*), and in Italian in 1946 (*Ricordi di una socialista*). She also produced, in 1928, a book on the Zimmerwald movement (*Die Zimmerwald Bewegung, 1914-1919*) and later a book on Lenin published in Italian and German in 1959 and in English in 1964.

Bamatter, Sigi. Born in 1892 in the German part of Switzerland. As a youth in Lausanne he belonged to the Swiss Socialist Party and during World War I joined the International Secretariat of Socialist Youth, headed by Willi Münzenberg. Following Lenin's victory in Russia he joined the communist movement and in Berlin in 1919 helped found the KIM, for which he served as liaison between Moscow, Berlin, Paris, and Switzerland, where he headed a special bureau in Basel. In April 1920 he attended the French national conference of socialist youth in Troyes. He then went to Petrograd and Moscow, where he addressed the Second Congress of the Comintern, which assigned to him a number of West European missions. In 1921 he represented the Comintern at the congress of French communist youth held in Paris. For the next three years he was an emissary of the KIM in Europe and the United States. In 1924 he was a KIM delegate to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and also took part in the fourth KIM congress, which opened July 25, 1924. At the end of the congress, however, he was discharged from his KIM duties and placed at the disposal of the Comintern apparatus.

In 1929, when the Comintern decreed the "third period of the radicalization of the masses" and eliminated "opportunist" leaders from many communist parties, Bamatter was named by Moscow to head the Swiss Communist Party. However, when in 1931 the Comintern began to purge those it had appointed two years earlier, he too was eliminated. Returning to Moscow headquarters, Bamatter undertook a Comintern mission to Spain in 1932. Subsequently he remained permanently in Russia, where he obtained Soviet citizenship in 1936, but he no longer performed executive functions at the Comintern. He survived the Stalin purges and spoke for the German-language broadcasts of Radio Moscow. After World War II he retired, and died in Moscow in January 1966.

Barbé, Henri. Born in France in 1902; he became a mechanic. In 1917 he joined the socialist youth movement and in 1920 (when the PCF was founded) he joined the communist youth movement. In 1924 he was appointed secretary of the Paris Communist Youth Federation and also represented the PCF at the Fifth Comintern Congress. Dismissed from his factory after his return from Moscow, he worked for the party's central apparatus for the next decade.

In 1926 he became secretary-general of the French Communist Youth Federa-

tion and in June was elected to the central committee of the PCF. Following the eighth enlarged plenum of the ECCI (May 1927) he joined its political Secretariat. Back in France he was arrested, jailed from August 1927 until February 1928, and after a period in hiding returned to Moscow, where he became a member of the ECCI Presidium. In August he addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern on the dangers of a new imperialist war, and also won reelection to the ECCI, its Presidium, and its political Secretariat. At both the tenth and eleventh enlarged plenums (July 1929 and April 1931) he was reelected to the ECCI Presidium; at the same time he was one of the two most important leaders of the PCF (the other was Maurice Thorez). Barbé owed his elevation to supreme party leadership to a Comintern intervention—it was Dmitri Manuilsky who appointed him and Pierre Célor to the secretariat of the PCF at its sixth congress, held in April 1929. For two years the Barbé-Célor group at the helm of the French party enjoyed Comintern confidence and was known as "the group of the young" but in the middle of 1931 the Comintern changed its attitude and decided to break up the group. One of its leading members, Raymond Guyot, accepted the role of prosecutor and denounced the Barbé-Célor tandem at a politburo meeting of the French party in July 1931. A commission of inquiry was constituted under the chairmanship of André Marty and in December of that year it denounced the "Barbé-Célor group" for imposing its will on the entire party. Barbé was forced to make a self-criticism but was eliminated from the politburo of the PCF, as well as from the Presidium of the ECCI. He then made a last trip to Moscow but did not succeed in regaining his former positions and influence. When the Jacques Doriot affair exploded in 1934, Barbé supported Doriot and consequently was expelled from the party in September 1934. When Doriot founded the Parti Populaire Français (PPF) in 1936 Barbé served as its secretary-general until his break with Doriot in 1939.

During the German occupation of France Barbé joined the secretariat of Marcel Déat's Rassemblement National Populaire (RNP), for which he was arrested, after the liberation, and condemned to hard labor until the end of 1949. Following his release he wrote extensively on communist problems for many publications, including the Paris daily *Le Figaro*, where his writings were signed "XXX." He died in May 1966.

Behler, Aleš. Born in 1907 into a middle-class family; he left the Slovenian capital of Ljubljana, obtained a law degree, and went to Paris for a doctorate. In 1927 he joined the Union of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia and in 1929 the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. At that time he also joined the apparatus of the Comintern and its Balkan secretariat, for which he then traveled to Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, and England. From 1933 to 1935 he lived in Moscow, where he continued to work for the Balkan secretariat and attended its school for cadres. In 1936 the Comintern sent him to Spain where, as assistant commissar

in one of the International Brigades, he was wounded at Saragossa. In Yugoslavia during World War II he directed the organization of communist resistance in Slovenia, Julian Venetia, and Dalmatia.

Following the communist victory in Yugoslavia, he was named Slovenian minister of finance in 1945 and deputy minister of foreign affairs for the Yugoslav federal government in January 1946. In 1950 he was appointed permanent Yugoslav delegate to the U.N., in 1952 undersecretary of state for foreign affairs, and in 1955 ambassador to France. In 1957 he was again undersecretary of state but in 1958 he became chairman of the foreign affairs commission in the National Assembly. In 1961 he was appointed ambassador to Indonesia and later made a member of the supreme constitutional court. Meanwhile he had continued communist party activity; in 1948, at the fifth party congress, he was an alternate member of the central committee and in 1952, at the next congress, a full member. He was reelected at the seventh congress, held in April 1958, but lost his position at the close of the eighth congress in 1964.

Becker, Karl. Born in 1894 in Hanover, in 1912 he became a member of the SPD. During World War I he belonged to the extreme leftist group that was first called Bremer Linksradikalen and later known as Internationalen Kommunisten for which he became the spokesman in Dresden. At the founding congress of the KPD in December 1918, Becker spoke as his group's delegate and represented Dresden on the program and organization commissions; later he edited the Dresden newspaper *Der Kommunist*. In November 1922 he was a KPD delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, was seated in the French commission, and participated in both the public debates and a closed-door meeting between the Bolshevik politburo and the German delegation.

At the KPD congress held in January 1923 he was elected to the central committee but failed to be reelected in 1924. At the 1925 congress Ernst Meyer, Paul Frölich, and Becker criticized the party leadership in an open letter. At the eleventh congress, held in March 1927 in Essen, he was one of three presiding officers. At the 1928 congress he belonged to a conciliatory group (Versöhler) and, with Hugo Eberlein and Arthur Ewert, presented a platform for appraisal of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. In June 1929 Eberlein, Ewert, Meyer, and he, as conciliatory group members, signed a declaration committing themselves to follow the decisions of the leaders of the KPD and the Comintern. From then on he worked for the association called Friends of the U.S.S.R. He escaped to France after Hitler's rise to power and in 1942 was delivered by the Vichy government to the Germans and executed.

Bedacht, Max. Born in 1883 in Germany. He worked as a hairdresser before going to New York at age 20; there he continued his work and, as in Europe, joined the labor movement. Becoming a journalist, he supported the extreme left at the close of World War I and at the founding of the Communist

Labor Party of America in 1919 was elected to its national executive committee. At the end of 1920, after the death of John Reed, he was sent as a representative of the party to the ECCI in Moscow where, using the name Marshall, he attended the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921. In February 1922 he reported on the American communist movement to the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI and in November attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. Returning to the United States he became involved, as a central executive committee member, in the factional struggles of the party. In 1926 he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI at the sixth enlarged plenum and in 1929, at the sixth convention of the CPUSA, he became one of three central committee secretaries. In Moscow during that same year he participated in deliberations about the CPUSA and became deputy secretary-general of the party for a brief time after his return to the U.S. Beginning in 1932 he directed an auxiliary party organization, the International Workers' Order. In 1948 he was expelled from the party. In 1969 he was still living in New York City.

Beelen, René. Born in Walloon in 1912, son of a Belgian worker. He became a miner and joined the communist youth movements in both Belgium and France before attending the Leninist School of the Comintern in Moscow for two years. Returning to Belgium in 1932 he resumed communist youth activities and participated in several strikes, the largest of which occurred in 1936. Finally he joined the central committee for communist youth and in 1939 its secretariat; in 1941 he rallied to the resistance. In July 1943 the Germans arrested him with his wife and deported them to Germany. Liberated in 1945 he joined the central committee of the Belgian Communist Party, to which he already had been co-opted in 1943, shortly before his arrest. In 1951 he was chairman of the People's Youth of Belgium, a communist front organization. In June 1954 he became a member of the politburo of the Belgian party and in 1963 was named its vice-president. He made numerous trips to the Soviet Union, where he died in February 1966.

Begović, Vlado. Born in Bosnia in 1905, son of a Serbian Orthodox priest. He studied engineering in Prague and in 1930 joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. After his return to Bosnia he was sought by the Yugoslav police for his communist activities and in 1932 was sentenced in absentia to 12 years in prison; however, he escaped through Albania to France, where for two years he was active in the communist movement among foreign workers. After working for the Soviet secret service in Europe he was sent to Russia in 1935 to attend the KUNMZ, when he graduated he taught political economy there until its closing. He then was sent to Spain, where he undertook missions for the International Brigades. In 1939 he fled to France and was interned in a camp until 1942, when he joined the resistance. In January 1945 he returned to Yugo-

slavia, where he became vice-president of the planning commission and later director of the planning institute. At the fifth congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (July 1948), he was elected an alternate member of the central committee and later a full member. In 1954 he became director of the party daily newspaper, *Borba*, and later was appointed president of the Institute for International Policy and Economy. In addition, he was a deputy to the Yugoslav parliament and a reserve general in the Yugoslav army. He retired in 1965.

Bell, Thomas. Born in 1882, a mason's son; he worked as a smelter. He joined the Independent Labour Party in 1900 and soon helped found and lead the Socialist Labour Party in Scotland. During World War I he opposed the war in the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees movement, supported trade unionism, and in 1918 joined the executive committee of the foundry workers' union in Scotland.

A leading Scottish socialist he helped found the British Communist Party in 1920 and remained a member of its central committee and politburo until 1929. In 1921 he addressed the Third Congress of the Comintern in Moscow and represented the British Communist Party as a member of the ECCI. He was the only British delegate to the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI held in June 1922.

After returning to England, Bell became an important party leader and in 1925 was tried in London with eleven other communists and sentenced to six months in prison. Later he returned to Moscow, where until 1928 he again represented the British Communist Party in the Comintern. He addressed the sixth enlarged plenum (February-March 1926) and at the eighth enlarged plenum (May 1927) he reported on the struggle against "imperialist war." After a similar speech at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was elected to the ECCI, its Presidium, and the political Secretariat of the Comintern. However, at the tenth enlarged plenum (July 1929) the British Communist Party leadership was criticized; in November an extraordinary British Communist Party congress was held and for the first time Bell was not reelected to the party central committee.

This defeat did not weaken his Soviet ties—in 1930 in England he was elected president of the Association of Friends of the U.S.S.R.; in addition, he wrote for the Comintern press and in 1935 attended the Comintern's Seventh Congress. In 1936 he joined the MOPR, for which he worked until 1939. He died the following year.

Bell published three books on the communist movement in Great Britain—*The British Communist Party, a Short History* (1937), later criticized as "unsatisfactory" by British Communist Party leadership; *Pioneering Days* (1941), an autobiography; and *John Maclean, a Fighter for Freedom*, the biography of a militant Scottish worker.

Berger, Joseph. Born in Cracow (Poland) in 1904; he emigrated to Palestine in 1920. He helped found the Communist Party of Palestine and later became its secretary-general. In 1924 he went to Moscow for the first time and during the next several years stayed in the Soviet Union for varying lengths of time. At the beginning of the 1930s he was recalled to Moscow and, under the pseudonym Barzilai, worked for the Comintern apparatus. He also was sent to Berlin for a Comintern mission and in 1932 was entrusted, again in Moscow, with a function in the Comintern Near East department. In January 1935 he was arrested and spent more than 20 years in different Soviet prisons and camps. Freed in 1956 he went to Poland but a year later emigrated to Israel, where he still lived at the beginning of the 1970s. In London in 1971 he published his memoirs, *Shipwreck of a Generation*.

Berlioz, Joanny. Born in France in 1892, the son of a farmer; he studied at the Lyon teachers' college and taught in 1913. During the war he was twice wounded at the front and received the Croix de Guerre. Later he became a teachers'-college professor and in 1921 joined the teachers' union. Meanwhile he entered the SFIO in 1919 and worked for its adherence to the Comintern. He joined the PCF at its founding, whereupon he was threatened with dismissal from college and left teaching to work in the party as head of a new Profintern office for Latin countries in Paris. In 1924 he became editor of *L'Humanité* and French correspondent for *Inprekorr*. For about 15 years he was associated with Comintern Agitprop; in addition, he represented the PCF at such meetings as the Swedish Communist Party congress in early 1939.

In 1927 he was elected mayor of Epinay-sur-Seine; in 1929 he joined the central committee of the PCF; in 1935 he became a general councilman for the Seine region, and in 1936 he was elected communist deputy. However, in January 1940, following the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, he was deprived of office and later deported with other communist ex-deputies to Algeria, where he was jailed until February 1943. In April 1944 he joined the French provisional consultative assembly and during that period also edited the communist newspaper *Liberté* and was a member of the North Africa delegation of the central committee of the PCF.

In June 1945 he returned to Paris, where he was elected to the party central committee and was reelected at subsequent party congresses in 1947, 1950, and 1954. In 1945 he also was elected communist deputy, a position from which he resigned in December 1946 when he was elected to the senate and then reelected in 1948 and 1952. He also became a correspondent for the Polish daily newspaper *Trybuna Ludu* (People's Tribune) and editor-in-chief of the French monthly review *Démocratie Nouvelle*. He died in March 1965.

Berman, Jakub. Born in Poland in 1901. He completed his law studies in Warsaw in 1925, where he also worked at a Jewish press agency and supported the leftist position in the trade-union movement and among the intelligentsia.

Following the defeat of Poland in September 1939 he fled to Soviet Russia, where he headed the Polish newspaper *Sztandar Wolności* (Banner of Freedom) and in December 1941 participated in the Saratov conference of Polish communists living in Russia. When the Comintern sanctioned the reestablishment of the Polish Communist Party, Berman became one of its leaders and in 1942-43 headed the Polish group at the Comintern school in Kushnarenkovo. In 1943 he became a leader of the newly formed Union of Polish Patriots and in 1944 was appointed vice-minister of foreign affairs for the provisional government formed in Lublin. Later in Warsaw he became assistant secretary-of-state to the presidency of the council and also was elected to membership in the politburo of the Polish Communist Party; when the communist and socialist parties merged in December 1948 he was reelected to the new politburo.

Meanwhile he had been one of two Polish representatives to the Cominform meeting in June 1948 at which Tito had been condemned. In November 1949 he again represented his party at the third and final meeting of the Cominform.

Berman was reelected to the politburo at the second party congress held in March 1954. However, in May 1956, following the de-Stalinization policy of the twentieth congress of the CPSU, he resigned from both the politburo and the government. When Gomułka returned to power in October, Berman made a self-criticism before the plenum of the central committee. Nevertheless, at the following plenum (May 1957) he was condemned and expelled from both the central committee and the communist party but was given the option to request reinstatement after three years. In early 1960 he rejoined the party and began work for Book and Science, the state publishing house.

Bernard, Alfred. Born in 1900. He joined the PCF in 1922 while employed as a workman in Tours. During the next two years he became one of the leaders in the Communist Federation of the Indre-et-Loire Department and then in the Touraine region. In 1925, on Jacques Doriot's proposal, he was elected a member of the PCF central committee. In February-March 1926, as a member of the French delegation at the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI he delivered a report before the French commission. At the fifth congress of the PCF held in Lille in June, he reported for the press commission and at the close of the congress was reelected member of the central committee and promoted to membership in the politburo. In November-December 1926, he participated in the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI and was named alternate member of the political Secretariat of the Comintern. In May 1927 he was one of three reporters on the first item on the agenda of the eighth enlarged plenum of the ECCI—Comintern tasks in the struggle against the dangers of war. In June, he presented a report on that subject to the national conference of the PCF held in Saint-Denis. Following his promotion to membership in the PCF secretariat, he was arrested with several other leaders in July 1927 and imprisoned until the beginning of 1928. In August of that year, as a French delegate at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, he was seated on

the mandate commission and spoke on the French question during a discussion in the Latin Secretariat of the Comintern, recognizing his disapproval of the electoral tactics "class against class." In spite of his self-criticism, he was dismissed from the politburo and the secretariat of the PCF and was not reelected to the central committee at the next party congress held in April 1929 in Saint-Denis. Later he broke with the PCF.

In 1935 Bernard joined the SFIO and two years later became secretary of its Indre-et-Loire federation. In 1943, under the German occupation, he became active in the resistance movement but a year later was arrested, and died in a prison in Angers.

Béron, Emile. Born in Alsace in 1896, which then belonged to Germany. A metalworker, he was active in the socialist movement at age 20 and after the incorporation of Alsace into France joined the SFIO and then the PCF when it was founded in December 1920. In 1922 he was elected secretary of the PCF federation for the department of Moselle, which he represented at the Paris congress of the party held in October of that year; at that time he belonged to the left-wing faction within the party. He was a member of the French delegation to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern (November-December 1922) and was elected to the Congress presidium. In January 1923 he belonged to the PCF delegation to the Essen conference of several European communist parties which were planning a common strategy against the allied occupation of the Ruhr. Upon his return to France he was arrested, along with the other French participants at the conference, but was freed in May of the same year.

Because of his knowledge of the German language and the political situation in Germany, he was named liaison between the PCF and the KPD and stayed in Berlin on various occasions. At the Lille congress of the PCF, held in June 1926, he was a spokesman for Alsace-Lorraine and was elected to the central committee. In 1928 he was elected communist deputy for Thionville (Moselle). At the next elections in 1932 he was in conflict with the party and ran as a socialist-communist but was reelected despite the hostility of the PCF. At the 1936 elections he was again reelected as a left-independent; moreover, in 1937, he was elected general councillor for the department of Moselle. He supported different governments of the Popular Front during the period 1936-38 but in 1938 opposed the Popular Front policies. In September 1938 he approved the Munich Pact and in June 1940 voted in favor of full powers to Marshal Pétain. For that political act he was declared ineligible to sit in the National Assembly after the liberation of France, and although the ineligibility was lifted in August 1953 he did not resume political activities. He died in March 1966 in Strasbourg.

Berti, Giuseppe. Born in Italy in 1901; he later became a history professor. As a youth he joined the Italian Socialist Party and in 1919 became a leader of the young socialists in Sicily. He joined the Italian Communist Party (ICP) when it was founded in January 1921 and soon became a leader in the Federation of Young Communists, of which he was later national secretary. In 1922 he took part in the establishment of the first clandestine apparatus of the ICP and was a member of the executive committee of the party, where he represented the Federation of Young Communists. With the advent of Fascism he was arrested in May 1923 but acquitted because of insufficient evidence. In 1924 he was a member of the Italian delegation to both the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and the sixth congress of the KIM; at the latter meeting he was elected to the executive committee, for which he worked under the pseudonym Jacopo in Moscow in 1926 and at the same time attended the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. Returning to Italy in 1927 he was arrested by the authorities and interned but managed to leave the country again in 1929 to work for the ICP and the Comintern in Berlin, Moscow, and Paris; in Paris he was co-opted to both the central committee and the secretariat of the ICP. During World War II he lived in the United States and after his return to Italy in 1946 was elected a communist deputy in 1948, 1953, and 1958. He did not appear as a candidate in 1962 parliamentary elections.

Berzin, Ian Antonovich. (Pseudonyms: Winter, Pavlov, Pavel Vasilevich, Ziemelis; not to be confused with Ian Pavlovich Berzin, chief of Soviet Military Intelligence between the two world wars.) Born in 1881 into a Latvian peasant family; he became a teacher and joined the Latvian Social Democratic Party in 1902. He participated in the 1905 revolution. He met Lenin in 1906 and at that time became secretary of the Petrograd committee of the RSDLP. Arrested several times for revolutionary activity he emigrated in 1908 to the West, where he lived until 1917.

Berzin organized the Bolshevik faction within the Latvian Social Democratic Party and from 1909 to 1914 led the fight for Lenin's beliefs against its Menshevik-inclined central committee. A leader of the Latvian socialist movement abroad he joined the foreign bureau of the RSDLP in 1910. At the fourth congress of the Latvian Social Democratic Party in January 1914 he was elected editor-in-chief of the party organ *Cina* (Struggle). In 1915 he represented his party at Zimmerwald, where he followed Lenin in his leftist minority position within the movement. During a 1916 stay in the United States he supported the socialist movement and wrote for its press. Returning to Russia in August 1917 he was elected a member of the central committee at the sixth congress of the Bolshevik party; at the following congress in March 1918 he was elected an alternate member. Later he was named Soviet ambassador to Switzerland.

where he lived until the expulsion of Soviet embassy personnel following the November 1918 strike. In 1919 he was made commissar of public instruction for the Latvian Soviet government. When that regime fell five months later he returned to Moscow, where he was named a secretary of the ECCI. As secretary he joined the RCP(B) delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern (1920), but at its close was elected only an alternate member of the ECCI. In 1921 he left the Comintern apparatus and was named ambassador to Finland, following peace negotiations with that country. Later he worked for the Soviet diplomatic service in such positions as Soviet deputy plenipotentiary in London and ambassador to Austria. In 1929 he was recalled by Stalin to Moscow, where he left the diplomatic service and became head of the Soviet government's central archives and editor-in-chief of the review *Krasnyi Arkhiv* (Red Archives). In 1931 he published (in Russian) the book *The Bolshevik Party in the Struggle for International Communism*. In 1937 during the Stalin purges he was arrested as a "Latvian nationalist." He died in 1941.

Bettelheim, Ernő. Born in Hungary in 1889. An intellectual, he joined the socialist-left opposition during World War I and became attracted to communism following the 1917 Bolshevik victory. At its founding in November 1918 he joined the Hungarian Communist Party and became a central committee member in February 1919. In March he unsuccessfully opposed the merging of the communist and socialist parties. Following the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic he was directed by the Comintern to organize a communist coup in Vienna similar to those which had occurred in Budapest and Munich. In May 1919, in Vienna, he imposed a new leadership on the Austrian Communist Party, which prepared the insurrection of June 15; the failure of this effort brought criticism by the Comintern and Karl Radek, whom Bettelheim answered in the Viennese international review *Kommunismus*. Early in 1922 he attacked Béla Kun in a brochure on the Hungarian Communist Party crisis and in March the ECCI excluded him from the communist movement. Continuing to live in Russia he worked for various institutions but played no political role. In 1945 he returned to Hungary, where he managed a publishing house for the communist party until his death in 1959.

Bianco, Vincenzo. Born in Turin in 1898; he joined the Italian Communist Party (ICP) at its founding. He continued militant activity after the rise of the Fascist regime, which arrested and sentenced him for "reconstituting the communist party, spreading subversive propaganda, and possessing arms and explosives"; however, he succeeded in fleeing abroad and in 1925 arrived in Soviet Russia, where he attended a Comintern political school and probably a Red Army military academy. After leaving the Soviet Union he attended a meeting of the enlarged central committee of the ICP, held in Paris in June 1930. At the fourth party congress, held in exile (Cologne) in April 1931,

he was elected an alternate member of the central committee. He then was sent clandestinely to Italy to organize ICP activities; however, he was arrested and at the beginning of 1932 sentenced to 11 years and nine months in prison. A few years later he benefited from an amnesty, fled the country, joined the ICP apparatus abroad, and when the civil war broke out in Spain the Comintern sent him there. He fought in the International Brigades and became known as Colonel Grigber. Following the civil war he returned to Soviet Russia, where he remained a representative of the ICP to the ECCI until the dissolution of the Comintern. When the Germans advanced in 1941 he was transferred with other Comintern personnel to Ufa. His name appeared on the official act of the dissolution of the Comintern in May 1943, as the representative of the ICP.

Returning to Italy in 1946 Bianco worked at the ICP headquarters and during the 1948 elections handled party agitprop for several regions. In 1949-50 he served as interpreter for visiting Soviet delegations; in 1950 the party sent him to Sicily to administer the collection of signatures for the campaign against U.S. atomic arms. In 1951 he was investigated for deviationist ideas by the control commission of the ICP and after that time he performed no party political functions. In the mid-1960s he was working as a translator with the editing staff of *Unità*.

Bierman, István. Born in 1891; he was an office clerk. He became militant in the Hungarian labor movement and in November 1918 participated in the founding of the Hungarian Communist Party. During the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919 he was a leader of the Budapest workers' and soldiers' soviet; when the republic collapsed on August 1 he was arrested by the Horthy regime but in 1922 was freed and sent to Moscow under a prisoner-exchange agreement. There he worked first for the central apparatus of the Comintern and later in the Soviet economic sector. In the Ukraine he held several important positions—after 1930 he became director of the famous Dnepropetrovsk metallurgic combine (a landmark of the First Five Year Plan), was elected a member of the central committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, and was a deputy to and member of the supreme soviet of the Ukrainian Republic. In 1937 he was shot during the Stalinist purges.

Bierut, Bolesław. Born in 1892, son of a Polish farmer; he worked in his youth as a typesetter and clerk. He joined the Polish Socialist Party in 1912 and the Polish Communist Party at its founding in December 1918. Becoming a professional revolutionary he lived in Poland and Russia during the 1920s, where he undertook secret missions for the Comintern regarding Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. He returned to Poland in 1932, was arrested in 1933 and sentenced to seven years in prison. At the outbreak of World War II in September 1939 he fled to Soviet Russia. At the reinstatement of

the Polish Communist Party in January 1942 he was nominated to its leadership. In July 1944 he participated in the founding of the Polish National Liberation Committee and in September was named to head the Polish state. In February 1947 parliament elected him president of the republic. In September 1948 he became secretary-general of the Polish Communist Party and later its chairman. In 1952 he resigned as president of the republic to become the prime minister; in March 1954 he left that position to become first secretary of the party central committee. He died in March 1956, after participating in the twentieth congress of the CPSU.

Billoux, François. Born in France in 1903; he became a sales clerk. He joined the socialist youth in 1917, the trade-union movement in 1919, and the PCF when it was founded in December 1920. As a communist youth leader he participated in the fourth congress of the KIM in July 1924, became administrative secretary of the French Communist Youth Federation, and was appointed French representative to the executive committee of the KIM at its fifth congress in August and September 1928, in which he participated. At the same time he spoke at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and as a KIM representative became an alternate member of the ECCI. In January 1928 he was elected secretary-general of the French Communist Youth, a position he held until May 1930.

From 1926 on he was a member of the PCF's central committee. He later became a member of the Barbé-Célor group, which directed the party by Comintern mandate, but when the group was condemned he made an official self-criticism in 1931 and was sent to Alsace-Lorraine as a party instructor. He went to Marseilles in 1934; he was elected an alternate member of the politburo in January 1936, and in May became a Marseilles deputy to the National Assembly. He was elected a full politburo member at the PCF's ninth congress held in December 1937.

In the autumn of 1939, soon after the dissolution of the PCF by the French authorities, Billoux was arrested and in March 1940 he and his colleagues appeared before a military tribunal in Paris, where he defended the PCF's defeatist viewpoint concerning the war. He was imprisoned until February 1943, when he reached Algiers and became a member of the French consultative assembly there. In 1944 he became state commissioner and remained a minister under General de Gaulle until January 1946. In the coalition governments which followed he remained minister of national defense until May 1947, when the president of the council of ministers, Paul Ramadier (a socialist), broke with the communist cabinet members.

Under the Fourth Republic Billoux was vice-president of the communist parliamentary group. At the June 1954 congress of the PCF he was elected one of four secretaries of the central committee. At the eighteenth congress in January 1967 he was reelected to the politburo (he had ceased to be a member

of the central committee secretariat at the time of the fifteenth congress, held in July 1956).

Bittelman, Alexander. Born in Russia in 1890. He moved to Western Europe, where he became a militant socialist, and then emigrated to the United States, where in 1919 he was elected to the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America. At that time he also edited two communist newspapers for the Jewish community, *Der Kampf* and *Die Freiheit*. In 1922 he made the first of many visits to the Comintern headquarters in Moscow. Deeply involved in the factional struggles which for several years shook the American communist movement he came again to Moscow in 1925 and in January 1926 took part in the Comintern's deliberations concerning American communist affairs.

Until 1929 Bittelman remained in the politburo of the American party, for which he spoke at the Sixth Comintern Congress in 1928, but in 1929 he was relieved of his functions by a Moscow decision, recalled to Moscow for two years, and then sent to accomplish a Comintern mission in India. After his return to the United States in 1931 he ceased to play a leading party role but was active in the Jewish community and until 1939 wrote for the communist press. During the McCarthy era he was sentenced to five years in prison; after his release in 1957 he held no responsible position within the CPUSA. In November 1960 he was expelled from the party as a "revisionist," after publishing, in defiance of a party ban, his manuscript "A Communist Views America's Future." In 1969 he was still living in New York City.

Bjarnason, Brynjoflur. Born in Iceland in 1898; he studied at the University of Copenhagen and in 1923 joined the communist movement in Berlin. After a trip to Soviet Russia he taught in Iceland, where he was elected to the politburo of the Communist Party of Iceland when it was founded in 1930. In 1935 he attended the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and in 1938 became secretary-general of the party in Iceland. In the parliamentary elections of 1942 he was elected communist deputy and in the coalition government of October 1944 was one of two communist representatives. He served as minister of national education until 1947, when the communist party passed into opposition. He continued to make trips to Russia; at the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B) (October 1952) he made a congratulatory speech in his capacity as secretary-general of the Unified Socialist Party of Iceland (the official name of the communist party). In Vienna in October 1953 he spoke for Iceland at the Third Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Blagoeva, Stella. Born in 1887, the daughter of Dimitri Blagoev, founder and chief of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. She studied music in Prague, history and philology at the University of Sofia, and then taught in a high school.

She joined the Socialist Party (Tesniaks) in 1915 and the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1919. Following the communist insurrection of September 1923 she stopped teaching and in 1925 was arrested by Bulgarian authorities. In 1926 she left for Soviet Russia, where she remained for nearly 20 years. During the Comintern purge of the 1930s she was appointed to control the cadre sections of the communist parties of Latin-language countries (notably France, Spain, and Italy but including Latin America). When the Comintern was dissolved in 1943 she was named to the foreign bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party and joined the presidium of the Pan-Slav Committee (in Moscow), of which she later became president. Returning to Sofia after the war she was vice-president of the Slav Committee in Bulgaria from 1946 to 1949, when Moscow decided to cease its exploitation of Pan-Slav sentiment. At the 1948 Bulgarian Communist Party congress she was elected an alternate member of the central committee and became a full member in 1950. From 1949 until her death in 1954 she was the Bulgarian ambassador to Moscow.

Blenkle, Konrad. Born in Berlin in 1901; a baker by profession. In 1921 he joined the KPD, for which he worked with the Berlin Soviet diplomatic delegation. In 1923 he became secretary and in 1924 president of the German communist youth movement, which he also represented before the central committee of the KPD. He participated in the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 and addressed the Sixth Congress in 1928, at which he became a member of the ECCI. He was elected to the executive committee of the KIM at its fourth and fifth congresses in 1924 and 1928; in 1926 he attended the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. In 1928 he was elected communist deputy to the Reichstag but ceased to be president of the youth movement; as a result of later intra-party struggles he was dropped from the party's central committee in 1929 and was not reelected to the Reichstag in 1930. After Hitler's victory he went to Denmark where he organized a secret communist network for northern Germany. He was arrested in Copenhagen and shot by the Germans in 1943.

Bobinski, Stanislaw. Born in 1882, the son of a Warsaw journalist; he joined the socialist youth movement and in 1903 the SDPPL. He began his university studies in Warsaw but from 1907 to 1912 studied abroad, receiving an engineering degree in Germany and a Ph. D. in Austria. In 1913 he returned to Warsaw, where in 1915 he was arrested and deported to Russia. He participated in the Bolshevik revolution. In 1919-20 he joined the Polish agitprop bureau and then became secretary of the Polish section at the central committee of the RCP(B). From 1922 until 1925 he lived in the Urals, where the RCP(B) had sent him to organize the communist university at Sverdlovsk. From 1925 to 1927 he directed the school of the Polish section of the Comintern in Kraskovie, near Moscow. Beginning in 1929 he worked at the Communist Academy in Moscow and other Soviet institutions until his arrest and execution in 1937.

Bodenmann, Marino. Born in Switzerland in 1893; he worked as a sales manager. He joined the Swiss Communist Party when it was founded in 1921 and was active in its youth section; he also worked at the Berlin headquarters of the KIM from its beginning. In 1925 he was elected to the central committee of the Swiss Communist Party and soon thereafter to the party politburo. He subsequently made frequent trips to the Soviet Union—in March and April 1925 he was a party delegate to the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and the first Comintern conference on organizational problems; in November and December 1926 he attended the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI; and in 1928 the Sixth Congress of the Comintern.

In 1929 the Comintern purged Bukharin and his friend, the Swiss communist Jules Humbert-Droz, and named Sigi Bamatter as head of the Swiss Communist Party. Consequently, at the 1930 Swiss party congress Bodenmann was accused of "opportunism and sabotage of the general line" and eliminated from the politburo but after making an acceptable self-criticism he was reinstated into the central committee. In 1935 he was one of two communists elected to the National Council (the lower chamber of the Swiss parliament). At that time he also spoke at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and served as editor-in-chief of the central organ of the Swiss Communist Party.

With the reorganization of communist work and establishment of the Swiss Party of Labor in 1943 Bodenmann assumed its leadership—simultaneously he became a member of the politburo, editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Vorwärts*, and deputy to the Grand Council (canton parliament) at Base. In 1952 he represented the Swiss Communist Party at the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B) and in June 1953 replaced Emil Arnold in the National Council. He died in an automobile accident in Switzerland in the early 1960s.

Boeck, Henri de. Born in 1903; in his youth he became active in the Belgian communist youth movement. Following the Belgian Communist Party campaign against occupation of the Ruhr, he and 14 other communist leaders were arrested in March 1923 (for "plotting against state security"), tried in July, and freed. From 1925 until 1927 he represented Belgium at the KIM in Moscow. For a short time he was sympathetic to the Trotsky-Zinoviev line (represented by Van Overstraeten in the Belgian Communist Party) but in 1927 he accompanied the Comintern emissary Walecki to Belgium to impose the official Moscow view on the rebellious Belgian party. In 1932 he spoke as a representative of the Belgian party at the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. He married a Russian who also worked in the Comintern apparatus. Since the great purge of the late 1930s, his whereabouts have been unknown.

Bogucki, Wadaw. Born in Poland in 1884. Under the pseudonym Wacek, he joined the SDPPL in 1904. He moved to the United States and from 1910 to 1917 was active in the socialist movement of Polish immigrants. Following

the Bolshevik revolution he returned to Europe and was active in Bialystok, later becoming a central committee member and then secretary-general of the Byelorussian Communist Party. When the Comintern began its Bolshevization he and other militants were transferred to foreign sections. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI, a position he held for several years; in 1925 he spoke at the first Comintern conference on organizational questions; and in 1926-27 he participated in the sixth, seventh, and eighth enlarged plenums of the ECCI. Meanwhile, he attended the third and fourth congresses of the Polish Communist Party (held near Moscow in 1925 and 1927) and was elected to serve two terms as an alternate member of the central committee.

In the following years his name disappeared from the leading organs of the Comintern and the Polish Communist Party. From 1930 to 1937 he worked in the office of the attorney-general of the Soviet Union; during that period the public trial against Zinoviev and Kamenev was organized and other trials were prepared. In 1937, however, Bogucki also was arrested and liquidated by Stalin's police; after Stalin's death, Bogucki's name was cleared in Poland.

Bokányi, Dezső. Born in Hungary in 1874; he was a laborer in his youth. He was militant in the trade-union movement and later became a leader in the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. He approved the unification of the Social Democratic and Communist parties in March 1919 and subsequently became a member of the central committee of the unified party. When the Hungarian Soviet Republic was established on March 21, 1919, he was named people's commissar for labor and welfare and later appointed as one of those in charge of the Hungarian Red Army. After the fall of the republic he was tried, and sentenced to prison in 1920 but early in 1922 was released to Moscow under a prisoner-exchange agreement between the Lenin and Horthy governments. In February he spoke at the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI and later, at the Soviet trial of Socialist Revolutionary Party leaders, he and Clara Zetkin testified for the prosecution. In November he attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. Then he ceased to work for the Comintern and joined the labor commissariat of the Soviet government. During the Stalinist purges he was arrested and imprisoned for several years; he died in a prison hospital in 1940.

Bolgaranov, Boyan. Born in 1896. In 1920 he joined the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and two years later was sent to Soviet Russia for politico-military training. In 1923 he returned to Bulgaria and as a district secretary took part in the September communist insurrection. He went into hiding after its failure but was arrested in 1925 and sentenced to death; the sentence was later commuted and he spent seven years in prison. Set free, he returned to Russia in 1933, where he studied for two years at the Leninist School of

the Comintern. He later undertook Comintern missions in Turkey in 1935, in Spain during the civil war, and elsewhere; in 1941 he returned to Bulgaria to support the anti-fascist effort of the Comintern. From 1942 to 1944 he worked in Macedonia with the Yugoslav, Albanian, and Greek communist movements as well as with British and other Allied military missions.

In February 1945 he was elected a member of the central committee of the BCP and in May became a general and also political commissar of the second Bulgarian army. In April 1947 he was named to head the people's militia and at the beginning of 1948 became political commissar of the Bulgarian army. In December 1948 he was reelected to the party central committee. Nevertheless, following the denunciation of Tito by the Cominform he gradually lost his positions—in October 1949 he stepped down as political commissar of the army and in March 1950 was eliminated from the central committee. Later he took an administrative position in the National Union of Cooperatives. After Stalin's death, however, he returned to political prominence—in October 1953 he became an assistant minister of supply and state reserves, and at the March 1954 congress of the BCP he was reelected to the central committee. Following de-Stalinization he was elected to the secretariat of the central committee in April 1956 and to the politburo in July 1957. At the seventh congress of the BCP in June 1958 he was elected to similar positions, which he retained at subsequent congresses (including that of November 1965). In 1959 he attended the twenty-first congress of the CPSU and in September of that year he visited Peking. In January 1960 he represented his party at the congress of the Italian Communist Party.

Bombacci, Nicola. Born in 1879, he became a schoolteacher. He was secretary of the Italian chamber of labor before World War I and a militant in the Italian Socialist Party. During the war he took a pacifist internationalist position and supported the "maximalist" wing of the Italian Socialist Party. In 1919 he was elected socialist deputy to the Italian parliament and also became secretary of the party. In 1920 he was a member of the Socialist party delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern, at which he spoke in favor of communist views. At the congress of Leghorn in January 1921, he helped found the Italian Communist Party (ICP) and from the beginning was a member of its central committee. At the same time he headed the communist group in parliament and became, next to Amadeo Bordiga, the best known Italian communist party leader in his own country and in the Comintern. At the 1922 ICP congress in Rome he was reelected to the central committee and in November was a party delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern.

When Mussolini rose to power Bombacci remained the communist spokesman in the chamber of deputies. However, he favored Mussolini's reestablishment of commercial and diplomatic relations with Moscow, publicly declaring that act a joining of "two revolutions," Bolshevik and Fascist. In March 1924

he was criticized in an ECCI resolution and summoned to Moscow; when his family did not hear from him Mussolini secured permission for Bombacci to leave Russia. In 1926 he refused the ICP's request to leave Italy and in 1927 he founded a socialist trade union paper, *Verità*; in 1928 he was expelled from the ICP because of his support of Fascism. He endorsed Mussolini completely, even in 1943, when the Fascist regime was forced to retreat from Rome to northern Italy; he worked to nationalize the factories in the Salò Republic. When Hitler and Mussolini fell Bombacci was imprisoned, and shot at Donga on April 28, 1945, where Mussolini was hanged at the same time.

Bordiga, Amadeo. Born in 1889; he joined the Italian Socialist Party in 1910 while an engineering student. Already known for his anarcho-syndicalist views in 1912, he opposed parliamentary action and "imperialist" war and spoke for the left at both the socialist party congress in 1914 and its national conference in 1917. Encouraged by the Bolshevik victory in Russia he published a Neapolitan newspaper, *Il Soviet*, in December 1918; however, at the socialist congress in Bologna in 1919 he led a "communist-abstentionist" faction favoring a boycott of parliamentary participation—a position which drew Lenin's criticism in his brochure *"Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder*. At the Second Congress of the Comintern (July-August 1920), Bordiga acted as co-reporter with Bukharin on the question of parliamentarianism.

At the founding of the Italian Communist Party (ICP) at Leghorn in January 1921 Bordiga emerged as party chief—he was one of five executive committee members and his faction held eight of the fifteen central committee seats. He was elected in absentia to the newly-formed ICC at the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921 and represented the Comintern at the Marseilles congress of the PCF in December.

Bordiga first disagreed with the Comintern on the matter of United Front tactics, which he accepted on the trade-union level but not on the political level; nevertheless, he remained the leader of the ICP and its spokesman in the Comintern. In June 1922 he headed the Italian delegation to the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI, to which he was elected an alternate member. At the end of the year he spoke at the Fourth Comintern Congress and in June 1923, following the third enlarged plenum, he was elected to the ECCI Presidium; he retained these positions the following year at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. Meanwhile he was arrested in Italy in 1923 and imprisoned for ten months.

At that time the ICP was split three ways, with Bordiga leading the left; for that he was criticized and likened to Trotsky at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI (1925)—a fact which indicated the Comintern's interest in replacing him. At the Lyon congress of the ICP, in January 1926 the Gramsci-Togliatti group, supported by the Comintern, gained victory over Bordiga, who then criticized Moscow's policy vigorously at the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI

in February and March 1926. Returning to Italy, Bordiga was arrested at the year's end (with Gramsci and other communist leaders), and deported to Sicily and then to the island of Lipari. He was freed in 1930 but also expelled from the ICP for his "factionalism" and "Trotskyism." He subsequently lived in Naples, where after the war he organized his followers into an "internationalist-communist" group independent of other Trotskyist organizations. He died in Naples in July 1970.

Borghi, Armando. Born in Italy in 1882; from his youth he was a militant anarcho-syndicalist. Beginning in 1906 he was arrested several times for anarchist activities and his work in organizing strikes; in 1920, like many anarcho-syndicalists, he went to Soviet Russia. Arriving after the Second Congress of the Comintern he attended the August 25 meeting of the ECCI, at which admittance of the anarcho-syndicalist Unione Sindacale Italiana was unanimously approved. However, this alignment was short-lived and he resumed his anarcho-syndicalist activity in Italy, remaining hostile to the Comintern. In 1923 he was wounded in Florence in a fight with Fascists. In 1926 he left secretly for the United States, where he remained until early 1945. Returning to Italy he collaborated in publishing the anarcho-syndicalist newspaper *L'Umanità Nuova*; he died in Rome in 1968.

Borila, Petre. Born in Bessarabia in 1905. He joined the Rumanian Young Communists in the early 1920s and the Rumanian Communist Party in 1924. Later he was condemned in absentia for deserting the Rumanian army and settled in Soviet Russia, where he attended the Frunze military academy. Sent to Spain by the Comintern in 1936 he organized Rumanian units and commanded a battalion. Wounded, he left with the International Brigades and returned to the Soviet Union, where he became a leader of the Soviet-formed Rumanian division, Tudor Vladimirescu, composed of former war prisoners. In August 1944 he returned to Rumania with the Red Army and became a member of the Rumanian Communist Party central committee. Beginning in April 1947 he directed the Bucharest organization of the communist party. In 1948 he became supreme political commissar of the Rumanian army and at the end of the year was given the rank of lieutenant-general.

From February 1949 to March 1950 he was deputy minister for national defense; in 1950 he became minister of construction and in 1951 president of the state control commission. In 1952, following the elimination of Ana Pauker and V. Luca, he gained membership in the politburo and in October 1953 was named food minister and also became deputy prime minister. He joined the Rumanian delegation to the twentieth congress of the CPSU in February 1956 and to the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in November 1960. At the June 1960 congress of the Rumanian Communist Party he was reelected to the central committee and politburo; in December 1968, however, he was removed from the politburo.

Borodin, Mikhail. Born Mikhail Markovich Grusenberg in 1884 in Tsarist Russia; he joined the Jewish Socialist Party (Bund) as a student. In 1903 he joined the RSDLP, for which he was especially active in Riga. Close to the Bolsheviks he attended the Tammersfors party conference in December 1905 and represented Riga at the sixth congress of the RSDLP, held in Stockholm in 1906. Following a jail sentence he emigrated to Boston and then to Chicago, where he joined the American Socialist Party. After his return to Russia in July 1918 he worked for RCP(B) in the commissariat of foreign affairs. When the Comintern was organized in 1919 Borodin, under the pseudonym Brantwein, became its first emissary to the United States. By mid-1919 he was in Mexico and by December in Spain. In February 1920 he attended the international communist conference held in Amsterdam, after which he returned to Moscow via Berlin. At that time he translated Lenin's "*Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder* into English. Meanwhile he continued to work in the central apparatus of the Comintern—in January 1921 he was its envoy to Berlin; from August to December he attended ECCI meetings; in February 1922, during the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI, he was a member of the British commission and in March again took part in ECCI meetings, after which he was sent to Great Britain as a secret emissary under the pseudonym George Brown. In August 1922 he was arrested in Glasgow and condemned to six months at hard labor. Upon returning to Moscow he joined the staff of *Communist International* and in June 1923 reported to the central council of the Profintern on the workers' movement in Great Britain.

In September 1923 he was sent to China both as a Comintern envoy to the Chinese Communist Party and as a Soviet representative to Sun Yat-sen. There he played a key role in the alliance between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang. In July 1927, following the split between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang, he was recalled to Moscow, where he dropped his Comintern activities and worked on foreign-language publications for the Soviet government. Although he survived the Stalinist purges of the 1930s he was arrested in February 1949 as editor of the *Moscow Daily News* and died two years later in a concentration camp.

Bortnowski (Bronkowski), Bronislaw. Born in Warsaw in 1894 into a lower middle-class family. He joined the socialist youth movement as a college student in 1912; from 1915 to the October 1917 revolution he lived in Saratov and in 1918 joined the RCP(B) in Petrograd. Wounded during the Russian civil war he went to work for the Soviet government, in which he held important positions during the Russo-Polish war of 1920; in 1921 he moved to Moscow. In 1925, after its third congress, Bortnowski began his career with the Polish Communist Party in exile. In 1929 he represented this party at the ECCI, and at the fifth and sixth Polish party congresses (1930 and 1932) he was elected a member of the central committee and the politburo; he was also a

party secretary. He often lived abroad—for example, when he organized clandestine activities of the Polish Communist Party from Berlin. In addition he worked briefly for the fourth department (espionage) of the Red Army as chief of the foreign section. After Hitler's victory in Germany Bortnowski spent a short time in Copenhagen, then the headquarters for Polish Communist Party secret activities. Beginning in 1934 he worked for the Comintern Secretariat in Moscow. In 1935 he addressed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and was elected a member of the ECCI and an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium. He died in 1937, a victim of Stalin's purge of both the Comintern and the Polish Communist Party.

Böttcher, Paul. Born in Germany in 1881, he later became a typographer. In 1908 he joined the SPD and when the KPD was established he gained important posts in Saxony. In February 1921, after Paul Levi's resignation as party president, Böttcher became a party secretary and a member of the national committee (Zentrale), to which he was reelected in August at the Jena party congress and again at the 1923 congress. In 1922 he became head of the communist daily paper of Leipzig and was elected communist deputy to the Landtag of Saxony. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern (November 1922) he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI and in June 1923 he was a KPD delegate to the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI. Meanwhile in May he and Brandler had represented the Zentrale in talks with German party leftists at Comintern headquarters in Moscow.

Returning to Germany he became finance minister on October 10, 1923, for the short-lived coalition government composed of the communists and the socialists of Saxony; the failure of the coalition resulted in his elimination from the Zentrale in April 1924. He also supported Brandler's opposition to the Comintern. In March 1927 he addressed the eleventh congress of the KPD, held in Essen, but never again participated in party leadership; in 1929 he was excluded from the KPD. Subsequently he headed a dissident communist group in Leipzig and left Germany following Hitler's rise to power. From 1936 through World War II he lived in Geneva, falsely identifying himself as the husband of Rachel Dübendorfer, a member of the Soviet espionage network in Switzerland. After the war he moved to East Germany but was arrested in 1946 and deported to the Soviet Union, where he remained until 1955. He was later authorized to return to East Germany and was admitted to the SED.

Brand, Henryk. Born Henryk Gustaw Lauer in Warsaw in 1890 into a wealthy family. He studied at the Zurich Polytechnical School first and in 1912 at the Sorbonne, where he specialized in mathematics. In 1914 he returned to Zurich where he obtained his doctorate in mathematical science in 1918, and at that time joined the Swiss Socialist Party. After his return to Warsaw

in 1919, he joined the Polish Communist Party and was elected a member of the central committee at its first national conference (May 1920). In the summer of 1921 he attended the Third Congress of the Comintern as a Polish party delegate and spokesman; when he returned to Poland he worked in the central committee secretariat. Meanwhile, he had been arrested briefly in 1920 and was again imprisoned in 1922 until March 1923, when he and 23 other Polish communist leaders were exchanged under a Polish-Russian agreement.

He presented a report at the second congress of the Polish Communist Party, held near Moscow in 1923, and was chosen as party representative to the ECCI; in December 1925 he again joined the central committee. In 1926 he participated in the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI but in 1927 was denounced as a right winger by the left-wing faction controlling the Polish Communist Party. In 1928 he participated in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern but in 1929, at the sixth plenum of the Polish Communist Party central committee, he was again condemned, as were Adolf Warski-Warszawski and Wera Koszewska. That autumn he began to work for the Soviet administration and from 1931 until his arrest in May 1937 he worked for Gosplan with Piatakov. He died in 1939; in 1955 he was rehabilitated posthumously. Apart from his scientific publications Brand wrote a book in collaboration with Henryk Walecki entitled *Communism in Poland* (1921), published in both French and German.

Brandão, Octavio. Born in Brazil in 1896. He was active in anarchist groups during World War I, and as a journalist and poet worked to found the Brazilian Communist Party in 1921. He later wrote for its agitprop section, and in the mid-1920s was arrested twice for his communist activities. Beginning in 1926 he was a correspondent for *Inprekorr*, and was a communist candidate in the 1928 Rio de Janeiro elections. In the early 1930s he was in disagreement with the tactics of Luis Carlos Prestes and was invited to Moscow, where he became a Brazilian Communist Party representative at the ECCI in 1932 and worked for the Comintern in the section for Latin countries and in their press. He remained in Soviet Russia until 1946, when he returned to Brazil and resumed party activities. He was arrested in 1948, again in 1949, and left Brazil in 1958. He no longer held an important position in the Brazilian Communist Party after his return in the late 1960s.

Brandler, Heinrich. Born in northern Bohemia (then part of the Austro-Hungarian empire) in 1881. He was a bricklayer at age 15 and at 16 joined the construction workers' union. He became a member of the SPD in Germany in 1901, and after 1904 worked militantly for the left wing of the Bremen socialist youth organization; at the same time he was active in the trade-union movement. Sympathetic to Karl Liebknecht he often took issue with official party and union views. From 1908 to 1912 he worked in Switzerland; after his return he continued political activity in Chemnitz and again found himself

in conflict with the reformist leadership of the SPD and the construction workers' union.

At the beginning of World War I Brandler took an internationalist position and joined the Spartacus League, which led to his exclusion from the SPD in 1916. In 1915 he was sent by the Spartacus League as its delegate to the first Zimmerwald international conference but was stopped at the Swiss border. He continued political activity in Saxony and in 1917 in Bavaria. He joined the KPD at its inception in December 1918, and at the second party congress in 1919 was elected to its national committee (Zentrale). In March 1920 he was notably active during the Kapp-Lüttwitz putsch at Chemnitz. In February 1921 he succeeded Paul Levi as KPD chairman, and also joined the newly created offices of politburo and orgburo of the Zentrale, but following the March Action, he was arrested and sentenced to five years in prison. Meanwhile he was elected honorary chairman in absentia at the opening of the Third Congress of the Comintern. Freed in November 1921 he left for Moscow as party representative at the ECCI; at its first enlarged plenum in February 1922 he was elected a member of the ECCI Presidium and was still in Moscow during the second enlarged plenum in June. In August he returned to Germany as uncontested leader of the KPD. In September 1923 he again left for Moscow to plan the communist revolution in Germany; when he returned he became one of three communist ministers in the communist-socialist coalition government in Saxony. With the failure of the German October Brandler was dismissed as party head at the end of 1923 and invited to Moscow in January 1924 to discuss the failure; he remained in Moscow during the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924. At the ninth congress of the KPD in April he was not reelected to the Zentrale. Furthermore, the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI (March 1925) criticized him for factionalism and forbade him to continue work in the KPD.

Consequently Brandler joined the RCP(B) and worked in the central apparatus of the Comintern, Profintern, and Krestintern. At the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI (November-December 1926), his case was again discussed (with that of his friend August Thalheimer); it was left to the KPD central committee (as the Zentrale was called since the autumn of 1925) to decide how to utilize the two former leaders. The eleventh congress of the German party (March 1927) limited them to nonpolitical work but after his return to Germany he and Thalheimer launched a communist opposition review, *Gegen den Strom*, in November 1928; as a result on December 19 the ECCI Presidium issued an open letter against both men. When the Brandler-Thalheimer opposition faction organized its constitutive assembly on December 30 Brandler was excluded from the Russian and German communist parties and the Comintern (January 1929). Nevertheless, he continued to lead an opposition group (KPO) until Hitler's rise in 1933, at which time he went into exile in Paris. After the defeat of France in 1940 he and Thalheimer fled to Cuba, where they

remained throughout the war; in 1948 Brandler returned to West Germany and settled in Hamburg, where he died in September 1967.

Brass, Otto. Born in Germany in 1875. He became a laborer in his youth and worked for the SPD and in the trade-union and cooperative movements. At the close of World War I he joined the USPD, of which he was elected a deputy, and in 1920 advocated the adherence of his party to the Comintern. At the congress of unification between the KPD and the left wing of the USPD in December 1920, he was elected to communist leadership (Zentrale) and promoted to the party secretariat but resigned from the secretariat in February 1921. In Moscow during March, he discussed the problems of communism in Germany with many Comintern leaders, including Lenin. In Berlin in April he signed a declaration of solidarity with Paul Levi but remained with the party when Levi departed. In December 1921, however, Brass expressed his solidarity with Ernst Reuter, who had just been removed as secretary of the KPD; in January 1922 both were expelled from the party.

Following his expulsion Brass rejoined the SPD and was active in that party until Hitler's rise to power in January 1933; in 1939 he was sentenced to 12 years at hard labor for opposition to National Socialism. In June 1945 he signed an appeal jointly sponsored by the communists, the Christian democrats, and the socialists (which he represented) favoring the establishment of free trade unions. In December 1945 he signed the pact of unification between the communist party and the socialist party in East Germany as a result of which a common organization, the SED, was formed. He died in East Germany in 1950.

Bratman, Stefan. Born in Poland in 1880; he became an engineer. Beginning in 1904 he was active in the SDPPL under the pseudonym Florian. He first worked at Lodz and after 1907 at Cracow, where he was party secretary at the outbreak of World War I. At that time he settled in Zurich to work as an engineer. He also handled the inter-aid fund for the emigration of Russian and Polish socialists. He supported the Bolsheviks and in 1918 was asked by Ian Antonovich Berzin, the Soviet envoy in Bern, to become secretary of the Soviet diplomatic mission in Switzerland. In November 1918 he was expelled from Switzerland with the rest of the embassy. Like the majority of his Bern colleagues he went to work for the Comintern—in 1920 he represented the Polish Communist Party on the ECCI; in 1921 he was employed again in the Soviet Union's diplomatic service; in 1930 he was a member of the Soviet embassy in Berlin and later served as Soviet ambassador to Latvia. He was liquidated in 1937 during the Stalinist purges.

Braun, Otto. Born near Munich in 1901. He supported left-wing socialism at the close of World War I and then joined the KPD. He became a member

of its secret apparatus in 1923 and was linked with the Soviet secret service. In 1926 he was arrested by the German authorities, accused of high treason, and imprisoned; in April 1928, he was freed from Berlin's Moabit Prison (as the result of a surprise move on the part of the KPD) and left secretly for Russia, where he attended a military school.

At the beginning of the 1930s he was sent to China as an emissary of the Comintern; in Shanghai in 1931-32 he met Richard Sorge, a German working in Soviet espionage. In 1933 Braun went to Juichin, capital of the Soviet region of Kiangsi, then under the control of Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh. Using the pseudonyms Li Teh and Albert List he acted as military advisor to the Chinese Communist Party central committee; as Hua Fu he wrote for the Chinese communist review *Revolution and War*. He helped develop the Long March plan and in January 1935 attended the Tsunyi conference which sanctioned Mao's elevation to leadership of the CCP. In the new Soviet region of Yenan he became a professor at the military academy, whose director in 1936 was Lin Piao. In about 1939 he returned to Moscow and during World War II served as an officer in the Red Army. In 1949 he finally returned to East Germany, where he worked in the Marx-Lenin Institute, translating Soviet political and literary works into German.

Bringolf, Walther. Born in Switzerland in 1895. He became militant in the Swiss labor movement, joined the Swiss Socialist Party in March 1919, and rapidly became a left-wing leader. In 1920 he addressed the Second Congress of the Comintern as a delegate of the socialist left and worked with the agrarian commission. He joined the Swiss Communist Party (SCP) at its founding in March 1921 and for many years was the party secretary in Schaffhausen and editor of its local newspaper. In 1924 he spoke for the SCP at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. However, following the Sixth Congress, held in 1928, he expressed certain policy disagreements, which he stressed at the SCP's central committee plenum in 1929 and before the Comintern ICC in Moscow. In the summer of 1930 he broke with both the SCP and the Comintern. He later rejoined the Swiss Socialist Party, of which he was a deputy for many years. In 1961 he was elected president of the Swiss National Council. In 1965 he published an autobiography, *Mein Leben; Weg und Umweg eines Schweizer Sozialdemokraten*.

Broido, Grigori Isaakovich. Born in Russia in 1885. At first a Menshevik he joined the Bolshevik party in 1918 after its victory. In 1919 he was a member of the revolutionary council of the First Red Army on the eastern front. Later he was in charge of the foreign affairs section of the RCP(B)'s Turkestan commission. In 1921 he returned to Moscow as deputy commissar of nationalities (under Stalin), in which capacity he was also rector of the KUTV; in 1923 he resigned as deputy commissar but remained rector until 1926. In 1933 he

was named first secretary to the Tadzhikistan Communist Party central committee. From 1934 to 1941 he was deputy commissar of public instruction for the Russian Federal Republic and then director of RCP(B) publications. He died in 1956.

Broński, Mieczysław. Born in Poland in 1882. He studied in Munich and in 1902 joined the SDPPL. Returning to Warsaw in 1905 he became a party leader and also worked in the editorial office of the socialist paper *Czerwony Sztandar* (Red Banner). From the autumn of 1906 until the close of 1907 he was imprisoned, after which he moved to Switzerland; in Zurich he belonged to both the Swiss and the Polish Social Democratic parties. In 1916 he represented the Polish movement at the Kienthal conference and became more closely acquainted with the Zimmerwald movement's left wing, headed by Lenin. Reaching Petrograd in June 1917 Broński edited the Polish paper *Trybuna* and joined the Bolshevik party's local agitprop committee. Following the Bolshevik victory he joined the directorial staff of the Petrograd state bank. In April 1918 he participated in the first conference of war prisoners converted to Bolshevism, held in Moscow. From May 1918 until the spring of 1919 he was assistant commissar for commerce and industry.

Meanwhile, in the RCP(B) controversies he continued to side with the left wing. In the fall of 1919 he went secretly to Germany as a RCP(B) and Comintern emissary to both the KPD central committee and the WES. In November 1919 he addressed the founding congress of the KIM in Berlin and also took part in a secret international communist conference at Frankfurt am Main. Under the pseudonym Braun he also participated in meetings of the KPD central committee. He was in Germany during the Kapp-Lüttwitz putsch in March 1920 and the March Action in 1921; he left Germany in 1921 and became the Soviet ambassador to Austria. In 1924 he returned to Moscow, where he was appointed first to the commissariat of finance and then to the foreign trade commissariat. He also was nominated to the Academy of the Soviet Union and made professor of political economy and editor-in-chief of the collection "Sotsialisticheskoe Khozinstvo" (Socialist Economy). During the Stalinist purges he and his family were arrested; he died in prison in 1941.

Browder, Earl Russell. Born in Wichita, Kansas, in 1891; he worked from his early youth, became an accountant, and took part as a militant in the labor movement. From 1907 until 1912 he belonged to the Socialist Party and in 1914 was head of a Kansas City trade union. In December 1917 he was imprisoned for opposing U.S. intervention in World War I. Following the Bolshevik victory he supported the Soviet cause and wrote for a weekly newspaper, *Workers' World*, published in Kansas City. He was imprisoned again but released in December 1920. In 1921, under the pseudonym Joseph Dixon, he headed the

American delegation to the founding congress of the Profintern in Moscow. After returning to the United States he was elected an alternate member of the Workers Party of America central executive committee in 1921 and a full member in 1922. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was elected a member of the ICC. In February 1926 he participated in the second Comintern conference on organizational problems and in November and December was the American Profintern representative at the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI. In 1927-28 he worked in the Far East—first on a Comintern mission with Tom Mann and Jacques Doriot; then as director of the Pan-Pacific secretariat of the Profintern and editor of its news organ, the *Pan-Pacific Worker*. On his return from China, via Moscow, he attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, held in August 1928.

In January 1929 Browder returned to the United States, but continued to visit Moscow often. In 1930 he was elected the party secretary and until 1945 was the uncontested head of the CPUSA. He was the communist candidate at presidential elections both in 1936 and 1940. Meanwhile, at the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI (April 1931), he was made an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium. He participated in the thirteenth plenum (December 1933) and spoke at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern (1935), at which he became a member of the ECCI and an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium.

Browder remained a prominent Comintern leader until November 1940, when the CPUSA withdrew from the Comintern. In April 1945, almost one year after the dissolution of the CPUSA, Browder was accused by Jacques Duclos, speaking on behalf of Moscow, of being an opportunist and a liquidator; in July of the same year, he was condemned at the National Convention and finally in February 1946 was expelled from the party. He traveled to Moscow in May 1946 and on his return worked as a distributor of Soviet scientific literature in the U.S.A. In August 1948 he applied unsuccessfully for readmission to the party. He wrote books before and after his break with the party; the latest, entitled *Marx and America*, was published in 1959. He was still living in the late 1960s.

Broz, Josip (Tito). Born in 1892 to a Croatian farmer; he attended elementary school and then worked as a locksmith's apprentice. Drafted in 1913 he was sent to the Russian front as an Austro-Hungarian non-commissioned officer at the beginning of World War I. In 1915 he was wounded and taken prisoner; he was liberated after the 1917 revolution. In 1918 he served with the Red Guard at Omsk; later he lived in Kirghizia. In 1920 he returned to Yugoslavia, became a metalworker, and joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). In 1927 he became a committee member of the Zagreb organization of the party; at the same time he took charge of the regional metalworkers' union.

In November 1928 he was sentenced to five years in prison for communist activity; freed in 1934 he resumed his party efforts using the pseudonym Tito. As a member of the party committee for Croatia he went to Vienna, then the headquarters of the CPY. In July 1934 he joined the party central committee; at the fourth national party conference in December, he was elected to the politburo.

In July 1935 the central committee of the CPY sent him to Moscow, where he worked under the name Walter at the Balkan secretariat of the Comintern and occasionally lectured at the Leninist School of the Comintern and at the KUNMZ. In July and August 1935 he served as secretary for the Yugoslav delegation to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern; in April 1936 he was promoted by the Comintern to the position of organizational secretary for the CPY's central committee. In July 1937 the Comintern liquidated Milan Gorkić, secretary-general of the Yugoslav party, and Tito was nominated to take his place, first as interim secretary and then as secretary-general. He stayed in the Soviet capital for several months and in early 1938 moved to Paris, new temporary headquarters of the CPY; shortly afterward he transferred the central committee of the party to Yugoslavia. Subsequently, in 1938-39, he paid two other visits to Moscow to report to the Comintern. In October 1940 he was reelected secretary-general of the CPY at its clandestine fifth national conference, held in Zagreb. Following the Axis invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941 Tito went to Belgrade, where on July 4 (after the German attack against the Soviet Union) he presided over a politburo meeting at which it was decided to launch an armed struggle against the occupiers. Tito became commander-in-chief of the party's armed detachments; in November 1943 he also assumed the function of the head of a provisional government (called the National Liberation Committee) and was proclaimed marshal of the Yugoslav People's Army. In March 1945 he became prime minister as well as minister of national defense. Despite the Cominform's (i.e., Stalin's) denunciations of him (June 28, 1948) Tito remained in power; thus Yugoslavia was the first communist country to separate itself from the Soviet bloc. In November 1952 the CPY changed its name to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and with the constitutional amendments of January 1953 Tito was elected president of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. In October 1966 he became president of the LCY, a position confirmed at the ninth congress of the league, held in March 1969. After the resumption of normal state relations with the U.S.S.R. in 1955 Tito made several trips to Soviet Russia but never took part in CPSU congresses or international communist conferences. After the adoption on June 30, 1971 of new constitutional amendments by the Yugoslav Federal Assembly, a collective state presidency was established. It had 23 members including Tito, who on July 29, 1971, was reelected President of the Republic for the next five years.

Buck, Tim. Born in England in 1891. In 1910 he immigrated to Canada, where in 1921 he helped form the first communist group. Later he became a member of the central committee and politburo of the Canadian Communist Party, which he represented in 1924 at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. In 1928 he became a member of the Profintern executive committee and in 1929 became secretary-general of the Canadian Communist Party, a position he held for more than 30 years. When the party was outlawed in Canada he was imprisoned from 1931 to 1934. In the following year he was elected a member of the ECCI at the close of the Seventh Comintern Congress.

During the Soviet-German war he pursued the communist anti-Fascist policy, he supported Stalin but also the idea of de-Stalinization following the leader's death. In Moscow, at both the 1957 World Conference of Communist Parties and the 1960 Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties, he headed and spoke for the Canadian delegation. In January 1962 he relinquished his position as secretary-general to become party chairman. In November and December 1965 he led a Canadian communist delegation to Havana and Hanoi.

Budich, Willi. Born in Germany in 1890, the son of a farmer. He joined the SPD before World War I and the Spartacus League during the war; as a party militant he was arrested in 1918. The following year he took part in the revolutionary activities of the KPD in both Berlin and Munich, as one of the party leaders responsible for military affairs. In July 1920 he went to Moscow with the German delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern. Returning to Germany in 1921 he was arrested, escaped to Soviet Russia, and there worked (under the name Gerbiski) for the MOPR, in whose name he addressed the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in July 1929.

Back in Germany he headed the commerce and publishing sections of the KPD and in 1932 was elected a communist deputy. In 1933 he was arrested and subsequent tortures by the Gestapo left him a partial invalid; he fled to Russia, where in 1937 he was arrested again during the Stalinist purges and died in prison in 1941.

Bujor, Mihai G. Born in Rumania in 1881; he became a jurist. He joined the Rumanian Social Democratic Party in 1905 and later worked with the socialist leader Christian Rakovsky. A pacifist and neutralist during World War I Bujor was drafted in Rumania in 1916 and later court-martialed. Following the February 1917 revolution in Russia he and Rakovsky went to Odessa, where they joined a Rumanian social democratic committee and at the beginning of 1918 signed a call to the Rumanian people (in the name of the committee) for support of the victorious Bolsheviks. Bujor also helped found a Rumanian battalion. In January 1918, he represented Rumanian social democrats at a Petrograd meeting called to discuss the founding of a new International. When the Comintern

was founded in March 1919 he was appointed to its Southern Bureau in Odessa.

Returning to Rumania in 1920 he was sentenced by a military court to 20 years in prison; shortly after his arrest he was elected to parliament but his election was invalidated by the government. He was freed from prison in 1934 under an amnesty. Although he voiced his disapproval of the Moscow trials he joined the Association for Soviet-Rumanian Friendship and traveled to the U.S.S.R. following the establishment of the Rumanian communist regime; after Stalin's death this regime bestowed various honorary titles upon Bujor. He died in June 1964.

Bukharin, Nikolai I. Born in Moscow in 1888 into a teaching family. He joined the Bolshevik faction of the RSDLP in 1906. In 1907 he registered at the University of Moscow. In 1908 he joined the party's Moscow committee and for that was arrested twice and deported to the Onega region in 1910, from which he fled in 1911 to Austria and then to Germany. In 1912 he met Lenin and began to work and write for the Bolshevik press. In 1914 he was arrested in Austria and expelled to Switzerland. In February 1915 he participated in the Bolshevik conference in Bern, at which he expressed some disagreement with Lenin's political tactics. From Switzerland he went to Sweden, where he was arrested again. In the autumn of 1916 he traveled to Norway and then secretly to the United States, where he supported the left wing of the socialist party and with Trotsky edited the weekly *Novyi Mir* (New World). Following the revolution of February 1917 he returned to Moscow and joined the local Bolshevik committee. At the Bolshevik party's sixth congress (July-August 1917) he was elected a member of the central committee, a position to which he was consistently reelected. During the party discussions concerning the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty he was a mouthpiece for the leftists, opposing Lenin. At the eighth party congress (1919) he was elected an alternate member of the politburo and at the thirteenth congress (1924) became a full member.

From 1919 to 1928 he pursued an outstanding career in the Comintern. As a Bolshevik delegate he gave a report on the Comintern platform to the founding congress (March 1919); on the same occasion he was appointed second-in-command under Zinoviev, who headed the ECCI. At the Second Congress of the Comintern (1920) he reported on parliamentarianism and was elected to both the ECCI and the "Little Bureau" (later called the Presidium) as "substitute for President Zinoviev." At the Third Congress of the Comintern (1921) he spoke as a Bolshevik delegate. In 1922 he participated in the first two enlarged plenums of the ECCI and in the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, where he spoke on the program of the International; in April he and Karl Radek led the Comintern delegation to the Berlin conference of three Internationals. In 1923 he attended the third enlarged plenum and in 1924 addressed the Fifth Congress about the Comintern program, following which he was elected one of three vice-chairmen of the ECCI; at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI (March-April 1925) he reported on agrarian problems. In 1926 he became Stalin's

most important ally in the successful struggle against the "unified opposition" (Trotsky and Zinoviev). At the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI (November 1926) he approached the summit of his career: here he presented a major report on international relations and replaced Zinoviev as leader of the Comintern. (The title of the president of the Comintern was discarded at that time but Bukharin became the first member of the Comintern's political Secretariat.) At the eighth enlarged plenum (May 1927) he reported on the Chinese revolution and at the ninth (February 1928) on opposition within the RCP(B) and the Comintern. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern (August 1928) he made the opening speech, reported on the international situation, acted as principal writer for the Comintern program adopted there, and won reelection to the ECCI, the Presidium, and the political Secretariat.

His break with Stalin was imminent, however; in September 1928 the Bolshevik press made its first attack against "rightist deviation," for which Bukharin was the leading spokesman; in April 1929 the RCP(B) central committee relieved him of all his Comintern offices; in July the ECCI confirmed the release; and in November he was excluded from the Bolshevik politburo. After Bukharin's self-criticism, however, Stalin made him editor-in-chief of *Izvestia* in 1933. At the seventeenth party congress (January 1934) he was elected an alternate member of the central committee and worked for the commission preparing Stalin's new constitution; nevertheless, he was denounced at the second public trial (Moscow, January 1937) and arrested. At the third trial (March 1938) he and Rykov were sentenced to death.

Bukharin published several works on theoretical and political problems of communism, including *Programma kommunistov (bolshevikov)*, Moscow, 1918; *Azbuka kommunizma* (ABC of Communism), in collaboration with E. Preobrazhensky, Moscow, 1920; *Teoriia istoricheskogo materializma*, Moscow, 1921. All these works have been translated into the main Western languages.

Bullejos, José. Born in Spain. He became a postal clerk in Bilbao and a militant trade unionist. He participated in the postal strike of 1918-19 and in 1920 joined the General Union of Spanish Workers (UGT), for which he became secretary in Vizcaya. In 1921 he joined the Spanish Communist Party, edited its newspaper *La Antorcha*, and supported syndicalist strike actions. At the second congress of the Spanish Communist Party in 1923 he was elected organizational secretary. After the rise of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship Bullejos went to Moscow, where in 1925 he participated in the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. Meanwhile the old Spanish Communist Party leaders had been imprisoned, so after his return to Bilbao he became secretary-general of the party, a post he retained for many years. In 1927 he attended the eighth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. In May 1931 he was in Moscow to discuss the Spanish problems with Comintern leaders. At the fourth congress of the Spanish Communist Party, held in Seville in 1932, he was reelected party secretary-general; afterward he returned to Moscow and in August participated in the twelfth

enlarged plenum of the ECCI. In October, however, the ICC and the Presidium of the ECCI published their decision to exclude him and his followers from both the Comintern and the party; later he joined the Spanish Socialist Party. With the defeat of the republic he fled to Mexico, where he remained a Spanish Socialist Party member. In 1945 he published in Mexico a book entitled *Europe entre deux guerres, 1918-1938*.

Bunting, Rebecca. Born in Lithuania in 1888. She emigrated to South Africa on the eve of World War I, became militant in the socialist movement there, met Sidney P. Bunting and became his wife. In 1915 she took part in the formation of the International Socialist League. She attended the founding congress of the South African Communist Party in 1921 and was elected to its central committee. From then on she belonged to the leading circles of the South African party and in 1928 accompanied her husband to the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, where she spoke for her party in debates on the principal report offered by Bukharin on the activities of the ECCI.

After her husband was expelled from the South African party in February 1931 she was forced to abandon its ranks. However, when Sidney Bunting died in 1936 and the party changed its tactical line she was readmitted and remained a member until her death. In 1964 she left South Africa, settled in Great Britain, and joined the British Communist Party. She also remained a member of the external mission of the African National Congress. In January 1968 both British and South African communist parties celebrated her eightieth anniversary; she died in London in November 1970.

Bunting, Sidney P. Born in Great Britain in 1873, the son of Sir Percy Bunting, a leading Methodist, a supporter of the Liberal Party, and founder of the *Contemporary Review*. After graduating from Oxford Sidney served in South Africa as a volunteer in the Boer War and later settled in Johannesburg as a solicitor. There he joined the South African Labour Party but broke away in 1915 and helped found the pacifist International Socialist League. With league aid he attempted to form the Industrial Workers of Africa, a labor union of unskilled workers which he hoped to develop along the lines of the American IWW; failing in this, he pioneered in the South African communist movement. From its founding in 1921 he was a leader of the South African Communist Party, which he represented in November 1922 at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and at the same time became a member of the ECCI. In South Africa he served his party as treasurer and in other offices; he was arrested often. In 1928 he and his wife addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern; however, in the months following he fought strongly against the Comintern plan for the creation of an Independent African Native Republic—a black state with right assured for minorities. At its December 1930 congress the South African Communist Party supported the Comintern plan; Bunting was removed

from leadership and in February 1931 expelled from the party. He died in 1936.

Burian, Edmund. Born near Brno in Moravia in 1878. He entered college, and joined the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party in 1897. He was editor-in-chief of the Brno socialist newspaper *Rovnost* (Equality) from 1899 to 1911, when he assumed editorship of two other social-democratic publications. From 1921 to 1929 he was on the Czechoslovak Communist Party executive committee; from 1920 to 1929 he was also a National Assembly member. During that period he held important Comintern posts—at the Third Congress of the Comintern in July 1921 he became a member of the ECCI; in February 1922 he and Karel Kreibich reported to the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI on the Czechoslovak communist movement; and at the second enlarged plenum, in June 1922, he was nominated to the commission preparing the Comintern program. In the late 1920s he was accused of "right-wing opportunism" and in June 1929 expelled from the party; he then rejoined the social democrats. He died in Brno in 1935.

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Cachin, Marcel. Born in Brittany in 1869, the son of a policeman. He taught in a high school in Bordeaux, where he joined the French Workers' Party of Jules Guesde, and was elected municipal councillor and, in 1900, deputy mayor. In 1905 he participated in the French socialist unification congress and worked on propaganda for the new party (SFIO). In 1912 he was elected municipal councillor and then general councillor of the Seine Department and joined the editorial staff of *L'Humanité*. In May 1914 he became a deputy for Paris. During World War I he belonged to the "social-patriotic" current of French socialism and attempted to persuade Italian socialists to support the Allied cause. After the revolution of February 1917 he went to Russia to gain support for the Entente.

Toward the end of the war, with the majority of the SFIO, Cachin moved from right to left. By 1918 he had become a centrist and when that became the majority position in October he became director of *L'Humanité*. At the SFIO party congresses of 1919 and February 1920 he maintained his centrist stand; however, later in the year Cachin and Louis-Oscar Frossard represented the party at the Second Congress of the Comintern. At the Tours congress in December 1920 Cachin pleaded for adherence to the Comintern and then joined the directing committee of the new PCF, of which he remained a leader until his death. He remained director of *L'Humanité*, and was elected parliamentary deputy in 1920, 1924, and 1928.

Within the PCF, however, Cachin and Frossard held a centrist position which brought them into conflict with the Comintern. At the party congresses of Marseilles (1921) and Paris (1922) the centrists were in the majority. Cachin defended this position at the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1922 but at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November, after reporting on the party struggle against the Treaty of Versailles, he accepted the Comintern solution to the party crisis and that provoked a decisive split with Frossard. After that Cachin followed the changing positions of the Comintern under Zinoviev, Bukharin, and Stalin and the corresponding shifts in the PCF under Treint, Sellier, the Barbé-Célor group, and Thorez.

When the Comintern opposed the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 Cachin was under official French indictment. In 1924 the Fifth Congress of the Comintern elected him to the ICC and at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1925 he was a member of the plenum's presidium and took part in the work of various commissions. He was seated on the presidium rostrum at the Sixth Comintern Congress in 1928, participated actively in debates at that congress, and was reelected to the ICC.

At the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1931 he gave a report on the danger of war and was elected to the ECCI Presidium. In 1935 he addressed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and was reelected to the ECCI Presidium. Also in that year he became the first communist to enter the French Senate. After the war, in 1946, he was reelected an Assembly deputy, a position he kept until his death in 1958. Cachin published numerous pamphlets, which consisted mainly of the speeches he gave in Moscow and in Paris; in 1959 the PCF published a book, *Marcel Cachin vous parle*, to commemorate his political career.

Campbell, John R. Born in Scotland in 1896. During World War I he was wounded and decorated. He was active in the labor movement and in 1922, at Clyde, served as editor of the newspaper *Worker*. He was a member of the British Communist Party from the time of its founding; in 1923 he was elected to its executive committee (politburo); and in 1924 he replaced R. Palme Dutt as editor of the communist *Workers' Weekly*. In August 1924 he was arrested over an allegedly seditious article published under his editorship but freed before trial. In May 1927 he delivered a report to the eighth enlarged plenum of the ECCI on the work of the British Communist Party, and at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 was elected a member of the ECCI but at the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, in July 1929, he defended himself against accusations of political deviation. At the extraordinary British party congress called by the Comintern in November he was not reelected to the party executive committee, although he remained on the central committee. Nevertheless, in the following years he regained his prestige in the party and the Comintern—he was reelected to the executive committee of the British party.

became editor of its paper *Daily Worker*, and was a delegate and speaker at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern (1935), at which he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI.

The Hitler-Stalin pact and outbreak of World War II brought out new disagreements which led to his dismissal from the party's central apparatus; thereafter he was given a minor post in Scotland. He later regained his position on the executive committee and *Daily Worker*. At the twenty-ninth congress of the British Communist Party (November 1965) he retired from the executive committee because of age.

Cannon, James P. Born in Kansas City in 1890. He joined the IWW as a young man and later became a member of the Socialist Party. He supported the party's left wing after the Bolshevik revolution and in June 1919 participated in the left wing's national conference in New York City. At the founding of the United Communist Party of America in May 1920, he was elected to the party's central committee and in 1921 moved to New York to pursue party work. In June 1922, under the name Cook, he debated at the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI, at which he later was seated as a representative of the Communist Party of America; at the fifth enlarged plenum in March 1925 he spoke for the American party and was a member of the plenum's political commission; and in 1927 he attended the eighth plenum of the ECCI. In July and August 1928 he attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, where he participated in debates and supported Trotsky, a move which altered his political career.

His subsequent attempt to organize the first Trotskyist group in the United States resulted in his expulsion from the party in October 1928. The following month he launched the Trotskyist paper *The Militant* and founded the opposition Communist League of America, which met for its first national conference in May 1929; he remained the leader of that group for many years. Later he was founder and chairman of the Socialist Workers' Party and after World War II continued to be militant in dissident communist movements. In 1944 he published *The History of American Trotskyism*. In 1970 he was still living in California.

Carr, Sam. Born in the Ukraine in 1906 as Schnif Kogan; he emigrated to Canada in 1924. He became a communist militant and was selected as a student to be sent to the Leninist School of the Comintern in Moscow, where he stayed from 1929 to 1931. He then assumed party leadership responsibilities in Ontario but was arrested in 1932 with other communist leaders. After his release from prison he resumed his party activities; in January 1937 he was party organizational secretary, the second most important person in the hierarchy. At the outbreak of World War II the Canadian authorities decided to intern the foreign-born communists; Carr escaped from Canada and found refuge in New

York City, where he became an employee in the apparatus of the CPUSA. In 1941, under the pseudonym Joe, he taught classes in the history of the Bolshevik party and dialectical materialism at the school of party cadres in New York. Later he returned to Canada and again assumed a high position within the Canadian Communist Party. He was in touch with the Soviet secret services and during the famous atomic espionage affair of 1945-46 was deeply compromised; he was sentenced in absentia to six years in prison but escaped from Canada and found refuge in Cuba. He returned to New York clandestinely, but the FBI arrested him in January 1949 and he was extradited to Canada, where he was tried and sentenced in April 1949.

Castro Delgado, Enrique. Born in 1907 into a working-class family. He joined the Communist Party of Spain in 1925 and several years later was made a member of the party's regional committee in Madrid. By the time the civil war began in July 1936 he was a recognized communist leader and was occupied primarily with the official party organ, *Mundo Obrero*. During the first weeks of the civil war he organized the Fifth Regiment, a communist unit which won renown during the struggle for Madrid, and remained the unit's leader until September 1936. In 1937 he was promoted to membership in the central committee of the Spanish Communist Party and then named, successively, general director of agrarian reform, chief commissar of the Republican armies of the center, and general secretary of the political commissariat of the army.

After the defeat of Republican Spain he took refuge in France and then in the U.S.S.R., where he served as a Spanish Communist Party representative to the Comintern until May 1943, when the organization was dissolved. In May 1944 he was removed from the central committee of the Spanish Communist Party; this ended his political activity in Moscow, but he remained there to work on foreign-language publications. In October 1945 he succeeded in leaving the U.S.S.R. for Mexico, where he worked as a journalist. In 1963 he returned to Spain, where he died in 1965. He described his communist experience in two books—*J'ai perdu la foi à Moscou* (1950), published in Spanish and French, and *Hombres made in Moscú* (1960), published in Spanish, in Mexico.

Célor, Pierre. Born in France in 1902. In his youth he left for Morocco, where he worked as a commercial employee; he joined the PCF in 1923. In 1925 he was expelled from Morocco because of his anti-militarist, anti-imperialist activity during the Rif war. In Paris he worked in party apparatus and eventually took charge of the PCF's colonial section. In 1928 he represented France at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and sat on the mandate commission; also in 1928 he was elected to the PCF's central committee. In 1929 he joined the party's politburo and became one of the four central committee secretaries.

At the close of the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in April 1931 he was made an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium and the political

Secretariat. In June he represented the PCF at the Comintern but in the autumn the Comintern ICC conducted an investigation of the "Barbé-Célor group" and in 1932 Célor was authorized to leave the Soviet Union but was expelled from the PCF. He resumed political activity in France only after the country's defeat—in 1941 he joined the Rassemblement National Populaire of Marcel Déat and in 1942 he switched to the Parti Populaire Français of Jacques Doriot and joined its political bureau. In 1945 he was imprisoned and in 1947 was sentenced to seven years at hard labor for collaboration; he was freed in 1950 and died in 1957.

Chang Hao. Born in 1896, cousin of Lin Piao; he joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1922. During the following years he became particularly active in the trade union sector of the party, and in 1931 was in charge of propaganda of the All-China Federation of Labor. In 1932 he was sent to Moscow as the Chinese representative to the Profintern. He remained in the Soviet capital for three years (where he was also known as Lin Yü-ying) and participated in the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in July-August 1935. In December of the same year he joined the Chinese communist forces in Shensi on a double assignment for the Comintern: to explain the new tactics of the anti-Fascist united front adopted at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, and inform Moscow of the existing discord at the top of the CCP, especially between Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kuo-tao. From then on he worked in the party's central apparatus, taught at the military and political academy in Yen-an, was named deputy-secretary of the party's committee in charge of political work among the Kuomintang troops, and in 1937 became political commissar of the 129th Division. Shortly thereafter his health began to deteriorate; he died in Yen-an in 1942.

Chang Kuo-tao. Born in the province of Kiangsi, China, in 1895. He studied at Peking University, where in 1918-19 he was a member of a Marxist study group and met his later associate, Mao Tse-tung. In 1920 he was a leading member of a local communist group; in 1921 he accompanied the Comintern emissary Sneevliet (who used the pseudonym Maring) to Shanghai for the founding congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), at which Chang joined the first central committee of the party, worked at party organization, and headed the trade-union secretariat.

In Russia in January 1922 he participated in the Congress of the Peoples and of Revolutionary Organizations of the Far East and also attended ECCI meetings. At the second (1922) and third (1923) CCP congresses he was reelected to the central committee. Meanwhile he organized the Peking-Hankow railroad workers' strike, one of the party's first large-scale trade-union actions. At the first congress of the Kuomintang in January 1924 he was named an alternate member of the executive central committee.

At the fourth CCP congress in 1925 he headed the Yangtze region bureau, and sat on the politburo at that and the fifth congress in 1927. He was removed from the politburo at an extraordinary party conference on August 7, 1927, following the defeat of the Nanchang uprising, which he had helped lead; he regained his official positions at the sixth party congress in Moscow in 1928. He was also present at the Sixth Comintern Congress and returned to the Soviet capital in 1930 as representative of the CCP at the ECCL. He held that position until April 1931, when he returned to China.

On November 7, 1931, he was elected vice-president (under Mao) of the Chinese Soviet Republic; in 1932 he organized the Fourth Red Army and headed the Szechwan soviet. At the second congress of the Chinese soviets in January 1934 he was reelected vice-president, again under Mao, and at the Seventh Comintern Congress both men were elected to the ECCL. By 1935, during the Long March, Chang and Mao had come into conflict. In 1936-37 Chang Kuo-tao was reelected vice-president of the Yen-an Republic and at the same time became one of the secretaries of the central committee of the CCP. In April and August 1937, however, he clashed with Mao at two enlarged politburo meetings; as a result, in April 1938, he fled from communist territory to Sian and immediately was expelled from the party. With the postwar Chinese communist victory he moved to Hong Kong; in December 1968 he settled in Canada.

Chang Tai-lei. Born in Kiangsu in 1898 into a family of small merchants. He studied law at the University of Canton and in 1919 moved to Peking, where he took an active part in the student movement. He was attracted to communist ideology and in August 1920 worked with Chen Tu-hsu in Shanghai to organize the first cell of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In the spring of 1921 he went to Irkutsk to establish Chinese communist contact with the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern. From there he went to Moscow to take part in the Third Congress of the Comintern, at which he was the only speaker representing the Chinese communist movement. After the third congress of the KIM in 1922 he was the only Chinese member elected to the KIM's executive committee. In June 1923 he was one of some 30 delegates to the third congress of the CCP in Canton. He was also a member of the Kuomintang delegation, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, which arrived for negotiations in Moscow on September 2, 1923.

Chang was elected secretary-general of the Chinese Communist Youth at its third congress in February 1925. Soon afterward he was called to Canton by the central committee of the CCP to edit the legal communist weekly *People*; at the fifth congress of the CCP in May 1927 he was elected to the party's central committee. After the break between the Communist party and the Kuomintang he became active in factional struggles; at the extraordinary conference of the party in August 1927 (at which Chen Tu-hsu was eliminated) he was named a candidate-member of the provisional politburo as well as secretary

of the party for the Kwantung province. He went to Canton in December 1927 to stage an armed insurrection; when the Canton Commune was proclaimed on December 10 he was named vice-president of the council of people's commissars and commissar of the army and the navy, and a few days later, as the Commune was being crushed, he was assassinated.

Chang Wen-tien. Born in 1900 into a middle-class Chinese family; he studied in Shanghai, in Japan (1920), and at the University of California (1921-23). After returning to China he befriended a number of leftist intellectuals and in 1925 joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under the pseudonym Lo Fu. In 1926 he and others were chosen by the Comintern delegation in China to receive political indoctrination at Sun Yat-sen University, founded the previous year in Moscow under Karl Radek and Pavel Mif. He lived in Moscow from 1926 to 1930, first as a student and then as a Comintern employee.

From July through September 1928 he participated in the sixth congress of the CCP and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, both held in Moscow. In 1930 Pavel Mif, the new Comintern delegate to China, was entrusted with the task of replacing the CCP leadership under Li Li-san; for that he enlisted 28 Chinese "Bolsheviks," mostly Sun Yat-sen University students, of whom Chang was one. Chang immediately became chief of the party's agrarian section and editor of its newspaper; in January 1931 he became a member of the party's central committee and politburo. After 1931 he was in charge of CCP propaganda and organization and held leading posts in the provisional government of the first Chinese Soviet Republic at Kiangsi.

At the fifth plenum of the party central committee in January 1934 he was reelected to the politburo and its standing committee. In February, at the second congress of the Chinese Soviet Republic in Kiangsi, he became president of the council of people's commissars. (At that time Mao Tse-tung was president of the executive central committee and Chang Kuo-tao was its vice-president.) At the enlarged conference of the politburo held in Tsunyi during the Long March in January 1935 Chang Wen-tien became secretary-general of the CCP, a position he still held in 1937 when the communists settled in Yen-an. Meanwhile, as a result of agreements between the Kuomintang, the Soviet government, and the CCP, a new national anti-Fascist front gained power in China; in 1937 Chang explained the tactics of this front in the Comintern's official organ, *Communist International*. However, at the reunion of the politburo in December 1937 at Yen-an, his post as secretary-general was eliminated and he remained only a member of the politburo's standing committee.

At the seventh congress of the CCP in April 1945 he was a member of the presidium, the central committee, and the politburo. During the final phase of the war against Chiang Kai-shek he was a member of the party bureau in Manchuria and of the people's government of Northeastern China. In January

1950 he was nominated chief of the Chinese communist delegation to the U.N. and its representative to the Security Council; he never assumed those functions because communist China was refused admittance to the U.N.

In March 1951 he was named Chinese ambassador to Moscow and was there in March 1953 when Stalin died. In April 1954 he became assistant minister of foreign affairs and accompanied Chou En-lai to the Geneva conference on Indochina. At the eighth congress of the CCP in September 1956 he was demoted from full member to alternate member of the politburo. In September 1959, after the removal of Peng Teh-huai, he lost his position as assistant minister of foreign affairs and was fired from the politburo. Meanwhile, in April 1959 he had represented China at the Warsaw Pact conference; however, during the Maoist cultural revolution his views were attacked and after the ninth congress of the CCP in April 1969 he was no longer an alternate member of the politburo nor a member of the central committee.

Chankov, Georgi. Born in Bulgaria in 1909 into a poor family which had emigrated from Thrace. He became a locksmith and metalworker and in 1927 joined the trade-union movement and the organization of young communists. Sent by the Bulgarian Communist Party to Moscow he studied at the Leninist School of the Comintern in 1932-33 and attended the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the sixth congress of the KIM in 1935. He returned to Bulgaria as a member of the central committee of the Bulgarian Young Communists and directed revolutionary activities there until his arrest in 1939. In February 1943 he escaped from prison, took charge of the party work in the Sofia region, and organized a guerrilla movement. He became political commissar for the first zone there and in 1944 was promoted to membership in the Bulgarian Communist Party politburo, heading the cadres section. With the party's rise to power he joined the secretariat of the central committee, serving until 1951. Meanwhile he became, successively, first president of the newly formed state control commission (December 1947), transportation minister (October 1949), deputy prime minister (November 1950), and president of the state planning commission (December 1952). In March 1954 the Bulgarian Communist Party congress confirmed his politburo membership. Despite the fact that Vulko Chervenkov resigned in April 1956 as the Bulgarian prime minister (following the de-Stalinization inaugurated by the twentieth congress of the CPSU), Chankov retained his post in the government and remained in the politburo. In December he relinquished the presidency of the state planning commission but remained deputy prime minister and in February 1957 went to Moscow in that capacity. However, in July 1957 he was relieved of his governmental posts, expelled from the politburo for "anti-party factional activity," and given an obscure post in a small factory.

Chassaigne, François. Born in France in 1902. As a student in 1922 he joined the French communist youth and by 1924 had become one of the secretaries of the Federation of French Young Communists, for which he spoke at the

Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924. While in Moscow he was elected a member of the executive committee of the KIM, at its fourth congress. He also was named a member of the central committee of the PCF at its fourth congress in January 1925. Also in 1925 he was active in the campaign against the Moroccan war. Later he worked as a communist journalist for *Avant-Garde* (a communist youth periodical) and then for *L'Humanité*. In 1928-29, however, he broke with the PCF and later joined the SFIO, as a member of which he was elected deputy in 1932 and 1936. In June 1940 he voted in favor of constitutional powers for Marshal Pétain. In 1943 the Vichy regime named him general commissioner for manpower in Laval's government and in March 1944 he became state secretary for agriculture and food supply. During the liberation he was arrested, tried by the high court of justice, and sentenced to ten years at hard labor; he was freed in 1948 but did not engage in any political activities.

Chemodanov, V. T. Born in Russia. An RCP(B) member from 1924 he worked in the party apparatus; at the sixteenth party congress in 1930 he was a delegate of a section of Moscow. In February 1931 he became a political secretary of the KIM, which he represented at the Presidium of the ECCI. At the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI (April 1931) he was promoted to alternate membership in its political Secretariat; he spoke for the KIM at the twelfth plenum (August-September 1932); he addressed the thirteenth plenum (December 1933) and was reelected to the ECCI Presidium. Meanwhile, at the plenum of the KIM executive committee in December 1932 he was in charge of the meeting and delivered the main political report. In 1934 he attended the seventeenth congress of the RCP(B) as a member of the central control commission but was not reelected. In April 1935 he went to Paris for the international conference of Youth for Peace, Liberty, and Progress. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern (July-August 1935) he again spoke for the KIM but was elected only to alternate membership in the ECCI. During the Stalin purges the leaders of the Komsomol (Young Communists) were not spared; at the seventh plenum of its central committee (November 1937) the "traitors" were "unmasked." Chemodanov was one of the victims and died in 1939.

Chen Po-ta. Born in the province of Fukien in 1904. He completed high school and entered the Labor University in Shanghai, where he joined the underground communist party, a connection for which he was arrested several times. After his release from prison in 1927 he left for Moscow, where he studied at Sun Yat-sen University and joined the local branch of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In 1931 he settled in Peking; later he participated in secret party activities in Tientsin. In 1937 he moved to Yen-an, where he taught at the party central school and became political secretary to Mao Tse-tung. At the seventh congress of the CCP (April 1945) he was elected to alternate membership in the central committee and in 1946 became a full member.

With the communist victory in October 1949 he was named both deputy director of the agitprop section of the central committee and vice-president of the Marx-Lenin Institute. He accompanied Mao Tse-tung to Moscow from December 1949 to February 1950. At the eighth congress of the CCP (September 1956) he was reelected to the central committee and promoted to alternate membership in the politburo. In November 1957 he again visited Moscow, participating in the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution and in the international conference of the communist parties. In 1958 he became editor-in-chief of the CCP's theoretical review, *Red Flag*, and at the same time taught at the University of Peking and directed the Institute of Journalism. During the cultural revolution which followed the eleventh plenum of the CCP's central committee in August 1966 he was promoted to membership in both the politburo and its standing committee. In the hierarchy of Chinese communists he occupied the fifth position and presided over the commission for cultural revolution in the central committee. At the ninth congress of the CCP (April 1969) his membership in the politburo (21 members) and its standing committee (five members) was reconfirmed. He has been believed to be one of Mao Tse-tung's ghost writers. Among his many published works is *The Thought of Mao Tse-tung*, written well before the cultural revolution. He disappeared from the public scene in the second half of 1970.

Chen Shao-yü. Born in 1907 into a prosperous Chinese peasant family. He joined the revolutionary movement while at the University of Shanghai and took part in the May 30 Movement of 1925. In the autumn of that year he attended the newly opened Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow, where he learned Russian. From July to September 1928 he participated in the sixth congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in Moscow and at the same time interpreted for the Chinese delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern.

His real career in the CCP began in May 1930, however, when Pavel Mif (the former vice-chancellor of Sun Yat-sen University and a Comintern delegate to China) went to China with 28 Chinese "Bolshevik" students whose leader Chen Shao-yü became, under the pseudonym Wang Ming. At the third plenum of the CCP's central committee, held in August and September 1930, he attacked the party leadership of Li Li-san. At the following plenum in January 1931 Li was expelled from the politburo and Chen (Wang) then became a member. He also succeeded secretary-general Hsiang Chung-fa following Hsiang's arrest in June 1931 and was elected a member of the central executive committee at the first congress of the Chinese soviet in Kiangsi in November. At the end of 1931 he arrived in Moscow to represent the CCP in the Comintern; he addressed the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in August-September 1932. He remained in Moscow until 1937 as a member of the Comintern central apparatus and a writer for its press. Meanwhile, during the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in December 1933 he was a party spokesman and was

promoted to membership in the ECCI Presidium. In 1935 he addressed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and was elected to membership in the ECCI and its Presidium and to alternate membership in the Comintern Secretariat.

In 1937 he returned to the Soviet Republic of Yanan, where his influence dwindled and his "deviations" were noted by Maoist faithfuls. During the seventh congress of the CCP (April-June 1945) he occupied the penultimate position on a list of the 44 members of the central committee. After the Chinese communist victory in October 1949 he held only minor government offices, such as the presidency of the legislative affairs commission; he ranked last on a hierarchical list of the 97 members of the CCP central committee, compiled during the eighth party congress (September 1956). Shortly after that congress he returned for "health reasons" to the Soviet Union, where his family later joined him. When the conflict between Moscow and Mao Tse-tung became public he sided with Moscow and occasionally made statements against "Mao's clique." In 1969 he was still living in Moscow.

Chen Tu-hsiu. Born in China in 1879 into a wealthy mandarin family. He joined the revolutionary nationalist movement in 1904 as a university student and after study in Japan and in France returned to China in 1911 during the first revolution. Shortly thereafter he was forced into Japanese exile until 1915, when he returned to head the literature department of the University of Peking. With a group of radical intellectuals he founded a review called *Youth*.

In 1918 he and Li Ta-chao founded a Marxist study group in Peking University and during 1919 his views became Marxist-Communist. In the spring of 1920 he met in Shanghai the Comintern emissary Grigori Voitinsky; in May he organized a provisional communist leadership and headed its first conference in September. Although not present at the founding congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), in July 1921 he was elected secretary-general of the party in absentia. Reelected at the second congress in 1922 he visited Moscow in November and December to participate in the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, at which he was a member of the commission dealing with the Korean Communist Party affairs.

He was reelected secretary-general at the third (1923), fourth (1925), and fifth (1927) CCP congresses, and was promoted to membership in the ECCI at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924. However, following the break between the Kuomintang and the CCP in the spring of 1927, he was accused of "opportunism," held responsible for the defeat, and subsequently dismissed from his post as secretary-general at an extraordinary conference held on August 7, 1927. Removed from all responsible party posts he organized a conference of communist dissidents at Shanghai in September 1929. In November of that year he was officially expelled from the CCP and thereafter became sympathetic to Trotsky, whom he visited in European exile. In January 1931 he formed

a dissident group, the Communist League, of which he became secretary-general. In October 1932 he was arrested, tried in Nanking by a military court, and in April 1933 sentenced to 13 years in prison. After his release in August 1937 he lived in Nanking and then in Wuhan but took no further part in dissident activities. He died near Chungking in May 1942.

Chen Yun. Born in 1905, the son of a laborer. He finished grade school, worked as a printer in Shanghai, and joined the trade-union movement. In 1925 he joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), in which he was also known as Liao Cheng-yun. He participated in the strikes of May 1925 and March 1927. After the split between the Kuomintang and the CCP in April and May 1927 he continued to work secretly in Shanghai until 1930, when he was elected to alternate membership in the party central committee. In 1931 he became a full member and later helped direct the trade-union movement in the Sovietized region of Kiangsi. At the January 1934 plenum of the CCP central committee in Juichang he was given membership in the party politburo and assigned work particularly in Kuomintang-controlled regions. At the January 1935 conference in Tsunyi, which sanctioned Mao Tse-tung's elevation to leadership of the CCP, Chen was chosen to explain the leadership changes to Moscow and in order to do that joined the Chinese delegation to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, held in July and August 1935. He was residing in Moscow at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in July 1937 but returned to China in October of that year. He then took charge of the party's orgburo and agrarian section in Yanan.

At the seventh congress of the CCP in April 1945 he was reelected to the politburo and became an alternate member of the secretariat of the central committee. After the victory of October 1949 the new communist central government of Peking named him president of the committee on economy and finance, an office he held until October 1954. Until April 1950 he was also minister for heavy industry and in June became secretary of the central committee. In September 1952 he accompanied Chou En-lai to Moscow for economic and commercial negotiations and in September 1954 became vice-president of the Chinese government. At the eighth party congress (September 1956) he was reelected to the politburo and joined its standing committee. In May 1958 he represented China as an observer at the conference of Comecon and Warsaw Pact countries. After the onset of the Great Leap Forward his public appearances became less frequent; then and after the cultural revolution of 1966 he was rumored to be in disgrace. At the ninth congress of the CCP in April 1969 he lost his positions on the politburo and standing committee but remained on the central committee.

Chervenkov, Vulko. Born in 1900, the son of a non-commissioned Bulgarian army officer; he studied in Sofia and joined the Bulgarian Communist

Party at its founding in 1919. He held various positions with the young communists and in September 1923 took part in the unsuccessful communist insurrection but unlike its leaders remained in Bulgaria and participated in underground party propaganda activities. In 1925, following the bombing of the cathedral at Sofia (an attempt to eliminate King Boris and his government), he and his wife (sister of Georgi Dimitrov) fled to Soviet Russia. Condemned to death in absentia Chervenkov graduated from the Leninist School of the Comintern and then joined the permanent staff of the Comintern; when Dimitrov became leader of the Comintern Chervenkov joined the Agitprop section. Later, under the pseudonym Vladimirov, he became deputy director of the Leninist School and in 1936 replaced Kirsanova as director. Meanwhile he joined the politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party and participated in the Moscow meetings of the party and the ECCI. At the time of the Stalinist purges Dimitrov hid Chervenkov in his home to prevent his arrest. During World War II Chervenkov, using his pseudonym Vladimirov, took charge of propaganda for Radio Khristo Botev.

Following the Bulgarian coup d'état of September 9, 1944, and the entrance of Soviet troops he returned to his country and rejoined the party politburo, heading the agitprop section. In December 1947 he was named president of the commission for arts and sciences in Dimitrov's government. When Dimitrov died in July 1949 Chervenkov became deputy prime minister in Kolarov's government and when Kolarov died in January 1950 Chervenkov became prime minister. A secretary of the party central committee since its 1948 congress he became secretary-general in November 1950; in April 1950 he became president of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front.

At that time Chervenkov also played an important role in the international communist movement and was one of the few communist leaders to participate in all three meetings of the Cominform (1947, 1948, and 1949). In October 1952 he headed the Bulgarian delegation to the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B), which he addressed; he also headed his country's delegation to Stalin's funeral in March 1953 and to the twentieth congress of the CPSU in February 1956.

Nevertheless, Chervenkov did not escape the effects of de-Stalinization. At the sixth congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in March 1954 he surrendered the post of first secretary of the central committee to Todor Zhivkov and in April 1956 ceased to be the Bulgarian prime minister. He remained minister of education and a member of the politburo, a post to which he was reelected at the party congress in June 1958; however, in November 1961, following the twenty-second congress of the CPSU, he was excluded from the politburo and in December he was removed from the government. At the eighth congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in November 1962, Zhivkov publicly announced Chervenkov's expulsion from the party central committee; he was removed from Sofia and assigned to live in the Varna region.

Chicherin, Georgi Vasilevich. Born in 1872 into the Russian lower nobility; he graduated in history and philology from the University of Petrograd and entered the ministry of foreign affairs. Toward the turn of the century he became interested in socialism and in 1904 resigned from the diplomatic service to settle in Berlin, where in 1905 he joined the RSDLP. In 1907 he became secretary of the party's central bureau abroad and as such participated in the party's London congress in that year. Expelled from Germany in 1907 he moved to Paris and then, during World War I, to England. A Menshevik before 1914 and an internationalist during the war he supported Bolshevism by the end of 1917. Expelled from England in January 1918 he returned to Russia, joined the RCP(B), and in March was named commissar for foreign affairs in Lenin's government; he retained that post until 1930.

Meanwhile he did preparatory work for the establishment of the Comintern—at its founding congress in March 1919 he delivered the report of the mandate commission and during the Comintern's first year he wrote occasionally for its organ, *Communist International*, worked with Lenin on international questions, and performed other Comintern functions. After the Second Congress of the Comintern (July-August 1920), however, he dropped his Comintern activities and in 1921 advised Lenin and Trotsky, in vain, to abandon their seats on the ECCI. At the fourteenth and fifteenth congresses of the RCP(B), in 1925 and 1927, he was elected a member of its central committee but in 1930, because of poor health, he retired from political activity. He died in 1936.

Chin Pang-hsien (alias Po Ku). Born in 1908. He joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) at age 17 and the following year was selected for communist training in Soviet Russia. He studied at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow and in May 1930 returned to China with the 28 Chinese "Bolsheviks" led by Pavel Mif. At the fourth plenum of the central committee of the CCP in January 1931 he became a member of the party politburo and secretary-general of the central committee of the Chinese communist youth organization. In the autumn of 1932, with the leaders of the CCP, he withdrew to the Kiangsi Soviet region and at the end of the year was elected secretary-general of the party, a post he held until the Tsunyi conference of January 1935, at which he was succeeded by Chang Wen-tien (alias Lo Fu). He then was appointed director of the general political department of the Red Army. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was elected alternate member of the ECCI under the name Po Ku. In 1936, after the establishment of communist power in Yen-an, he became chairman of the northwest branch of the Soviet government there. In December, during the Sian Incident in which Chiang Kai-shek was arrested, he and Chou En-lai negotiated for the CCP.

During World War II he was director of the communist New China News Agency and editor of the daily *Liberation*. During the seventh congress of

the CCP (April to June 1945) he was reelected to the central committee, though he was named last on that list. In December 1945 he was a leading member of the communist delegation that vainly negotiated for an accord with the government of Chiang Kai-shek at Chungking. He was killed in April 1946 in the crash of an airplane taking him and other communist leaders from Chungking to Yen-an.

Chou En-lai. Born in China in 1898 into a mandarin family; he left in 1917 to attend college in Japan but returned in 1918 to enroll at Nankai University. Following the May 4 Movement in 1919 he was sentenced to six months in prison. In 1920 he left with other Chinese students for Paris, where he helped organize the Socialist Youth League, which later became the Chinese Communist Party of Paris. In 1924 he returned to China, where he joined the regional committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in Kwangtung and later became head of the political department of the Whampoa military academy (whose director was Chiang Kai-shek). In October 1925 he was made political commissar of the first division of the First Army of the Kuomintang. In 1926 the CCP sent him to direct underground political work in Shanghai, where he organized the successful workers' strike which helped open the city; in March 1927, to the Northern Expedition of the victorious Kuomintang troops. In April he had to flee when Chiang Kai-shek opened hostilities against the communists. At the fifth congress of the CCP in Hankow (April 1927) Chou was elected a member of the politburo, an office he has since retained almost continuously.

He was a leader of the Nanchang insurrection of August 1, 1927, and fled to Hong Kong when it failed. In October he left for Moscow, where at the sixth congress of the CCP (July to September 1928) he was reelected a member of the politburo and given charge of the orgburo. At that time he also represented his party at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, where, using a pseudonym, he became an alternate member of the ECCI. Returning to China in 1929 he took his place in the new party leadership. When Li Li-san, the CCP leader, was criticized by the Comintern Chou returned to Moscow to plead his case. In July 1930 he participated in the sixteenth congress of the RCP(B) in Moscow and (under the name Siu) delivered a speech of greeting on behalf of the CCP. In China, at the third plenum of the party central committee (August and September 1930), he reported on the international situation and the Chinese revolution, using the pseudonym Shao Shan. Although Li Li-san was purged at the following plenum in January 1931, Chou presented a self-criticism and was reelected to the politburo. In November 1931 he participated in the first congress of Chinese soviets in Kiangsi and then worked underground until October 1932, using the pseudonym Wu Hao. He later returned to Kiangsi and in October 1934 participated in the Long March; when the Soviet Republic of the North (Yen-an) was founded he became the communists' chief representative in negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek. During the Seventh Congress of the

Comintern (1935) he was elected to the ECCI. In 1939 he returned again to Moscow.

During World War II he took charge of the CCP team negotiating with the government of Chiang Kai-shek in Chungking. At the seventh congress of the party in April 1945 he was reelected to the politburo and continued to head the communist delegation during its final negotiations with the nationalists in April 1949. When the central communist government was formed in October 1949 he became prime minister, a position he still holds. From October 1949 to February 1958 he was also minister of foreign affairs. He made official visits to Moscow—in January 1950 he and Mao Tse-tung attended treaty negotiations for the Sino-Soviet alliance; in 1952 he led his delegation in diplomatic negotiations with the Soviets; in March 1953 he attended Stalin's funeral; he led his delegation to the twenty-first congress of the CPSU in January 1958 and to the twenty-second congress in October 1961; and when Khrushchev fell in October 1964 Chou again led a delegation to Moscow. He survived the cultural revolution in 1966. During the ninth congress of the CCP (April 1969) he was reelected to the politburo and its standing committee, which then had only five members.

Chū Chiu-pai. Born in Kiangsi in 1899 into an intellectual family; he studied Russian at the University of Peking and then began a career as a journalist. In 1919-20 he was converted to Marxism under the influence of professors Chen Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-shao, founders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In 1920 he went to Soviet Russia as a Peking newspaper correspondent. Later he became an instructor and interpreter for the first group of Chinese students at the KUTV, founded in Moscow in April 1921. In June and July 1921 he attended the Third Congress of the Comintern, and in January and February 1922 was a delegate to the Congress of Revolutionary Organizations and Peoples of the Far East, which met in Moscow and Petrograd. In November 1928, he attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern as an interpreter.

In 1923 he returned to Shanghai, where he was active in literary and communist circles. Also in that year he was made a member of the CCP central committee and as such fought in the Moscow-instigated struggle against the party's secretary-general, Chen Tu-hsiu. At the fifth congress of the CCP, in May 1927 he became a member of the politburo and at an extraordinary party conference in August succeeded Chen as party secretary. However, during the ninth enlarged plenum of the ECCI (February 1928) Chū was criticized for the repeated failures of the insurrections provoked by the Comintern in the second half of 1927. He remained in Moscow from 1928 until 1930 as a CCP representative to the Comintern—in 1928 he attended the sixth congress of the CCP and addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern; he was elected a member of the ECCI Presidium, under the pseudonyms Strakhov, Tsiu Tsiu-po, and Tsiu Wito; and in July 1929 he took part in the tenth enlarged plenum of the Comintern.

In August 1930 he was sent back to China by the Comintern to discredit Li Li-san (who had succeeded him as party leader) before the enlarged central committee of the CCP. Nevertheless, at the fourth plenum of the central committee in January 1931 he submitted a written self-criticism which was forwarded to the ECCI. Thereafter he held no leading posts in the ECCI or the party politburo but in February 1934 was named people's commissar for public instruction of the Chinese Soviet Republic in Juichin. Since he suffered from tuberculosis he did not take part in the Long March, which began in October 1934. In March 1935 he was taken prisoner by the Kuomintang troops in Fukien, was jailed, and executed in June 1935.

He published several Chinese translations of Russian literature and communist propaganda, numerous articles, and in 1927 a brochure on the Chinese revolution.

Chu Teh. Born in 1886 into a poor peasant family, in the Szechwan province. He attended the military academy of Yunnan and began a long military career; at age 29 he became a company commander, later a police commissioner, and then a finance commissioner in Yunnan, where he lived as a warlord. In 1922 he joined the Kuomintang in Shanghai and then went to Berlin, where he took charge of the Kuomintang group, met Chou En-lai, and joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Expelled from Germany in 1925 for political activity he studied in Moscow at the KUTV. Returning to China he became a police commissioner at Nanchang, where on August 1, 1927, he took part in the abortive insurrection against the Kuomintang. The following April he and his partisans joined the group led by Mao Tse-tung; together the two men led the Fourth Communist Army—Chu Teh as commander-in-chief and Mao as political commissar.

In 1930 Chu was elected a member of the central committee of the CCP and at the first Soviet congress at Kiangsi in November 1931 he was made commander-in-chief of the Chinese Red Army. In 1934 he became a member of the politburo of the CCP and led one of the two main units of the Long March; the other was led by Mao. In October 1936 he again joined forces with Mao in the Republic of Yenai (Shensi). During the war against Japan he was in command of the Eighth Army.

At the seventh congress of the CCP, held at Yenai in April 1945, he was reelected to the central committee and the politburo. When the Chinese civil war began again at the end of 1946 he once more became commander-in-chief of the communist armies. When the communist central government was proclaimed in October 1949 in Peking he was named its vice-president, an office he held until September 1954, when he became vice-president of the People's Republic of China and vice-president of the national defense council. In September 1955 he became marshal of the People's Army of China and in February 1956 led his party's delegation to the twentieth congress of the CPSU. At the eighth congress of the CCP in September 1956 he was named a member

of the new standing committee of the politburo. In October 1959 he was at Mao Tse-tung's side at a reception for Khrushchev and also at the celebrations of the cultural revolution in 1966; thereafter, his party position became less certain. During the ninth party congress, held in April 1969, he was reelected to the politburo, which then had 21 members but was not reelected to the standing committee.

Cichowski, Kazimierz. Born in Poland in 1887. In 1907, using the pseudonym Hrabia, he joined the SDPPL, in which he remained militant until World War I. In 1915 he moved to Russia and supported the Bolsheviks during the October Revolution of 1917 and the subsequent civil war. In 1919 he was active in the establishment of the communist regime in Byelorussia and Lithuania and in 1921 joined the Polish communist movement; in 1925 he was elected a member of the central committee of the Polish party and later seated on its politburo. At the fourth congress of the party in 1927, however, he was demoted to alternate membership on the central committee and at the sixth plenum of the central committee of the Polish party in June 1929 became one of several leaders who lost their posts following a Comintern decision. He later was placed at the disposal of the Comintern and in 1932 settled in Soviet Russia to work for the ECCI; in 1936 the Comintern sent him to Spain. Upon his return to Soviet Russia at the end of 1937 he was arrested and liquidated by Stalin's police.

Ciliga, Ante. Born a Croatian national in 1896, he lived in the territory given to Italy by the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. He joined the Croatian Socialist Party while a student in 1918 and in 1920 became a member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), for which he was militant in both Yugoslavia and Italy. In 1922 he worked in the apparatus of the Yugoslav party in Prague and Vienna. Later he became secretary of the CPY's regional committee for Croatia in Zagreb and a leading spokesman for the left wing of the CPY whose provisional politburo he joined in April 1925. Shortly thereafter he was expelled from Yugoslavia and returned to Vienna, where at the third congress of the CPY (May 1926) he became a member of its foreign bureau and its representative at the Comintern's Balkan Secretariat. In October 1926 he went to Moscow, where he participated in the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in November and December. In the meantime the left wing had been removed from leadership of the Yugoslav party and Ciliga, who had joined the RCP(B), took a position more and more closely aligned with the Trotsky opposition. In the autumn of 1925 he settled in Leningrad as a professor at a communist university but in March 1930 was arrested and deported, first to Verkhneuralsk and later to Irkutsk; in December 1935, because of his Italian identification papers, he finally was permitted to leave the Soviet Union. In Paris in 1938 he published his book *Au Pays du grand mensonge*. Following the German occupation of Paris in June 1940 he returned to Zagreb, where he was arrested by police

in 1941, after the establishment of the Independent Croatian State. Later he wrote for the Ustashi press and then left the country in 1945. In the 1950s he lived in Paris and then went to Rome, where he was still living in the late 1960s.

Codovilla, Victorio. Born in 1894; he became a member of the Italian Socialist Party in 1911. Late in 1912 he emigrated to Argentina, where in 1917 he joined the left wing of the Socialist Internationalist Party, which had Zimmerwald leanings and in 1920 became the Communist Party of Argentina; from 1921 until his death he was a member of the party central committee and politburo. At the end of 1924 he represented his party in Moscow at the ECCI and thus began his career within the central apparatus of the Comintern. Subsequently he worked for the MOPR and took part in the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI (December 1926) which he addressed, and was made one of its alternate members. In February 1927 he attended the congress of the League Against Imperialism in Brussels. In 1928 he presided over the eighth congress of the Communist Party of Argentina and after the Sixth Congress of the Comintern was elected to the ICC. In 1929 he participated in the first conference of Latin American communist parties in Buenos Aires.

During the 1930s Codovilla worked for the Comintern mainly outside of Argentina. He carried out missions in Latin America and then Spain, where he was an emissary of the ECCI (under the pseudonym Medina) from 1932 through the civil war. In early 1941 he returned to Argentina, participated in the pro-U.S.S.R. anti-Fascist campaign and was appointed secretary-general of the Argentine Communist Party, an office he held until March 1963, when he became president of the party. He frequently attended such communist meetings in Moscow as the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B) (October 1952), which he addressed. He represented and spoke for his party at the twentieth and twenty-second congresses of the CPSU (1956 and 1961) and performed the same functions in November 1957 at the World Conference of Communist Parties in Moscow. He died in Moscow in April 1970.

Cogniot, Georges. Born in France in 1901. He became a member of a socialist student organization in 1919 and joined the PCF in 1921, when he also was admitted to the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris. He obtained an A.B. degree in literature and in 1924 passed the *agrégation* examination in literature; for the next several years he taught in a lycée. In 1928 he entered the communist apparatus as an employee in the International Federation of Instruction (a front organization of the Comintern) and worked there until 1931. He then returned to teaching duties at a lycée in Paris, after which he founded and headed a workers' university there. In January 1936 he became an alternate member of the central committee of the French party and in May was elected a communist deputy in Paris; from late 1936 to October 1937 he represented the PCF at Comintern headquarters in Moscow. After his return

to France in 1938 he was entrusted with translating into French the *Short History of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.*, edited under Stalin's direction, and during the same period became editor-in-chief of *L'Humanité*. He was mobilized as a lieutenant in the French army in 1939 and captured by the Germans in 1940; he escaped and joined the French communist resistance movement, working especially in the field of propaganda. After the liberation of France he was reelected as communist deputy in the two constituent assemblies of 1945 and 1946 and was elected to the National Assembly again in November 1946. At the tenth congress of the PCF in June 1945 he was elected to its central committee. He also became one of the main ghost writers for Maurice Thorez and was closely involved in relations between the French party and Moscow; after the founding of the Cominform in 1947 he was assigned to edit its French-language organ. In 1953 he became Thorez's personal secretary and accompanied him to various important meetings in Moscow, including the twentieth congress of the CPSU in February 1956, the World Conference of Communist Parties in November 1957, the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1960, and the twenty-second congress of the CPSU in October 1961. He was reelected to the central committee of the PCF in 1961 but was not reelected at the seventeenth party congress in May 1964 (when Thorez resigned as secretary-general of the party). He became founder of the Institute Maurice Thorez and was its president at the time of this writing. In 1969, together with Jacques Duclos, he helped edit a collective work on the Comintern published in Moscow.

Čolaković, Rodoljub. Born in Bijeljina, Bosnia, in 1900, son of a merchant. He studied business in Zagreb and joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). In 1921 he was sentenced to 12 years in prison for helping to organize an attempt on the life of a former minister of the interior, Milorad Drasković; in prison he translated many of the works of Karl Marx, including *Das Kapital*, which was printed by the largest Yugoslav publishing house. Freed in October 1932 he left the country three months later to work abroad as a professional revolutionary for the CPY and the Comintern. From 1933 to 1935 he studied at the Leninist School of the Comintern, using the pseudonym Mikhail Ivanovich Rosenko and then was sent to Vienna, headquarters of the Yugoslav party leadership, to work under the pseudonym Rudi. In April 1936 the Comintern named him to the new politburo of the CPY, in which he served under his press pseudonym, P. Vučković. Thereafter he lived in Prague and Paris, the two successive seats of the politburo. During a purge in July 1937, however, he was removed from the politburo; his book *The ABC of Leninism* was banned by Comintern decision and he was sent to Spain, where he fought in the civil war under the name Ivan Pavlović. Following the defeat of the Republic in Spain he returned to Yugoslavia, where he was arrested, but was freed six months later by a tribunal.

At the start of the CPY-led insurrection in July 1941 he was appointed to serve at the headquarters of the Serbian partisans but later was sent to Bosnian headquarters. In November 1943 he became secretary of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation. In 1945 he was named president of the first federal government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a post he held until he was named a minister in Tito's government in 1948; in that year he was also elected to the CPY's central committee. During the constitutional reform of 1953 he was appointed to the federal executive council and later became its vice-president. He made the opening speech at the ninth congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in March 1969 but at the close of the congress was no longer among the league's leaders.

Colliard, Lucie. Born in France in 1877; she became a schoolteacher and joined the SFIO. During World War I she professed pacifist and internationalist beliefs. Living near the Swiss border of France she served as liaison between the French pacifists in Geneva and the Parisian socialist and syndicalist anti-war groups. After the PCF was founded at Tours in December 1920 she was elected one of four party delegates for propaganda and as a delegate spoke for the PCF at the Third Congress of the Comintern in June and July 1921. She was elected an alternate member of the party directorate at the Marseilles congress of the PCF in December 1921 but was no longer included in party leadership after the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. During the Bolshevization of the PCF she left the party. From 1927 to 1929 she was a member of the editorial board of the Trotskyite bulletin *Contre le courant*. She died in 1961.

Čopić, Vladimir. Born in Croatia in 1891; he attended college and then fought with the Austro-Hungarian army at the Russian front, where he was taken prisoner. Won over to communism after the October Revolution he helped found the Yugoslav section of the Bolshevik party in 1918. Returning to Croatia he was elected communist deputy to the constituent assembly in 1920, when he also became organizational secretary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. When the party was outlawed in 1921 he was sentenced to two years in prison; following his release he headed the Independent Labor Party, a communist legal organization, in Zagreb; in intra-party struggles he supported the left wing. In 1924 he joined the Yugoslav delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and (using the pseudonym Senko) sat on the organization commission, the commission on the Italian question, and the commission on national and colonial questions. He returned to Yugoslavia briefly but in 1925 became a student at the newly opened Leninist School of the Comintern in Moscow; after graduating he worked in Czechoslovakia briefly as a party instructor.

When Milan Gorkić became head of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia Čopić joined its leadership and in 1935 (using the pseudonym Winter) represented the party at the Comintern in Moscow but was removed from the politburo

in April 1936. Later he fought in the Spanish civil war and became a lieutenant-colonel in the republican army and commander-in-chief of the Lincoln Brigade. In 1938 he returned to the Soviet Union, where with Tito he took charge of translating *Short History of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.* into Serbo-Croatian; shortly thereafter, however, he fell victim to the Stalinist purges.

Crémet, Jean. Born in France in 1892; he worked in the shipyards at St.-Nazaire, joined the PCF shortly after its founding, and soon became a communist youth leader. Later he directed the shipyard workers' trade union and in 1922 was named secretary of a communist departmental federation. He then went to Paris, where he was named secretary of the metallurgists' trade union and was elected to the city council. At the PCF congress in Lyon in January 1924 he was elected to the party's directing committee and politburo; at the two succeeding congresses (January 1925 and June 1926) he was reelected to these offices. During the same period he reached the summit of the Comintern hierarchy—at the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI (February and March 1926) he was elected to the ECCI Presidium and mentioned by Stalin as one deserving to lead the PCF; at the following plenum (November 1926) he remained on the ECCI Presidium and also was elected a member of the ECCI political Secretariat.

Because he was involved in Soviet espionage in France Crémet was forced to seek refuge in Soviet Russia and in July 1927 was sentenced in absentia to five years in prison. In May of that year, during the eighth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, he was not reelected to the Presidium or the political Secretariat. At a meeting of foreign communists in Moscow celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution Crémet took a separate stand on a most sensitive issue—following a report presented by Bukharin the meeting unanimously condemned the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition, with only Crémet abstaining to vote. He attended the ninth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1928 but was not entrusted with any important position; early in 1929 he was sent by the Comintern on a secret mission to China and perished under questionable circumstances near Macao.

Crispien, Arthur. Born in Germany in 1875. He was a member of the SPD and worked for its press. He became influential in the new USPD after its founding in April 1917 and was elected one of the party's two presidents in March 1919 at its second congress held in Berlin. In the summer when the party had to determine its attitude toward the newly founded Third International and the reconstituted Second International, he published a brochure entitled *Vom Bund der Kommunisten bis zur Internationale der Weltrevolution*. In December 1919, at the third extraordinary congress of the USPD in Leipzig, he was reelected president of the party and in that capacity joined its delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern to discuss the party's position vis-à-vis the Comintern. In the congressional debates he disagreed with the opinions

of Lenin and Zinoviev and after returning to Germany opposed both fusion of the USPD with the KPD and USPD adherence to the Comintern. During the Halle congress of the party, held in October 1920, he was a leader of the central committee majority opposing that fusion but was supported by only a minority of the delegates. Subsequently he remained with the old USPD and participated in the formation of the Socialist-Centrist International, better known as the Second-and-a-Half International, in Vienna in February 1921.

When the old SPD was reunified with the non-communist wing of the USPD in 1922, Crispian became a member of the new directing committee (*Parteivorstand*). In Hamburg in May 1923 he also participated in the unification of the Second International with the Second-and-a-Half International. As a member of the SPD leadership he left Germany when Hitler came to power and in Prague became a leading member of SOPADE (Sozialistische Partei Deutschlands). He later moved to Switzerland, where he lived during World War II; he died in 1946.

Cvijić, Djuro. Born in Zagreb in 1896, the son of an accountant; when his father died he was forced to leave secondary school and worked as a technical draftsman. He joined the national revolutionary youth movement and in 1912 was sentenced to three years in prison for complicity in an attempt to assassinate the governor of Croatia. Set free in 1914 he began a career in journalism. He was drafted in 1917 or 1918 and upon demobilization joined the Croatian Socialist Party and the trade-union movement. He quickly became known as a communist sympathizer and at the founding congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) in 1919 was elected to its central committee. During the 1920 congress he was reelected to the committee and henceforth regarded as the communist leader of Croatia. When the party was outlawed in 1921 he left for Vienna, where he first came in contact with the Comintern and, using the pseudonyms Krešić and Kirsch, joined the foreign bureau of the CPY. After participating in the Balkan Communist Federation conference in Vienna in February 1922 he returned to Zagreb to edit the party's official paper, *Borba*.

In the factional struggles within the party Cvijić was left-wing spokesman and as such was reelected to the central committee. He often traveled between Vienna and Zagreb and wrote for *Inprekorr* under the name Krešić. In June 1923 he attended the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI under the name Vladetić. In April 1925 the Comintern replaced the central committee of the CPY with a provisional leadership under the secretaryship of Cvijić. In 1926 he opened the third congress of the CPY in Vienna, presented the political report, and retained his position on the politburo. In 1927, following the defeat of Sima Marković, Cvijić became secretary-general of the party and during that time also participated in such Comintern meetings as the 1925 and 1926 enlarged plenums of the ECCI. However, after the fourth congress of the CPY (October 1928) he was removed from party leadership by Comintern decision. After returning to Zagreb he was arrested and sentenced to six months in prison.

and then to two years; after completing his sentence he returned to Vienna, where he worked for TASS and the newspaper *The Balkan Federation*.

In 1933 he appeared at a Comintern-arranged parallel trial in London as a witness in favor of Georgi Dimitrov, who with other communists was being tried in Leipzig for his alleged part in the Reichstag fire. In 1934 the central committee of the Yugoslav party sent Cvijić to Moscow, where he worked for the Agrarian Institute until 1938, when he died a victim of Stalin's purges. In 1963 he was rehabilitated posthumously by decision of the military members of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

Cvijić, Stjepan. Born in Zagreb in 1905, the younger brother of Djuro Cvijić. He studied at a Yugoslav school of commerce but after becoming a militant communist was arrested and forced to leave school. He then worked on the staff of *Borba* (the official weekly newspaper of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia—CPY) until 1924, when he was sent to Soviet Russia to continue political study at Sverdlov University. In April 1928 he took part in the conference called by the Comintern in Moscow to discuss the problems of the CPY.

Returning to Yugoslavia he became a professional revolutionary and was arrested for clandestine activity in July 1929; he escaped from the police station immediately following his arrest, killed two guards and left the country. From then on he worked for the KIM in Moscow and such European communist centers as Vienna, Berlin, and Paris. In 1934 he was promoted to the position of KIM organizational secretary. Because of his experience in secret activity and his familiarity with the European apparatus of the KIM he continued to visit Europe; he went to Spain in 1937 when the International Brigades were formed. Upon returning to Moscow in 1938 he was arrested and, according to Soviet sources, died in prison that year of angina pectoris.

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Dahlem, Franz. Born in Lorraine in 1892; he worked first as a carpenter and then as a business clerk. In 1913 he joined the SPD after having been militant in the socialist youth movement. At the end of World War I he joined the left-wing group within the USPD and became secretary of one of its organizations; shortly thereafter he joined the KPD and worked in its apparatus. In the 1920s, because of his knowledge of France and of the French language, the Comintern employed him several times to accomplish various missions with respect to the PCF. In February 1926 in Moscow he participated in the conference on organizational questions convoked by the ECCI and in March reported on the subject to the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI.

In 1928 he became a member of the central committee of the KPD and also elected communist deputy to the Reichstag, a position to which he was reelected in 1930 and 1932. He addressed the fifth congress of the Profintern in Moscow in August 1930. As a member of the KPD politburo he became involved in secret activity following Hitler's accession to power in January 1933. After a clandestine trip abroad he returned to Berlin in 1934 and then went to Moscow, where at a conference of German communist leaders in January 1935 he and Walter Ulbricht were given charge of the party's underground work in Germany and made responsible for maintaining contact with party leaders abroad. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern (July and August 1935) he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI.

Dahlem joined the political directorate of the International Brigades soon after the beginning of the Spanish civil war. In 1937 he was a member of the Comintern delegation which discussed with Second International representatives the help to be given to the Republic of Spain. When the Republic was defeated he fled to France, where the French authorities interned him at the Vernet camp. In 1942 the Vichy government turned him over to the Gestapo, which interned him in a concentration camp until the war's end.

In June 1945, when the KPD's central committee issued its first manifesto addressed to the German people, Dahlem's name appeared on it in third place, after those of Wilhelm Pieck and Walter Ulbricht. In 1946 he became a member of the politburo and chief of the cadres section of the newly formed SED. In a central committee's resolution in May 1953, however, he was criticized for "poor choice of cadres, capitulationist attitude in 1939, lack of vigilance with regard to imperialist agents," and was dismissed from the central committee, the politburo and the cadres section of the party secretariat. In January 1954 he was again reprimanded by the central committee and forbidden to hold any post in the party apparatus. Thereafter, he became a department head in the ministry of higher education; however, during the wave of de-Stalinization in July 1956 he was rehabilitated. In January 1957 he returned to the party central committee but not to the politburo or party secretariat.

Dahle, Sergei. Born in tsarist Russia. After the Bolshevik victory in November 1917 he was militant in the Komsomol (Young Communists) and the RCP(B). In 1922 the KIM sent him on a mission to China, where in April he arrived in secret at Chinese Communist Party headquarters in Shanghai. Later that month he met with Sun Yat-sen to discuss cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. On May 1 he attended the first congress of Chinese trade unions and on May 5 in Canton he attended the first congress of Chinese communist youth. After his return to Moscow he was considered a specialist on Chinese and Far Eastern affairs. In 1926 he published a book on the revolutionary movement in Korea; in 1926, *In the Ranks of the Chinese Revolution*, a memoir of his Chinese sojourn, with

an introduction by Karl Radek, and in 1927, *Essays on the Chinese Revolution*. His name disappeared from official records during the purge of anti-Stalin elements from the RCP(B) in the late 1920s.

Damianov, Georgi. Born in a Bulgarian village in 1892; he attended high school in Vratza and became a socialist there. In 1912 he joined the Tesniak (Narrow) Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and became active in the youth and trade-union movements. During World War I he was drafted into the Bulgarian army and became an officer. He joined the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) at its founding in 1919. He commanded a unit in the communist insurrection of September 1923 and after its defeat fled to Yugoslavia and then to Soviet Russia, where he graduated from the Franze military academy in 1929. Until 1935 he worked in the foreign bureau of the BCP and in the Comintern apparatus; in 1935 he returned to Bulgaria as a party emissary. At the sixth plenum of the BCP, held in Sofia in 1936, he was appointed one of the three persons in charge of purging "sectarian elements" in Bulgaria. Following that mission he returned to Moscow but shortly thereafter left for Spain to become an instructor to the International Brigades; after their withdrawal he again worked for the Comintern in Moscow. During World War II he fought in the Red Army, with which he returned to Bulgaria in September of 1944, where he became a secretary of the party central committee. In the government of November 1946, under Georgi Dimitrov, he became minister of national defense, an office he held until he left the government in 1950, after which he was named president of the National Assembly. At both the party congresses of December 1948 and March 1954, he was elected a member of the politburo. He held both offices until his death in 1958.

Damianov, Raiko. Born in 1903 into a Bulgarian peasant family. He was expelled from high school in Gabrovo for communist activity and although forced to work as a shoe repairman became increasingly militant, especially in the trade-union movement. In 1926 he was sentenced to seven years in prison; a year later he escaped to Yugoslavia and then to Soviet Russia. From 1929 to 1932 he studied at the Leninist School of the Comintern, after which he joined the foreign bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP). After the granting of amnesty in 1932 he returned to Bulgaria, where he worked as secretary of a communist party's regional organization. In 1936 he returned to Moscow; from there the Comintern sent him to Spain, where he remained until 1939; he then fled to France, where he took charge of communist activity in the Bulgarian colony. At the beginning of World War II he returned to Bulgaria, where he was jailed from 1940 until 1943, and participated in the communist resistance movement after his release. Following the pro-communist coup d'état of September 9, 1944, he became a party leader and was elected to the politburo. In 1949 he was elected president of the National Assembly and in January

1950 became a deputy prime minister of Bulgaria. He visited Moscow from December 1952 until March 1953, when Stalin died; he returned in February 1956 as a member of the Bulgarian delegation to the twentieth congress of the CPSU. In 1956 he was reelected deputy prime minister. During the eighth congress of the BCP in 1962, however, he was not reelected to the politburo although he did remain on the central committee. In November of that year he lost his post as deputy prime minister during a ministerial reshuffling.

Darcy, Samuel Adams. Born in the United States in 1904. He was militant in the Young Communist League and in the Communist Party of America. He was sent to Moscow to study at the Leninist school of the Comintern and after graduating entered the Comintern apparatus. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in August 1928 he spoke for the KIM during the debates on the colonial revolutionary movement. Later he undertook a Comintern mission in the Philippines and returned to the United States. In the early 1930s he headed the party in San Francisco and organized the dockworkers' strike there in 1934. He was a spokesman for the CPUSA at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, held in Moscow in July and August 1935. He continued as a militant within the party during the various stages of Stalinism and worked successively in Minnesota, Massachusetts, and Philadelphia. At the beginning of 1944 he opposed the "revisionist" ideas of Browder concerning the CPUSA and in April of that year was expelled. Despite the elimination of Browder in 1945, Darcy did not return to the party; he then earned his living as a furniture merchant. He was still living in the latter 1960s.

Darsono, Raden. Born in 1897 into a Javanese family; in his youth he was militant in the anti-Dutch Indonesian nationalist movement known as Sarekat Islam. Working as a leftist journalist in 1917 he was among the young nationalists contacted by Hendricus Sneevliet, the founder of the Indies Social Democratic Union (ISDV). Darsono joined the ISDV and in 1918 became a member of its executive committee; in December he was arrested and imprisoned for about a year. In May 1920 he took part in the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party and became its vice-president. In 1921 he went via China to Moscow, where he represented the Indonesian Communist Party at the Third Congress of the Comintern. He remained abroad for nearly two years, during which time he worked for several months at the Comintern's WES in Berlin. In November 1921 he spoke at a congress of the Dutch Communist Party, and in 1922 returned to Moscow. In March 1923 he went to Indonesia, where he replaced the arrested Semaun as party leader. In June 1924 he chaired the fourth congress of the party. In September 1925 he was arrested and in January 1926 was expelled from Indonesia. By way of Singapore and China he then returned to Soviet Russia where, under the pseudonym Samin, he worked for the Comintern and the Profintern. At the end of the Sixth Congress of the

Comintern in 1928 he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI; however, a resolution from the Presidium of the ECCI, made public in March 1931, announced that Darsono had been expelled from the Comintern and the party. After breaking completely with communism, Darsono returned to his homeland, where he was still living in the early 1960s.

Däumig, Ernst. Born in Germany in 1866; he served with the French Foreign Legion from 1887 to 1893 and was a soldier with the German army from 1893 until 1898, after which he became a militant in the German socialist movement. In 1901 he became a journalist for the socialist press and from 1911 until 1916 worked on the editorial staff of *Vorwärts*, official organ of the SPD; during World War I he supported the pacifist minority in that party. When the USPD was founded in April 1917 he became one of its leaders. At the close of the war he worked fervently for the creation of workers' councils in Germany.

In 1920 he was elected USPD deputy to the Reichstag and in July and August was one of four party delegates to the Second Congress of the Comintern, at which he was active on various commissions and during public meetings. After his return from Moscow he led the campaign to affiliate his party with the Comintern, a decision approved by the congress of Halle in October 1920. At a congress for unification of the USPD and the KPD in December 1920 he was elected one of two presidents of the new KPD. In February 1921, in a gesture of support for Paul Levi, he abandoned the presidency and resigned his seat on the central committee. After the March Action of 1921 and the April expulsion of Levi from the party he and other former members of the USPD central committee—such as Adolf Hoffmann, Curt Geyer, and Otto Brass—reaffirmed their support of Levi. Later in 1921 Däumig left the party permanently; he died in 1922.

Decaux, Jules. Born in northern France in 1904 into a worker's family; he began to earn his living at an early age as a tinsmith's apprentice. He was a trade-union member at age 16, joined a communist youth organization, and in 1929 became a member of the PCF. Shortly thereafter he entered the party apparatus and rose rapidly within the party hierarchy. He became the secretary of the party organization in the southern part of Paris and an alternate member of the central committee. Early in 1938 he was sent to Moscow to represent the PCF at Comintern headquarters; he spent the entire year in the Soviet capital and worked on the review, *Communist International*. He was drafted into the army at the beginning of the war and taken prisoner by the Germans for the duration. After the liberation he worked for the PCF again and became the secretary of its La Manche federation. He was elected a member of the first postwar Council of the Republic (Senate) from December 1946 to November

1948. In 1949 the French party entrusted him with work in its central apparatus in Paris, where he worked until his retirement in 1969. He died in 1970.

Degot [Diogotte], Vladimir. Born in Russia in 1889 into a working-class family; he became a factory laborer. He joined the RSDLP in Odessa in 1904 and participated in the 1905 revolution and the strikes of 1906 and 1907. Forced to flee the tsarist police he emigrated to Paris, where he joined the Bolshevik faction, made Lenin's acquaintance, worked as a typographer and bookbinder (often on party order), and took political indoctrination courses led by Lenin for a small group of militant Bolsheviks.

In 1909 he returned to Odessa, where he organized an underground Bolshevik press, for which he was arrested in 1910, imprisoned, and then deported. In 1912 he returned to Paris and remained in the Bolshevik organization there until July 1917, when he returned to Odessa. When French troops disembarked in Odessa in 1919 he headed the communist propaganda effort under the pseudonym A. Joseph.

In August 1919 he was sent to France and Italy as a secret emissary of the Comintern. He arrived in Italy during the socialist congress held in October in Bologna and there established contact with pro-communist socialist leaders. In March 1920 he left for Paris, where he met with the Committee for the Third International. Returning to Soviet Russia in the summer of 1920 he discussed the Italian and French communist movements with Lenin. In the autumn he returned to Italy and remained there during the schism at Leghorn (January 1921); at that time he made three trips to Berlin, headquarters of the Comintern's WES, and the Comintern then sent him to France. In May 1921 he was arrested in Nice and imprisoned until August, when he was deported; he returned to Soviet Russia via Berlin. In Moscow he joined the RCP(B) apparatus, for which he was a delegate at the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Congresses of the Comintern; in 1931 he was named assistant commissar of labor in the Soviet government. Later he became assistant commissar of justice and attorney-general for the Federal Republic of Russia and held the latter position during the Stalinist purges. He was arrested in July 1938, condemned, and deported; he died in deportation in April 1944. Degot published two volumes of memoirs describing his life as a Bolshevik militant—*V "svobodnom" podpol'e* (In the "Free" Clandestinity), Moscow, 1923; and *Pod znamenem bolshevizma* (Under the Flag of Bolshevism), Moscow, 1927.

Dengel, Philipp. Born in 1888, the son of a German farmer; he took a degree in history and philology and worked as a private school teacher. In 1911 he joined the SPD. Drafted in 1913 he remained in the army throughout World War I, first as a non-commissioned officer and then as a lieutenant. After the war he joined the USPD and in March 1919 the KPD. When the

left-wing members of the party founded the KAPD in April 1920 he joined that party and in September 1920 went to Soviet Russia as a correspondent for the newspaper *Rote-Zeitung*. After returning to Germany he rejoined the KPD, for which he worked as a journalist in various cities. In 1923 he was an editor for the newspaper *Hamburger Volkszeitung*. In May 1924 he was elected communist deputy to the Reichstag, a position he held until 1930.

In June and July 1924 Dengel was a member of the German delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed under the pseudonym Ulmer. At the tenth congress of the KPD in July 1925 he was elected a member of the central committee, a position he held until 1935. He made another trip to Moscow in the summer of 1925 and upon his return to Germany participated in the plenum of the KPD's central committee in August. At this meeting Ruth Fischer and Arkadi Maslow were removed from the party leadership and Dengel was made a member of both the politburo and the secretariat of the central committee.

At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, held in 1928, he was elected a member of the ECCI; from then until 1941 he worked for the central apparatus of the Comintern. In March 1929 he represented the Comintern at the sixth convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America. Returning to Moscow in September, he took charge of the British and Scandinavian sections within the Comintern's political Secretariat and in that connection made trips to Stockholm and London. In 1930 poor health forced him to return to Germany but in 1931 he resumed his Comintern activities, going as an emissary to Spain for one year and then to Latin America. From 1932 until the summer of 1935 he headed the Scandinavian Secretariat of the Comintern. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in July and August 1935 he was elected a member of the ICC. Later that year he took part in the so-called Brussels conference of the KPD (which actually took place in Moscow) and during 1936 worked for the party's apparatus in both Paris and Prague. In September 1936 he returned to Moscow, where he taught at the Leninist School of the Comintern, wrote for the Comintern press, and until June 1938 acted as the KPD's representative to the ECCI. On June 22, 1941 (the day Hitler attacked the U.S.S.R.), he suffered a stroke and subsequently gave up all political activity. He returned to East Germany in 1947 and died in East Berlin in March 1948.

Destiniers, Lucien. Born in France in 1857; he became an economist and journalist. Militant as a radical republican at first, he joined the French Labor Party of Jules Guesde in 1892, and then the SFIO during the French socialist unification in 1905. During World War I he was a "social patriot" but later was attracted by the Bolshevik revolution. In 1920 he went to Soviet Russia and worked for the ECCI; during the Second Congress of the Comintern he participated in discussions concerning the SFIO and spoke with Lenin on that subject. In July 1920 Lenin appointed him to a commission of six which

was to watch the SFIO and its press, and he remained in Soviet Russia to work for various Soviet economic institutions. In the mid-1920s he returned to France and broke all his ties with communism; he died in 1937.

Diaz, José. Born in Spain in 1894, the son of a baker; he began his career in that trade. In Seville he became a militant trade unionist. In 1926 he joined the Spanish Communist Party, for which he worked during the following year in Andalusia, where he was party secretary in 1931; in 1932, by Comintern order, he replaced José Bullejos as secretary-general of the party. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was elected a member of the ECCI. He led the Spanish party through the Popular Front victory in the elections of February 1936, and although he remained party chief when the civil war broke out his powers were largely taken over by the Comintern delegation to Spain.

In November 1938, before the collapse of Republican Spain, he went to Moscow, where he joined the Secretariat of the ECCI in 1939. While being treated for an illness he worked in the Comintern's central apparatus and took charge of the Latin Secretariat, which included Spain and Latin America. When the Comintern personnel was evacuated following the German attack on the U.S.S.R. Diaz, who had partly retired because of illness, left for Tiflis, where he died in March 1942; his death was listed officially as a suicide.

Dimitrov, Georgi. Born in 1882, the son of a laborer living near Radomir, Bulgaria. He left school at age 12 and started to work as a typesetter when his family settled in Sofia. In 1900 he joined a trade union and in 1902 the Workers' Social Democratic Party; in 1903 he was a party committee member for Sofia. When the party split he supported the Tesniak (Narrow) faction and in 1909 was elected a member of its central committee. That year he also was elected secretary of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Trade Union Federation and attended the first Balkan socialist conference as a member of the Bulgarian delegation.

In 1913, as a councilman from Sofia, he was elected on the Tesniak ticket as a deputy to the Bulgarian parliament. Early in 1918 he was arrested for his political activities and sent to prison, but was freed the following December after the defeat of Bulgaria. When the Tesniak party became the Bulgarian Communist Party and joined the Comintern in April 1919 he was reelected to the central committee.

On his way to the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 he was arrested but quickly released by the Rumanian police; nevertheless, he failed to get to Soviet Russia. At the end of February 1921 he finally arrived in Moscow, where he spoke with Lenin and attended the Third Congress of the Comintern, which he did not address, and was not elected to any office. (In 1920 and 1921 those honors went to the Bulgarian intellectual Khristo Kabakchiev

and Vasil Kolarov.) However, at the founding congress of the Profintern in 1921 he was both the Bulgarian and the Balkan delegate; at its next congress in November 1922 he held the same positions and also was one of the chairmen of the meeting.

Following the communist insurrection of September 1923 in Bulgaria, he fled to Yugoslavia while the Bulgarian courts sentenced him to death in absentia; from then until its dissolution in 1943 he was a member of the Comintern apparatus. He first acted as one of the leaders of the Balkan Communist Federation, a branch of the Comintern seated in Vienna. He also frequented Moscow as a delegate of the Bulgarian Communist Party—in 1924, to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern; in 1925, to the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI; in February 1926, to the sixth plenum; and in November and December 1926, to the seventh plenum. When the Comintern purges of the Trotsky and Zinoviev partisans began Dimitrov was one of many beneficiaries—at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern (1924) he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI; at the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI (1926) he was reelected to the ECCI and made a member of the Comintern Orgburo and alternate member of the Secretariat; in 1928 he attended the fourth congress of the Profintern, where he delivered a report and was reelected to its executive bureau. He also addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and again was reelected an alternate member of the ECCI. Meanwhile, in 1926-27 he was secretary of the Balkan Communist Federation.

In 1929 Dimitrov was reassigned from the official apparatus of the Comintern to its secret apparatus; he then settled in Berlin to direct the West European Bureau of the Comintern. Working underground he took the pseudonym Helmuth and to the German authorities he was known as Dr. Hediger. He continued to travel to Moscow, but from 1929 to 1932 his name did not appear on the official reports of the enlarged plenums of the ECCI. In Germany on March 9, 1933, he was arrested and charged with partial responsibility for the Reichstag fire; in September he appeared at his Leipzig trial and in December was acquitted. In February 1934 he returned to Soviet Russia, where he became a citizen and in 1937, a representative at the Supreme Soviet.

At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he presented a report on the Fascist offensive and the tasks of the Comintern. At that time he reached the top of the Comintern hierarchy—he was a member of the ECCI and its Presidium, a member of the Secretariat, and secretary-general of the Comintern. Through the Comintern purge, the Hitler-Stalin pact, and the first part of World War II he remained chief of the Comintern; when the organization was dissolved in May 1943 his signature appeared on the official document. From then until November 1945 he worked in an office of the RCP(B) central committee.

He was elected secretary-general of the Bulgarian Communist Party when he returned to Bulgaria in November 1945. In November 1946 he became prime minister of Bulgaria; he held these offices until his death. He frequently

returned to the Kremlin, as in June 1946 and February 1948; however, in January 1948 he had been criticized in a communiqué published in *Pravda* because of a declaration he made favoring federation of the Balkan and Danubian countries. Despite the rebuke he signed the friendship and alliance treaty with the U.S.S.R. in March 1948. At the fifth congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in December 1948 he presented the main report and retained his position as secretary-general of the party. He fell ill, however, and returned for treatment to Soviet Russia, where he died in a sanatorium near Moscow on July 2, 1949.

Beginning in 1935, when he first became secretary-general of the Comintern, its Agitprop published a succession of books and pamphlets under his name. These were translated into Oriental as well as Western languages; their essential theme was the necessity of a "people's front" in the struggle against Fascism.

Dimitrov, Sobi. Born in Sliven in 1900 into a working-class family. He became a textile worker in his early youth and a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) in 1921. In 1931 he was elected to Sliven's regional committee of the BCP and became a deputy of the Bulgarian Workers' Party, legal front for the BCP. He was chairman of the parliamentary group of that party and in 1932 was promoted to party secretary. After the military coup d'état in May 1934, he went underground for several months to direct the communist organization in Sliven.

In 1935 he went to the Soviet Union and took part in the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, at which he was elected alternate member of the ECCI under the pseudonym Stoinov. During the Spanish civil war (1936-39) he represented the central committee of the BCP at the central committee of the Spanish Communist Party and assumed political control of the Bulgarian fighters in the International Brigades. Following the defeat of Republican Spain he returned to the U.S.S.R. and worked in the central apparatus of the Comintern. After Hitler's attack on Soviet Russia he was secretly sent to Bulgaria in August 1941; in November of that year he was assassinated by police in Sliven.

Dimitrov, Stanke. Born in Bulgaria in 1889 to a shoe craftsman; a teacher by profession he received his law degree from the University of Sofia in 1919. He was a member of the regional committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) in his native province, was named instructor to the military commission of the central committee in 1921, and from late 1923 to the beginning of 1925 was organizational secretary of that committee. In 1925 he traveled to Soviet Russia to participate in the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI where he was seated, under the name Marek, in the agrarian commission and took part in the debates.

Subsequently he settled in Soviet Russia and joined the RCP(B); in the following years he taught first at the KUNMZ and then at the Leninist School of the Comintern. From 1932 he worked in the Balkan Secretariat of the ECCI.

In July 1935 he was in Moscow at the time of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern but in August was secretly sent to Bulgaria, where he remained until 1937. He then returned to Soviet Russia but no longer worked for the central apparatus of the Comintern. During World War II he was employed at Radio *Khristo Botev* in the U.S.S.R. In September 1944 his plane crashed en route to Bulgaria on Soviet territory near Briansk.

Dittmann, Wilhelm. Born in Germany in 1874; he later became a carpenter. In 1894 he joined the SPD, for which he worked in 1899 as editor-in-chief of the Bremerhaven socialist paper, in 1904 as party secretary in Frankfurt am Main, and finally as editor-in-chief of the socialist paper in Solingen. In about 1910 he began to support the left wing of the party (led by Rosa Luxemburg) and in 1912 was elected Reichstag deputy. During World War I he took a centrist, pacifist, and internationalist stand; in April 1917 he participated in the founding of the USPD. He remained outspoken against the war and was convicted of high treason for his role in the strike of January 1918.

On November 9, 1918, when the German Republic was proclaimed, he joined the provisional government in his capacity as USPD representative but resigned that office on December 29. In 1920 he was one of four USPD delegates sent to Moscow to negotiate the affiliation of his party with the Comintern; he participated in the Second Comintern Congress and its debates. After returning to Germany he opposed the affiliation but found himself in the minority on that question at the Halle congress in 1920. He remained with the old USPD until it merged with the SPD in 1922; he then joined the SPD leadership. He continued working for the German socialist movement until Hitler's rise to power in 1933, when he emigrated to Switzerland. He died in 1954.

Djaković, Djuro. Born in Bosnia in 1886 into a Croatian peasant family. He worked as a locksmith's helper and joined the trade-union movement; he became a member of the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina shortly after its founding in 1909. During World War I he was condemned to hard labor by the Austro-Hungarian authorities. At the end of 1918 he returned to Bosnia and in April 1919 participated in the unification congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia (Communists). At the following party congress in June 1920, which the communists dominated completely, he was elected a member of the central committee. Later in the year he was elected a communist deputy to parliament. In June and July 1921 he was a member of the Yugoslav delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern. After returning to Yugoslavia, however, he was placed under house arrest; despite that he continued his political activity. Because the communist party had been outlawed by the authorities the first national party conference was held in Vienna in July 1922; at this conference he was elected to the central committee. Meanwhile he remained militant in the trade-union movement and in 1926 headed the Croatian metallurgists' trade union.

In 1927 he left for Moscow where, under the pseudonym Georg Friedman,

he attended the Leninist School of the Comintern until 1928. In August he attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, and, under the name Bosnić, was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. He returned secretly to Yugoslavia and then went on to Dresden for the fourth congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (October 1928), at which he was chosen by the Comintern to be secretary of the party's central committee. Later he returned to Moscow and then secretly to Yugoslavia, where he was assassinated by police in April 1929.

Djorov, Stoian. Born in Bulgaria in 1883; he later went to Russia and joined the RSDLP in Odessa in 1908. In 1911 he and 22 other socialist militants were sentenced to hard labor in Siberia. Having worked with the Bolsheviks in Odessa he joined them after their victory of November 7, 1917. During 1918 he traveled to Daghستان and then Tzaritsin as a member of the executive committee of the Federation of Foreign Communist Groups; in Moscow in early 1919 he was elected president of the Bulgarian group within the Federation. In March he was sole representative of Bulgarian communists at the founding congress of the Comintern. In June 1919 the central bureau of Bulgarian communists, headed by Djorov, went to Odessa to spread revolutionary propaganda and form a Bulgarian brigade; when Denikin's white troops entered the city Djorov returned to Moscow and later to Bulgaria. In the following years he did not play a leading role in party affairs; he died in 1950.

Dluski, Ostap. Born under the name Langer in 1892, the son of a Jewish teacher living in Buczacz (Austrian Poland). As a philosophy student at the University of Vienna, he joined the social-democratic movement in 1911 and became militant in both the Polish and Austrian socialist parties. He joined the Polish Communist Party when it was founded in December 1918 and at its second congress in 1923 was elected an alternate member of the central committee. He became a professional revolutionary for both the Polish Communist Party and the Comintern and because of that served prison terms in Austria, Poland, and Germany. During World War II he was active in the French communist underground.

In 1945 he returned to Poland, where as chief of the party's foreign bureau he helped prepare for the founding of the Cominform, which took place in September 1947. At the congress of unification of the Socialist and Communist parties in Poland in 1948 he was elected a member of the central committee and retained as chief of the foreign bureau until 1954. As a deputy in the Polish parliament he was elected vice-president of its foreign affairs commission in 1952. In November 1959 he was made director of the Polish Institute for International Affairs and in 1961 received the Lenin Prize. He died in 1965.

Dobrogeanu-Gherea, Alexandru. Born in Rumania in 1879, the son of Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea, a founder of the Rumanian social-democratic movement; he studied in Germany and returned to Rumania with an engineering

degree. Beginning in 1910 he was active in the socialist party in Ploesti and wrote for the socialist press under the pseudonym G. Alexe. He was drafted in 1916 and resumed political activity in 1918 when he became the leader of the Ploesti socialist party. In 1919 he was elected president of the socialist federation of Ploesti and socialist deputy. In November 1920 he went to Moscow with a delegation of Rumanian socialists to negotiate affiliation with the Comintern; after his return, he headed the left wing of the party, from which the Rumanian Communist Party developed. During the founding congress of that party, held in May 1921, he reported on the agrarian question and became a major party leader. He was arrested for his communist activities but was released in June 1922; in the autumn he took part in the second congress of the communist party. In September 1923, in his capacity as chairman of the agrarian commission, the Comintern invited him to Moscow to discuss the Rumanian question. At the third congress of the Rumanian Communist Party, held in Vienna in September 1924, he was reelected to the central committee as a spokesman for the left wing but was at the same time criticized for deviation.

In the spring of 1925 he was sentenced in absentia to ten years in prison and left secretly for Soviet Russia. In February and March 1926 he addressed the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. In June 1928 he was admitted to the fourth congress of the Rumanian Communist Party in Kharkov but with only a consultative vote. After his return to Rumania in late 1928 he was arrested; when he staged a hunger strike in prison early in 1929 the Comintern press campaigned in his favor and he was freed in May. Early in 1932 he left Rumania permanently to settle in Soviet Russia, where he worked for the MOPR. In 1936 he was arrested in the great purge and died in 1938.

Dobrovolský, Filip. Born in Bohemia in 1880, son of a weaver; he began work at home in his father's trade. He supported and was later employed by a textile workers' union. In 1912 he went to Prague, where he worked for the Social Democratic Party and the socialist press. When the Czechoslovak Communist Party was founded in 1921 he joined the editorial staff of its official organ, *Rudé Právo* (Red Right), and soon after was elected a member of the party central committee. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in June and July 1924 he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI and a member of the Krestintern executive committee. In these capacities he often returned to Moscow for meetings—in November and December 1926 he participated in the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI as an agrarian commission member; at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he again accompanied the Czechoslovak delegation but was no longer on the ECCI; at the fifth congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1929 he was retained on the central committee. He also was elected a communist senator. He died in 1930.

Dolanský, Jaromír. Born in Bohemia in 1885, the son of a school principal. He studied at the University of Prague during World War I and became president of the student federation. He obtained his law degree and joined, in succession, the Realistic Party of Thomas Masaryk, the Social Democratic Party (1918), and the Czechoslovak Communist Party (in 1922, a year after its founding). From 1924 to 1928 he was secretary of the communist parliamentary group. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in August 1928 he was also secretary of the Czechoslovak delegation. In 1929, when the Comintern imposed complete obedience on the Czechoslovak Communist Party (then headed by Klement Gottwald), Dolanský became a member of the central committee. In 1935 he was elected a communist deputy and in September 1938, immediately after the Munich pact, became one of five members of the party politburo in charge of directing secret activity. In June 1939 he attempted to flee to Soviet Russia but was arrested and imprisoned in Prague and later deported to Oranienburg in Germany. In 1944 he was liberated by the Red Army; he then went to Moscow, where he resided for several months before returning to Czechoslovakia.

In August 1945 he became assistant secretary-general of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. (The secretary-general then was Rudolf Slanský.) In July 1946 he was named government finance minister, an office he retained until April 1949, when he became president of the state planning commission with the rank of deputy prime minister. In December 1951 he officially assumed that function and in 1953 became first deputy premier. When that title was abolished in July 1960 he remained deputy premier. He lost that office, however, in September 1963 but remained on the politburo of the Czechoslovak Communist Party until early 1968, when he ceased to be a member of the party leadership. Meanwhile, he made several trips to the U.S.S.R., including a visit in 1959 as his party's representative to the twenty-first congress of the CPSU. His second wife was Ilse Kreibich, daughter of Karel Kreibich, a founder of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, an official of the Comintern, and later the Czechoslovak ambassador to Moscow.

Dombal, Tomasz. Born in 1890 into a Polish peasant family; he studied agronomy in Vienna and during World War I participated in the Polish legions which fought under Piłsudski's leadership against the Russians. In 1919 he became an extreme leftist and organized the revolutionary peasant movement in Galicia. He was elected deputy and in 1920 took a public stand against Poland's military effort against Soviet Russia. He joined the Polish Communist Party and later formed the first communist faction in the Polish parliament. In 1921 he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment but in 1923, as the result of a prisoner-exchange agreement between Poland and Russia, was set free and immediately left for Soviet Russia. In October he played an important

role at the first Krestintern conference, held in Moscow, and became a leader of the International Peasant Council, a top-level body of the Krestintern. In August 1928, in his capacity as assistant secretary-general of the Krestintern, he addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern but in 1929 ceased to lead the Krestintern and instead worked for the Soviet government and the RCP(B). In 1932 he became vice-president of the Academy of Sciences of Byelorussia and a member of the central committee of the Byelorussian Communist Party, an office he held until 1934. In 1937 he fell victim to the Stalinist purges.

Domski, L. Born as Henryk Stein in Poland in 1883; he was later known under the pseudonyms L. Domski and H. Kamienski. By 1904 he was militant in the SDPPL; in 1906 he became a member of the Warsaw committee of the party and participated in its propaganda work. From 1908 to 1915 he lived in Berlin and Cracow and was editing *Gazeta Robotnicza* (Workers' Gazette), a Polish socialist paper in Cracow when Lenin established himself there in 1912. He became closer to Lenin and collaborated on the Bolshevik paper *Pravda*; in the autumn of 1913 he attended the Bolsheviks' Poronino conference.

Late in 1915 Domski returned to Warsaw, where he was a member of the regional and then of the national leadership of the SDPPL; he also headed the newspaper *Nasza Trybuna* (Our Tribune). He supported the Bolshevik revolution from the beginning and when the Polish Communist Party was established in December 1918 he became a member of its directorate and one of its most active propagandists. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in 1922 he was a delegate and a speaker for his party.

At the second congress of the Polish Communist Party, held in Moscow, in September 1923, he was one of two persons who reported on the political situation in Poland and communist party tactics. In 1924—when Adolf Warski-Warszawski, Henryk Walecki, and Wera Kozrżewa were eliminated from the leadership of the Polish Communist Party—Domski, with the encouragement of the Comintern, advanced to the top position in the party directorate. At the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in March and April 1925 he was a speaker for the most important political commission; he also took part in the sixth enlarged plenum in February and March 1926. Late in 1925, however, he had been accused of leftist deviation and was linked first to Trotsky and later to Zinoviev. In 1928 he was expelled from the RCP(B), which he had joined earlier; in 1930, after making a public self-criticism, he was readmitted but in 1935 was expelled again. He was later arrested, and was executed in 1937.

D'Onofrio, Edoardo. Born in Rome in 1901; he joined the Italian Communist Party (ICP) when it was founded in January 1921. He soon became a communist youth leader and represented youth in the Italian delegation to the Fourth

Congress of the Comintern in November 1922 and at the third congress of the KIM in December 1922. After Mussolini's accession to power he became a militant anti-Fascist and worked in the communist party under the pseudonym Fimmi; as a result he was arrested in 1928 and sentenced to 12 years in prison. He was released after seven years and went to France, where he worked in the foreign headquarters of the ICP. He fought in the Spanish civil war and after the defeat of the Republic left for Soviet Russia, where he joined Ruggero Grieco on the ICP delegation to the Comintern; when the Comintern was dissolved in 1943 he was placed in charge of organizing political activity among Italian prisoners-of-war.

In 1944 he returned to Italy, where he became a member of the party central committee and secretary of the Federation of Rome. At the ICP congress in 1946 he became an alternate member of the party directorate. He later became a full member and a member of the central committee's secretariat; these functions were confirmed at the national party conference in January 1955. A communist deputy in parliament since 1945 he became vice-president of the National Assembly in 1955. During that period he represented the ICP at numerous international communist meetings, such as the third conference of the Cominform in November 1949 and the Czechoslovak Communist Party congress of June 1954, at which Khrushchev made an important address to the foreign communist delegates. At the eighth congress of the ICP in December 1956 (after the beginning of de-Stalinization) he was eliminated from the directorate and secretariat; he remained a member of the central committee as vice-president of the control commission. After the ninth party congress, held in January 1960, he was responsible only for municipal work in the central apparatus of the party; he was reelected to the central committee at the twelfth ICP congress in February 1969.

Doriot, Jacques. Born in France in 1898, the son of a workingman; he became a factory worker and joined the socialist youth movement in 1916. He was drafted in 1917 and served in the French army until 1920; after his release he became a propagandist for the communist wing of the youth movement. In June and July 1921 he represented the French communist youth at the Third Congress of the Comintern, after which he participated in the second congress of the KIM. Remaining in Moscow, he took part in the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1922 and worked for the central apparatus of the KIM. He returned to Paris briefly but in November 1922 attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern; in December he was elected a member of the executive committee at the third congress of the KIM.

In June 1923 he became secretary-general of the communist youth in France and at the congress of the PCF in January 1924 was elected to the central committee (to which he was reelected in January 1925). He returned to Moscow as a member of the French delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in

June 1924. At the close of the congress he was named an alternate member of the ECCI. Later in the year, in France, he was elected communist deputy and led a vigorous campaign against "French imperialism" in the Moroccan war. In March and April 1925 he participated in the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and served on the colonial commission. At the end of 1925 he returned to Moscow and talked with Stalin; he took part in the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in February and March 1926. He also attended the seventh plenum in November and December, after which he joined a Comintern delegation which visited China from February to April 1927, at the time Chiang Kai-shek began to attack the communists. At the close of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. In August and September 1932 he represented the PCF at the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI.

In 1931 he was elected mayor and in 1932 deputy of St.-Denis, a working-class suburb of Paris. In March 1932 he was reelected to the central committee of the PCF at its seventh congress. Following the events of February 6, 1934, in Paris Doriot and Maurice Thorez came into open conflict; although both were summoned to Moscow Doriot refused to go, a decision which provoked his expulsion from the party in June 1934.

In 1936 he was reelected deputy from St.-Denis and founded the Parti Populaire Français (PPF). His sympathy with Fascism and Hitler's Germany grew with the years and led to his full collaboration with the army of occupation after the fall of France in 1940. He met with Hitler and Goebbels, formed French units (*Légion des Volontaires Français*) to fight on the Russian front, and participated in front operations personally. When Paris was liberated in the summer of 1944 he fled to the Black Forest in Germany. In February 1945, while on a mission for the Anti-Bolshevik Liberation Committee (of which he was president), he was shot in his car by Allied planes.

As a communist leader Doriot published many propaganda brochures, sometimes using the pen name J. Guilleau; he gave particular emphasis to colonial issues in such works as *Les Impérialistes et le Maroc* (1925) and *Les Colonies et le communisme* (1929). After his break with communism he published several anti-communist works: *La France ne sera pas un pays d'esclaves* (1936), *L'Expérience soviétique et le communisme français* (1937), *Le Front de la liberté face au communisme* (1937), and *Toutes les preuves; c'est Moscou qui pole* (1937).

Dozza, Giuseppe. Born in Bologna in 1901; he was forced to earn his living at an early age. He joined the socialist youth movement (becoming its secretary in Bologna after World War I) and the Italian Communist Party (ICP) when it was founded in January 1921. In 1926 he was sentenced to a year in prison but was soon granted amnesty and fled the country. In France he joined a group of Italian communist exiles and in 1928 went to Moscow

as an Italian representative to the KIM. In 1930, under the pseudonym Pippo-Pappa, he was a member of the French-based foreign bureau of the ICP. In 1931 he returned to Moscow and took part in the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in April; on that occasion, under the name of Furini, he was elected alternate member of the Presidium of the ECCI as well as deputy member of its political Secretariat, from then on he resided in the Soviet capital. He addressed the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in August and September 1932 in the name of the ICP. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935, he again spoke for the Italian party and was reelected to the ECCI as its alternate member.

Toward the end of World War II he returned to Italy, where he joined the liberation committee for Emilia-Romagna. In Bologna he was elected mayor, an office he held until March 1966; during that time he was also a leader in the ICP. At its eighth congress in December 1956 he was reelected to the national directorate of the party. At the ninth congress held in 1960 he lost that position but remained a member of the central committee as confirmed by subsequent party congresses.

Dragoicheva, Tsola. Born in 1900 into a Bulgarian peasant family; she became a teacher and joined the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) in 1919. In September 1923 she participated in the communist insurrection and in the following years was arrested several times as a professional revolutionary. Toward the end of 1932 the BCP sent her to Moscow, where she underwent political indoctrination at the Leninist School of the Comintern. In 1936 she returned to Bulgaria as a member of the central committee of the Bulgarian party; in 1940 she became a member of the party politburo. From 1942 on, she represented her party in the Bulgarian Patriotic Front; at that time she was sentenced to death by the Bulgarian authorities in absentia.

When the Patriotic Front seized power in September 1944 she was named its secretary. In June 1945 she was elected president of the Women's National Union. In December 1947 she joined Georgi Dimitrov's government as minister of communications, a position she held until 1957. Within the party, however, she suffered several reverses—in January 1948 she was demoted from full to alternate membership in the politburo and in December, after the party purges had begun, she lost her membership in the orgburo and remained a member of the central committee only.

In February 1956, after the de-Stalinization which followed the twentieth congress of the CPSU, she attacked Vulko Chervenkov, secretary-general of the BCP. In February 1957 she resigned her position as minister of communications; however, she once more became a member of the party politburo, a position she still held in 1969. In 1957 she was also president of the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Association.

Duclos, Jacques. Born in 1896; he worked as an apprentice pastry cook in Paris. He was drafted in 1915 and was taken prisoner during the battle of Verdun in 1917. After his release he became militant in the French Republican Association of War Veterans and joined the PCF soon after its founding. In 1924 and 1925 he studied in Bobigny at the PCF central school and was a member of its first graduating class. In June 1926 he was elected to the PCF's central committee; in 1931 he became a member of its politburo and secretariat and at the same time pursued a career with the Comintern. He first traveled to Soviet Russia in 1928 to attend the fourth congress of the Profintern. Later he worked for the Western European Bureau (WEB) of the Comintern in Berlin. Early in 1930 he returned to Moscow; from there he was sent to Spain as a Comintern emissary. In 1932 he returned to Berlin and worked, under the pseudonym Lauer, with Georgi Dimitrov at the WEB. In August and September he attended the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI; at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was elected to the ECCI.

Duclos also had a parliamentary career—he was elected deputy in 1926 and was reelected when he ran against Léon Blum in 1928; in 1932 he was defeated but was reelected again in 1936, at which time (with the help of the Popular Front) he was also elected vice-president of the Chamber of Deputies. During World War II he went underground to lead the communist resistance movement—unlike Maurice Thorez, who fled to Soviet Russia.

After the liberation of France he resumed his deputyship and was continually reelected during the Fourth Republic. In September 1947 he was a representative of the PCF at the founding meeting of the Cominform in Poland; in 1948 and 1949 he represented his party at two subsequent Cominform conferences. When Thorez became ill in October 1950 Duclos was appointed by the PCF as its provisional secretary-general. During the 1952 anti-American riots in Paris he was arrested briefly.

In the parliamentary elections of 1958 he was defeated but shortly thereafter was elected senator. At each PCF congress since the liberation he was reelected to the politburo but at the seventeenth congress (May 1964) he no longer belonged to the secretariat of the central committee. At the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Comintern, held in Moscow in March 1969, he was a delegate and speaker. In June 1969 he was an unsuccessful candidate in the French presidential election.

Duncker, Hermann. Born in Germany in 1874; he joined the SPD in Leipzig in 1893. He received a Ph.D. degree in history and philosophy from the University of Leipzig in 1903 and then joined the editorial staff of the socialist newspaper *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. In 1911 he became a professor at the SPD's central school in Berlin. At the outbreak of World War I, he and his wife, Kate, joined the Gruppe Internationale, from which the Spartacus League later developed. With the Spartakists he took part in the founding congress of the

KPD in December 1918 and he and his wife were elected to its national committee (*Zentrale*); although he was not reelected he remained a professor at the party's school in Berlin.

At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he addressed the program commission and took part in the public debates at the plenary meeting. When Hitler rose to power in 1933 Duncker was arrested and sent first to Spandau prison and then to Brandenburg prison; he was freed after a short time and went into exile, living in England, France, Morocco, and finally the United States. In 1947 he returned to East Germany, where in 1949 he became director of the Fritz Heckert central trade-union school, a post he held until his death in 1960.

Dunne, William. Born in the United States in 1887; he became an electrician, joined the Socialist Party in 1910, and was active in the North American trade-union movement. He was vice-president of the American Federation of Labor in Montana during World War I. In 1919 he became a communist, for which the A.F. of L. expelled him in 1923. In 1924 he was an American delegate to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and was among the presiding officials. There he presented a report on Negro problems (his special area of study for the Workers Party of America) and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI; immediately thereafter he participated in the debates of the third congress of the Profintern. During 1924 and 1925 he remained in Moscow to represent the Workers (Communist) Party of America to the ECCI and at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in March 1925 was elected a member of the Comintern's Orgburo.

Returning to the United States he joined in the factional struggles of the American party as editor and then assistant editor of the party's organ, the *Daily Worker*. In 1928 he returned to Moscow to participate in the fourth congress of the Profintern (March) and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern (August). In the 1930s, at the time of Browder's leadership, he did not play an important role in the CPUSA. In 1946 he was accused (together with the already expelled Samuel Darcy) of having been a promoter of a leftist faction within the party. Subsequently Dunne was expelled from the party; he died in 1953.

Dunois, Amédée. Born in France in 1879 with the name Catonné; he received both a Ph.D. and a law degree. In his youth he was a militant anarchist, in 1910 a revolutionary syndicalist, and finally a socialist. An editor for the leftist press, in 1918 he became secretary-general of *L'Humanité*, the daily newspaper of the SFIO; at first he supported the centrist trend and then in 1920 favored joining the Comintern. At the party congress in Tours in December 1920 he was elected a member of the directing committee of the new PCF. Although he was reelected at the Marseilles congress of December 1921 he resigned

in a gesture of support for Boris Souvarine, who had not been reelected. Although he did not personally attend the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held in November 1922, he was nominated there to the PCF's directing committee as one of the nine representatives of the French party's left wing. In March and April 1924, during Souvarine's absence from Moscow, Dunois sat as the PCF representative on the ECCI; in June he was a member of the program commission at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern.

With Bolshevization and the expulsion from the party of leftist leaders Souvarine, Pierre Monatte, and Alfred Rosmer, Dunois' position became increasingly uncomfortable. Although in January 1925 he participated with Fernand Loriot in the party's fourth congress, Dunois' criticisms were left undiscussed (at the suggestion of Maurice Thorez); Dunois finally broke with the party and in 1927 returned to social-democratic politics. At first he joined the party formed by dissident communists but soon after rejoined the SFIO, for which he resumed his journalistic career as editor of *Le Populaire*. During the German occupation he helped organize the resistance and was arrested by the Germans and deported to a concentration camp. He died in Germany in 1944.

Duret, Jean. Born in Warsaw in 1900 with the name Koral. He went to Paris in about 1919, registered to study chemistry, and joined the PCF at the time of its founding. During the intramural party struggles in 1922 he became militant for the Daniel Renoult faction. In November and December 1922 he attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern as a spokesman for that faction and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI; after his return the French authorities expelled him as an undesirable foreigner. Returning to Moscow he participated in the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1923, became a professor of political economy at the KUTV, and wrote occasionally for the Comintern press. In 1930 he returned to France, joined the SFIO, and became a French citizen. After World War II he joined the staff of *Peuple*, the official newspaper of the CGT, and represented that organization on the Economic and Social Council of the Fourth Republic. He died in July 1971.

Dutt, Rajani Palme. Born in Cambridge, England, in 1896; his father was a Hindu physician practicing in England and his mother was Swedish. In 1915 he was sentenced to a year in prison for opposing British participation in World War I and after his release received a scholarship to Balliol College, Oxford; although temporarily suspended in 1917 for his political activity he finished his studies in history and philosophy and in 1919 became international secretary of the Labour Research Department. In 1920 he joined the British Communist Party (BCP) and in 1921 founded and edited the communist review *Labour Monthly*. In 1922 he managed another communist organ, the *Workers' Weekly*. Also in that year, after the fourth BCP congress he headed a commission for party reorganization and also became a member of the BCP's central committee, an office he held until 1965.

He first went to Moscow in 1923 to attend the deliberations of the ECCI concerning the BCP. In 1924 he was elected an alternate member of its politburo but was taken ill that same year, left the *Workers' Weekly*, and spent several years in Belgium and Sweden, his political activity considerably reduced. However, he continued his work with the Comintern press. At the ninth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1928, he and Harry Pollitt presented a report opposing the views of the majority of the BCP's central committee; in 1935 he was a British delegate to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, at which he debated and became an alternate member of the ECCI; and from 1936 until 1938 he edited the BCP's official organ, the *Daily Worker*. He followed Stalin's policies consistently and supported both the Comintern's "defeatist" line following the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and its "patriotic," anti-Fascist line after the German attack on the Soviet Union. At the close of the war he was, simultaneously, vice-president of the party, a member of its politburo, and chief of its international relations section. He ran without success in the parliamentary elections of 1945 and 1950.

Over the years he kept in close touch with the communist movement in India, where he was the spokesman for both the BCP and the Comintern. In 1940 he published *India Today*, a book denouncing British imperialism. After the war he made several trips to Soviet Russia, including one in 1956 as a British delegate to the twentieth congress of the CPSU. At the twenty-ninth congress of the BCP in November 1965 he was not reelected to the executive committee because of advanced age. Notable among his several books is *Fascism and Social Revolution*, published in 1935.

E

Eberlein, Hugo. Born in Germany in 1887; a designer by profession, he became a member of the SPD in 1906. During World War I he joined the Spartacus League and took part in its national conference on January 1, 1916; later he was arrested for his activities but returned to political life in 1918. In December of that year he participated in the founding congress of the KPD, at which he reported on the new party's organization and became a member of its national committee (Zentrale); thereafter he was elected to leading positions within the party at the congresses held between 1919 and 1927. As one of five "conciliators" he supported the central committee decision to remove Ernst Thälmann from his position as party chief in September 1928; when Moscow vetoed the decision, the "conciliators" were removed from the party leadership. At the party congress of 1929 Eberlein failed to gain reelection to the central committee; he was also not a member of that committee elected at the KPD "Brussels Conference" held in Moscow in October 1935. In the early 1920s

he assumed important duties within the Comintern apparatus. Actually, his close association with the Comintern dated from the birth of that organization—in March 1919 he was the only representative of the German communists at its founding congress (under the pseudonym Albert); he was also a congress chairman and participated in the work of all the commissions although, according to the mandate given him by the Spartakist leaders, he had to oppose the immediate founding of the Comintern. In 1922 he remained for several months in Moscow—in March he became a member of the Secretariat of the ECCI, in which he helped prepare for the Fourth Congress of the Comintern; in June he was a German delegate to the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI; and at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November he reported on the reorganization of ECCI work. After returning to Germany he kept in close contact with the secret and financial activities of the Comintern. In November and December of 1926 he addressed the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI and was a member of the commission dealing with the Chinese question. At the end of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was elected to membership in the ICC.

From 1920 until the end of 1932 he was a deputy to the Prussian Landtag. When Hitler rose to power in January 1933 he fled from Germany. In the summer of 1935 he participated in the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and was reelected to the ICC. Arrested in France in September 1935 he was expelled to Switzerland in early 1936 and traveled to the Soviet Union, where he became a victim of Stalin's purges; in 1937 he was arrested and deported to a concentration camp in northern Russia. In January 1940, after the Soviet government decided to deliver German exiles to the Gestapo, he was sent toward Moscow on the first part of a trip to the German border. He fell seriously ill and thought to be dying was transported no further; he survived the illness only to die in prison in 1944.

Eikuni, Gurgen. Born in 1889. He was admitted to an Armenian Orthodox Church seminary but won over by socialist ideas joined the RSDLP in 1905; in 1907 he was a leader in socialist activities in Tiflis. In 1912 in Moscow he belonged to a group of social democratic students. After the revolution of February 1917 he helped organize the soviets at Alexandroupolis and Kars and after the Bolshevik victory of November 7, 1917 was named commissar for Caucasian refugees. In March 1919 he was the sole Armenian representative at the founding congress of the Comintern, which he attended as a member of the central committee of the Armenian Communist Party. At that congress he had a deliberative vote and presented a written report on communist activity in Armenia. Although in later years he was no longer active in the Comintern he remained in the Armenian Communist Party. After 1922 he devoted his time to literature and publishing. He died in 1966.

Eisler, Gerhart. Born in Leipzig in 1887 into a family of professors. During World War I he served as an officer in the Austrian army; later, like his brother Hans and his sister Elfriede (known as Ruth Fischer) he was drawn toward communism. In 1920-21 he worked on the editorial staff of the Viennese review *Kommunisten* and established himself in Germany as a journalist and militant communist. In 1923 he belonged to the KPD's left-wing opposition, led at that time by his sister Ruth, Arkadi Maslow, and Ernst Thälmann, and in October became secretary to Heinrich Brandler in the short-lived socialist-communist government of Saxony.

Eisler did not follow his sister in her break with Moscow; instead, he was elected to membership in the KPD's central committee in 1927, but in the following year he became involved in the party's leadership struggle and was one of the right wing "conciliators" who vainly attempted to dismiss Thälmann from his position as head of the party. Censured by Moscow in October 1928 for his position, Eisler was withdrawn from German activity and sent abroad by the Comintern.

From 1929 to 1931 he was an ECCI emissary to China where he lived mainly in Shanghai and Nanking and maintained contact with members of the Soviet secret service (notably Richard Sorge) and worked for the Profintern. Returning to Moscow, he taught at the Leninist School of the Comintern for a while. Later he went by way of France to the United States, where from 1933 until 1936 he acted (under the pseudonym Edwards) as Comintern emissary to the CPUSA; during his stay he made one or two trips to Moscow. Early in 1937 he traveled from Moscow to France, where he worked in connection with German immigration and the Spanish civil war.

When World War II began he was interned by French authorities. Although he received a Mexican visa, he established himself in New York in 1941, where he renewed old contacts and wrote in the communist press under the pseudonym Hans Berger. Arrested and sentenced by American authorities in 1947 he was freed on \$20,000 bail pending appeal. When the sentence was upheld in April 1949, he escaped on a Polish ship and settled in East Germany; in that year he became a professor at the University of Leipzig. He also served as director of the government information service until its dissolution in January 1953. In 1951 he was required to make a public self-criticism for his attitude toward Thälmann in 1928. From 1956 Eisler was vice-president and then president of the state radio and television commission; he died in Soviet Russia in March 1968, while on an official trip.

Engdhal, Louis. Born in 1884, the son of an American laborer; he earned his living at an early age by doing odd jobs. In 1907 he joined the American Socialist Party, which he represented in 1910 at the Copenhagen congress of the Socialist International; in 1911-12 he was editor-in-chief of *American Social*.

ist, the party's central organ. His pacifist internationalist stand during World War I led to his arrest in the autumn of 1917 and a jail sentence in 1918. In 1920 he was among the left-wing socialist leaders who campaigned to join the Comintern. With them he joined the Workers Party of America and in December 1921 was elected to membership in its central executive committee; thereafter he was regularly reelected to positions of leadership. He also became joint editor-in-chief of the party's organ, the *Daily Worker*. In 1927 he left for Soviet Russia, where in May he participated in the eighth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. Afterwards he remained in Moscow as representative of the Workers (Communist) Party of America to the Comintern. In February 1928 he took part in the ninth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and was elected to membership in the Presidium; in August he addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern but was not reelected to the Presidium; in December he was replaced by Bertram Wolfe as party representative to the Comintern. He returned to the United States, where he became president of the American section of the MOPR and a member of its presidium. In 1932 he went to Western Europe and then to Moscow, where he died.

Ewert, Arthur. Born in East Prussia in 1890, the son of a farmer. He worked first as a saddler and then as a metalworker; he joined the SPD in 1908. From May 1914 until August 1919 he lived in Canada. After his return to Germany he immediately joined the KPD, for which he worked in Berlin and later in Halle, Frankfurt, and other places. At the eighth congress of the KPD held in January 1923, he was elected to its national committee (Zentrale) and politburo. At the ninth congress (April 1924) he was dropped from those positions but at the 1925 and 1927 congresses was reelected to both of them.

During that period he began his career with the Comintern—in June 1923 he was a German delegate to the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI; in 1926, under the pseudonym Braun, he took part in the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, presiding over the British commission; in May 1927 he attended the eighth plenum of the ECCI, where he chaired the American commission; in September he acted as Comintern emissary (under the pseudonym Grey) to the sixth congress of the Workers (Communist) Party of America; and in August 1928, at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, he took part in the debates and became an alternate member of the ECCI. He was one of the right-wing "conciliators" who vainly attempted to dismiss Ernst Thälmann from his position as head of the KPD; he was censured by the Comintern in October 1928 for this stand and was eliminated from party leadership. Although he presented a public self-criticism in June 1929 at the twelfth congress of the KPD and again in the party organ under the title "The Bankruptcy of the Conciliators," he was not restored to his positions in the party or the Comintern.

He left Germany permanently in late 1930, having been summoned to Moscow to work for the Comintern's Latin American Secretariat. In 1931-32 he

was in Latin America with his wife, Elizabeth Sabrowski (known under the name Sabo), as a Comintern emissary; then they went to China as Comintern emissaries to the Chinese Communist Party. In 1934 they were recalled to Moscow and sent first to the United States (his pseudonym there was Harry Berger) and then to Brazil, where Ewert worked as the organizational secretary of the Brazilian Communist Party central committee. In 1935 he and Luis Prestes took part in the revolutionary efforts of the Brazilian Communist Party but in December Ewert and his wife were arrested. In September 1936 his wife was turned over to the German authorities; she died in 1939 at Ravensbrück concentration camp. Ewert remained in a Brazilian jail, was tried in May 1937, and was sentenced to 13 years and four months in prison; during his incarceration he lost his sanity. In May 1945 he was granted amnesty and in August 1947 returned to East Germany on a Soviet ship. He lived there in various medical institutions until his death in July 1959.

Ezhov, N. I. Born into a poor Russian family in 1895; he joined the RCP (B) after its victory in November 1917. As a political commissar he took part in the civil war and then joined the apparatus of the RCP(B). He did not begin his career as a leader until after Stalin's victory. At the party congress of 1934 he was elected a member of the central committee, became its fourth secretary within a year and at the beginning of 1935 became president of the party's central control commission. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, held in 1935, he was elected a member of the ECCI. In charge of the party cadres section during the Stalinist purges he worked closely with Yagoda until Stalin asked him to replace Yagoda as commissar of the interior in September 1936. Ezhov then came to symbolize the great purge, known as *ezhovshchina*; at the end of 1938, however, he was replaced by Beria and became commissar of waterways. A short time later he disappeared; it is assumed that he died in 1939.

F

Farkas, Mihály. Born in 1904 in Hungary. He became active as a youth in both the Hungarian and Czechoslovak communist movements; later he went to the Soviet Union, where he entered the central apparatus of the KIM. In July 1929, at the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, he spoke for the central committee of the Hungarian Communist Party under the pseudonym Wolf (the same name he used in his KIM activities). Meanwhile, he undertook various European missions for the Comintern, including one during the Spanish civil war. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in July and August 1935 he was promoted to alternate membership in the ECCI and its Presidium under

the pseudonym Michal; two months later he offered the main report at the sixth congress of the KIM. During World War II he was secretary-general of the KIM and an alternate member of the ECCI, for which he worked until the dissolution of the Comintern in May 1943.

When the Hungarian Communist Party was restored at the end of World War II he was named to its central committee and politburo. In 1945 he became Hungarian undersecretary of the interior as well as chief of political police. In September 1947 he was one of two Hungarian delegates to the founding meeting of the Cominform. In 1948 he was appointed minister of national defense but retained his influence with the police. His power is illustrated by his election in June 1948 as a member of the party politburo as well as deputy secretary-general of the party. In 1948 he also represented his party at the Cominform meeting which condemned Tito. In 1949 he was in charge of preparing the László Rajk case. In 1952 he was promoted to the rank of general in the army.

After Stalin's death Farkas lost his position on the party politburo. In July 1953 he also ceased to be minister of national defense and remained only a member of the party central committee. In line with the de-Stalinization policy of the twentieth congress of the CPSU Farkas was expelled from the party and during the Hungarian revolution of October 1956 was arrested with his son, a police colonel. He was sentenced in April 1957 to a 16-year prison term for "violations of socialist legality" but was later pardoned. He died of a heart attack on December 5, 1965.

Faure, Ferdinand. Born in 1880; he became a printer by trade and a militant in the SFIO. In 1919 he was appointed a permanent propaganda official for the party but in the party split at the Tours congress in December 1920 he opted for the PCF. At the PCF congress at Marseilles in December 1921 he was elected a member of the directing committee. Appointed to the propaganda section of the party, he was a member of its delegation to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern (in November and December 1922), which he addressed and took part in the work of the Italian commission.

In the French legislative elections of May 1924 he was elected deputy. He claimed to represent the socialist-communist union, although he was not registered with any group in the National Assembly. In that same year he publicly announced his break with communism in a pamphlet entitled "Sur l'aile du compromis bolcheviste et léninien de Moscou à Paris."

In the town of St. Etienne he became general counselor and deputy to the mayor, and then mayor, until his dismissal during the war by the Vichy government. He died in 1963.

Ferdi, B. The principal spokesman for the Turkish Communist Party at Comintern headquarters in the mid-1920s was known under this name, or pseudonym, which appeared in the Comintern press in 1925. In February

and March 1926 Ferdi attended the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and in November and December the seventh enlarged plenum; at the eighth plenum, held in May 1927, he spoke on the Chinese question. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, held in 1928, he was elected a member of the ECCI and later took part in several meetings of the ECCI plenum, including the last enlarged meeting, held in 1933. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, held in 1935, he was not reelected to the ECCI but was made a member of the ICC. With the onset of the Stalinist purges his name disappeared from the Comintern roster and press.

Ferrat, André. Born André Morel in 1902; he undertook university studies in Paris, where he joined the PCF in 1921. He became a member of the central committee of the communist youth organization and one of its secretaries. In 1925 he was elected to the central committee of the PCF; from 1927 on was a member of the party politburo and from September 1931 was in charge of the party's anticolonial section.

In March 1925 he went to Moscow to participate in the first conference on organizational questions convoked by the ECCI and in 1928 was a delegate and speaker at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. Condemned by a French court in 1928 and forced into hiding to escape his sentence he was appointed party representative to the Comintern in Moscow, where he remained from January 1930 until the middle of 1931. In August and September 1932 he spoke on the French question at the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. From November 1932 to February 1934 he was editor-in-chief of *L'Humanité*.

In disagreement with both PCF and Comintern policy in 1934 he helped found an opposition group which edited the review *Que Faire?* At the PCF congress in Villeurbanne in 1936 he was not reelected to the politburo but remained a member of the central committee. Later in that year he publicly criticized the Popular Front, an action which led to his final break with the party.

Ferrat joined the SFIO in November 1937 and participated in the war and the resistance. In 1946 he was elected to the SFIO leadership and remained a member for ten years. As a journalist he published pamphlets and two books—*Histoire du parti communiste français* (1931) and *La République à refaire* (1945).

Fiala, Gottlieb. Born in 1891 into an Austrian working-class family; he became a shoemaker, and was active in the trade-union movement prior to 1914. After being drafted into the army he was taken prisoner on the Russian front and remained captive until the October 1917 revolution. After his return to Austria he joined the Austrian Communist Party (ACP); at its sixth congress, held in March 1923, he became a member of the central committee. In June and July 1924 he was ACP delegate to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern.

at which he was elected to the ECCI. At the beginning of 1925 he returned to Moscow to discuss questions regarding the ACP and to participate in the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, which met in March and April. At the seventh enlarged plenum (November and December 1926) he was again the Austrian spokesman. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was one of the speakers for the ACP but was not reelected to the ECCI. Nevertheless, he remained a member of the ACP leadership and faithfully followed the Soviet line throughout the entire period of Stalinism. After the Austrian government banned the communist party, as a result of the civil war of February 1934, Fiala chose not to leave the country; during Hitler's regime in Austria he worked as a laborer. He resumed political activity in 1945 and soon was elected vice-president of the trade-union federation in Austria. At the presidential election of May 1951 he was an unsuccessful communist candidate, obtaining only 219,000 votes. In October 1953, at the third congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) in Vienna, he gave a welcoming speech on behalf of the Austrian communist trade unions and later was elected a member of the WFTU executive committee. He died in December 1970.

Fiedler, Franciszek. Born in 1880 into a prosperous middle-class family in Warsaw. He studied at the Universities of Berlin and Zurich, where he joined the SDPPL; in 1909 he returned to Warsaw, where he worked for various socialist organizations and the socialist press. After the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 he gravitated toward communism; when the Polish Communist Party was founded in December 1918 he was elected to its central committee. In 1920, like many Polish communist leaders, he was arrested; however, he was released after 14 months in prison. In November 1922 he was a Polish delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed under the pseudonym Keller. At the second congress of the Polish Communist Party in 1923 he was reelected to the central committee, a position he lost in 1924 when the Comintern replaced the leaders of the Polish Communist Party. During 1925-26 he worked with the Comintern and, under the pseudonym Jack, participated in the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI (March 1925) as a member of the Czechoslovak commission.

In 1926 he was in Danzig, the foreign headquarters of the Polish Communist Party. At the fourth party congress in 1927 he was elected to alternate membership in the central committee. When the headquarters was moved from Danzig to Berlin in 1928 he followed, staying in Berlin until the accession of Hitler. He then went to Brussels and later to Paris, where he was living when the Polish Communist Party was dissolved by the Comintern in 1938 and most of the Polish communists in Soviet Russia were liquidated.

In 1945 he left France for Poland, where he was elected to membership in the central committee at the first congress of the Polish Communist Party.

From 1946 to 1952 he directed the party's theoretical review, *Nowe Drogi* (New Roads). He also presided over the party's scientific commission and in 1951 received the title of Doctor honoris causa of the University of Warsaw. In 1952 he became a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He died in 1956.

Filipović, Filip. Born in Serbia in 1878; he finished his secondary education in Belgrade and in 1899 went to Russia for his university studies. In 1904 he received his degree in mathematics in St. Petersburg and from 1904 until 1912 taught at the commercial school there. As a student he was won over to socialism and in 1905 joined the RSDLP. In 1912 he returned to Serbia, where he became secretary of the labor chamber and later a leader of the Serbian Social Democratic Party. During the first part of World War I he remained in Serbia and edited the party newspaper; in 1916, however, the Austrian authorities interned him near Vienna. When the Austro-Hungarian empire fell he went to Budapest to work with the leaders of the newly founded Hungarian Communist Party and in January 1919 returned home. At the founding congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) in April he was elected its secretary, an office he shared with Sima Marković in 1920.

In August 1920 he was elected mayor of Belgrade and in November communist deputy to the constituent assembly. When the CPY was outlawed, however, he was sentenced in February 1922 to two years in prison, but was released in September 1923. He immediately resumed political activity and in March 1924 became president of the Independent Workers' Party of Yugoslavia (a front for the CPY). In June 1924 he left the country to attend the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. He never returned to Yugoslavia; from then until his arrest in 1938 he worked for the Comintern apparatus in Moscow and Vienna.

At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern he offered one of three reports on the national question and was elected to the ECCI. At that time he appeared under his real name but later used the pseudonyms Bošković and Baum. In 1925 he took part in the fifth plenum of the ECCI; at the sixth plenum, held in February and March 1926, he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium. Meanwhile, he was the Yugoslav representative to the Balkan Communist Federation, of which he was president at one time. Despite the Comintern purge which followed the fall of Zinoviev and Bukharin he kept his positions and at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 was reelected to the ECCI. In July 1929 he was a speaker at the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and at the eleventh plenum (1931) was reelected an alternate member of the Presidium of the ECCI. Throughout those uncertain years he also was continually reelected to the central committee of the CPY; in August 1930 the Comintern named him chairman of a provisional party leadership.

In June 1932 he suffered his first eclipse when he was deprived of his offices in the party and the Comintern and transferred to the International Agrarian

Institute in Moscow, a traditional burying grounds for former Comintern leaders, but in 1935 he was a Yugoslav delegate to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. Later he became a victim of the Stalinist purges; in February 1938 he was arrested in Moscow and died in the same year. On October 3, 1957, he was rehabilitated posthumously by a decision of the Soviet military supreme court. During his Comintern years he published several works, mainly in Serbian but also in German and Russian.

Filipović, Elena (Lenutza). Born in Bucharest in 1903 into a working-class family. She worked in her youth in a box factory and in about 1918 became active in a Rumanian socialist youth group. When the Rumanian Socialist Party became divided over the question of membership in the Comintern she supported the communist cause and in March 1921 took part in a party reunion preparatory to the formation of the Rumanian Communist Party. Like many militant Rumanian communists she was brought to trial in 1922 but freed, after which she resumed her communist activity. She became secretary of the Communist Youth Union and managed the publication of its official organ until the party itself was outlawed in 1924. She then worked in the trade-union movement under the pseudonym Maria Ciobanu.

From 1927 to 1930 she was in Moscow as a student at the Leninist School of the Comintern and then returned secretly to Rumania, where she became a member of the party secretariat. At the fifth congress of the Rumanian Communist Party in December 1931 she submitted the political report of the party secretariat. In 1932 she wrote for the Comintern press under her pseudonym and at the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held that year in August and September, she was the spokesman (using the name Maria) for the Rumanian Communist Party. In Rumania she continued to direct communist activity until her departure for the Soviet Union in 1935 as a party representative to the ECCI. In 1936 she took part in the fifth enlarged plenum of the central committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, which met in Czechoslovakia. Later she returned to Moscow, where she was arrested and executed in 1937 during the Stalinist purges.

Fineberg, Josif. Born in 1886. He was a member of the British Socialist Party from 1906 until 1918 when, as a partisan of the communist revolution, he left to settle in Soviet Russia (he even changed his English name "Joseph" to "Josif"). He was admitted to the RCP(B) and worked in the Soviet commissariat for foreign affairs. For a time he also handled Bolshevik and pacifist propaganda intended for foreign war prisoners in Russia and for interventionist troops. He also helped prepare for the founding congress of the Comintern, which met in March 1919, at which he reported on the workers' movement in Great Britain. He never was active in communist politics in Great Britain or in the Comintern leadership. From 1935 until his retirement in 1953 he

was an editor and translator for Soviet state publications in foreign languages. He died in 1957.

Fischer, Ernst. Born in Graz in July 1899, son of an officer of the Austro-Hungarian imperial army. At the end of World War I he studied at the University of Graz, where he joined the socialist youth movement. In 1918 he became editor-in-chief of the Graz socialist journal *Arbeiterwille* and in 1926 joined the staff of the Austrian Socialist Party's official organ, *Arbeiterzeitung*, edited in Vienna. He devoted himself entirely to socialist propaganda, journalism, and education until the civil war of February 1934 forced him to seek refuge in Prague. There he made public his adherence to the Austrian Communist Party (ACP).

In April 1934 he arrived in Moscow and in 1935 served as Austrian delegate to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed under the pseudonym Peter Wieden. For the next decade he remained in Moscow, where he represented the ACP to the Comintern and worked as an agitprop expert for the Comintern press. After 1938 he was editor-in-chief of the review *Communist Internationalist*. During the German-Soviet war he handled Moscow radio broadcasts to Austria.

When a coalition government was formed in Austria in April 1945 he returned there as a representative of the ACP and acted as minister of education and religious affairs until November; elected to the politburo of the ACP, he organized its propaganda effort. In 1946 he was elected communist deputy to parliament and for the next 20 years was continuously reelected to the ACP's central committee. He condemned very strongly the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968. At the close of the twentieth congress of the ACP in January 1969 he was not reelected to the central committee and later was expelled from the party. In 1969 he published his memoirs entitled *Erinnerungen und Reflexionen*.

Fischer, Ruth. Born Elfriede Eisler in Leipzig in 1895, daughter of a philosophy professor and sister of Hans and Gerhart Eisler. When her father was teaching in Vienna she studied philosophy and economics at the university there and was active in the student socialist organization. In 1917 she married Paul Friedlander, a medical student; in November 1918 they helped found the Austrian Communist Party, of which she became a leader. After the quarrels caused by the unsuccessful Bettelheim putsch in June 1919 she settled in Berlin and helped make the Berlin communist organization a stronghold of the leftist trend by 1921. In November 1922 she was a German delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and spoke for the leftists in public debates and before many commissions. In May 1923 she returned to Moscow with two other leftist leaders, Arkadi Maslow and Ernst Thälmann; on May 17 she became a member of the central committee of the KPD.

In 1924 she reached the height of her career as a communist—at the April congress the left took over the leadership of the KPD and she became a communist deputy to parliament; in June and July she headed the German delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, at the opening ceremony spoke at Lenin's tomb, and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. In March and April 1925 she attended the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and presented a report on the German situation. However, on September 1 the Comintern published an open letter to the KPD criticizing both her and Maslow and on August 19, 1926, they were both expelled from the KPD. On August 27 the decision was ratified by the Presidium of the ECCI and was confirmed by the seventh enlarged plenum, held during November and December.

Later she and Maslow attempted to form a dissenting leftist group; when Hitler came to power the two sought refuge in Paris and then in Vichy after the 1940 armistice. In April 1941 she arrived in the United States, where she stayed throughout the war. She published a bulletin called *The Network* and in 1948 a book entitled *Stalin and German Communism*. Afterward she traveled throughout Europe and Asia and lived in Paris and Germany, where in 1956 she published *Von Lenin zu Mao* and in 1958 *Die Umformung der Sovietgesellschaft*. She died in Paris in 1961.

Flieg, Leo. Born in Berlin in 1893 into a lower middle-class Jewish family. He worked in a bank before being drafted during World War I; wounded at the front and discharged he joined the Spartakists in Berlin. In November 1919 he was a delegate to the founding congress of the KIM, of which he became a leader, and in June 1923 represented the KIM at the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI. Later he worked in the central apparatus of the KPD and handled its secret activities in close cooperation with Iosif Piatnitsky, who was in charge of the Comintern's OMS.

Flieg was elected to the central committee and the politburo at both the eleventh and twelfth congresses of the KPD (1927 and 1929). At the close of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was elected to the ICC; he also became a deputy in the Prussian Landtag. Closely allied to Willi Münzenberg and Heinz Neumann, and hostile to Ernst Thälmann, he lost his important offices in the KPD in the early 1930s but remained in the employ of the OMS. After Hitler's victory in 1933 he left Germany. He lived in Paris from 1935 until the spring of 1937, when he was recalled by the Comintern to Moscow, where he fell victim to Stalin's purges; he died in prison in 1939.

Florin, Wilhelm. Born in 1894; he became a metalworker and was active in the German socialist youth movement in 1908. In 1918 he joined the USPD; when the party split at the Halle congress in October 1920 he opted for the communist faction, which merged with the KPD. In 1924 he was elected to the central committee of the KPD and became a deputy to the German Reichstag.

In 1925 he became secretary of the regional committee of the KPD in the Ruhr and in 1932 was named party secretary for the Berlin-Brandenburg region. After Hitler came to power in 1933 Florin remained secretly in Berlin for a few months, later in the year went to Paris, and early in 1935 settled in Moscow.

Meanwhile he had distinguished himself in the Comintern—at the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1931 he became an alternate member of its Presidium and as such took part in the twelfth plenum (1932) and was elevated to full membership at the thirteenth plenum (December 1933); at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was reelected to the ECCI and its Presidium and elected to the Comintern Secretariat. He held these positions until the dissolution of the Comintern, to which he was a signatory in May 1943. During the war he was a communist representative to the Free Germany committee in Soviet Russia; he died shortly afterward in Moscow in July 1944. His son Peter became a high official in the party and in the East German government.

Ford, James W. Born in 1893 into a Negro family in Alabama; he worked in his early youth as a postal clerk and metalworker. In October 1925 he helped found the American Negro Labor Congress in Chicago and in 1926 joined the Workers (Communist) Party of America. In 1928 he went to Soviet Russia, where he took part in the fourth congress of the Profintern in March and April and was elected a member of the executive bureau. In August he attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, was seated on the Negro commission, and made a speech on behalf of American Negroes. At the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in July 1929 he delivered two speeches—one for the CPUSA and the other as a representative of the communist faction of the Profintern. In the same month in Frankfurt, at the second congress of the League Against Imperialism, he was elected to the general council and the executive committee. In 1930 in Hamburg he acted as secretary of the International Trade Union Committee for Black Workers. Later in the year he returned to the United States, where he became vice-president of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, which succeeded the American Negro Labor Congress (ANLC). In 1932, at the time of the U.S. presidential elections, he appeared as a candidate for the vice-presidency beside W. Z. Foster, CPUSA candidate for president. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was elected alternate member of the ECCI. In February 1936 he was one of the initiators of the founding of the National Negro Congress (NNC) and in November of that year was again the CPUSA candidate for vice-president on the same ticket with Earl Browder. In 1937 he visited the Republic of Spain as a representative of the CPUSA.

In 1940 he and Earl Browder ran again in the presidential election. When the CPUSA was dissolved in 1944 Ford became a vice-president of the Communist Political Association. In April 1945 Jacques Duclos, representing Moscow,

condemned Browder's decision to dissolve the CPUSA. Browder was expelled from the party in July; Ford made a public self-criticism and remained in the party but without his former offices. He was not among the 12 members of the national council of the CPUSA arrested and tried in 1948. He died in 1957.

Foster, William Z. Born near Boston in 1881 into an Irish family which had settled in the United States. He worked in his early youth at such jobs as cook, sailor, lumberman, fruit picker, streetcar motorman, miner, and railroad worker. From 1901 to 1909 he belonged to the American Socialist Party, which he abandoned when its left wing was excluded. He then joined the IWW and traveled to France and Germany in 1910; upon his return to the United States he organized various trade-union groups. In 1921 he joined the Communist Party of America and went to Moscow for the Third Congress of the Comintern and the first congress of the Profintern. At the close of the second congress of the Profintern in 1922 he became a member of its central council.

In the following years he became a leader in the American Communist Party and in the Comintern; at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was elected to the ECCI and made an alternate member of its Presidium. In March 1925 he attended the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, using the pseudonym Dorsey. In 1928 he was one of the presidents of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and also was reelected to the ECCI and its Presidium. In 1929 he became president of the CPUSA. At the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in April 1931 he was elected to full membership in its Presidium and was reelected in 1935 at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

In the American presidential elections of 1924, 1928, and 1932 Foster was the communist candidate. In 1944 and 1945 he opposed Earl Browder's proposal for the dissolution of the CPUSA. Moscow supported Foster, who remained honorary president of the party until his death. In 1948 he was taken to court with other leaders of the party but was not sentenced to prison. He died in 1961 in Soviet Russia. During the last ten years of his life he wrote several books, including *The Twilight of World Capitalism* (1949), *History of the Communist Party of the United States* (1952), *History of the Three Internationals* (1955), and *Outline History of the World Trade Union Movement* (1956); his last book was *The Historical Advance of World Socialism* (1960).

Frachon, Benoit. Born in France in 1893 into a miner's family. He worked as a laborer and then as a lathe operator and joined a trade union at age 16. In 1917 he was drafted into the army and sent to a combat unit; after his discharge he became a workers' representative in a factory in Marseilles. In 1919 he joined the SFIO, and then the PCF after it was founded at Tours in December 1920. From 1922 to 1924 he was secretary of a local CGTU branch, a member of the departmental federation of the PCF in the Loire region, and deputy mayor of the city of Chambon-Feugerolles. In 1926 he was elected

to the party's central committee. In 1928 he became a member of both the politburo and the secretariat of the central committee in charge of the trade-union section, holding the latter post until 1932. In August 1928 he addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, at which he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI.

In 1929 he was arrested in connection with a plot against state security and imprisoned for nine months. In December 1933 he debated at the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. Named secretary of the CGTU in 1933 he later led negotiations for trade-union unification, a goal realized in March 1936. He had been reelected to the ECCI at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935.

The statutes of the unified CGT forbade its leaders from holding office in any party; when Frachon became CGT secretary he officially ceased to be a member of the politburo of the PCF but in fact continued to have a seat. In 1939 he was expelled from the CGT and hunted by the French police following the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. After the German attack against Soviet Russia he organized the communist anti-Fascist resistance. In 1945 he was named one of two secretary-generals of the CGT, a position to which he was reelected regularly during the trade-union split of 1948 and at subsequent CGT congresses. At the fourteenth congress of the PCF in July 1956 he reemerged as a member of the politburo, to which he was reelected at each of the subsequent congresses. At the national congress of the CGT in June 1967 he ceased to be secretary-general and became president.

Fraina, Louis. Born in southern Italy in 1894 into a poor family, which emigrated to New York in 1896; at an early age he supported himself as a clerk and then as a journalist. In 1909 he became a member of the Socialist Labor Party; although he broke with that party in 1914 he remained active in left-wing circles and later joined the supporters of the Bolshevik revolution. At the founding congress of the Communist Party of America in Chicago in September 1919 he was elected international secretary. In February 1920 he participated in the International Communist Conference in Amsterdam, went on to Berlin, and then attended the Second Congress of the Comintern in Moscow, where he was brought before a commission of inquiry and accused of being an agent provocateur for the U.S. Department of Justice. Declared innocent by the Comintern he took part in the congress and also talked with Lenin. He then was sent by the ECCI as an emissary to Mexico, where he remained during 1921. After he went to Berlin in 1922 he no longer worked for the Comintern. Returning to the United States he used the name Louis Corey to work as a journalist, became a professor of economics at Antioch College, and published a few books on economic problems. He died in 1953.

Frey, Joseph. Born in the Czech town of Strakonice in 1882 into a middle-class merchant family. His parents sent him to study law at the University of Vienna, where he joined the socialist students' association. After graduation

he became a staff member of *Arbeiterzeitung*, the daily paper of the Austrian Social Democratic Party. During World War I he was drafted, wounded while at the front, and made an officer; at the end of the war he became president of the council of soldiers at the Vienna garrison. At the same time he was leader of the extreme left wing of the Social Democratic Party, from which he was expelled in 1920. In January 1921 he and his followers joined the Austrian Communist Party (ACP) of which he soon became a leader; in June he was an Austrian delegate to the Third Congress of the Comintern. Because of violent factional struggles he was not reelected to office at the sixth congress of the ACP in March 1923; however, in June he took part in the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI as a spokesman for the left. At the party congress held in 1924 he was again involved in a factional struggle; later he published a review in which he defended his opinions. In 1926 he took a stand in favor of the newly formed Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance, was expelled from the ACP in January 1927, and became a Trotskyite. Forced to leave Austria in 1928 he took refuge in Switzerland but did not join the Fourth International. He died in Zurich in 1957.

Fried, Eugen. Born in Trnava, Slovakia in 1900; he studied chemistry at the University of Budapest. During the short life of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919 he acted as liaison between that republic and Slovakian revolutionary groups. He joined the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia when it was founded in September 1921 and became editor of the review *Munkás* (Worker), published by the party in Hungarian for Hungarian workers. At the Czechoslovak Communist Party congress in 1923 he was elected to the central committee. He was a delegate to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 and spoke in the name of the leftist minority; soon after he worked for the Comintern Orgburo. At the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in March 1925 he was seated on the Dutch commission as an Orgburo representative; he also attended the first and second Comintern conferences devoted to organization (March 1925 and February 1926).

When he returned to Czechoslovakia he was arrested and imprisoned and after his release he went to the Sudeten town of Reichenberg, where in 1927 he headed the party organization and its German newspaper, *Vorwärts*; meanwhile, he continued to support the left wing. In 1928 he joined Klement Gottwald and Rudolf Slansky in criticizing the "opportunism" of official party leaders. When the left wing, with Comintern support, took over the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party at its fifth congress in February 1929, Gottwald became the new party leader and Fried joined the politburo; however, Fried's continued support of the left led to a disagreement with Gottwald and with the majority of the politburo. The Comintern and the Central European Secretariat then condemned the "deviation" of Fried and his followers, among them Paul Reiman; as a result Fried offered a recantation early in 1930.

In 1931 he was called to Moscow, where in April he took part in the

debates at the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI. Thereafter he represented the Comintern in Germany, Belgium, and France; late in 1931 he became head of the Comintern's permanent delegation to the PCF. Using the pseudonym Clément he lived in Paris until 1939, supervising party activities and occasionally traveling to Comintern headquarters in Moscow; when World War II began he settled in Belgium. He was killed by the Germans in Brussels in August 1943.

Friedländer, Paul. Born in Austria in 1893 into a middle-class Jewish family. He studied medicine at the University of Vienna and in 1916 joined the student socialist organization there. Early in 1917 he married Elfriede Eisler (later known as Ruth Fischer); together they moved toward communism after the Bolshevik victory in Russia. On November 3, 1918, Paul took part in the founding congress of the Austrian Communist Party and became one of its three secretaries. At the party congress in February 1919 he was elected to its presidium, *Parteivorstand* (in the mid-1920s, following the "Bolshevization" of Comintern sections, the presidium of the Austrian party changed its name to central committee). He was reelected at the fifth and sixth congresses in March 1922 and in 1923. Meanwhile he practiced as a doctor and remained in Vienna when his wife left for Berlin. In November 1922 he went to Moscow as a delegate to the Fourth Comintern Congress, at which he took part in the debates and became a member of the commission examining the problems of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Subsequent internal struggles and purges deprived him of leadership in the Austrian Communist Party but he remained a member. After Hitler occupied Austria in 1938 Friedländer moved to France; he openly disapproved of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Soon after he was interned with other political refugees in a camp in southern France and there the Vichy authorities handed him over to the Germans. He probably died in a German prison or concentration camp in 1940.

Friis, Jakob. Born in 1883; he joined the workers' movement in Norway and became a socialist journalist. During World War I he was an internationalist and pacifist. In 1919 the Norwegian Workers' Party, of which he was a member, joined the Comintern. After the First Congress of the Comintern he went to Russia to work for the ECCI. In July and August 1920 he attended the Second Congress, at which he spoke for the Norwegian delegation and was reelected as an alternate member of the ECCI. In June and July 1921, at the Third Comintern Congress, he was again the Norwegian spokesman and joined the ICC. In February 1922 he attended the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI and in June the second one, to which he submitted a report on the workers' movement in Norway; however, in November 1923 he supported the decision of the Norwegian Workers' Party to withdraw from the Comintern.

In 1923-24 he worked as a correspondent in Paris and London for the

Arbeiderblad (Workers' Newspaper). From 1925 to 1928 he was editor-in-chief of the Norwegian Workers' Party paper, *Rjukan Arbeider* (Rjukan Worker). In 1928 he joined the Norwegian Communist Party. He collaborated on *Norges Kommunistblad* (Communist Newspaper of Norway) and later returned to Moscow to teach at the Leninist School of the Comintern.

When the Stalinist purges began in 1936 he rejoined the Norwegian Workers' Party and was active in its left wing. After World War II he took a pacifist and neutralist position in foreign policy, opposed the entry of Norway into NATO, and pleaded for friendship with the U.S.S.R. He died in 1956.

Frölich, Paul. Born in Leipzig in 1884, into a working-class family; he attended business school and then devoted himself to journalism. He joined the SPD in 1902. From 1910 to 1914 he wrote for the *Hamburger Echo*; from 1914 to 1916 he edited the *Bremer Bürgerzeitung*; and from 1916 to 1918 he and Johann Knief edited *Arbeiterpolitik*, a weekly which had become the mouthpiece of leftist socialism ("the Bremen left") and had taken a position resembling that of Karl Radek. In 1916 he represented that viewpoint at the international conference at Kienthal.

In 1918 he founded the newspaper *Rote Fahne* in Hamburg. On December 30, 1918, at the founding congress of the KPD, he was elected to the central committee as a "Bremen left" representative. At the congress of 1920 he was reelected but when the KPD merged with the left wing of the USPD in December he was no longer a central committee member. When Paul Levi's group left the party in 1921 he rejoined the central committee as a spokesman for the "theory of the offensive." At the Third Congress of the Comintern in June and July 1921 he was a delegate and speaker and entered the ECCI. From 1921 to 1924 he was communist deputy to the German Reichstag, to which he was reelected in 1928.

In December 1928 he was expelled from the party for being a leader of the rightist "conciliators"; he then joined the dissident communist opposition. In 1931 he helped form the Socialist Workers' Party, composed of left wing social-democrats and ex-communists. Immediately after Hitler's victory Frölich was imprisoned, and held until December 1933 in the Lichtenberg concentration camp. In May 1934 he settled in Paris. After the 1940 armistice in France he fled to the United States, where he stayed until after World War II. He returned to Germany in 1950 and died in Frankfurt in 1953.

Frölich published numerous articles and pamphlets and two books. In 1920, under the pseudonym Paul Werner, he published a pamphlet on the 1919 Bavarian Soviet Republic. His first book, *10 Jahr Krieg und Bürgerkrieg* (1924), was a volume of personal recollections; the other dealt with the life and work of Rosa Luxemburg and was translated into several languages.

Frossard, Louis-Oscar. Born in France in 1889; he became a schoolteacher and journalist and entered the SFIO at the time of its creation in 1905. During World War I he supported the party's pacifist and centrist minority; when that became the majority position, he was elected secretary-general, a post he held from 1918 until the party split at Tours in 1920. During the summer of 1920 he and Marcel Cachin went to Soviet Russia, where they participated in the Second Congress of the Comintern. After returning to France he campaigned for SFIO adherence to the Comintern and when the PCF was formed at Tours was elected secretary-general; he was reelected at the succeeding congresses in Marseilles (December 1921) and Paris (October 1922) and also served as a member of the directing committee of the party.

From the end of 1921 he differed with the Comintern on many important issues, among them the tactics of the United Front, and as a result led the majority of the PCF in opposition to the general line of Moscow. In June 1922 he attended the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI; this was his second and last trip to Moscow. In October 1922, at the party congress in Paris, he again opposed the views of the Comintern and its delegate, Dmitri Manuilsky. Although he did not attend the Fourth Congress of the Comintern (November 1922) he was elected in absentia a member of the ECCI and confirmed as secretary-general of the party; however, on January 1, 1923, he wrote a letter of resignation from the secretariat and the party. He then formed a "committee of resistance" and later attempted to form a dissident communist movement. Soon, however, he rejoined the SFIO and was elected a deputy in 1928, 1932, and 1936; in 1936 he disassociated himself from the socialist group in parliament.

Beginning in 1935 he held a series of ministerial posts in the French government, under Pierre Laval, Albert Sarraut, Camille Chautemps, Léon Blum (for whom he was minister of information), Edouard Daladier, and Paul Reynaud. At the time of the June 1940 armistice he was in Marshal Pétain's government.

Although Marshal Pétain asked him to participate in his National Council (after Frossard had left the government) Frossard refused but continued to be active as a journalist. As a result he was subjected to a judicial investigation at the time of the liberation but was acquitted of charges. He died in 1946. In addition to numerous articles and several brochures Frossard published two books on his communist experience—*De Jaurès à Lénine, notes et souvenirs d'un militant* (Paris, 1930) and *Sous le signe de Jaurès* (Paris, 1943).

Frumkina, Maria. Born in Minsk in 1880 into a middle-class merchant family; she finished her secondary education there and attended the University of Berlin. In 1901 she was active in the Jewish Socialist Party (Bund) in Russia and worked as a journalist and writer of fiction under the name Malka Lifschitz. Arrested several times by the tsarist police she went abroad and after the revolution

of February 1917 returned to Minsk, where she headed the Bundist newspaper *Der Veker*. At that time she was close to the Mensheviks but after the Bolshevik victory was increasingly sympathetic to the extreme left and at the eleventh congress of the Bund, held in Minsk in 1919, favored the Bolshevik side. She joined the RCP(B) and in 1920 attended the Second Congress of the Comintern, at which she participated in the debates on national and colonial questions. In 1921 she was a member of the RCP(B) delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern.

For the next few years she headed the Yiddish communist press and was in charge of the publication of Lenin's works in that language. In 1925 she was named rector of the KUNMZ; in addition, she was responsible for the Jewish section within the Comintern. During Stalin's purges, however, she was arrested and held in prison until her execution in late 1938, a fate shared by her two sisters, Rosa and Tamara.

Frunze, Mikhail V. Born in Turkestan in 1885 into a peasant family. He attended secondary school at Alma-Ata and entered the Polytechnic Institute at St. Petersburg in 1904, at which time he became active in the RSDLP. In the controversies between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks he was more closely allied with the Bolsheviks. In 1905 he was a delegate to the third party congress in London and in 1906 to the fourth congress in Stockholm. After returning to Russia he was arrested for revolutionary activity, sentenced to a long prison term, and deported; at the time of the February 1917 revolution he was free but in hiding. Later he was active in the Bolshevik political work in Byelorussia and then in Moscow in October 1917. At Ivanovo-Voznesensk he became a leader of the party and the soviet. At the beginning of the civil war he joined the Red Army and henceforth followed a military career. He fought, successively, on the Ural front, on the Turkestan front, and in southern Russia, where he commanded the Red Army against Wrangel in 1920; there he rid the Crimea of the last White stronghold. Later he fought in the Ukraine against the enemies of the Bolsheviks.

He was elected to the central committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and was chosen as the Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev candidate to succeed Trotsky; in 1924 he was named deputy chairman of the revolutionary military council, of which he became chairman in January 1925, and also became people's commissar for war.

At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was elected Ukrainian representative to the ECCI and then became an alternate member of its Presidium. In March 1925 he participated in the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, at which he represented the RCP(B) on the Yugoslav commission. He died on October 31 of that year following an operation.

Fuchs, Eduard. Born in Germany in 1870; he became a doctor of law, an attorney, a specialist in history and social history, and an art collector. While still very young he became interested in socialism and in 1886 joined the SPD. From 1892 to 1900 he wrote for the socialist press as editor-in-chief of the satiric weekly *Süddeutscher Postillon* and as co-editor of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. At the beginning of World War I he took a pacifist and internationalist position; in 1915 he traveled to Switzerland, where he met such well-known opponents of the war as Romain Rolland. He became a leader of the Spartacus League, in which he played an important role behind the scenes. At the end of 1918 Lenin's government placed him in charge of Russian war prisoners in Germany and under cover of this position he went to Moscow as an emissary of the Spartacus League, in which capacity he spoke with Lenin about the founding of the Comintern.

When the KPD was established at the end of December 1918 he remained the only one of its leaders without an official title. When the Comintern's WES was created in Berlin at the end of 1919 he joined it and was entrusted with the distribution of funds and the liaison between the KPD and foreign communist leaders traveling through Berlin. He also accompanied the German delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920, although his name was not included on the list of the delegates. Upon his return to Germany he continued to work behind the scenes as a leader in the KPD.

When conflicts and purges began to weaken the KPD Fuchs gradually removed himself from the party apparatus and from the Comintern. He remained a party member until 1929, when he left following the expulsion of several old leaders of the Spartacus League (such as August Thalheimer and Heinrich Brandler). When Hitler came to power in 1933 Fuchs went into exile; he died in 1940. He published an *Illustrated History of Customs* in six volumes and a *History of European Peoples in Caricature* in two volumes.

Fundo, Lazar. Born in Albania. A nationalist revolutionary influenced by communist theory he supported the Albanian government of Fan Noli; when it fell in December 1924 he went to Vienna, the headquarters of the Balkan Communist Federation. Later he went to Moscow for political indoctrination, probably at the KUNMZ. He became one of the first Albanians to work in the Comintern apparatus—in 1929 he attended the eighth conference of the Balkan Communist Federation, at which a proposal to found the Albanian Communist Party was approved; in 1930 and 1931 he returned to Vienna to collaborate on the periodical *Balkan Federation*; and in 1935 he was still writing for the Comintern press. He returned to Albania but during the Stalinist purges of the Comintern was accused of being a "Trotskyist traitor."

During World War II he joined the non-communist underground in Albania.

On September 22, 1942, in his dual capacity as head of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and a mandatory of the Comintern, Tito wrote a letter to the leaders of the Albanian Communist Party, stressing "the need to unmask publicly the traitor Fundo and prevent him from doing further harm." In the summer of 1944 Fundo was imprisoned by communist partisans in North Albania and after a mock trial was sentenced to death and executed.

Fürnberg, Friedl. Born in 1902; he attended technical school and at the end of World War I joined the Austrian Socialist Party. In 1919 he became a communist and in December 1922 attended the third congress of the KIM, at which he was elected to the executive committee. He then became head of the Austrian communist youth, for whom he spoke at the eighth congress of the Austrian Communist Party (ACP) in September 1925; from then on he remained a member of the party central committee. Meanwhile he continued to work for the Comintern and the KIM; at the fifth KIM congress in 1928 he was reelected to the executive committee and for a time was a secretary of the KIM.

In 1933 he was named secretary to ACP's Vienna organization, a position he held during the civil war of February 1934. In February 1935 he was arrested as part of the drive against the communist party; in 1937 he escaped to Prague and then to Moscow, where he remained until his return to Vienna in 1945. In Moscow he first worked for the Comintern as a representative of the ACP in the ECCI. Following the outbreak of the Soviet-German war he handled radio broadcasts destined for Austria. He escaped the Stalinist purge of Austrian immigrants in the Soviet Union and in 1944 was sent to Tito to organize a battalion of Austrian partisans.

In April 1945 he was named secretary-general of the ACP, a position he held for more than 20 years. At the nineteenth congress of the party in May 1965 he was joined by Erwin Scharf as second secretary of the central committee while Johann Kopleinig, the party president, was named honorary party president. In the U.S.S.R. in November 1967 Fürnberg represented his party and gave a speech at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution. At the close of the twentieth congress of the ACP in January 1969 he was reelected to the politburo and named one of three secretaries of the central committee but at the twenty-first congress of the party, held in June 1970, he ceased to be one of the party's secretaries, although he maintained his politburo post.

Furubotn, Peder. Born in 1890; he became militant in the Norwegian trade-union movement and with other members of the Norwegian Workers' Party joined the Comintern in 1919. In June 1923 he was a KIM delegate to the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI. He did not follow the majority of the Norwegian Workers' Party when it broke with the Comintern in November 1923. He remained head of the Norwegian communist youth organization and soon became secretary of the Norwegian Communist Party; as secretary he

worked closely with the Comintern and particularly with Iosif Platnitsky's OMS. At the second congress of the Norwegian Communist Party, held in May and June 1925, he was elected party president.

In 1928 he attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and joined the ECCI. In 1930 the Comintern criticized the Norwegian Communist Party leadership, after which he moved to Moscow, where he remained a Comintern official until 1937; there he participated in meetings of the enlarged plenum of the ECCI and at the eleventh plenum (April 1931) was elected an alternate member of the ECCI.

Returning to Norway in 1937 he led the party in the Bergen region. Following the German attack on the Soviet Union he organized communist resistance, visited the Soviet Union, and was with the Soviet troops when they arrived in the north of Norway.

He was secretary-general of the Norwegian Communist Party from 1945 until his resignation in June 1948. He came into conflict with the other party leader, Emil Lövlien, who gained the support of Moscow. After the October 1949 elections Lövlien blamed Furubotn for the communist defeat, called him a Trotskyist-Titoist and expelled him from the party. Meanwhile both the Cominform and *Pravda* had turned against Furubotn and in February 1950, at an extraordinary congress, his followers were also expelled from the party. Although he founded a dissident communist group, he continued to express faith in Moscow and Stalin.

G

Gailis, Karl. Born in 1887; he joined the Social Democratic Party of Latvia in 1906. Some time later he went to St. Petersburg, where he was active in the Bolshevik faction of the RSDLP. During World War I he fought near Latvia on the Dūna front. Following the revolution of February 1917 he reestablished contact with the Latvian socialist movement and when the Latvian Communist Party was formed after the Bolshevik victory at Petrograd was elected to its central committee. In March 1919 he took part in the founding congress of the Comintern as the only Latvian Communist Party representative. He also had a deliberative voice in the eighth Bolshevik congress in March 1919. Later in that year in Latvia he became a people's labor commissar in the newly established Soviet government there; when that regime fell he took refuge in Moscow, where he worked for many years in the people's commissariat of justice. He was among the few Latvian communists to survive Stalin's purges. When the Red Army occupied Latvia in 1940 he remained in the Soviet Union. He played no further political role and was still living in the Soviet Union in the early 1960s as a retired government employee.

Gallacher, William. Born in 1881 into a Scottish working-class family; he went to work at age 12 and became a mechanic. He joined the labor movement in the shipyards of the Clyde River; when the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees movement grew there during World War I, he became president of the Clyde Workers' Committee. He also joined the strike movement, which brought him two prison sentences—the first up to one year and the second up to three months.

In 1920 he represented the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees at the Second Congress of the Comintern. In speeches and discussions (with Lenin and others) he defended the leftist view and was particularly opposed to communist support of the Labour Party and participation in parliamentary action in England. Converted to communism he returned to England and helped found the communist party there. He was a member of its central committee from 1921 until his death in 1965.

At the same time he was associated with various directing bodies of the Comintern in Moscow, where he frequently spent long periods of time—in June 1925 he was a member of the British delegation to the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI; at the end of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI; at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in March and April 1925 he was one of the chairmen of the meeting and reported on the communist movement in Great Britain.

Just before the general strike of 1926 Gallacher spent nearly a year in prison; after his release he returned to Soviet Russia. During the period when Trotsky and Zinoviev fell he was elected to the highest positions in the Comintern apparatus. In November and December 1926 he addressed the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI and became a member of its Presidium, a position confirmed at the eighth and ninth plenums (May 1927 and February 1928) and again at the thirteenth plenum in December 1933. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was reelected to the ECCI and became an alternate member of its Presidium.

In England he had been defeated in the parliamentary elections of 1924, 1929, and 1931 but in 1935 he was elected to the British parliament. He was elected again in 1945 but was defeated in 1950, his last attempt. From 1943 to 1956 he was president of the executive committee of the British Communist Party and from 1956 to 1963 party president. He died in 1965. He wrote many pamphlets and books, including two political autobiographies—*Revolt on the Clyde* (London, 1936) and *Rolling on the Thunder* (London, 1947).

Garden, J. S. Born in Scotland in about 1880. He left for Australia at the turn of the century and in 1904 joined the Australian Labour Party; in 1913 and 1915 he ran unsuccessfully as its parliamentary candidate. He was militant in the trade-union movement and in 1918 was elected secretary for the trade unions of New South Wales. As a leftist he was expelled from the Labour

Party in 1915 and then formed a socialist party, which he reorganized and led as the communist party in October 1920. In 1922 he addressed the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and was elected to the ECCI.

In 1925 he was defeated again as a communist candidate for parliament and in 1926 he and some of his followers left the party after factional struggles; nevertheless, he was able to maintain relations with Moscow on the trade-union level. After the founding of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union, a Far Eastern subsidiary of the Profintern, he published its newspaper in Sydney. At the close of the fourth Profintern congress in 1928 he was elected to its executive bureau. During the 1930s he continued his trade-union work and also encouraged various attempts to form a leftist socialist movement.

Gedris, Kazimir. Born in Kovno in 1888; he worked as a laborer in Lithuania and St. Petersburg before emigrating to the United States in 1913. During World War I he joined the left wing of the American Socialist Party. Following the revolution of February 1917 he returned to Russia, where he joined the Bolshevik Party; after November 1917 he worked at the commissariat of Lithuanian affairs and in the Lithuanian section of the RCP(B) central committee. At the founding congress of the Comintern in March 1919 he was the only delegate representing the Lithuanian and Byelorussian Communist Party and had a deliberative vote. Later in the year he was sent to further the Bolshevik cause in territories occupied by Poland but in early 1920 the Polish authorities arrested and imprisoned him; in the following year he was freed and turned over to the Russians in exchange for Polish prisoners-of-war. He remained in Russia until 1924, when he was sent to Lithuania to assist the communist party there; arrested and sentenced, he was freed by amnesty in 1926. Later in the year he was arrested again and in December executed by the Lithuanian authorities.

Geminder, Bedřich. Born in Moravia in 1901 into a German Jewish family. He went to secondary school in his home town, Ostrava, and joined the Zionist youth group, Blue White; from 1919 until 1921 he studied in Berlin. Upon returning to Czechoslovakia he joined the communist party and from 1924 to 1926 lived in Soviet Russia, where he worked for the secret apparatus of the Comintern. In the years following he continued to work for the Comintern in Czechoslovakia and other foreign countries, using the aliases Otto Kramer and Vitavski. In 1928 he attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the fifth congress of the KIM, at which he joined the 55-member executive committee. In 1934-35 he resided in Moscow, worked in the Comintern Agitprop section, and wrote for its press under the pseudonym G. Friedrich.

Following the Munich pact of September 1938 he settled in the Soviet Union, where he worked for the Comintern central apparatus, directing its press and information service, again as G. Friedrich. In 1945 he was given the Order

of Lenin. He then returned to Czechoslovakia, where he became a secretary of the central committee of the communist party and took charge of international affairs; in that capacity he maintained relations with other communist parties. In 1947 he was part of the Czechoslovak delegation to the founding conference of the Cominform, although he was not mentioned on the public or official roll. Four years later, however, he fell victim to the East European purges, which in general were aimed at Jewish communists. In September 1951 his name was removed from the editorial committee list for the party journal, *Funkcionar*, and later in the month he and Rudolf Slanský were arrested. Prosecuted at the same public trial as Slanský, he was sentenced to death and shot on December 3, 1952.

Gennari, Egidio. Born in 1876; he joined the Italian Socialist Party at age 20 and was active in its left wing just prior to World War I; during the war he took a pacifist and internationalist stand. He was elected party secretary at the Italian Socialist Party congress of 1918 in Bologna. Following the Second Congress of the Comintern he favored the communist faction of the party. At the party split in Leghorn in January 1921 he joined the Italian Communist Party and became a member of its central committee. In 1921 he was elected communist deputy to the Italian parliament. In that year he also attended the Third Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed on behalf of his party, was one of the congress chairmen, and at its close was elected to the Presidium of the ECCI. From August to December 1921 he took part in the meetings of both the ECCI and its Presidium. Those positions were confirmed at the Fourth Comintern Congress in November and December 1922.

When he returned to Italy in 1923 Mussolini was already in power. Under the pseudonym Vecchini he remained on the party executive committee and in 1924 was reelected a deputy. Although absent from the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was elected to the ICC. In 1926 he left Italy, first for France and then for Soviet Russia, where he participated in the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI (February and March 1926) and the seventh plenum (November and December 1926), at which he was elected an alternate member of the Presidium of the ECCI, a position confirmed at the eighth plenum (May 1927). In 1931 he addressed the congress of the Italian Communist Party, held in Germany near Cologne, and was elected a member of the central committee. In the mid-1930s a long illness removed him from political activity. He settled permanently in the U.S.S.R., was spared during the great purge, and died in April 1942 at Gorki.

Germanetto, Giovanni. Born in 1885; he worked as a hairdresser. In 1903 he joined the trade-union movement and then became a member of the Italian Socialist Party. He opposed World War I as "imperialist" and in Mondovi and Saluzzo began to write pacifist and socialist newspaper articles. Later he

joined the extreme left; as a representative of the Fossano section at the Leghorn congress of the socialist party in January 1921 he voted in favor of the new communist party. In October 1922 he participated in the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. Three months later he settled in Turin as an active member of the Italian Communist Party. In 1923, with Amadeo Bordiga and 30 other communist militants, he was brought to trial but released for lack of evidence. In 1924 he paid another visit to Moscow. Returning to Italy in March 1925 he was made editor of the trade-union section of the party organ, *L'Unità*. In 1926 he was arrested and given a five-year sentence but escaped first to France and then to Soviet Russia. At the fourth congress of the Profintern, held in March and April 1928, he was elected to the executive committee and at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in August 1928 he spoke for the Italian Communist Party.

At the time of Bordiga's elimination from leadership in 1926 Germanetto was elected an alternate member of the party central committee; when another purge left vacancies in the central committee in 1931 he was promoted to full membership.

From 1928 on he was active in the Profintern as a member of its executive committee and secretariat and took many trips to Germany, Austria, and especially France. At the fifth congress of the Profintern (August 1930) he took part in the debates and was reelected to the executive committee. In 1937, during the liquidation of the Profintern and the Stalinist purges, he returned to Soviet Russia but remained untouched.

At the end of World War II he returned to Italy and settled at Cuneo, where he managed the party newspaper. From 1948 on he was a member of the control commission of the party; in 1948 he went to Rome to work in the party central apparatus. In 1953, though ill, he visited Soviet Russia, where he wrote for Soviet newspapers; he died in Moscow in 1959.

He published several books. His first, *Memorie di un barbiere*, appeared for the first time in Paris but in the Italian language (1930), then in Moscow in German (1933) and Russian (1935); it was prefaced by Palmiro Togliatti and translated into more than 20 languages. His last, *Trent'anni di lotte dei comunisti italiani, 1921-1951*, appeared in Rome in 1952; it was written in cooperation with Paolo Robotti, Togliatti's former brother-in-law.

Gerő, Ernő. Born in 1898; he became a medical student and (under his real name, Singer) joined the Hungarian Communist Party in 1918. A militant supporter of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919 he emigrated when it collapsed but returned in 1922 to carry on clandestine communist activity. The police quickly arrested and imprisoned him but he was released in 1924 in an exchange of political prisoners with the Soviet Union. He then became politically active in Western Europe, especially in Paris, where until 1927 he was secretary of the Hungarian communist organization.

With the purging of old Comintern cadres by Stalin there was room for promotion for newer militants such as Gerő. He was first called to central headquarters in Moscow and then on various European missions and in 1931 left for Paris on a special mission as "instructor" for the PCF. In June 1932 he was arrested by French authorities while leaving a secret meeting of French communist leaders.

During preparations for the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1934 and 1935 he was in Moscow with Dmitri Manuilsky. Following the outbreak of the Spanish civil war he was sent to Spain as a Comintern emissary; at the same time he had ties with the Soviet secret service. Using the pseudonym Pedro (he also used the names Pierre and Ernst), he distinguished himself for resoluteness as a Stalinist agent, particularly during the communist attack in Barcelona against the leftist but anti-communist Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM).

Returning to Moscow after the Spanish civil war he became Manuilsky's secretary. He returned to Hungary with the Soviet troops. As early as 1945 he became a member of the Hungarian Communist Party politburo and from 1945 to 1948 served as minister of communications under various coalition governments. In 1952 he became deputy prime minister. When Imre Nagy became prime minister in 1953 Gerő remained his deputy and also became minister of the interior. In July 1956, after Rákosi's fall, Gerő was named secretary-general of the party, a position he held during the Hungarian revolution. Swept aside by that event he took refuge in the Soviet Union, where he settled permanently. In August 1962, at a meeting of the enlarged central committee of the Hungarian Communist Party, both Gerő and Rákosi were expelled from the party.

Geschke, Ottomar. Born in 1882; he became a mechanic and joined the German trade-union and socialist movements in 1908; in 1919 he was jailed briefly for revolutionary activities. Shortly after its founding he joined the KPD and supported its left wing, led by Ruth Fischer and Arkadi Maslow. In 1921 he was elected deputy to the Prussian Landtag. In November 1922 he and Ruth Fischer were left-wing delegates to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. After Comintern intervention in May 1923, the left wing was given four seats in the KPD central committee; one of them went to Geschke. When the left wing assumed party leadership at the April 1924 congress Geschke was reelected to the central committee and named to the politburo under the pseudonym Gebhardt. In June and July 1924 he was a delegate to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed, sat on the congress presidium, and was elected to the ECCI and its Presidium and to the Secretariat. In March and April 1925 he participated in the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and the first Comintern conference on organizational questions, called by Iosif Piatnitsky.

Returning to Germany Geschke offered a report on the organizational problems to the July congress of the KPD. At the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in 1926 after the fall of Zinoviev, he gave a speech, acted as a commission member, and was reelected to alternate membership in the ECCI Presidium. In Essen in March 1927 he was one of three presidents of the eleventh congress of the KPD. At the eighth plenum of the ECCI in May he was again elected to Presidium membership; at the ninth plenum in February 1928 he was elected an alternate member. Also in 1928 he was elected communist deputy to the Reichstag. In September 1928 he voted for the unanimous condemnation of Ernst Thälmann in the "Wittorf affair." (Wittorf was a member of the central committee of the KPD and the leader of the party organization in Hamburg. He was charged with having appropriated party funds; Thälmann wanted to cover up the entire affair and that caused dissatisfaction among the other party leaders. The "Wittorf affair" is not important because of the person and the accusations made against Wittorf but because of the immediate political implications—on September 26, 1928, the central committee of the KPD voted unanimously against Thälmann; on October 1, under pressure from the Comintern, 26 members of the central committee withdrew their votes of non-confidence against Thälmann; and the elimination of Thälmann's opponents began.) When he realized that Moscow supported Thälmann, Geschke, like Wilhelm Florin and Franz Dahlem, made a self-criticism. He was allowed to address the twelfth congress of the KPD, held in Berlin in June 1929, but was demoted in the party hierarchy and thereafter worked for the MOPR. Following Hitler's victory in 1933 he was arrested and sent to Buchenwald concentration camp where he remained until the end of World War II.

In 1945 he reappeared in Berlin; his name was listed on the first manifesto addressed by the KPD central committee to the German people in June. His signature also appeared on the act of unification of the KPD and SPD in the Soviet zone but when the SED was formed in April 1946 he was not elected to its central committee. He presided over the association of Fascist victims and for a short period before retiring from political life headed the communist organization in East Berlin. He died in 1957.

Geyer, Curt. Born in Leipzig in 1891, the son of an SPD politician. From 1911 to 1914 he studied political economy at the University of Leipzig, where he received his doctorate, and like his father was militant in the SPD. He devoted himself to political journalism in Leipzig and Nuremberg and in 1917 became editor of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. His centrist and internationalist attitude during World War I led him to join the USPD at its founding in 1917. When the German imperial regime fell he was president of the Leipzig Workers' Council in 1918-19. In December 1918 he became president of the USPD group at the first congress of German workers' councils. When the USPD split on the matter in 1920, he favored joining the Comintern. At the December

1920 congress at which the KPD and the majority left wing of the USPD merged, he was elected to the new central committee. Later he represented the newly unified KPD to the ECCI, with which he worked in February and March 1921.

When Paul Levi, a former president of the party, came into conflict with the Comintern Geyer signed a declaration of support for Levi, an action which brought about his break with the party and the Comintern. He later rejoined the SPD, becoming a member of its executive bodies and presidium. When Hitler came to power Geyer fled to Western Europe, where he continued to serve as a member of the SPD presidium. During and after World War II he lived in Great Britain; he died in 1967.

Ghioldi, Rodolfo. Born in 1897, son of a laborer; he became a teacher and a militant in the Argentine socialist movement. A leftist, he worked in 1917 as co-director of the party organ, *La Internacional*. In January 1918 the leftists split from the Socialist Party and founded the Socialist Internationalist Party, which decided to join the Comintern at its congress of December 1920; from the beginning Ghioldi was one of the party leaders. In June and July 1921 he made his first visit to Soviet Russia, where he was the only delegate of the Argentine party to the Third Congress of the Comintern.

Widely known as a communist leader he participated in the communist activities of other Latin American countries; in Chile in 1921, for example, he represented the Comintern at the founding congress of the Chilean Communist Party. In February 1927 he joined the Latin American delegation to the Brussels congress of the League Against Imperialism. He also worked with the South American Secretariat of the Comintern. In 1928 he attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and was elected to the ECCI. From 1928 to 1934 he was secretary-general of the Argentine Communist Party. In 1934 he returned to Moscow for deliberations preceding the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935, at which he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. In November he and Luis Prestes attempted to start an insurrection in Brazil, for which Ghioldi was arrested, tried, and sentenced to four and a half years in prison.

In 1941 he returned to Argentina; there he was again arrested, in 1943. From there he went to Montevideo, where he led the foreign bureau of the Argentine Communist Party. He then returned to Argentina, where he was an unsuccessful candidate for senator from Buenos Aires in 1945.

In the two decades following World War II he often lived in foreign countries and made several trips to Moscow. In February 1956 he participated in the twentieth congress of the CPSU, and in November 1967 attended the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. In August 1959 he had represented the Argentine Communist Party at the conference of Latin American communist leaders held in Santiago. In 1963 he opened the twelfth congress of the Argentine Communist Party, and in 1965 represented the party at a

meeting in Prague to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. In March 1969 he opened the thirteenth congress of the Argentine Communist Party and then in June of the same year was the chief of the Argentine delegation at the international conference of communist parties held in Moscow.

Girault, Suzanne. Born Suzanne Depollier at La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland, in 1882. Before World War I she went to Russia to serve as a French language tutor for wealthy families. She joined the communist movement after 1917 and at the beginning of 1919 was a member of the French communist group in Kiev; she later became its secretary. Late in 1919 (after the evacuation of Kiev), she went to Moscow, where in July and August 1920, at the Second Congress of the Comintern, she served as an interpreter and aid to Alfred Rosmer and his wife. Later she went to France where, thanks to her Comintern ties, she was co-opted into the politburo of the PCF at the close of 1923. At the party congress in Lyon in January 1924 her functions as a member of the central committee and the politburo were confirmed; after the congress she and Albert Treint virtually ruled the party, owing to Zinoviev's support from Moscow. In June and July 1924 she belonged to the French delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, at which she became an alternate member of the ECCI. In March 1925 she was in Moscow again for the Comintern conference on organizational questions.

At the fifth congress of the PCF in June 1926, she was reelected to the central committee. She and Treint soon came under attack when Zinoviev lost his position at the Comintern. The party decided to expel her as a Trotskyist and in February 1928 the ninth enlarged plenum of the ECCI confirmed that decision. The Sixth Congress of the Comintern rejected the appeal she made in the name of a group called Leninist Unity, which demanded reintegration in the PCF but unlike Treint she later was readmitted to the party. After World War II she was elected as party representative to the French Council of the Republic (Senate) in 1946, 1948, and 1952. At the January 1967 party congress she was in the delegation of party veterans.

Gitlow, Benjamin. Born in New York in 1891 to Russian Jewish immigrants; he began working at an early age as an office employee and soon joined the American socialist and trade-union movements. When the Comintern was founded he espoused the communist cause. At the congress of the Communist Labor Party of America on September 1, 1919, he and John Reed were among the leading militants but in November he was arrested for communist activity and imprisoned for two years. After his release he quickly reached the top of the communist party hierarchy—he joined the party politburo and in 1924 and 1928 was a communist candidate for vice-president of the United States.

In May 1927 he participated in the eighth enlarged plenum of the ECCI

and in March and April 1928 took part in the fourth congress of the Profintern. At the close of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, also held that year, he was elected an alternate member of the ECCL. In March 1929, at the sixth convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, he was elected secretary-general. In April, however, he and an American communist delegation were summoned to Moscow. There, in May, an American commission sitting with Stalin on the Comintern Presidium publicly eliminated Gitlow from the leadership of the CPUSA. After that he became a dissident communist and then an anti-communist. He died in 1965.

He described his experiences with communism in his autobiography—the first version appeared in 1940 under the title *I Confess; The Truth about American Communism*; the second version appeared in 1948 as *The Whole of Their Lives: Communism in America. A Personal History and Intimate Portrayal of Its Leaders*.

Gitton, Marcel. Born in 1903; he became a construction worker and was active in the French trade-union movement and, in 1919, the Socialist Youth Federation. He joined the PCF after its formation at the congress in Tours in December 1920. He also became active in the CGTU and in 1925 was named secretary for the Paris region of the building construction union. In 1929 he entered the national secretariat of the CGTU. At the same time he began his career in the central apparatus of the PCF—in 1928 he became a member of the central committee; beginning in September 1929 he participated in the work of the politburo, to which he was elected officially in March 1932 at the seventh congress of the party; in August and September he was a party delegate and spokesman at the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCL; in November in Paris he became a central committee secretary in charge of the trade-union section of the party; on July 27, 1934, he was one of the party signatories to the pact for united action between the PCF and the SFIO; in 1935 he was a spokesman for the party at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. In 1936 he was elected a communist deputy and in 1939 he was drafted. However, following the Hitler-Stalin pact, he broke with the PCF and communism generally.

With other militant communists who had left the party at the same time he helped found the Worker-Peasant Party. His anticommunist activities brought him into collaboration with the Germans early in the war. He died in September 1941 in an assassination attributed to the PCF.

Goldenberg, M. Born in Rumania in 1897; during World War I he pursued university studies in Paris. As a militant in the Socialist Youth Federation he leaned toward its extreme left; after the October 1917 revolution in Russia he fully supported Bolshevism. In December 1919 he was the Paris delegate to the Geneva congress of revolutionary students which voted to join the Comin-

tern. In 1920 he was a socialist youth delegate to the Second Congress of the Comintern and took a position close to the left—he spoke in favor of a radical wording of the 21 conditions for admission to the Communist International and criticized Moscow's decision to admit the centrists of the SFIO into the Comintern. At that time and in later years he was known in the French political and journalistic world under two other names, Robert Thal and Marcel Ollivier.

After leaving Soviet Russia he was arrested in Germany and expelled to France; he returned to Moscow in 1923 and, using the name Ollivier, wrote for the Comintern press (in *Inprekorr*, for example) and worked as a permanent employee of the Marx-Engels Institute under the direction of David Riazanov. In 1928 he left Soviet Russia and turned away from communism. During the Spanish civil war he was a correspondent for Paris non-communist weeklies and following World War II worked in France as a translator and free-lance journalist. He translated into French Enrique Castro Delgado's, *La vida secreta de la Komintern: como perdí la fe en Moscú*, Madrid, 1950 (the title of the French translation is *J'ai perdu la foi à Moscou*), and Rudolf Hilferding's *Finanzkapital*.

Gollan, John. Born in 1911 into a working-class family; in his youth he was a construction worker, house painter, and fisherman. In 1927 he joined the British Communist Party but in 1931 his communist and antimilitarist activities cost him six months in jail. In 1932 he participated in the leadership of the British Communist Youth and wrote for its newspaper, *Young Worker*. In 1935 he became a secretary of the central committee of the British Communist Youth and a member of the central committee of the British Communist Party. Also in that year he addressed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and took part in the sixth congress of the KIM, which elected him a member of its executive committee. In 1940 he left his position as secretary-general of the Communist Youth to enter the British Communist Party politburo. He was also regional secretary of the party for Scotland until 1947, when he went to London to work in the party's central apparatus. In 1949 he became deputy secretary-general of the party and also was editor-in-chief of the communist paper *Daily Worker*. After the twentieth congress of the CPSU in May 1956 he was elected secretary-general of the British Communist Party and named editor-in-chief of the theoretical monthly review *Marxism Today*. In November 1960 he was chief of and spokesman for the British delegation to the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow. He was reelected secretary-general at both the 1963 and 1965 congresses of the British Communist Party. He attended the twenty-second congress of the CPSU in October 1961. Early in 1963 he visited Moscow and Peking. In June 1965 he headed the British delegation to the conference of West European communist parties held in Brussels. In November 1967, during the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the October revolution in Moscow, he gave a speech on behalf of

the British Communist Party. He published numerous articles and several books, including *The British Political System*, which was translated into Russian and published in Moscow in 1955.

Gomez, Manuel. Born in the United States with the name Charles Philips; he became a journalist. Attracted to communism, he often traveled to Mexico, where in 1919 he was associated with Manabendra N. Roy and met Mikhail Borodin, whom he accompanied on his trip to Spain early in 1920. From there they traveled to Moscow via Berlin to take part in the Second Congress of the Comintern in July of that year and he attended the congress as a Mexican representative with M. N. Roy and his wife. Returning to Latin America he took the name Manuel Gomez and became a militant in communist circles of various countries there. He then settled in Chicago and became secretary for North America of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League established in 1925. In February 1927 he represented the United States and addressed the international congress of the League Against Imperialism, held in Brussels. In 1928 he returned to Soviet Russia to represent Latin America at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, at which he was elected a member of the ECCI; in 1929, however, he was expelled from the CPUSA.

Gomułka, Władysław. Born in 1905 into a Polish working-class family; he completed primary school and at age 14 began work as an apprentice steam fitter and later as a mechanic. He was active in the trade-union movement and joined the socialist youth organization. His political opinion became more and more leftist; in 1924 he was expelled from the Polish Socialist Party and in 1926 he became a member of the then illegal communist party, which activity led to several clashes with police between 1929 and 1933—for example, during the Lodz strike of 1931.

Meanwhile he had been militant in the trade-union movement in the Dabrowa region of Poland and at the end of the 1920s also served as a member of the regional committee of the communist party. In 1930 he became national secretary of the chemical industry union and in 1931 was among the leaders of the leftist opposition within the trade-union movement. Simultaneously he worked in the trade-union section attached to the Polish Communist Party central committee. After a short prison term in 1934 he was sent by the party to Moscow, where for two years he studied at the Leninist School of the Comintern. Returning to Poland in 1936 he was arrested and sentenced to seven years in prison. During his incarceration the Polish Communist Party was dissolved by the Comintern and almost all of its cadres in the U.S.S.R. were physically liquidated. When World War II began in September 1939 Gomułka was freed; he escaped to Soviet territory but in 1942 returned to occupied Poland and using the pseudonym Wiesław, took part in the communist resistance against the Germans.

When the Comintern decided to reconstitute the Polish Communist Party in 1942 under the name Polish Workers' Party, Gomułka was named party secretary in Warsaw and a member of the party central committee; in December he also became a member of the politburo. In November 1943 he replaced the arrested Pavel FINDER as secretary-general of the party. When the provisional government of Lublin was formed in December 1944 Gomułka was named vice-president, a position he kept under the provisional government of the national union formed in June 1945. In November he also became minister of recovered territories.

In September 1947 he was a Polish delegate at the founding meeting of the Cominform; however, after Tito's excommunication from the Cominform by Stalin in June 1948 Gomułka became a target of the pro-Soviet faction within the Polish Communist Party. At the third plenum of the party's central committee (September 1948) he was removed from the party secretariat and from the government and in November 1949 was expelled from the party. In August 1951 he was arrested and confined but not brought to trial; he was released from prison at the end of 1954. At the eighth plenum of the Polish Communist Party central committee, in October 1956, he returned to power as secretary-general of the party. That event inaugurated a new era in communist Poland. Gomułka was reelected continuously as first-secretary of the Polish Communist Party and held that office until December 1970, when a workers' revolt in several Polish cities forced him to relinquish his party post.

Gonçalves, Bento Antonio. Born in 1900; he became a lathe operator. At an early age he joined the small and illegal Portuguese Communist Party and became secretary-general in 1929, when the Comintern was selecting young militants to head its foreign sections. He was jailed briefly in 1931 and 1932 but resumed his communist activities—in September 1932, using the pseudonym Antonio, he was a delegate and speaker at the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI; in July and August 1935 he addressed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern under another assumed name, Antonio Queiros, and submitted a written report on the history of the Portuguese Communist Party to the ECCI. After his return to Portugal he was arrested, and in 1936 was deported to the concentration camp on the island of Tarrafal; he continued to maintain contact with the communist organization on the mainland until his death in September 1942.

Gopner, Serafima I. Born in the Ukraine in 1880; she was active in socialist and Marxist circles there as early as 1901 and joined the RSDLP in 1903. Arrested several times for revolutionary activity she went into self-imposed exile in 1910 and settled in Paris, where she joined the Bolsheviks. In 1916 she returned to Russia to resume political activity under the pseudonym Natasha. After the revolution of February 1917 she took part in the Ekaterinoslav

soviet and in April of that year participated in the Bolshevik conference held in Petrograd. In 1918, after the Bolshevik victory, she worked in the secretariat of the Ukrainian Communist Party central committee. In 1919 she was deputy commissar for public education in the Ukrainian Soviet government and in March attended the founding congress of the Comintern as one of two delegates from the Ukrainian Communist Party, which she again represented at the Second Congress in 1920. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 she was a member of the commission named to prepare a resolution on Leninism.

In 1928, after the elimination of Trotsky, Zinoviev, and other Bolshevik leaders in the RCP(B) and the Comintern, she received two promotions—she was elected a member of the central committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party (a position she held until 1938), and at the close of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern she was elected to alternate membership on the ECCI (a position she held until the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943). In the early 1930s she joined the Secretariat of the ECCI, for which she directed the Agitprop section. She addressed both the twelfth and thirteenth enlarged plenums of the ECCI in 1932 and 1933; she also addressed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, and was reelected to alternate membership in the ECCI. She and Kuusinen were the only two persons in the history of the Comintern to be delegates to all seven congresses of that organization.

In 1934 she received a doctorate in history and after 1945 worked at the Marx-Lenin Institute in close cooperation with the central committee of the CPSU. She died in 1966.

Gorkić, Milan. Born Josip Čižinski in Sarajevo in 1904. (His father was born in the South Carpatho-Ukrainian region; before World War I he worked as a civil servant for the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia.) Josip studied at a commercial school and joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) when it was founded in 1919-20. Later he left Yugoslavia, participated in an international conference of communist youth in Vienna in 1922, and then went to Moscow. In 1923 he published his first article in the *Inprekorr* under his real name Čižinski. Then, taking the name Milan Gorkić, he worked for the next 15 years in the central apparatus of the KIM and then in the Comintern. In 1924 he was a member of the KIM executive committee. By 1928 many KIM leaders (Voja Vujović, Richard Schüller, Lazar Shatskin, and Vissarion Lominadze) had been disgraced or transferred, but that year Gorkić addressed the fifth congress of the KIM and became its secretary, and at the close of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern joined the ICC. He also became a member of the CPY politburo. In July 1929 he was a delegate and speaker for the KIM at the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI.

Having been a protégé of Bukharin Gorkić now followed Manuilsky and in 1932, under the pseudonym Sommer, became secretary-general of the CPY, which he directed until 1934 from Moscow and Vienna, then the official seat

of the party central committee. During that time he made several secret trips to Yugoslavia—as in December 1934, when he chaired a national CPY conference in Ljubljana. In 1935 he headed the Yugoslav delegation to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, at which he became an alternate member of the ECCI and its only CPY representative.

When the seat of the Yugoslav party's central committee was transferred from Vienna to Paris in 1936 Gorkić found himself commuting between the French capital and Moscow. In June 1937 he was invited by the Comintern leadership to return to Moscow but after his arrival was arrested and soon executed. His first wife, Betty Glane (director of the Park of Culture in Moscow), suffered the same fate.

While he worked for the Comintern Gorkić published numerous articles and two pamphlets—the first, in Russian, *Experience in the Underground Movement: Activity and Tasks of the Illegal Sections of the Communist Youth International* (Moscow, 1928); the second, in Serbian, *Toward New Paths* (Brussels, 1937).

Gorter, Hermann. Born in Holland in 1864; he became known as a poet, publicist, and Marxist theoretician. He joined the Workers' Social Democratic Party of Holland in 1897 and founded the review *De Nieuwe Tijd* (New Times) in 1899. He was opposed to reformist socialism and in 1907 helped found the journal *De Tribune*, an organ for the leftist position in the Dutch social-democratic movement. When the left split from the official Social Democratic Party he participated in founding the new Social Democratic Party of Holland (Tribunists).

During World War I he was an internationalist and pacifist but that did not stop him from opposing the Entente rather than the Central Powers. In November 1914 he published a pamphlet—*Imperialism, the World War, and Social Democracy*—which had a certain influence in German Spatakist circles. Gorter's position attracted Lenin's sympathy, and after the Zimmerwald conference of September 1915 Gorter joined the Zimmerwald Left and established contact with Lenin. He welcomed the Bolshevik revolution in Petrograd and in 1918 joined the Dutch Communist Party, which had been formed from the Tribune party. He supported the Comintern from the beginning and was listed among the contributors to its official organ, *Communist International*. He also took part in the work of the Comintern's Amsterdam bureau, established in the autumn of 1919.

Meanwhile, he continued to publicize his leftist position. He opposed communist participation in trade-union and parliamentary work and in 1920 published an *Open Letter to Comrade Lenin* and pleaded for his cause on a trip to Moscow. It was all in vain; in 1921 he left the Dutch Communist Party and founded a dissident communist group called the Workers' Communist Party of Holland. He exercised a certain ideological influence on a dissident party formed in

Germany, the KAPD. In 1921 he published a pamphlet entitled *Moskauer International*, in which he criticized Comintern methods and concepts as being too Russian. In 1922 and 1923 he gradually retired from political activity; he died in 1927.

Gošnjak, Ivan. Born in Croatia in 1909 into a family of artisans; he became a carpenter and in 1933 joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), which in 1935 sent him to the Leninist School of the Comintern in Moscow for political training. He remained there from November 1935 to January 1937, when he was transferred to a Soviet military school; in March he was sent to Spain and took part in the civil war there. He fought first in the Fifteenth and then in the One Hundred Twenty-Ninth International Brigade; in the latter he was, successively, company commander, battalion deputy commander, and a captain on the general staff. Wounded once, he retreated into France where he was interned in the Girs and Vernet concentration camps from February 1939 through November 1941, when he escaped under an assumed name.

In July 1942 he returned to Yugoslavia through Germany and soon became commander-in-chief of the communist resistance forces in Croatia. Given the rank of general he commanded the second corps of the Yugoslav Partisan Army at the end of the war, and then was sent to the Superior Military Academy in Moscow. After his return to Yugoslavia he was named chief of the section of the cadres of the Yugoslav army and then, in 1947, deputy minister for national defense. He also assumed high functions in the CPY—in December 1945 he became a member of the party's central committee; in July 1948, at the fifth congress of the party, a member of the politburo; and at the sixth congress of the party, in November 1952, a member of the secretariat of the party's central committee. When the politburo became the presidium of the central committee in October 1966 he maintained his presidium post. At the time of the Yugoslav constitutional reform in January 1953 he was named minister for national defense. (This title was changed later to state secretary for national defense.) In 1969, however, he relinquished both of his highest functions—as a member of the presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and as secretary for national defense.

Gottwald, Klement. Born in 1896 into a Moravian peasant family. In his youth he became an apprentice woodworker and moved to Vienna, where he rallied to the social democratic youth organization in 1912. He was drafted and served in the Austro-Hungarian army from 1915 to 1918. He joined the left wing of the Social Democratic Party after the war and the Czechoslovak Communist Party when it was founded in 1921. From 1922 to 1925 he edited a communist newspaper in Slovakia. At the third congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in October 1925 he was elected to its central committee. From 1926 to 1929 he was responsible for the central committee's agitprop

section and during that period also was promoted to membership in the party politburo. In 1928 he was a member of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, at which he debated, and was elected a member of the ECCI.

At the fifth congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in February 1929 he became its secretary-general; in that he had the support of the Comintern, which at that time was backing young non-intellectual militants as leaders in many foreign sections. Also in 1929 he was elected a deputy to the Czechoslovak parliament. He was his party's spokesman at the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in July and was elected to membership in the ECCI Presidium, in August and September 1932 he was a co-reporter at the ECCI's twelfth enlarged plenum; in December 1933 he addressed the thirteenth enlarged plenum and was reelected to the Presidium of the ECCI. From August 1934 until February 1936 he remained in Moscow almost without interruption. He took part in preparations for the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which met in July and August 1935, and at the congress headed the Czechoslovak delegation and was elected to the directing bodies of the Comintern—the ECCI, its Presidium and its Secretariat. He supported Stalin's policy without reservation in Moscow, in Prague (to which he returned in 1936), and in Paris (where in April 1937 he attended the conference of seventeen communist parties on the subject of the Spanish civil war). In November 1938, immediately after the Munich pact, he returned to Moscow and resumed his work with the Secretariat until the Comintern was dissolved in May 1943; his signature is on the act of dissolution.

With the prospect of Soviet victory in World War II Gottwald's political role in Czechoslovakia grew more important—in 1943 he met with president Beneš during the latter's visit to Moscow and in March 1945 he negotiated with the heads of various parties for the creation of the Czechoslovak National Front and the formation of the coalition government, which was established in April at Košice. At that time he became deputy prime minister of Czechoslovakia, was elected chairman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and after the July 1946 elections assumed the functions of prime minister. After the communist coup in Prague in February 1948 he was elected president of the republic, a position he held continuously from June 14, 1948, until his death on March 14, 1953, when he was returning from Stalin's funeral in Moscow.

Gramsci, Antonio. Born in Sardinia in 1891, the son of a minor municipal employee; he was left hunchbacked following a childhood accident. He went to primary and secondary schools in Sardinia and then received a grant to the University of Turin, where he began courses in history, philology, and linguistics in October 1911. He joined the Socialist Youth Federation in 1913 and the Italian Socialist Party in 1914. In November he completed his university studies and then worked as a journalist for the socialist weekly of Turin, *Il Grido del Popolo*, and, beginning in 1916, for *Avanti!* In 1917 he was elected

secretary of the Turin section of the Italian Socialist Party, in which he leaned toward the left. Also, he was one of the founders of the weekly *L'Ordine Nuovo*, which appeared in Turin on May 1, 1919.

Meanwhile he supported the cause of the Bolshevik revolution and the Comintern. At the founding congress of the Italian Communist Party in Leghorn in January 1921 he was elected to membership on the central committee; after the second congress in Rome (March 1922) he left for Moscow as a party representative to the ECCI. In June 1922 he took part in the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI and was made a member of its Presidium. He also took part in the preparations for the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and just before that congress, on October 25, 1922, talked with Lenin about the problems of the communist movement in Italy. At the close of the congress he was elected a member of the ECCI and an alternate member of its Presidium. At the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1923 he took part in the work of the Austrian commission and closely followed the work of the Italian commission.

Gramsci was away from Italy during the events which culminated in the Fascist victory. In the autumn of 1923, after the ECCI's third enlarged plenum, he left Moscow for Vienna, where he maintained close contact with communist party leaders in Italy, using in his correspondence the pseudonym Masci. After being elected deputy in April 1924 he returned to Italy to lead the communist faction in parliament. In March and April 1925 he returned to Moscow for the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, at which he took part in the work of several commissions. At the third congress of the Italian Communist Party in Lyon in January 1926 the Gramsci faction, with Comintern support, captured the party leadership from Amadeo Bordiga.

Gramsci returned to Italy and in the autumn of 1926 prepared to participate in the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, called for November 22 but on November 8 was arrested by Fascist police. In May 1928, with several other party leaders, he was tried and sentenced to 20 years of imprisonment. In 1929 he began writing his *Prison Notebooks*, of which there were eventually 32. His health declined in 1931 but it was not until 1934 that he was transferred to a prison clinic, first in Formia and then in Rome, where he died in 1937.

The Italian edition of his complete works first appeared in 1947-48. The collection includes ten volumes: *Works of Youth* (two volumes), *L'Ordine Nuovo* (one volume), *Letters from Prison* (one volume), and *Prison Notebooks* (six volumes).

Graziadei, Antonio. Born in 1873 into an aristocratic and conservative Italian family; he completed his university studies and became a professor of political economy at the University of Parma. In 1893 he joined the Italian Socialist Party and belonged to its right wing. In 1910 he was elected a deputy in the parliament. Like most other party members he took a pacifist stand during World War I and later rallied to communism and supported the Comintern.

In the summer of 1920 he was an Italian delegate to the Second Congress of the Comintern. Backing the Comintern move against Giacinto Serrati he helped promote the party schism in Leghorn in January 1921. However, neither then nor at the following congress of the Italian Communist Party in Rome (March 1922) was he elected to the central committee. Nevertheless he was a member of the party delegation to the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1922 and returned to Moscow in November to debate at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. Also in that year he went to Spain as a Comintern emissary to the Spanish Communist Party.

Sometime later he was criticized by the Comintern for "opportunistic tactics" (because of his interpretation of a "workers' government") and for his revisionist views of certain fundamental points of Marxist doctrine) especially those concerning the theory of value, which he interpreted in an Austro-Marxist spirit; nevertheless, he continued to pursue his theoretical revisionism under Fascist reign in Italy and then as an exile in France and in 1928 was expelled from the party. After the fall of Fascism, however, he made a self-criticism and reentered the Italian Communist Party. In 1950 he printed, in various party publications, his recollections of socialism from 1890 to 1920. He died in 1953.

Green, Gilbert. Born Gilbert Greenberg in Chicago in 1906 into a workingman's family. During the late 1920s he was militant within the American Young Communist League. As a league representative he was seated on the national council of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights in 1930. He later became president of the Young Communist League, which he represented in the leadership of the American Youth Congress in 1934. In 1935 he was a spokesman for the CPUSA delegation to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, at which he was made a member of the ECCI. In September and October of that year he attended the sixth congress of the KIM at which he reported on the struggle of American youth for a unified democratic front and was elected a member of the KIM executive committee.

From 1935 until its dissolution in 1944 he was also among the leaders of the CPUSA. In 1944 he became a vice-president of the Communist Political Association. When the CPUSA was reestablished he became a member of its national committee and headed the party organization in Illinois. In 1948-50 he was one of the few communist leaders who escaped jail; consequently he went underground. He surrendered in September 1956 and was imprisoned until 1961. After his release, he returned to the party leadership. In March 1965 he accompanied the American delegation to the International Communist Conference held in Moscow. At the eighteenth CPUSA congress in June 1966 he was reelected to the national committee and in 1967 resumed his place as a member of the national committee's secretariat.

Grieco, Ruggero. Born in Foggia in 1893; he studied agronomy and at age 19 joined the Italian Socialist Party. He was drafted and served in the army from 1915 to 1918. In 1919 he became a member of the secretariat of

the Italian Socialist Party. When the Italian Communist Party (ICP) was founded in January 1921 he was elected to its central committee and its most exclusive body, the five-member executive committee. In 1923 he was arrested by Fascist authorities for his communist activities but was released in 1924; also that year he was elected communist deputy to the Italian parliament and made his first trip to Soviet Russia to attend the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed under the name Rossi, as representative of the party's left wing (Bordigist). In 1925 he became a member of the presidium of the Krestintern. At the end of 1926, when Italian communist leaders such as Bordiga and Gramsci were being arrested, he escaped to France, where he directed the foreign bureau of the ICP with Palmiro Togliatti. In 1927 in Italy he was condemned in absentia to a 17-year jail sentence.

Meanwhile, his trips to Soviet Russia became more frequent and his alignment with official policy more regular. Elected in 1921 to the central and executive committees of the ICP as a representative of the Bordiga faction he abandoned it when the Comintern formed an anti-Bordiga faction. In March and April 1925 he was the Italian spokesman at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. At the party congress in Lyon in January 1926 Bordiga partisans were removed from the party central committee but Grieco remained on the committee. In February and March 1926, using the name Bracco, he took part in the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, which he addressed.

At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, using the name Garlandi, he reported on the danger of new imperialist aggression against Soviet Russia. At the close of the congress he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI and replaced Angelo Tasca (who used the pseudonym Serra) as permanent ICP representative in the Presidium of the ECCI. In July 1929 he addressed the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI as a member of its Presidium, a position confirmed at the eleventh plenum in April 1931. In 1935 he was a delegate and speaker at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and at the close was elected a member of the ECCI and an alternate member of its Presidium. Meanwhile, from 1927 to 1937 he made numerous trips to Western Europe; in Paris in 1931 he was briefly arrested, with false papers and under an assumed name.

During the German-Soviet war he edited scripts for Soviet radio broadcasts in Italian. Upon his return to Italy in 1944 he was named deputy high commissioner in charge of purging ex-Fascist officials in the Italian Government. He was elected a deputy in 1946 and later was replaced in the senate. At the congress of the ICP held in January 1946 he was reelected to leadership. He took charge of the agitprop section and then of the section for work with the peasantry. He was continuously reelected to leading posts in the party and presented a report on party activities among the peasants at the conference in January 1955. He died suddenly in July.

Groot, Paul de. Born in Amsterdam in 1899. He became a diamond setter in Antwerp, joined the Belgian Communist Party in 1921, and returned to Holland in 1926. When the Comintern was appointing new party leadership in many countries in 1930 he was made a member of the secretariat of the Dutch Communist Party (DCP) and at the same time he was in charge of the official party paper *Volksdagblad* (People's Daily). From 1930 his articles appeared in *Inprekorr* and in 1931 in the official Comintern review, *Communist International*. In August 1931, at an international conference of different communist parties dealing with the problem of unemployment, he presented a report on behalf of the DCP. In 1935 he addressed the Seventh Comintern Congress for his party. After the outbreak of the German-Soviet war he was active in organizing the communist party's anti-Nazi resistance; sheltered by the secret apparatus of the party de Groot, unlike many communist militants, escaped German reprisals.

At the first postwar congress of the DCP in January 1946 he was elected its secretary-general and was assigned to edit the official daily of the party, *De Waarheid* (The Truth). He was confirmed as secretary-general of the party at subsequent congresses until the September 1, 1962, central committee meeting, when the post of secretary-general was abolished and de Groot was named president of the party; he also remained a member of the party's politburo. In 1945 he was elected communist deputy to parliament, a post to which he was reelected several times.

After his first postwar visit to the Soviet Union in August 1946 de Groot regularly represented the DCP in Moscow at all important communist meetings. At the nineteenth congress of the CPSU in 1952 (during the Stalin regime) and the twentieth congress in 1956 (during the de-Stalinization period) he was chief of the Dutch delegation. In November 1957 he headed the Dutch delegation to the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. He also attended the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in November 1960 and was present at the twenty-second congress of the CPSU in October 1961.

In January 1966 he resigned his seat in the Dutch second chamber in favor of another communist leader. He did not attend the twenty-third congress of the CPSU in March 1966 and in the fall of 1967 announced his resignation from the presidency of the party.

Grozos, Apostolos. Born in Greece in 1892 into a working-class family; he began work as an unskilled laborer. In 1908 he became a trade-union member and then secretary of a branch of the Trade Union Federation of Greece. In 1920 he joined the Greek Communist Party (GCP) and participated in its leadership in Salonica, Corfu, and other areas. In 1932 he went to Soviet Russia,

where he attended a Comintern school; after his return he headed the communist organization of Salonica but in 1937 he was arrested and remained in prison until the Italian surrender in 1943.

In 1945 he became a member of the council of the National Trade Union Confederation. At the seventh congress of the GCP (1945) he was elected to the central committee and named president of the central control commission. In January 1948 he joined the communist guerrillas and in April 1949 was named minister of labor in the Greek "provisional democratic government," on the eve of the failure of the communist insurrection. He then took refuge in various communist countries in Europe. With de-Stalinization he was able to reach a leading position in the exiled party—at the sixth enlarged plenum of the central committee of the GCP in March 1956 (a month after the twentieth congress of the CPSU) secretary-general Nikos Zachariadis was denounced and eliminated and Grozos became a member of the politburo. At the seventh plenum, in February 1957, he was reelected to the politburo and became president of the GCP.

In November 1960 he headed the Greek delegation to the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. Since that time he has consistently defended the Soviet view in the Moscow-Peking quarrel. In August 1961, from somewhere in Eastern Europe, he directed the work of the eighth congress of the GCP, which reelected him party president. In April 1967 he headed the Greek delegation to the conference of European communist parties at Karlovy Vary. When the politburo of the GCP split into two hostile factions in 1968 he supported Kostas Koliyannis, the secretary-general of the central committee and leader of the faction faithful to Moscow.

Grzegorzewski, Franciszek. Born Franciszek Grzelszczak in 1881 in Warsaw; from his early youth he worked as a mechanic. In 1904 he became active in the SDPPL, in 1905 was arrested for political activity, and in 1907, using the pseudonym Mechanik, was the party's delegate to the London congress of the RSDLP. After his return he was jailed again and in 1911 was arrested a third time. Drafted in 1914 he resumed his political activity after the Russian February revolution. He was a member of the Warsaw committee of the Social Democratic Party and later was active in the formation of the Polish Communist Party. At its founding congress in December 1918 he was elected to the central committee; at the following congresses in 1923 and 1925 he was reelected to the central committee and became a member of the politburo.

In 1922 he was a delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. In 1924 he addressed the Fifth Congress and entered the ECCI and also participated in the third congress of the Profintern. After his return to Warsaw in February 1925 he was arrested and sentenced to six years in jail but was freed in 1928. In August of that year he took part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. Meanwhile, he returned to leadership in the Polish party; at its 1930 congress

he was elected an alternate member of the central committee and at the October 1932 congress (the sixth and last before the party's dissolution) was elected a full member; at the same time he represented the party to the ECCI. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was elected a member of the ICC. He then worked in the MOPR until his arrest. In 1937 he was executed by Stalin's police.

Guilbeaux, Henri. Born in Belgium in 1884 to French parents, he became a journalist and man-of-letters in France. Leaning toward revolutionary syndicalism and anarchism he took a pacifist attitude in 1914. The following year he left France for Geneva, where he worked in the civilian section of the International Agency for War Prisoners and in January 1916 founded the internationalist review *Demain*. In April 1916 he participated in the international socialist conference at Kienthal. He supported the Zimmerwald Left (especially Lenin) and defended the Bolsheviks when they came to power in November 1917. He established connections with the Soviet embassy in Switzerland in 1918 and, with its personnel, was arrested in November 1918 and expelled in February 1919; at the same time a Paris military tribunal condemned him to death in absentia for high treason. Meanwhile, he had crossed into Germany and in March 1919 arrived in Moscow in time to participate in the last day of the founding congress of the Comintern. Owing to his friendship with Lenin he was admitted at the congress as the representative of the Zimmerwald Left in France and emerged from it as the most important Frenchman. He later took part in the work of the ECCI and in 1920, at the Second Congress of the Comintern, debated and had full voting right. In 1921 he attended the Third Congress of the Comintern but not as part of the French delegation. In 1924 he addressed the Fifth Comintern Congress.

Then he left Soviet Russia and settled in Berlin as a correspondent for the French communist newspaper *L'Humanité*. In 1932 he returned to Paris, where he was retried for treason and acquitted in 1933. By then he was completely alienated from Soviet communism and in his last years found himself sympathetic to many aspects of National Socialism. He died in 1938.

During his communist period he published *Le mouvement socialiste et syndicaliste français pendant la guerre*, with a preface by Lenin (1919), and *Le Véritable portrait de Vladimir Ilitch Lénine* (1924). In 1933 he published his memoirs under the title *Du Kremlin au Cherche-Midi*. His last two books appeared in 1937—*La Fin des Soviets* and *Lénine n'était pas communiste*.

Guralsky, A. Born Abraham Heifetz in 1890; he lived in Riga and later went to Kiev to study at the university. Using the pseudonym Benjamin he became a militant in the Bund, the Jewish socialist movement. In January 1913 he was arrested in Lodz but released on bail; he remained abroad until after the February 1917 revolution in Russia. In August he was elected a

member of the Bund provincial committee for the Ukraine and in December a member of the Bund central committee; in early 1919 he broke with the Bund and joined the Bolsheviks under the name Guralsky. He then worked for the newly founded Comintern. Like other former Bundist militants—such as Petrovski-Bennet, Mikhail Borodin, and Moisei Rafes—he was sent on missions abroad. He was a Comintern emissary to the KPD (using the name Kleine), the PCF (as Lepetit), and the Latin American communist movement (as Juan de Dios). During the March Action of 1921 in Germany, he was Béla Kun's lieutenant. In June 1921 he was a member of the RCP(B) delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern (with only a consultative vote) and took part occasionally in the meetings of the ECCI during the congress.

In 1922 he returned to Berlin as a permanent representative of the Comintern. Early in 1923, at the Leipzig congress of the KPD, he was elected a member of the party central committee and remained in Germany during the 1923 Comintern attempt to organize a German October. When the Comintern decided to eliminate Heinrich Brandler and August Thalheimer, Guralsky formed a centrist group to support that policy. In January 1924 he took part in the Moscow deliberations between the ECCI Presidium and factional representatives of the KPD. He did not return to Berlin but in the spring of 1924 was sent to Paris to eliminate the influence of Boris Souvarine and organize a "safe" delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, at which he participated in three different capacities—he sat on two commissions for the RCP(B); he spoke at public sessions for the German delegation, and participated in the debates of the ECCI for the French delegation.

In 1924-25 he was permanent representative of the Comintern in Paris and as such was active in the affairs of the PCF. At the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1925 he sat on a commission as the RCP(B) representative; in 1926 he returned to Moscow and was sent abroad again on various missions. In 1929 he was chief of the Latin American Secretariat of the Comintern and lived in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile and during that time occasionally wrote for the Comintern press, signing his articles with the abbreviation Gur-i. In 1933 or 1934 he was recalled to Moscow and arrested shortly thereafter, during Stalin's purges. He died in about 1960.

Gusev, Sergei Ivanovich. Born Yakov Davidovich Drabkin in the province of Riazan' in 1874. While studying at the St. Petersburg Institute of Technology he joined the revolutionary movement; sent to Rostov by the tsarist police in 1899, he worked for the local committee of the RSDLP. In 1903 he fled to Geneva, from where he went to Brussels, and then to London as a delegate to the second congress of the party, during which he sided with Lenin. Becoming a professional Bolshevik revolutionary he was active both in Russia and abroad—in 1904 he was secretary of the St. Petersburg Bolshevik committee and in 1906 was a member of the Moscow Bolshevik committee, which he represented that year at the Stockholm congress of the RSDLP. Later in the year he

was arrested in Moscow and deported for three years, after which he returned to secret activity in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and southern Russia. In the autumn of 1909, facing the possibility of arrest in St. Petersburg, he fled to Turku, Finland, where he suffered a nervous breakdown which kept him from political activity until after the February 1917 revolution. During the October revolution he played an important role as secretary of the Petrograd military-revolutionary committee. Following the Bolshevik victory he performed important political functions in the Red Army until 1922.

Meanwhile he joined the hierarchy of the RCP(B). In 1921 he was elected an alternate member of the party central committee and in 1923 became secretary of the central control commission. Soon afterward he became one of the first men sent by Stalin to work in the Comintern apparatus. In 1925 he was in charge of the Bolshevik central committee press and in March he and Stalin attended the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI as members of the Bolshevik delegation. In April he was sent to the United States as a Comintern emissary to arbitrate in the leadership conflict within the Workers (Communist) Party of America; using the name P. Green he stayed until the end of the year. After returning to Moscow he worked for both the RCP(B) and the Comintern. In 1928 he gained a top position in the Comintern as the leader of its Secretariat for Central Europe. In August 1928 he was a member of the RCP(B) delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and spoke there under the name Travin. At the close of the congress he was elected (under his own name) an alternate member of the ECCI; in 1930 he became a member of the Presidium of the ECCI. He was active in both the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI (April 1931), in which he was alternate member of the Presidium, and in the twelfth enlarged plenum (August and September 1932). He died in 1933. He wrote several books, the most important of which is *The Lessons of the Civil War* (1920).

Guttman, Josef. Born in Tabor (Bohemia) in 1902. He was militant in the Czechoslovak Communist Party from its founding in 1921, held various posts within the party apparatus, and in August 1928 was a member of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. In 1929, at the fifth party congress (marking the beginning of the Klement Gottwald era), he became a member of the politburo and editor-in-chief of the party's official organ, *Rudé Právo* (Red Right). At the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in April 1931 he became a member of its Presidium and political Secretariat.

At the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI (August and September 1932) he voiced doubt about the KPD's tactics in facing Hitler and after the Nazi victory in 1933 again was critical of the German party and the Comintern. In December 1933 he was accused of "opportunism, Trotskyism, and slander of the KPD and the Comintern." During the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in that month he was removed officially from the leading bodies

of the Comintern and from the Czechoslovak Communist Party. After the Munich pact in 1938 he left Czechoslovakia and settled in the United States, where he died in 1958.

Guyot, Raymond. Born in 1903; he became an accountant. He joined the French Communist Youth Federation after the formation of the PCF at Tours in December 1920 and in 1922 was the Federation's secretary in the department of Aube. When the Comintern attacks on Leon Trotsky and Boris Souvarine shook the PCF at the beginning of 1924 Guyot was at first in sympathy with them but soon adhered to the official Comintern line.

In 1926 he joined the national committee of the Communist Youth Federation and two years later became a member of its secretariat and also entered the central committee of the PCF. Although he was a member of the Barbé-Célor group which then directed the PCF Guyot denounced the group on Comintern demand in July 1931. In 1932 he became secretary-general of the Communist Youth Federation. At the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in December 1933 he was a delegate and speaker for the PCF. In 1935 he was elected secretary-general of the KIM at its sixth congress and also participated (under the name Raymond) in the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, at which he was elected a member of the ECCI and an alternate member of its Presidium. Henceforth he was engaged in Comintern affairs in Moscow and Western Europe. He was involved in providing aid to Republican Spain and he organized and participated in the World Congress of Youth at Vassar College in 1938.

In 1936 he was elected mayor of Villejuif, a suburb of Paris, and in 1937 a communist deputy to the National Assembly. On the eve of World War II he was at Comintern headquarters in Moscow; on September 20, 1939, after the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, he left Moscow with defeatist directives for the PCF. After the German attack on Soviet Russia, however, the party adopted a patriotic course and Guyot helped lead communist resistance in the unoccupied southern zone of France. In 1944-45 he was again in charge of the Communist Youth Federation and edited its organ *L'Avant-Garde*. In April 1945 he presided over the congress devoted to transforming the Communist Youth Federation into the Union of Republican Youth. During 1944 he was a member of the French provisional consultative assembly. From 1945 on he was reelected consistently as communist deputy to the National Assembly and also to membership in the party's politburo. Being in charge of the party's international affairs he frequently traveled to Moscow and attended several CPSU congresses (among them the twenty-second in October 1961). In September 1956 he and Jacques Duclos represented the PCF at the eighth congress of the Chinese Communist Party; he also represented the PCF at the Conference of Nineteen Communist Parties in Moscow in March 1965, and at the conference of European communist parties at Karlovy Vary in April 1967. In March 1969 he and Duclos again

headed a French delegation to the Moscow celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Comintern.

Gylling, Edward. Born in 1881; he became active in the Finnish Social Democratic Party in 1905 and by 1917 belonged to its left wing. When the Soviet government was formed in Finland in January 1918 he was named finance minister. When that regime fell he fled to Soviet Russia, where in August he helped found the Finnish Communist Party, in which he became a central committee member. In 1919 he was involved in Comintern work in both Moscow and Petrograd. In May 1920 he met with Lenin, who approved his idea of creating a Karelian territory within the boundaries of Soviet Russia; a decree was published to this effect on June 7, with Gylling being nominated the chairman of what at first was called the Karelian Workers' Commune. In July he attended the Second Congress of the Comintern as a member of the Finnish delegation. In 1920 he also joined the RCP(B) and from then on held various posts in the Soviet government. Having continued his contacts with the Comintern apparatus, he took part in the May 1921 ECCI meeting. From August 1923 until the latter part of 1935 he was president of the people's council of commissars of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Karelia and also a party secretary in that region; then he was accused of being a "nationalist" and pushed aside. In 1935 he went to Moscow and worked for the International Economics Institute. In July 1937 he was arrested during Stalin's purges and then jailed and deported. He died in 1944. During the de-Stalinization following the twentieth congress of the CPSU in February 1956 he was rehabilitated posthumously.

Gyptner, Richard. Born in Hamburg in 1901; he became a laborer at age 15 and after the end of World War I a shipyard worker. He joined the German Communist Youth League in 1919 and assumed first leadership functions within that organization during 1920-21. In 1922 he also worked for the KIM, traveling between Berlin and Moscow—he was elected to the executive committee at the third congress in December 1922 and reelected at the fourth congress in July 1924; in June 1923 he represented the KIM at the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI; and in February 1926 he was a spokesman for the KIM at the second conference on organizational questions convoked in Moscow by the Comintern. Later he handled various missions for the secret apparatus of the Comintern; for a time he worked in Berlin under Georgi Dimitrov at the West European Bureau of the Comintern and in 1931 represented the Comintern in the Swiss Communist Party. After Hitler's rise to power he remained in Moscow for a long period, interrupted by various missions abroad. During the civil war he went to Spain but returned to Moscow after the defeat of the Republic to work in the Secretariat of the Comintern.

In 1945 he returned to Germany, worked in the central apparatus of the SED, and then entered the East German ministry of foreign affairs, for which he directed the department dealing with capitalist countries. From November 1955 to April 1958 he was the East German ambassador to Peking and from August 1958 to March 1961 represented East Germany in Cairo. In March 1961 he was named ambassador to Warsaw, where he served until 1963.

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Haapalainen, Eero. Born in Finland in 1880. He became a militant in the socialist and trade-union movements at an early age; from 1908 to 1913 he was the secretary and then the president of the Finnish trade unions. He became an extreme leftist in the socialist party and a Bolshevik sympathizer after the October 1917 revolution. He played an active role in the Finnish January 1918 revolution and was in turn minister of the interior, commander-in-chief of the Red Guards, and minister of national defense in the revolutionary government. When that movement collapsed he fled to Soviet Russia and took part in the activities of the new Finnish Communist Party, founded on Soviet soil in August 1918; he also participated in several discussions between the Finnish party and the Comintern. Later he held various official posts within Soviet Karelia but in 1938 fell victim to Stalin's purges.

Hadzivassiliu, Chryssa. Born in Turkey in 1904 into a Greek family. After the Greco-Turkish war of 1920-21 she returned to Greece in 1922 and in 1925 became a militant in the Greek Communist Party. In 1928 the party sent her to a Comintern school in Moscow; there she married another Greek student, Petros Roussos, who also became a communist party leader. Returning to Greece in 1934 she directed the women's section of the party and became a member of the central committee. Arrested by the Metaxas government she remained in the hands of Greek authorities until the German invasion in 1941. When the Greek Communist Party undertook resistance she led a secret operation in Athens and Piraeus before joining the communist armed forces in the field.

In 1945 she was made a member of the party politburo, a position confirmed by the twelfth plenum of the party later that year. When the communist insurrection was defeated, however, she refused to condemn General Markos and was expelled from the politburo. In November 1950 the communist radio broadcast "Free Greece" announced that she had died in a Budapest hospital.

Hagberg, Hilding. Born in 1899; he became a militant in the Swedish communist movement and a trade-union organizer in the mining area of Kiruna. In 1929 he was nominated editor-in-chief of the communist newspaper

Norsskensflamman (Blaze of Northern Lights). At a plenum of the Swedish Communist Party central committee in the summer of 1930 he became a member of the politburo. He chaired the February 1933 party congress and in that same year was elected communist deputy to the parliament for the district of Luleå. In 1935 he was a member of the Swedish delegation to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed. Later he became vice-president of the Swedish Communist Party. In 1941 he assumed political editorship for the Stockholm communist daily, *Ny Dag* (New Day). In 1945 he became the leader of the communist group in the parliament. He opened and directed the fifteenth congress of the Swedish Communist Party in March 1951 and was elected party president, a position he held until 1964.

In October 1952 he headed the Swedish delegation to the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B), which he addressed. As party president he was its representative and spokesman at all important Moscow meetings—the twentieth congress of the CPSU (February 1956); the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties (November 1957); the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties (November 1960); and the twenty-second congress of the CPSU (October 1961). However, his power diminished in the early 1960s, following the Sino-Soviet conflict and the growth of a "revisionist" opposition within his party, and at the twentieth congress of the party in 1964 he was forced to resign from the presidency in favor of Carl-Henrik Hermansson.

Haidar. Born S. Averbukh in Poltava, Ukraine in 1890. He migrated to Palestine and became a militant in the Zionist Socialist Party (Poale Zion), belonging to its left wing. At his party's negotiations with the Comintern in 1920-21 he argued in favor of joining; when the Palestinian Communist Party finally was admitted to the Comintern in 1923 he became one of its main leaders as well as its liaison with Moscow. He wrote for the Comintern press under the pseudonym Abusiam and his articles dealt not only with the Palestinian problems but also with those of the various Arab countries—Egypt, Syria, Arabia. In 1928 he was the only delegate and speaker for his party at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern; he returned to Moscow for the Seventh Congress in 1935, again the only spokesman for the Palestinian Communist Party, using the pseudonym Hadjar. He remained in the U.S.S.R. but was arrested during the great purges and died in prison in 1941; he was rehabilitated posthumously by the Soviet authorities in 1957.

Hakamada, Satomi. Born in Japan in 1904; he joined the Japanese Communist Party, which sent him to Moscow to study at a Comintern school from 1925 to 1927. He returned to Japan and became a leader in the communist youth organization but was arrested in 1928 and imprisoned until 1932. After his release he became a member of the party central committee and took charge of the party organization section; by March 1935 he had become party president. Then he was arrested again and remained in jail until the Japanese surrender.

in 1945. When the party was reorganized in that year he resumed his old posts on the central committee and politburo, took charge of the secretariat of the organization section, and from 1945 to 1947 supervised the communist youth organization. Although intimately involved in the factional struggles characteristic of the party since 1948 he has succeeded in maintaining control of the party apparatus. In November of 1960 he headed the Japanese delegation to the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow, where the party defended its "conciliatory" policy. In following years he leaned closer to the Chinese communist view; as leader of a Japanese delegation to Moscow in March 1964 he refused to sign a joint communiqué prepared by the Soviet delegation. At the tenth congress of the Japanese Communist Party in October 1966 he was reelected as one of four members of the standing bureau of the central committee presidium and also reelected a central committee secretary. Since then, however, both he and the Japanese Communist Party have begun to withdraw from a pro-Chinese position.

Haken, Joseph. Born in 1880; he became a schoolteacher and joined the Czech Social Democratic Party in 1906. Elected a deputy in 1920 he belonged to the left-wing socialists who rallied to communism and founded the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1921. On the eve of the second party congress, held in October and November 1924, he was the leader of the left-wing opposition within the party, which favored the "Bolshevization" the Comintern was then advocating. At the close of the congress he was elected party president, which brought him into close contact with the Comintern, and from 1925 on he made frequent and prolonged trips to Moscow. At the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in March 1925 he spoke for the Czechoslovak delegation and was appointed to the peasant commission. At the seventh enlarged plenum, in November and December 1926, he became a member of the ECCI Presidium, a position confirmed by the eighth enlarged plenum in May 1927. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was again spokesman for the Czechoslovak delegation. He supported the leftist position of Klement Gottwald and retained his post on the politburo when Gottwald became the party's leader in 1929. Also in that year he was elected communist senator in Czechoslovakia. At the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in December 1933 he was named an alternate member of its Presidium. In 1936 he became seriously ill, resigned his senate seat, and gave up militant political activity, although he continued to write occasionally for the communist press. He died in 1949.

Hall, Gus. Born in Minnesota in 1910 into a mining family; in his youth he worked in lumbering and mining and then on the railroads. In 1927 he joined the communist youth movement and in 1929 the CPUSA. Because of his effective activity among strikers and the unemployed the party sent him to Moscow to attend the Leninist School of the Comintern, where he studied

in 1931-32. After his return to the United States he began his political ascent within the party—in the 1930s he was elected a member of the politburo and in 1949 he became a secretary of the central committee. At the 1949 trial of communist party leaders he was sentenced to five years in prison but was arrested only in October 1951; after serving his sentence he remained for several years under police surveillance.

Resuming his political activity Hall was elected regional secretary of the party for the Midwest. In 1959 he headed the committee organizing the seventeenth congress of the communist party and at the congress, held in New York in December 1959, replaced the indisposed Eugene Dennis and presented the main political report. At the close of the congress he was elected secretary-general of the CPUSA, a post to which he was reelected at the eighteenth congress in June 1966. Also in 1966 he traveled to 13 countries to confer with other communist leaders, among them Brezhnev and Suslov in Moscow. In November 1967 he headed the American delegation to Moscow for the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the November 1917 revolution. He was in the Soviet capital again in June 1969, leading another American delegation to the World Conference of Communist Parties.

Handlíř, Jaroslav. Born in Bohemia in 1888. Drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I he was taken prisoner on the Russian front and rallied to Bolshevism after the November 1917 Revolution. He then helped found a Czechoslovak communist group in Russia, which he represented at the founding congress of the Comintern in March 1919. He returned to Czechoslovakia, became a communist militant, and took part in the strike of December 1920, for which he was tried in March 1921 and sentenced to a short prison term. After his release he was a Czechoslovak party delegate to the Third Congress of the Comintern, held in June and July 1921; he was elected a member of the congress secretariat.

He was a leading member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party from its founding in 1921 and worked for its most important bodies. He also became head of the lumber workers' trade union. At the third party congress in 1925, however, he criticized the official leadership and sided with the right-wing faction within the party. In 1926, with Bretislav Hula and Miloš Vanek, he addressed a memorandum to the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, expressing the viewpoint of the rightist faction; after that he remained a party member for a time but no longer held a leading position. In 1929 he was expelled from the party and joined the Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia. He died in 1942.

Hanecki, Jakób. Born Jakob Fürstenberg in 1879 into a wealthy Warsaw family. At age 17 he joined the Social Democratic Party of Poland and later became known in the revolutionary movement under the pseudonym Kuba.

To avoid arrest he went abroad in 1899—Berlin, Leipzig, and Paris—where he established further socialist contacts. A year later he returned to Poland but in 1901 left the country again to study at universities in Berlin, Heidelberg, and Zurich; at the same time he pursued his socialist work and was active in preparations for the fourth congress of the SDPPL. The congress delegated him, together with Warski, as a party representative to the second congress of the RSDLP, which met in Brussels and London in July and August 1903, when he first met Lenin. At that time the SDPPL cooperated closely with the RSDLP, so he was involved in secret activity for both parties. In 1907, at the fifth congress of the RSDLP in London (when the SDPPL already had become an autonomous part of the RSDLP), he was elected a member of the RSDLP central committee. When the SDPPL split apart in 1912 Hanecki was a leader of its leftist, "Razlamovtsy," faction. During Lenin's stay in Cracow from 1912 to 1914 Hanecki collaborated with him, took part in the Bolshevik Poronino conference (1913), and presided over the commission of inquiry into the Roman V. Malinovsky case. During World War I he drew nearer to Lenin's position and signed the manifesto of the Zimmerwald conference in the name of the Polish delegation.

In 1916 he settled in Stockholm and in 1917 became a member of the foreign bureau of the Bolshevik central committee. After the revolution of October 1917 he went to Russia, where he was named a member of the collegium of the people's commissariat for finance and director of the state bank. He held that position until his nomination to the collegium of the commissariat for foreign commerce in June 1920. In 1919-20 he also was involved in Soviet diplomatic work—he was a member of various Soviet delegations (especially in negotiations with Germany) and worked to finance the international communist movement both before and after the founding of the Comintern. From 1921 to 1923 he was a member of the collegium of the commissariat for foreign affairs, from 1923 to 1930 he again belonged to the commissariat for foreign commerce and from 1935 to 1937 he was director of the Museum of Revolution in Moscow. The Stalinist purges brought about his arrest and he was executed on November 26, 1937.

Hansen, Arvid G. Born in Norway in 1894. At an early age he joined the Norwegian Workers' Party; he gravitated toward its left wing and during World War I edited several provincial socialist papers, writing articles sympathetic to the Zimmerwald movement. In April 1917 he was one of eleven European socialists approving the trip for Lenin and his group across imperial Germany. That same year he was a member of the secretariat of the Socialist Youth Union and favored the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. Later he militantly supported the affiliation of the Norwegian Workers' Party with the Comintern; during the 1923 conflict between his party and Moscow he remained faithful to the Comintern. He became a member of the central committee of the Norwegian

Communist Party, a post he held for several years, and later was elected to the party's politburo. In 1924 he was the party's delegate and spokesman at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, at the close of which he was elected an alternate member of both the ECCI and its Presidium. He attended the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1926 and was reelected to the ECCI at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928. In July 1929 he attended the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and meanwhile wrote for the Comintern press. During the German occupation of Norway he escaped to Sweden, where he stayed until the end of World War II. After his return to Norway he worked in the secretariat of the Norwegian Communist Party's central committee but later was expelled from the party. In the early 1960s he was living in Oslo.

Hrus, Jan. Born in Bohemia in 1892, the son of a weaver; he worked in his youth as a glassmaker. He became interested in the socialist and trade-union movements and joined the Czech Social Democratic Party in 1909. By the end of World War I he had gravitated toward the extreme left and became a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party at its founding in 1921. At the second congress of the party in November 1924 he was elected to its central committee and politburo. In March and April 1925 he accompanied the Czechoslovak delegation to the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, at which he debated as a member of both the trade union and the Italian commissions.

In 1925 he was elected to the Czechoslovak parliament as a communist deputy. At both the October 1925 and March 1927 party congresses, he was reelected to the central committee and in 1928 addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. He was arrested briefly in Czechoslovakia for his communist activities in 1929 but was freed soon afterward, and was named secretary of the Red Councils established by the party in Prague; threatened by another arrest he fled to Soviet Russia, where in November 1932 he attended the first MOPR congress and then enrolled in the Leninist School of the Comintern. He escaped Stalin's purges but did not perform any political functions and worked for awhile as a glassblower. In June 1941 he enlisted in the Red Army. He was also a member of a Czechoslovak communist group formed in Moscow. After the arrival of Soviet troops he returned to Czechoslovakia, where he again joined the communist party's central committee and became a deputy to parliament. He was president of the party's control commission from 1951 until his death in 1962.

Havez, Auguste. Born in northern France in 1897, the son of a miner. He joined the PCF when it was founded in December 1920; he also worked militantly for the CGTU from its establishment in 1922. In 1924 he left for Paris and in 1925 was elected communist city councilman in the Parisian suburb of Ivry. In 1927 the PCF entrusted him with the important task of organizing its secret apparatus; he established contact with Moscow and traveled there

several times. When the "group of the young" at the helm of the PCF, headed by Henri Barbusse and Pierre Célor, lost Comintern support in the middle of 1931 Havez disassociated himself from the disfavored group and remained in the Soviet capital until 1933; during that time he attended the Leninist School of the Comintern. After returning to France he was sent to Brittany to perform municipal and trade-union work; in 1936 he was recalled to Paris to become administrative secretary of the communist parliamentary group.

During World War II he took part in the resistance but was arrested by the Germans in 1942 and sent to Mauthausen concentration camp. In 1945 he returned to France, where at the tenth congress of the PCF he was elected to the central committee. At the twelfth party congress in April 1950 his name was not on the roster of the central committee membership. From then on he lived in semi-disgrace within the party, from which he eventually was expelled. He died in the 1960s.

Haywood, William D. Born in 1869; a miner by occupation. Known as Big Bill he founded the Western Federation of Miners in the United States in 1893 and became its secretary-treasurer. At the turn of the century he participated in the strike movement and in 1901 joined the American Socialist Party, within which he supported the left wing. In 1905 he helped found the IWW in Chicago. In 1911 and 1912 he was elected to the national executive committee of the American Socialist Party but in 1913 was eliminated by a referendum of the party membership. During World War I he took an antimilitarist position and in 1917 supported the Bolshevik revolution. In 1920 he was freed from prison on bail and then escaped to Soviet Russia to avoid a possible 20-year prison sentence. In April 1921 in Moscow he signed, as a representative of American communists, the ECCI manifesto for the convocation of the Third Congress of the Comintern. During the year he was associated with other ECCI work and at the Third Congress defended his role in the IWW, which had brought criticism from other American delegates and such communist leaders as Trotsky and Lozovsky. Later he occasionally took part in ECCI meetings, including those of September 1921 and January 1922. Although an article signed by him later appeared in *Communist International* he gradually removed himself from Comintern activity. With Justus Rutgers he participated in the organization of the autonomous industrial colony of Kuzbass (AIK). He later worked for a time in the MOPR. He died in Moscow in 1928.

Heckert, Fritz. Born in Chemnitz in 1884; he became a workman and in 1902 joined the SPD and the masons' trade union; within the party he leaned toward the left. From 1908 to 1912 he was militant in the Swiss socialist movement. During World War I he joined the Spartacus League in Chemnitz and was a co-reporter for the Spartakist opposition at the founding congress of the USPD, held in Gotha in April 1917. In November 1918 he directed the

Council of Workers and Soldiers formed at Chemnitz. In December he represented the Chemnitz Spartacus organization at the founding of the KPD and was elected a member of the KPD national committee (Zentrale). Except for 1924 and 1925 he remained a member of the central committee of the KPD until his death in 1936.

After the March Action of 1921 in Germany he was sent to Moscow by partisans of the "theory of the offensive" to plead their cause to Lenin and the Comintern at its Third Congress, held in June and July 1921; there, however, he rallied to Lenin's official line and became a member of the ECCI and its Presidium. At the founding congress of the Profintern in July 1921 he was elected to its executive committee, a position he held for many years. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November 1922 he was again a delegate and speaker for the KPD. Also in that year he represented the Comintern at the first national conference of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia held in Vienna.

During the communist attempt at revolution in Germany in October 1923 he was named minister of finance in the government of Saxony formed by left-wing socialists and communists. In 1924 he was elected deputy to the German Reichstag and also was a co-reporter to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern on the trade-union question. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was a delegate and speaker for the KPD and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. At the fourth congress of the Profintern, held in the same year, he was reelected to its executive committee. In 1931 he represented the Comintern at the fourth congress of the Italian Communist Party.

When Hitler came to power Heckert escaped to Soviet Russia, where on April 1, 1933, he gave a report to the Presidium of the ECCI predicting a revolutionary tide in Germany, attacking the "social fascism" of German socialists, and justifying Comintern policy there. At the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in December 1933, he again was named an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium, which he addressed. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was elected a member of the ECCI and an alternate member of its Presidium. He died in Moscow in 1936 and his ashes were sealed in the Kremlin wall along with those of Clara Zetkin.

Heimo, Mauno. Born in Finland; he undertook communist activity while a student after World War I. In 1920 the Comintern sent him to Sweden and Norway to establish a communist network but he was arrested. After his release he went to Moscow and joined the central apparatus of the Comintern, for which he worked for about 15 years. During the factional struggles within the Finnish Communist Party he followed Otto Kuusinen. Later he became a member of the RCP(B) as well as a Soviet citizen. At the third plenum of the ECCI in June 1923 he was appointed a technical secretary of that meeting. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was secretary of the commis-

sion for statute modification. In 1929, in cooperation with A. Tivel, Zinoviev's former secretary, he published the documentary book *Ten Years of the Comintern in Resolutions and Figures*. From then until 1935 he performed various Comintern missions in Central and Western Europe. In 1937, during Stalin's purges, both he and his wife were arrested and executed.

Heller, A. M. Born in Russia in 1891; he emigrated to Italy, where he was active in the socialist movement just before and during World War I. Early in 1920 he went to Soviet Russia and then was sent on a mission to Turkestan; recalled to Moscow shortly afterward he worked in the central apparatus of the Comintern. At the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 the RCP(B) put him in charge of the Italian delegation. Later, using the name A. Chiarini, he returned to Italy as an emissary of the Comintern. At the time of the founding of the Italian Communist Party in January 1921 he acted as a secret Moscow observer; after returning to Moscow he continued to work for the Comintern and in 1925, using his Italian pseudonym, he wrote an article for *Communist International* criticizing Amadeo Bordiga.

In 1924 a certain L. Heller appeared in the Profintern apparatus as chief of its Far Eastern bureau. L. Heller attended the Profintern congresses of July 1924, March and April 1928, and August 1930. He also took part in the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in November and December 1927. In all probability he was not the same person as A. M. Heller, who died in 1935.

Hernández, Jesús. Born in 1907 into a poor Spanish peasant family. He became a laborer and at an early age joined the Spanish Communist Party and the trade-union movement. At Bilbao he became secretary of the automobile construction trade union. During the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923 to 1930) Hernández was a militant in the clandestine communist party, which cost him numerous arrests and several years in jail. When the Spanish Republic was proclaimed in 1931 the Comintern placed him on the party central committee, in line with its policy of giving young militants positions of leadership in foreign parties.

Soon afterward he left for Moscow, where he studied at the Leninist School of the Comintern. Returning to Spain at the end of 1932 he was made a member of the party politburo, head of the party agitprop section, and an editor of the party organ, *Mundo Obrero*. At the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1933 he and Dolores Ibarruri were spokesmen for the Spanish Communist Party. In February 1936 he was elected communist deputy from Cordova. When the civil war began he became minister of public instruction in the governments of Largo Caballero and Juan Negrín. In addition, he was general commissar for the Republican army of the center and a member of the party politburo, closely associated with the work of the Comintern delegation to Spain.

When Republican Spain was defeated in March 1939 Hernández fled to

Soviet Russia, where he represented the Spanish Communist Party in the ECCI. During the Finno-Soviet war at the end of 1939 he was sent to Sweden for six months as an emissary. After the dissolution of the Comintern in May 1943 he left on a mission to Mexico but broke with the communist party soon after that. He wrote about his communist experiences during the Spanish civil war in a book entitled *The Great Betrayal* (1953).

Herzog, Jakob. Born in 1892; a carpenter by trade. He joined the Swiss socialist youth movement and beginning in 1914 was one of its leaders. During World War I he took a pacifist and internationalist position. In April 1915 at Bern he participated in the International Conference of Young Socialists and later joined its international bureau. As an extreme left-wing militant in the Swiss Socialist Party he hailed the Bolshevik victory at Petrograd and advocated revolutionary action in Switzerland, an attitude which prompted the Swiss Socialist Party to expel him in October 1918. He then formed the *Forderung*, a communist group which he claimed consisted of "old communists" in Switzerland as opposed to those Swiss Socialist Party members just beginning to gravitate toward the extreme left. In 1920 he represented this group at the International Communist Conference in Amsterdam and also at the Second Congress of the Comintern, at which he spoke out against ex-centrist socialism (characterized by the USPD, SFIO, and other groups) in the process of joining the Comintern.

Also during that period he collaborated in *Kommunismus*, an international Viennese review which propounded left-wing communism. In March 1921 the unification of the socialist left with Herzog's group produced the Swiss Communist Party; Herzog joined the party and in 1922 visited Moscow for the second time. He died in an accident in 1931.

Hikmet, Nazim. Born in Salonika in 1902 into an aristocratic Turkish family. He studied at the naval academy in Istanbul until he was expelled in 1919, and then became a schoolteacher and began to publish poems in the Turkish press. In 1921 he went to Soviet Russia, where he studied at the KUTV. At the third congress of the KIM in December 1922, he was probably the Turkish speaker using the name Nizam. In 1924 he joined the leadership of the Turkish Communist Party, based on Soviet soil, and was in charge of maintaining contact with the Comintern. At the same time he continued to write in Baku, where he published a collection of poems. In 1928 he returned to Turkey, became the editor of a legal journal, and published a new collection of poems and drama. In 1936 two of his books appeared—one against Fascism, *German Fascism and Racism*; and one favoring Stalinism, *Soviet Democracy According to the New Constitution*. In 1937 he was arrested and condemned to 28 years in jail, but was freed in 1950. He settled in the Soviet Union in 1951, where he published new works; he later was nominated a member

of the World Council of Peace. Shortly before his death in 1963 he became a Polish citizen and took the name Borzetski.

Ho Chi Minh. Born on May 19, 1890, son of a civil servant in the Kim Lieu village (central Vietnam). When his father was dismissed from government service, Ho was forced to discontinue his high school studies. In December 1911 he became a sailor on a French ship and visited France, Germany, and Africa. The eve of World War I found him in London. In 1917-18 he worked in the United States and at the beginning of 1919 settled in Paris as a photographer, under the name Nguyen Ai Quoc (Nguyen the Patriot). He first became militant in the eighteenth Paris section of socialist youth and then in the ninth section of the SFIO, whose members were newspapermen (like Boris Souvarine, Paul Louis, Georges Pioch) who played a prominent role in 1920 in influencing the pro-Comintern trend within the SFIO. Ho attended the founding congress of the PCF at Tours in December 1920 and participated in the founding of the Krestintern in Moscow in October 1923, where he also studied at the KUTV and collaborated in *Inprekorr*. In 1924 he was an Indochinese representative to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, the third congress of the Profintern, and the fourth congress of the KIM. In December 1924, under the names Ly Thuy and Vuong Son Nhi, he was in Canton, where he collaborated closely with the Comintern mission headed by Mikhail Borodin, worked as a translator at the Soviet consulate, and in June 1925 founded the Revolutionary League of Young Vietnamese. He remained in China until the split between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party; after the fifth congress of the party in May 1927 he returned to Moscow.

In 1928 he went to Berlin and then to Brussels, where he participated in the congress of the League Against Imperialism. In that autumn he appeared in Bangkok under the pseudonym Thau Chin to perform revolutionary work in Southeast Asia. In Hong Kong in January 1930 he organized the founding congress of the Indochinese Communist Party, automatically becoming its leader in both name and fact. In June 1931 he was arrested in Hong Kong under the name Sung Man-chao and imprisoned for six months. In 1932 he lived secretly in Shanghai, where he renewed contact with the Chinese communist movement; he then took a Soviet ship to the U.S.S.R. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was a speaker (probably the one who used the name Chayen) and a member of the ECCI representing Indochina. Under the name Linov he then took courses at the Leninist School of the Comintern and left Moscow only during the purge of 1938. At the end of the year he took part in the communist movement in China and then moved closer to the Vietnamese border, where he established his headquarters. In 1941 he founded the Democratic Front for the Independence of Vietnam, faithfully following the reversal of the Stalinist policy effected in 1939.

On a trip to visit the Chinese communist general staff in August 1942

he was arrested by Chiang Kai-shek's authorities and imprisoned until September 1943. When the Japanese capitulated in Vietnam in 1945, Ho proclaimed himself president of a provisional government on August 25; on September 2 he announced the creation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Named president of the republic in March 1946 he proceeded first to conduct negotiations with France and then, from December 1946 on, to direct the war of liberation against French colonialism. In February 1951 he founded and became president of the Workers' Party of Vietnam (Lao Dong), successor to the Indochinese Communist Party. In July 1954 the Geneva conference ended the war against the French and Ho was henceforth the recognized leader of North Vietnam. In September 1956, during the tenth enlarged plenum of the central committee of the Workers' Party, he was elected both president and secretary of the party.

Beginning in 1954 he made frequent trips to the Soviet Union and Communist China. He also headed his party's delegation to the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in November 1957 and to the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1960. In October 1961 he attended the twenty-third congress of the CPSU. He died in September 1969.

Ho Shu-heng. Born in 1874, son of a small farmer in the Chinese province of Hunan. Working locally as a primary schoolteacher, he supported Chinese nationalism, joined the New Citizens' Society in 1918, and in 1919 became active in the local anti-Japanese movement. In August 1920 he and Mao Tse-tung founded a Marxist study group in Changsha. In July 1921 the two militants represented their province at the founding congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and then returned to Changsha, where Ho founded a self-education college. During the following years he remained active in the party—he became secretary for the Hunan regional committee and played an important role during the period of communist-Kuomintang cooperation but the 1927 split forced him to leave for Shanghai.

In 1928 he went to Soviet Russia, where the sixth congress of the CCP and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern were being held almost simultaneously in Moscow; afterward he attended the Leninist School of the Comintern and in 1930 returned to Shanghai, where he collaborated in publishing the central organ of the CCP. At the first congress of the Chinese Soviets, held in Juichin on November 7, 1931, he was elected a member of the executive committee and named people's commissar for workers' and peasants' inspection in the government of Mao Tse-tung. Prior to the Long March of October 1934 he was assistant president to the supreme court of the Chinese Soviet Republic. When the Red Army left Kiangsi he remained in the former Soviet territory and perished in 1935. According to the Nationalist version, "he fell off a cliff and died at Shuikou, Changting."

Hoernle, Edwin. Born in Germany in 1883. While a student of theology he developed an interest in socialist literature, joined the SPD in 1910, and prior to World War I worked as an editor for its various journals—*Sozialdemokrat*, *Morgenrot*, and *Die Gleichheit* (a journal for socialist women). During the war he supported the socialist left and when the German imperial government collapsed in 1918 joined the revolutionary movement as a member of the Council of Workers and Soldiers at Stuttgart. He then joined the KPD at its founding in December 1918. In 1919 at Württemberg he worked in the party leadership and in 1920 was named chief of the central committee's agrarian section. He was associated especially with two party projects—work with the peasantry and communist education. At the fourth congress of the KPD, in April 1920, he submitted a report on the agrarian question and at the end of the year, following unification of the KPD with the left wing of the USPD, was a member of the commission charged with developing a common communist program. At the KPD congresses of 1921 and 1923 he was elected to the central committee. From 1924 until 1932 he was communist deputy to the Reichstag.

At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November 1922 he was a member of the German delegation and a reporter on communist education. Elected a member of the ECCI and its Presidium he stayed in Moscow for the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1923 and for the preparations preceding the German October.

Following Hitler's rise to power in 1933 he fled to Moscow, where he worked for the International Agrarian Institute. He belonged to the Free Germany committee formed in the U.S.S.R. during the war. In June 1945 he was listed among the leaders of the KPD, as a signer of its first postwar manifesto to the people of Berlin. He was also a member of the central committee of the KPD but was not included in the directing body elected following its merger with the SPD of East Germany in 1946. He was responsible for the administration of East German agrarian reform and then was named professor and dean of the faculty of agronomy in Forst. He died in 1952. He published several books—on his life, *Aus Krieg und Kerker* (1918); on education, *Die Arbeit in den kommunistischen Kindergruppen* (1923); and *Grundfragen der proletarischen Erziehung* (1929); and on agrarian problems, *Die Bodenreform* (1946).

Hoffmann, Karl-Heinz. Born in Germany in 1910 into a laborer's family; he first worked as a machinist. In 1926 he joined the German communist youth movement, in 1930 the KPD, and after Hitler's rise to power left for Soviet Russia. When the Comintern formed the International Brigades he was sent to Spain where, using the name Heinz Roth, he first led a battalion and then became political commissar for the Eleventh International Brigade. After being wounded he was evacuated to France and returned to the Soviet Union before World War II. In 1942 and 1943, under the name Arthur, he attended the Comintern school in Kimhrenkovo.

In 1945 he went to East Germany, where he worked at the SED headquarters and at one time was personal assistant to Walter Ulbricht. Associated from its beginning with the People's Police he became inspector-general in charge of political indoctrination in February 1950. In 1952 he became a lieutenant-general and assistant minister of the interior, and retained these offices when the People's Police officially became the army in January 1956. He also was the East German representative to the general staff of the Warsaw Pact. In July 1960 he succeeded Willy Stoph as national defense minister and in February 1961 was promoted to the rank of full general. In July 1950 he became an alternate member of the SED central committee and in April 1954 a full member, although not a member of the politburo. In 1969 he was still national defense minister.

Höglund, Karl Zeth. Born in 1884; he studied literature at the University of Göteborg, joined the Swedish Social Democratic Party in 1904, and later became a professor. He directed the socialist youth movement and gravitated toward the left wing of the party; in 1908 he became a member of the party's directing committee and editor-in-chief of the socialist weekly *Stormklockan* (Storm Bell). A pacifist and internationalist, he published an appeal entitled "Down with the Arms" during the 1905 secession crisis between Sweden and Norway and for so doing was sentenced to six months in jail but maintained his internationalist and pacifist position during World War I. In 1915 he was elected to the Swedish parliament. In September he represented the leftist Swedish social-democrats at the Zimmerwald conference, at which he signed the Zimmerwald declaration, and in 1916 was jailed for a year for antimilitarist propaganda. In 1917 he founded the Left Social Democratic Party.

He hailed the Bolshevik revolution and in January 1918 went to Petrograd, where he gave an address in favor of founding the Third International. The Left Social Democratic Party supported this view and was transformed into the Swedish Communist Party in 1921. In June and July he led the Swedish delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern. In November 1922 he was elected to the ECCI and in June 1923 participated in its third enlarged plenum, at which he criticized the Comintern's policy toward its three Scandinavian sections—Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish. His disagreement sharpened in the next year, at the beginning of the Comintern's Bolshevization of foreign communist parties. When he went to Moscow to attend the Fifth Comintern Congress, held in June and July 1924, he was still spokesman for the majority of the Swedish Communist Party, critical of Comintern policies; however, the Comintern succeeded in forming a minority faction within the Swedish party which was hostile to Höglund and ready to follow the official Comintern line. Although he was reelected a member of the ECCI at the close of the congress several days later, on July 13, he was criticized in the ECCI by Zinoviev and Bukharin. He then refused to obey the directives of the Comintern which

consequently published an open letter to the Swedish Communist Party against the "renegade Höglund" on August 28.

Later in 1924 he formed an independent socialist movement but in 1926 he finally returned to the Swedish Social Democratic Party. In 1928 he was elected socialist deputy to parliament and also headed the journal *Social-Demokraten*. From 1932 to 1936 he represented the Swedish Social Democratic Party in the executive committee of the Second International. He also belonged to the Swedish committee for aid to Republican Spain. From 1940 to 1950 he was a municipal councilor in Stockholm. He died in 1956. He published numerous works, including a history of socialism (1908) and a collection of poems (1917).

Holmberg, Nils. Born in 1902. In the early 1920s he became militant in the Swedish communist youth movement, was named a member of its central committee in 1926, and at the fifth congress of the KIM in 1928 was elected to its executive committee. From 1929 to 1932 he remained in Moscow, first as a student and then as a professor at the Leninist School of the Comintern. Returning to Sweden he took part in the communist party congress held in February 1933 and was elected to its central committee; he also edited the communist daily of Göteborg, *Arbetartidningen* (Worker News). Later in 1933 he was elected communist deputy to parliament, an office to which he was reelected. In 1935 he was elected councilman for the city of Göteborg. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s he was consistently reelected to the Swedish Communist Party central committee. In 1960 he went to Peking, where he worked for two years in the agitprop department of the Chinese Communist Party; after his return in 1962, following the Sino-Soviet conflict, he disagreed with the "revisionism" of the Swedish, Yugoslav, and Soviet communist parties and favored the views of Peking. In 1966 he founded a Marxist society in Göteborg which became the Marxist-Leninist Communist League in June 1967. Also that year he went to Peking, where he met Kang Sheng, who had been in charge of the communist international movement there since the cultural revolution in China.

Hölz, Max. Born in Saxony in 1889. A militant in the German workers' movement he joined the KPD in 1919. In March 1920, at the time of the Kapp-Lüttwitz putsch, he organized an armed resistance in Saxony but was expelled from the party, following his disagreement with the KPD official line. At the time of the March Action in 1921 he attempted to form armed units for guerrilla action in the Mansfeld region of central Germany; he was taken prisoner, tried, and sentenced to solitary confinement for life. At the Third Congress of the Comintern, convened in Moscow on June 22, 1921, he was glorified as a proletarian hero, and a special resolution in his honor was submitted by Karl Radek. In 1922 he was reinstated in the KPD which, with the Comintern,

led the campaign for his freedom during the following years. In 1928 he was released from prison and in August sent a telegram of greeting to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. In 1929 he settled in Soviet Russia, where he occasionally wrote for the Comintern press. Official records state that he died in September 1933 in a swimming accident on the Volga, but this story was contested by a number of ex-communists who accused the Soviet police of assassinating him.

Honecker, Erich. Born in 1912 into a miner's family in the region of the Saar; he became a roofer. At age 10 he joined the communist organization for children, the Young Pioneers, became a member of the Communist Youth in 1926, and three years later joined the KPD. At the beginning of 1930 he was sent to Moscow to attend the Leninist School of the Comintern but returned to his native country without graduating. In 1931 he was secretary of the German Communist Youth for the region of the Saar. When Hitler came to power in January 1933 Honecker assumed clandestine communist work and in 1934 became a member of the central committee of the German Communist Youth. Arrested in 1935 he was imprisoned until 1945. He then was placed in charge of organizing communist youth and was the chairman of the Free German Youth organization from 1946 to 1955. He spent the following two years in the Soviet Union and received special political training in the superior school of the CPSU.

From 1946 on he was continuously a member of the central committee of the SED, and alternate member of its politburo since 1950. After his return from the Soviet Union he obtained his major promotion, becoming in 1958 a member of the politburo and a secretary of the central committee of the party, in special charge of problems of security and national defense. He also was nominated a secretary of the National Defense Council, headed by Walter Ulbricht. He was performing all these party and state functions when he succeeded Ulbricht to the post of first secretary of the SED at the beginning of May 1971.

Honner, Franz. Born in Austria in 1893; he completed his secondary education and fought in the Austro-Hungarian army in 1914. Originally a socialist he gravitated toward communism and in 1920 joined the Austrian Communist Party. Living in Grünbach he worked as an electrician and then as a miner; later he was elected a city councilman. After organizing a miners' strike in 1925 he was fired from his job at the mine. At the eighth congress of the Austrian Communist Party in September 1925 he was seated on the presidium rostrum. In January 1926 he became secretary of the first Austrian workers' delegation invited to Soviet Russia. At the ninth party congress in April 1927 he was elected a member of the central committee and at the eleventh congress, held in June 1931, he presented the report on the "trade-union revolutionary

opposition." (This was a trade-union movement which the communists were supposed to establish in 1929-31, following Comintern directives, in those European countries where a communist-dominated trade-union organization did not yet exist.)

After the civil war of 1934 he took part in secret party activities, for which he was arrested and sent to Wöllersdorf concentration camp; from it he escaped to Soviet Russia. He was sent to Spain during the civil war and after the defeat of the Spanish Republic returned to Soviet Russia in 1939, where he worked in the Comintern apparatus. In 1942, when a Comintern school was formed in Kushnarenkovo, he was placed in charge of the Austrian section. In 1944 he was sent to Yugoslavia, where he organized a battalion of partisans within Tito's army. When Austria was reconstituted after the war he was made undersecretary of the interior, elected communist deputy to parliament, and seated in the politburo of the party. He died in 1964.

Horner, Arthur. Born in Great Britain in 1894 into a socialist and trade-unionist family; he worked in the mines in his early youth. He was militant in various workers' organizations and in 1917 led the South Wales Miners' Reform Committee. During World War I he was arrested several times for refusing to bear arms. At that time he gravitated toward the extreme left and rallied to communism after its victory in Russia. Shortly after its founding in 1920 he joined the British Communist Party and during his first trip to Soviet Russia in June 1923, was promoted to membership in the party's central committee. At the founding conference of the National Minority Movement, held in August 1924, he joined its leaders as the miners' representative.

As a well-known militant in the Miners' Federation of Great Britain he made several additional trips to Soviet Russia—in Moscow in March 1928 he offered a report to the fourth congress of the Profintern and took an active part in the debates; at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in August he was elected to alternate membership in the ECCI; he remained in Soviet Russia through the first part of 1929, in July took part in the debates of the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI; later he participated in the sixth plenum of the Profintern executive committee. Shortly thereafter he was criticized for "opportunistic deviations" and in November 1929, at the British Communist Party congress, was dropped from the party central committee. He offered a public self-criticism in 1930 and a second self-criticism in November 1931. Meanwhile he remained militant in the South Wales Miners' Federation, of which he was elected president in 1936.

In 1946 he was elected secretary-general of the National Union of Mine Workers. Although a member of the British Communist Party executive committee and the *Daily Worker* editorial staff he often expressed disapproval of Moscow policy, as in June 1958 when Imre Nagy was executed. Horner died in London in September 1968.

Horvatin, Kamilo. Born in Croatia in 1896 into a lower middle-class family. In high school he became militant in the nationalist revolutionary youth movement and in 1912 was implicated in the attempted assassination of an important Austro-Hungarian dignitary. He later became a journalist and joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) when it was founded in 1919. He became one of its leaders in Zagreb, where in 1920 he was elected communist city councilman. Later he joined the party committee for Croatia and as such was a delegate to the third congress of the CPY held in Vienna in 1926. From then on he was one of the main spokesmen for the party's left wing. In 1927 he was reelected to the Zagreb city council but in 1929 was forced to leave the country. After a stay in Vienna, where he was employed by the Soviet news agency TASS, he was expelled from Austria and sent to Soviet Russia, where he worked for the Comintern apparatus under the name Petrovski. He worked first at the agrarian institute, then with the CPY delegation to the Comintern, and in 1933 as editor of the CPY's organ *Class Struggle*. He also taught political economy at the KUNMZ, for which he was administrative secretary for a time.

At the fourth national conference of the CPY, in December 1934 in Ljubljana he was elected to the party's central committee and politburo, and in 1935 took part in the Comintern deliberations on the CPY, but in 1936 he was dropped from party leadership. Using the name Boris Nikolaevich Petrovski he continued to live in Moscow until 1938, when he and his wife Jovanka (known under the pseudonym Graberitsa) were arrested during Stalin's purges. The exact date of their deaths is unknown; in 1963 the Soviet Military Collegium rehabilitated him posthumously.

Hourwich, Nicholas. Born in the United States to Jewish immigrants from tsarist Russia. He joined the Russian immigrant socialist movement and at the time of the February 1917 revolution he, like Trotsky and Bukharin, belonged to the group around the newspaper *Novyi Mir* (New World). Following the November 7 victory he rallied to communism; early in 1918 he represented the Russian Socialist Federation at the information bureau formed to defend the Bolshevik cause in the United States. In November 1918 he was a contributing editor of a Socialist Party left-wing publication in Boston, *The Revolutionary Age*. Early in 1919 he was a member of the executive committee of the socialist left in New York, and at the founding congress of the Communist Party of America in September was elected its international delegate. When the party split in mid-1920 and the militant communists were arrested he took the pseudonym Andrew and then left for Soviet Russia, where he arrived toward the end of the Second Congress of the Comintern, which closed on August 7, 1920. With John Reed he immediately became an American representative to the ECCI. In June and July 1921 he took part in the debates of the Third Congress of the Comintern. He never returned to the United States, remained in Soviet Russia, but held no further Comintern positions.

Hršel, Emil. Born in 1901; he became a militant in the Czechoslovak communist youth movement in the 1920s. At the fourth congress of the KIM in July 1924 he was elected a member of the executive committee. Also in that year he took part in the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, at which he gave a speech on behalf of the Czechoslovak communist youth. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he spoke for the KIM. He remained a militant communist in the 1930s and during the German occupation was arrested and deported to Buchenwald. After his liberation he returned to Czechoslovakia, where he worked first in the party apparatus and then for the state administration. In 1949 he joined the diplomatic corps and was ambassador to Afghanistan (1949-50), North Korea (1950-51), East Germany (1951-54), Mongolia, and other countries.

Hruška, Čeněk. Born in Prague in 1889; he became a laborer and in 1912 joined the Social Democratic Party. During World War I he was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army and taken prisoner on the Russian front. Following the Bolshevik victory he supported the communist cause and fought for the Red Army. Returning to Czechoslovakia he became a left socialist militant, took part in the strike of December 1920, and joined the Czechoslovak Communist Party when it was founded in 1921. He worked for the party apparatus in Prague until 1924, when he was given membership in the politburo. In March and April 1925 he was a Czechoslovak delegate to the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and took part in the debates. Later in that year he was elected communist deputy, a position he held until 1933, when he lost his parliamentary seat and was sentenced to ten months in prison. The Czechoslovak Communist Party then sent him to Moscow as its representative to the ECCI, with which he worked for several years.

When the first Czechoslovak military units were formed in Soviet Russia in 1943, Hruška became political commissar for a tank brigade and in 1945 returned to his country after its liberation. He immediately resumed his place of leadership in the Czechoslovak Communist Party, gaining responsible positions in the army and in the party apparatus.

Hsiang Chung-fa. In his youth he worked as an apprentice in an arsenal and then for several years as a sailor and dock worker. Since 1922 he was active among the strikers in the Chinese trade-union movement and also joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). He was then placed in charge of trade-union activity for the province of Hupeh and became the party's regional secretary there. In that capacity he often worked in secret; it was not until 1926 that he emerged completely from the underground to become president of the Trade Union Federation of Wuhan. Meanwhile he had remained active within the CCP, for which he was a delegate at the third (1923), fourth (1925), and fifth (1927) party congresses. At the 1927 congress he became a member of

the party's central committee and took part in the extraordinary conference of August 7, 1927. Despite the criticism expressed there regarding the "opportunistic deviation" of the Trade Union Federation of Wuhan, Hsiao remained a party leader.

In 1928 he spent several months in Moscow. At the ninth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February he was elected a member of both the ECCI and its Presidium; in August, at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, he was reelected only to the ECCI. He also took part in the fourth congress of the Profintern (March-April) and at the sixth congress of the CCP (held in Moscow from July to September) he was elected secretary-general of the party. After his return to China he found that his position as party head was only nominal and that Li Li-san was emerging as the real party chief; still, he was confirmed as secretary-general in January 1931, at the fourth plenum of the party central committee in Shanghai. In June, however, he was arrested and shot by Kuomintang police in Shanghai.

Hsiao Ching-kuang. Born in 1904 in the Hunan region of China, where he completed high school. In 1920 he went to Shanghai and joined the communist youth organization; shortly thereafter he went to Soviet Russia, joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which had organized a section in Moscow, and underwent his initial communist training, probably at the KUTV. At the beginning of 1925 he returned to China and in October he and Lin Piao studied for a year at the Whampoa military academy. Hsiao then took part in the Northern Expedition led by the Kuomintang-CCP alliance but owing to the 1927 split in that alliance he returned to Soviet Russia, where he remained until 1931 pursuing military studies at a Red Army academy and political studies at Sun Yat-sen University. Returning to China he held a number of leading military and political positions and in 1934-35 participated in the Long March. In the Shensi region he became commander-in-chief of the Twenty-Ninth Red Army; following the Sino-Japanese war in 1937 he was responsible for defending the border region of the Communist Republic of Yenan.

At the seventh congress of the CCP in April 1945, he was elected an alternate member of the central committee; following the Japanese surrender in August he accompanied Lin Piao to Manchuria. When the civil war resumed he once again took charge of important military projects, in partial cooperation with Lin Piao, and emerged as commander of the military region of Hunan, his native province.

In September 1950 he became commander-in-chief of the Chinese navy, in October 1954 deputy minister of national defense, in September 1955 an admiral, and in September 1956 was elected a member of the central committee at the eighth congress of the party. Meanwhile, he was responsible for maintaining contacts with various Soviet Russian officials, for he had spent much time in Russia, spoke Russian fluently, and married a Russian woman. After

December 1954 he was a member of the directing committee of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. In 1955 he was delegated to Port Arthur for negotiations concerning the transfer of the port to the Chinese and in 1957 attended the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. At the ninth congress of the CCP in April 1969, he was seated on the presidium rostrum and reelected a member of the central committee.

Hsu Te-li. Born in 1877 into a poor peasant family in the Chinese province of Hunan; there he taught elementary and then intermediate school and participated in the 1911 revolution. Following a stay in Japan he became a teacher in 1915 at the Hunan Provincial Normal School where Mao Tse-tung was a student. In 1919 he went with a group of Chinese students to France, where he spent four years at the universities of Paris and Lyon. He then lived in Germany and Belgium before returning to China in 1924, where he worked in the Kuomintang and directed a middle school in Hunan. When the Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Party split in 1927 he sided with the communists. In 1928 he was sent to Moscow, where he remained for two years as a student at Sun Yat-sen University. He then went to the Chinese Soviet territory in Kiangsi and at the first congress of the Chinese soviets, held in Juichin in November 1931, was elected a member of the executive central committee of the Chinese Republic, an appointment which was confirmed in February 1934 at the second congress. In October 1934 he took part in the Long March and remained until its conclusion. When the communists settled in Yenan he worked first in the orgburo and then in the agitprop section of the party central committee.

At the seventh congress of the party in 1945 he was elected to membership in the central committee. He was referred to as one of the "five old men of the party" at the time of the communist victory in October 1949. From that date until 1954 he was a member of the central people's government council and then became a member of the national people's congress and was on the presidium at each session. At the eighth party congress in September 1956 he was reelected to the central committee; in September 1964 he was reelected as Hunan's deputy to the national people's congress. He died in December 1968 at the age of 91.

Hula, Břetislav. A Czech, born in 1894 as a citizen of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. He lived in Russia in 1917 and joined the Bolsheviks after their victory of November 7. In May 1918 he was a secretary at the congress which organized the Czechoslovak section of the RCP(B). Returning to his native country he worked hard to persuade the Social Democratic Party to join the Comintern. As editor-in-chief of the communist newspaper *Svoboda* (Freedom) published in Kladno, he was the Czechoslovak delegate to the Second Congress of the Comintern, held in 1920—his signature appeared on the congress manifesto and he was elected a member of the ECCI. He continued to be a militant communist until 1925, when he was expelled from the party as a "rightist,

opportunist and liquidator." That decision was confirmed at the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in February and March 1926.

Humbert-Droz, Jules. Born in Switzerland in 1891; he became a Protestant pastor. During World War I he took a pacifist and internationalist position and refused to serve in the Swiss army; for this he was tried and sentenced. Meanwhile he had become a member of the Swiss Socialist Party; he supported its left wing and after the Bolshevik revolution rallied to communism. Beginning in September 1919 he edited the Swiss communist review *Le Phare*. In 1920 in Moscow he represented the left wing of the Swiss Social Democratic Party at the Second Congress of the Comintern and took part in the debates. After that he assumed high Comintern functions both in Soviet Russia and in many other countries and attended all succeeding congresses of the Comintern, including the last one in 1935.

In March 1921 he was among the founders of the Swiss Communist Party. At the Third Congress of the Comintern he was elected a secretary to the ECCI and reelected at the Fifth Congress in 1924. At the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1925 he was named a member of the ECCI Orgburo. At the sixth enlarged plenum in February 1926 he was confirmed again as secretary to the ECCI. At the seventh enlarged plenum in November 1926 he was named to the political Secretariat of the Comintern. At the ninth enlarged plenum in February 1928, he was reelected to the ECCI Presidium and the political Secretariat.

Also during that period he carried out several confidential missions for the Comintern abroad—in France (1921-22, 1926, and 1927), in Italy (1922, 1923, 1924, and 1926), in Spain (1922, 1924, and 1930), in Holland (1924) and in Portugal (1923). He also directed the Comintern's Latin Secretariat, whose activities covered Latin American and the Latin countries of Europe. In 1929 he visited South America as a Comintern emissary. During those missions he used several pseudonyms, among them Jean-Christophe and Charpentier in France and Louis in South America.

In December 1928, after the elimination of Bukharin from Comintern leadership and a conflict of opinion between Stalin and Angelo Tasca, Humbert-Droz was relieved of his Comintern functions. He then made public self-criticisms and supported the Stalinist view, first at the tenth enlarged plenum in July 1929 and then in a public declaration on October 19, 1930. After a Comintern mission in Spain he returned to Switzerland late in 1931, where he resumed activity in the Swiss Communist Party, of which he later became political secretary. In 1932 he attended the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI as a delegate and speaker for the Swiss Communist Party and was again criticized. In December 1933 he participated in the thirteenth plenum. In 1935, at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, however, he was a delegate, but neither a speaker nor a member of any of the directing bodies.

In 1936 he returned to Spain during the civil war, a mission which led

to his arrest when he returned to Switzerland. He again visited Moscow in 1937 at the time of the purge and show trials. He kept his membership in the politburo of the Swiss Communist Party and collaborated on *Inprekorr*. After the German attack on Soviet Russia he was involved in the Rote Kapelle, the Soviet espionage network, on the recommendation of Georgi Dimitrov. In December 1941, however, he was removed from the leadership group of the Swiss Communist Party and at the beginning of 1943, after a long conflict with Karl Hofmaier (the new party leader) was expelled from the Swiss party. Soon afterward he joined the Swiss Social Democratic Party and was its secretary from 1947 to 1958. After that he published the book *Der Krieg und die Internationale* (1964) and edited excerpts from the archives of the Comintern under the title *L'Oeil de Moscou* (Paris, 1964); the complete edition of these archives will be edited by the International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam). In 1969 he published in Neuchâtel the first volume of his memoirs, *Mon évolution du Tolstoïsme au Communisme, 1891-1921*; the second volume, *De Lénine à Staline. Dix ans au service de l'Internationale Communiste, 1921-1931*, was published in 1971. He died in October 1971.

I

Jaroslavsky, Emilen. Born in Transbaikalia in 1878; his real name was Gubelman. In his youth he worked as a bookbinder, pharmacy employee, and lawyer's clerk. In 1898 he joined the RSDLP. In 1901 he first visited Berlin and Paris, where he met the leaders of the Russian socialist movement in exile. After 1903 he sided with the Bolsheviks and in Russia participated in the revolutionary events of 1905 and 1906, for which he was arrested. In December 1905 he was a delegate of the Yaroslav organization at the Tammerfors (Finland) Bolshevik conference. He also attended the fourth so-called "unity" congress of the RSDLP in Stockholm in 1906 and the fifth RSDLP congress in London in 1907. Arrested upon his return to Russia he was condemned to five years imprisonment and sent to Siberia. After the February 1917 revolution he returned to Moscow to support the Bolsheviks. After the Bolshevik victory he became a partisan of the communist left. In 1918 he performed important party functions in Moscow, the Urals, and Siberia. In 1921 he was elected to the central committee and made one of its three secretaries.

In 1920 he was a Bolshevik delegate to the Second Congress of the Comintern and in 1922 addressed the second congress of the KIM in the name of the RCP(B). From 1923 to 1934 he was secretary to the party central control commission and as such was very active in Stalin's service during the purging of the Leninist old guard. In 1928 he was a delegate and speaker at the Sixth

Congress of the Comintern, at which he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. Although he became president of the League of Militant Atheists and was the author of an official history of the RCP(B) he was partly disgraced during the purge of the 1930s and lost his party posts. In 1937, however, he was elected a deputy in the Supreme Soviet and in 1939 to membership in the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. He was also a staff member of the review *Bolshevik* and of the official party organ, *Pravda*. He died in 1943.

Ibarruri, Dolores ("La Passionaria"). Born in 1895, daughter of a Spanish mine worker. She joined the Spanish Socialist Party in 1917; in April 1921 she attended the first congress of the Spanish Communist Party and was a delegate to the party congress held in Paris in 1929. In 1930, after the Comintern had eliminated the old party leaders, she became a member of the party central committee; in 1932 in Seville, at the fourth congress of the party, she became a member of the politburo. In 1933 she went to Moscow, where in December she addressed the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, using only her first name. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935, she was seated at the congress rostrum and elected a member of the ECCI.

In February 1936 she was elected communist deputy to the Spanish parliament, whereupon she was named vice-president of the parliament by the majority of the Popular Front. During the Spanish civil war she belonged to the communist leadership and was in close touch with the Comintern delegation. With the defeat of Republican Spain she fled to France in March 1939 and then left for the Soviet Union. In Moscow she was nominated to the Secretariat of the Comintern and after the death of José Díaz in 1942, became secretary-general of the Spanish Communist Party as well as a member of the ECCI Presidium, in which capacity she signed the act of dissolution of the Comintern in May 1943.

Following the liberation of France she stayed periodically in Paris, where in December 1945 she attended the congress of the World Federation of Democratic Women, of which she became vice-president. In Paris in March 1947 she presided over the enlarged session of the Spanish Communist Party central committee and in June attended the Strasbourg congress of the PCF.

With the beginning of the cold war she settled in Eastern Europe, where she lived for extended periods in Moscow and Prague. She remained secretary-general of the Spanish Communist Party until January 1960, when she became party president. She headed party delegations and addressed all important communist meetings in Moscow—in October 1952 she spoke at the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B), which Stalin attended; in February 1956 she spoke at the twentieth congress, and later approved de-Stalinization; in November 1957 she attended the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties and in November 1960 the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties. In October 1961 she attended the twenty-second congress of the CPSU.

After that she visited many communist-ruled countries, including Cuba. In November 1967 she participated in the Moscow celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the October revolution and in March 1969 she helped to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Comintern.

Ichikawa, Shoichi. Born in Japan in 1892 into a lower middle-class family from the provinces, after completing university studies he became a journalist and began to organize the first groups of the future Japanese Communist Party (JCP). In 1922 he was an editor of the communist review *The Proletariat*. In June 1923 he was arrested and imprisoned for seven months but after his release resumed communist activity. In 1926 he was elected to the JCP central committee and was also editing the party's legal publication, *Proletarian Journal*. In 1927 he became a secretary of the party central committee. Early in 1928 he was placed in charge of the party's electoral campaign but mass arrests in March crippled the party leadership and forced it underground. In August he took part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and in November he returned secretly to Japan, where he headed the JCP until his arrest in April 1929. He was not brought to court until June 1931, in the great trial of many communist leaders, and at its conclusion a year later was sentenced to life in prison. In 1932 the party secretly published his *History of the Japanese Communist Party*, which he had composed for his defense before the jury. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was elected a member of the ECCI in absentia.

Inkpin, Albert. Born in 1884. He became a militant in the workers' movement in Great Britain and in 1904 enrolled in the Social Democratic Federation. From 1913 to 1920 he was secretary-general of the British Socialist Party. During World War I he took a pacifist and internationalist stand and later campaigned for joining the Comintern. When all British communist groups were uniting into a single party in July 1920, he was elected secretary of the joint provisional committee. Shortly afterward he became secretary of the British Communist Party (BCP) a position he held until 1929. In 1921, however, he was condemned to six months in jail for communist propaganda activities. In June 1921 he was elected an honorary president of the Third Congress of the Comintern. In June 1923 he was a member of the BCP delegation to the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI. However, during his nearly ten years as nominal head of the party he took no part in Comintern activities. He failed to do so even in July 1929 at the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, when the leadership of the BCP was criticized by the Comintern. As a consequence he was dropped from the party central committee at the extraordinary congress it held in November 1929. He nevertheless continued his communist activity—in 1930 he was named secretary-general of the international organization called Friends of the Soviet Union and then became director of its review of the same name. He died in 1944.

Ionidis, Yanis. Born in Vólos (Thessalia) in 1901; he became a hairdresser. In 1923 he joined the Greek Communist Party and worked in the trade-union movement; in 1926 he was a member of the party central committee, and in 1928 the party sent him to Soviet Russia for treatment of his tuberculosis and also to study at the KUTV. In 1931 he returned to Greece as a member of the party politburo and in 1932 was elected a communist deputy to the Greek parliament, a post he held until the coup d'état of General Metaxas in 1936. The Metaxas government deported him to Návplion where he remained imprisoned until after the Italian occupation. In September 1942 he was freed by a surprise attack of communist guerillas.

He immediately resumed his place among leaders of the party and of the communist resistance movement. As a member of the politburo and the central committee secretariat, he was second only in party hierarchy to G. Siantos, the central committee secretary. The two men were responsible for coordinating the Greek communist resistance efforts with those in neighboring Bulgaria, Albania, and Yugoslavia; thus in mid 1943 they met with delegates of the Yugoslav and Albanian communist parties. In the absence of party secretary-general Nikos Zachariades, who had been deported to Germany, Ionidis and Siantos decided to launch a general communist insurrection against the government of G. Papandreu on December 1, 1944. At the twelfth plenum of the Greek Communist Party in June 1945 Zachariades returned and Ionidis was elected a member of the politburo and the central committee secretariat. In 1947, when the Greek Provisional Democratic Government was being formed under General Markos, Ionidis became its vice-president and minister of the interior; after the resignation of Markos he became acting president. In April 1949 D. Partsalides was named president of the rebel government and Ionidis resumed his role as vice-president. With the collapse of the insurrection during 1949, however, he took refuge in Eastern Europe and stayed in various communist countries. In 1953 he fell victim to the purge directed by Zachariades, head of the Greek Communist Party in exile, and was stripped of his party offices.

Ioffe, Adolf. Born Adolf Abramovich in 1883; son of a wealthy Crimean merchant. At the close of the century he was active in the Russian socialist movement. In 1903 he went to Berlin intending to study medicine but instead devoted himself entirely to revolutionary activity both abroad and in Russia. During the Bolshevik-Menshevik struggle he remained an ally of Trotsky, with whom he edited the paper *Pravda* in Vienna in 1908. During a secret stay in Kiev in 1912 he was arrested and promptly deported to Siberia, where he remained until after the revolution of February 1917. Returning to Petrograd, he sided again with Trotsky and edited the paper *Vpered* (Forward). In June he joined the Bolshevik party and at its sixth congress was elected a member of its central committee. At the time of the coup of November 7, 1917, he was a member of the revolutionary military committee in Petrograd.

From then on he followed a diplomatic career with the Soviet government.

beginning with the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. In the annals of the Comintern he appears only as a delegate to the Second Congress in 1920; nevertheless, he played an important revolutionary role on two occasions—the first was in Germany 1918, where he was residing as Soviet ambassador and, in his own words, took "an active part in the preparations for the German revolution"; the second was in China in 1922-23 where as Soviet emissary he concluded an accord with Sun Yat-sen in January 1923 which facilitated the alliance between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. He remained close to Trotsky and committed suicide in November 1927.

Iskrov, Peter. He was a militant communist in Bulgaria before 1923 when the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) was legal there, and during the subsequent period of anti-communist repression; also at that time he was a leader of the Bulgarian communist youth group. In 1925 he was condemned to death in absentia and subsequently left the country to join the BCP in exile in Vienna. In December 1927 and January 1928, at the second conference of the BCP in Berlin, he was the major spokesman for the youth against older leaders, like Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov; nevertheless, the conference chose Dimitrov, Kolarov, and Iskrov as the three members of the party's new foreign bureau.

He was elected a member of the ICC in August 1928 at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. With the fall of Bukharin and the growing dominance of the left Iskrov's position in the party and the Comintern became increasingly important. In 1929 he represented the BCP at the Comintern. He played an important role in the Comintern decision in August 1930 to encourage greater Bolshevization of the Bulgarian party and to eliminate the Tesniak spirit characteristic of the older party leaders. At the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in September 1932 he spoke on Balkan and Bulgarian problems. However, Iskrov's position weakened when Dimitrov returned to Moscow from the Leipzig trial in February 1934 and when, soon afterward, the Comintern initiated its tactical switch leading to the Popular Front. In May 1934 Dimitrov and Kolarov attacked "leftist sectarianism" within the party and from then on Kolarov, as well as Iskrov, represented the party in the Balkan Secretariat of the Comintern. In July and August 1935, Iskrov spoke at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and was elected a member of the ICC. Although his name still appeared on the April 1936 list of Comintern leaders it later disappeared completely.

Ivanov, Anton. Born in 1884; he became a metalworker and in 1904 joined the Tesniak (Narrow) Bulgarian Socialist Party in Varna. From 1907 until 1919 he was secretary of the metalworkers' trade union and editor-in-chief of its newspaper, *Metalworker*. In 1918 he was elected party secretary for Sofia. In 1919 the Narrow party joined the Comintern and Ivanov subsequently was elected communist deputy to the Bulgarian parliament. In November 1920 he was a member of the Bulgarian delegation to the founding congress of the communist Balkan Trade Union Federation. In 1922 he was elected to the central

committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and in September 1923 headed the Sofia revolutionary committee during the party's attempt at insurrection. On September 21, 1923, he was arrested and remained in jail until his acquittal in June 1925. He then emigrated to Soviet Russia and between 1928 and 1930 was a member of the executive committee of the Profintern. Moreover, until 1930 he acted as technical secretary for the Bulgarian party's foreign bureau. After the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 Georgi Dimitrov entrusted him with a number of political missions. Thus, in 1938 he went to Paris and Spain to carry out the Comintern's decision to dissolve the foreign organizations of the Polish Communist Party, where he used the pseudonyms Bogdanov and Jean, and then returned to the Soviet Union. In December 1940 he returned to Bulgaria secretly as a member of the party politburo; there police arrested him in April 1942 and shot him in July.

J

Jacob, Henri. Born in Troyes, France, in 1896. As a laborer he was active in the French trade-union movement and later became a secretary of the textile trade union at Troyes. With the development of such communist-oriented trade unions as the CGTU he helped to form the Textile Federation in 1922. At the Paris congress of the PCF in October he was elected to its directing committee; later in the year he participated in the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and the second congress of the Profintern, at which he became an alternate member of the executive bureau. Confirmed in his position as a member of the directing committee of the PCF by the Fourth Comintern Congress he was one of the representatives of the centrist faction within the committee. However, when the chief of the centrists and also secretary-general of the PCF, Louis-Oscar Frossard, resigned from the leading party positions on January 1, 1923, Jacob did not follow his example and remained a member of the directing committee. In January 1923 he represented the CGTU in Essen at the European communist conference protesting the occupation of the Ruhr and as a result was arrested upon his return to France. At the party congresses of January 1924 and January 1925 he was reelected to the directing committee. In 1925 he accompanied the French delegation to the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, at which he sat on the trade-union commission. He remained in Moscow as a representative of the PCF to the ECCI and as such signed various manifestoes and appeals; at the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, in February and March 1926, he became a member of the Secretariat of the ECCI.

In June 1926 he was reelected to the central committee of the PCF; however, upon his return to Paris he voiced certain reservations about the Kremlin's policy against Trotsky and Zinoviev and as a result was strongly criticized at the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in November 1926 from which he was then removed. Later he was removed from the party central committee

and in 1928 left the party. Returning to Troyes, he wrote for the local newspaper, *Rappel de l'Aube*, and later was employed for a long time as a janitor at the city hall. During the German occupation he settled in Paris, where he collaborated on Jacques Doriot's newspaper *Cri du Peuple*, using the pseudonym Henri Renaud. After the liberation he was prosecuted for collaboration with the enemy.

Jacquemotte, Joseph. Born in Belgium in 1883. In 1906 he joined the Belgian Socialist Party and the employees' trade union, of which he became the Brussels secretary in 1910. Later he was elected a member of the bureau of his party's general council. During the war he gravitated toward the left wing, supporting the Bolshevik revolution. In September 1921, after the leftists had broken away from the Belgian Socialist Party, he helped found the unified Belgian Communist Party and was a central committee member from the beginning. In March 1923 he and 15 other party leaders were arrested for conspiracy against the state regarding occupation of the Ruhr; however, following trial in July he was freed. In 1925 he was elected a communist deputy to the Belgian parliament and was thereafter reelected continually until his death. In 1931 he joined the party politburo and in 1934 became secretary-general of the party.

His career with the Comintern was extensive—he first went to Moscow in 1921 to address the Third Congress of the Comintern; in 1922 he attended the Fourth Congress; at the Fifth Congress in 1924 he was the spokesman for the Belgian delegation and was elected to membership in the ECCI; in 1926 he addressed both the sixth and seventh plenums of the ECCI; at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was the Belgian spokesman and was reelected to the ECCI; in 1929 he took part in the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI; and in 1935, at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, he again was Belgian spokesman and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. He died in 1936.

Jansen. Born Jan Proost in 1890 into a family of Dutch intellectuals; he became a painter and engraver. He joined the Dutch left-wing socialists and was especially close to David Wijnkoop, who sent him to Germany several times during World War I to establish contact with the extreme left socialists and internationalists there. He joined the Dutch Communist Party (DCP) when it was founded in 1918 and in 1920 accompanied Wijnkoop to the Second Congress of the Comintern, at the close of which the two were made members of the ECCI. Jansen remained in Moscow as representative of the DCP and in June and July 1921 attended the Third Congress of the Comintern and took part in the ECCI meetings held throughout the rest of that year. In June 1923 he was the only Dutch representative to the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI, at which he sat on the Austrian and Danish commissions. In 1926, however, he left the DCP when the group headed by Wijnkoop and Van Ravesteijn was expelled.

Jean, Renaud. Born in 1887 into a French farming family; as early as 1907 he was a member of the SFIO. He worked at farming until he was drafted at the beginning of World War I. After being wounded and then discharged in 1915 he attended a technical school and became a teacher at the trade school of commerce and industry in Agen. In 1920 he supported SFIO affiliation with the Comintern and also was elected a deputy to parliament. At the Marseilles congress of the PCF in December 1921 he was elected a member of the directing committee in charge of rural affairs and as such wrote theses on communist action among the peasants, upon which Lenin commented in 1922. In November 1922 he addressed the Fourth Congress of the Comintern as a member of the PCF delegation. At the close of the congress the Comintern confirmed his membership in the directing committee of the French party. And in January 1924, at the Lyon congress, he was reelected to it. Also in that year he was reelected a communist deputy. At the Lille congress in 1926, he was reelected to the PCF central committee (as the former directing committee was now called) but was defeated at the parliamentary elections of 1928. He joined the French delegation at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 and took part in the debates of the French commission. In 1935 he addressed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in the name of the PCF. In 1932 he was reelected a deputy. At the party congresses of Villeurbanne (1936) and Arles (1937) he was reelected a member of the central committee.

As chairman of the General Confederation of Working Peasants he was reelected a deputy at the elections of 1936 but in September 1939, following the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and the beginning of World War II, he voiced disapproval of the defeatist tactic of the PCF although he did not break publicly with the party. After Maurice Thorez resumed leadership of the party at the end of 1944 he was never again a party candidate at the parliamentary elections or a member of the central committee. Nevertheless, he remained in the party in the modest position of secretary-general of the peasants' association in the department of Lot-et-Garonne until his death in 1961.

Jen Pi-shih. Born in 1904 into a wealthy farming family in the Chinese province of Hunan. He left home for university training and in 1921 after becoming a Marxist, enrolled at the KUTV in Moscow. After his return to China he was elected to the central committee of the League of Communist Youth and in 1926 became its assistant secretary-general. At the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) congress of May 1927 he was elected to its central committee and in August took part in the party's extraordinary conference. At the sixth congress of the CCP, held in Moscow in 1928, he was reelected to the central committee and in January 1931 took part in the central committee plenum at which Li Li-san was removed from party leadership. He later became a member of the party politburo and was sent to the Soviet territory of Kiangsi to head the party organization there. At the plenum of the central committee held in

January 1934 he was reelected to the politburo. Later in the year, as political commissar, he led the retreat of the communist Sixth Army from the Kuomintang offensive during the Long March. When the communist troops in Yenan were being reorganized in 1937 he was named chief of the political section of the Eighth Army but in 1938 he returned to Soviet Russia for treatment of an illness and at the same time acted as a CCP delegate to the Comintern. In 1940 he returned to China, where he headed the orgburo of the party central committee.

At the seventh congress of the party in April 1945 he was elected to the party politburo, central committee, and secretariat. In March 1947 during the evacuation of Yenan he stayed with Mao Tse-tung but illness kept him from playing a major role in the conquest of China; he died in 1950.

Jerram, Guy. Born in 1876; a typographic proofreader by profession. He joined the PCF when it was founded and worked militantly for its cause in northern France. He also played an important role in the Republican Veterans' Association (ARAC), a communist front organization of which he became secretary in 1920. In both 1923 and 1924 he was elected a member of the party's directing committee and at the same time was secretary for the northern federation of the party. In June and July 1924 he was a member of the PCF delegation of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, at which he participated in commission work and became an alternate member of the ECCI. At the PCF congresses of 1926 and 1932 he was reelected to the central committee and at the beginning of the 1930s was active in the new communist front organization known as the Amsterdam-Pleyel movement (its name drawn from the locations of the "congress against the imperialist war" held in Amsterdam in August 1932, with Willi Münzenberg as organizer, and a second congress held at Pleyel Hall in Paris in June 1933). Since the Pleyel congress met after Hitler's rise to power, the entire movement adopted the qualifying terms "against war and fascism." At the Pleyel congress a world committee was elected to serve as the executive body of the movement and Jerram became a member. In 1935, however, he broke with the PCF and also was expelled from the ARAC, of which he had been secretary-general for many years. He died in 1958.

Jilek, Bohumil. Born in 1892. He was an official of the Czech socialist party prior to World War I and at its outset took a pro-Austro-Hungarian position, but in the years following he rallied to the party's left wing, which favored communism. At the founding congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1921 he became party secretary and a member of the central committee.

In June 1922 he went to Moscow to attend the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI, to which he submitted a report on the communist movement in Czechoslovakia. In September, however, a majority of the party central committee accused a group (including Jilek and party president Václav Štore) of

"leftist deviation" stemming from its opposition to the United Front approach. That majority then decided to expel Jilek and six other central committee members from the party; at its Fourth Congress in November 1922 the Comintern annulled that decision and Jilek was reinstated in the party but suspended from his major official positions. He continued, however, as a party militant, became secretary of its Prague regional organization at the beginning of 1925, and after the third party congress in October 1925 again became party secretary.

In February 1926 he participated in the second conference on organizational questions convoked by the Comintern; in November and December he was a delegate and spokesman for his party at the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI and at the ninth plenum in February 1928 was elected a member of the ECCI Presidium. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in August 1928 he presided over the debates and was reelected to both the ECCI and its Presidium.

With the fall of Bukharin and the rise of the younger Stalinist personnel Jilek was removed from leadership at the fifth congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, held in February 1929, and in June was expelled for "rightist deviation." Afterward he cooperated with the Czech Socialist Party. With the advent of the Prague coup in 1948 he took refuge in the West. He died in the United States in 1963.

Jogiches-Tyszko, Leo. Born in Poland in 1867 into a Jewish family. He became a socialist militant in 1888 and in 1890, forced to flee the tsarist police, he settled in Switzerland, where with Rosa Luxemburg he helped found the Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland (1893), and the SDPPL (1899). His close political cooperation with Rosa Luxemburg continued until her death, despite the termination of their romantic liaison in 1907.

Returning to Poland in 1905 he directed the revolutionary movement in Warsaw and Lodz. In February 1907 he was condemned by court-martial to eight years of forced labor but soon escaped and in May 1907 appeared in London as the head of the SDPPL delegation to the congress of the RSDLP. As a Polish representative he was elected a member of the central committee of the RSDLP and as such participated in the factional struggles among Russian socialist émigrés and came into conflict with Lenin.

In 1910 he settled in Berlin, becoming militant in the left wing of the SPD. During World War I he took an internationalist and pacifist position and was the actual organizer of the Spartacus League. In 1916 he was arrested and imprisoned until the German revolution of November 1918. In December he played a key role in the negotiations which Karl Radek conducted with the Spartakist leaders concerning the establishment of the KPD; when the party was founded he was elected a member of its directing organ, the *Zentrale*. In January 1919 he had a major part in the KPD decision to entrust Hugo Eberlein with an imperative mandate to vote in Moscow against the immediate foundation

of the Comintern. Following the assassination of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht on January 15, 1919, he secretly directed the KPD but in March of that year he, too, was arrested and executed without trial.

Jones, David Yvor. Born in England in 1880; he worked as a clerk in his early youth and in 1902 emigrated to New Zealand, where he first worked as a farm laborer. A few years later he moved to South Africa, where he joined the Labour Party in Johannesburg; he soon became one of its leaders and in 1914 was elected its secretary-general. During World War I he took an internationalist and pacifist position. In 1915 he and his followers caused a split within the Labour Party and founded the International Socialist League, of which he was the first secretary-general. In September he began publication of the league's paper, *International*. Shortly afterwards in Johannesburg, he formed an organization called the Industrial Workers of Africa in collaboration with S. P. Bunting the future founder of the South African Communist Party. After the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, he rallied to communism and advocated adherence to the Comintern.

In 1920 he went to France and in June and July 1921 represented the International Socialist League at the Third Congress of the Comintern. He then was co-opted to the ECCI and beginning in August participated in its work; in 1922 he maintained membership in the ECCI and attended its second and third enlarged plenums (June 1922 and June 1923); at the same time he was representative of the South African Communist Party to the ECCI and was working on the first translation of Lenin's works into English at the time of his death in the Crimea in June 1924.

Jovanović, Rajko. Born in Serbia in 1898. He obtained his law degree in France, where he belonged to a group of young Serbian socialist intellectuals attracted to communism. Returning to Belgrade he took up communist activity and in 1921 became a leader in the Union of Young Communists of Yugoslavia. He quickly rose to leadership of the leftist faction of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), occasionally traveled to Vienna, the seat of the CPY abroad, and by 1925 was a member of the party central committee.

At the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February and March 1926 he was a spokesman for the left (under the name Ognjanović) during the debates on the internal situation in the CPY; at the third congress of the party, which met in Vienna in May 1926, he was elected to the politburo. For the next two years he was known to party and Comintern circles as either Comrade No. 2 or Dič. (Comrade No. 1 was Sima Marković, head of the rightist faction.) In Yugoslavia during 1927-28 he directed the leftist faction at such important meetings as the congress of Independent Trade Unions and the conference of communist youth. When the leaders of the two antagonistic party factions were eliminated in 1928 he was dropped from party leadership. He continued to

live in Soviet Russia until the beginning of the Stalinist purges; he then went to France and to Belgrade, where he practiced law. In July 1941 he took part in the party uprising but did not regain a leading position. He was the political commissar of a small group of partisans in Toplița, in eastern Serbia, until his death in 1942.

Jullien, Charles-André. Born in 1891, the son of a French professor. He earned his Ph.D. degree and worked as a professor of history, first in Morocco and then at the University of Paris; when he retired from teaching in 1961 he was named honorary professor of the Faculté des Lettres of Paris. Throughout his teaching career he was politically active. At the SFIO congress in Tours in December 1920 he was a delegate and spokesman for the Federation of Oran. He joined the PCF upon its founding in Tours and in January 1921 was named its permanent delegate to North Africa. In June and July 1921 he went with the French delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern and took part in the debates on colonialism. In January 1923, after Louis-Oscar Frossard's resignation as party secretary-general, Jullien also left the party and joined the Resistance Committee created by Frossard's former friends. Jullien later rejoined the SFIO. In 1936, at the time of Léon Blum's Popular Front government, he was named secretary-general of the High Committee of North Africa. From 1947 to 1958 he was an SFIO member of the French Union. He then left the SFIO to join the Autonomous Socialist Party, which later became the Unified Socialist Party (PSU).

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Kabakchiev, Khristo. Born in 1878 into a middle-class Bulgarian family. He was converted to socialism while studying in Bulgaria and Geneva. In 1897 he was a member of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party; when the party split in 1903 he supported the more radical Tesniak (Narrow) group. In 1905 he joined its central committee and in 1908 became editor-in-chief of its organ and also was elected its deputy to parliament. When the Tesniaks became the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) in 1919 and joined the Comintern he remained a member of the party's central committee. In 1920 he was a party delegate to the Second Congress of the Comintern and submitted a report on the Comintern's statutes. At the close of the congress he went as a Comintern delegate to the Halle congress of the USPD held in October 1920. Afterward he was a Comintern emissary to the congress in Leghorn, at which the Italian Communist Party was formed in January 1921. In 1922 he was a delegate and speaker at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and in January 1923 became political secretary of the BCP.

In September 1923, after the failure of the Bulgarian communist uprising, he was condemned to 12½ years in jail. Freed in 1926 by an amnesty he went to Vienna and then to Moscow. In 1924 he had been elected in absentia to the ICC at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and now assumed that post. By 1928, however, he was no longer a member of the central committee of the BCP and although he was a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in that year was not reelected to the ICC. Instead, he taught at the Leninist School of the Comintern and worked at the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute and the Historical Institute. In 1929 he published a book on the founding and development of the Comintern and in 1930 co-authored a work on the Balkan communist parties. He was arrested in 1937 during Stalin's purges but was released in 1938; he fell gravely ill and died in 1940.

Kučerović, Triša. Born in 1879; a lawyer by profession. He was one of the founders of the Serbian Social Democratic Party, in which he served as secretary in 1906 and 1907. In 1908 he was elected a socialist deputy to the Serbian Parliament. He represented his party at the First Balkan socialist conference, held in Belgrade in 1909 and at the eighth congress of the Socialist International, held in Copenhagen in 1910. In 1912 he was reelected to parliament and in 1914 voted (in conformity with the decisions of the socialist international congresses) against war credits demanded by the Serbian government. When Austria occupied Serbia he remained in Belgrade and did not retreat with the Serbian government to Corfu. In April 1916 he participated in the Second Zimmerwald conference, held at Kienthal, at which he leaned towards Lenin's position on the war and the International. He returned to occupied Serbia and in 1917 went to Stockholm for the third Zimmerwald conference. In 1919 he took part in founding the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and became a member of its directing body. In 1920 he was elected a communist deputy to the Yugoslav parliament and until its expulsion in 1921 was president of the communist group in parliament. During the CPY's internal struggles of 1921 and 1922 he supported the left wing. At the first national conference of the CPY, held in Vienna in July 1922, he was elected to the party's secret central committee on Comintern request. At the party's second conference in May 1923, also held in Vienna, the leftists were in the majority and he was elected secretary-general of the party. He was reelected at the third conference, held in January 1924. In June and July 1924 he took part (under the name Marinović) in the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and was elected a member of the ECCI. In 1925, following continuous factional struggles within the CPY, the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI named him to a new party central committee. In 1926, however, he retired from his executive positions in the party and did not participate in political life for almost 20 years. After the communist victory in 1945 he was named a deputy to the provisional Yugoslav parliament and then, before his retirement, became a judge on the Serbian supreme court. He died in Belgrade in 1964.

Kagan, George. Born in Poland in 1906 into a Jewish family. He was converted to communism while still in high school; in 1928 he went to France for university training but was expelled from the country for communist activities. He then registered at the Free University of Brussels but later went to Moscow, where he worked for the central apparatus of the Comintern until the end of 1931, when he returned to Paris with the Comintern delegation headed by Eugen Fried. He was placed in charge of both the agitprop section of the PCF and the publication of its theoretical review *Cahiers du Bolchevisme*. He later found himself in disagreement with certain tactics of the Comintern and (with André Ferrat) organized an opposition group within the party, which in 1934 published the review *Que Faire?* In 1935 he refused a summons to Moscow and broke with the Comintern. He continued to publish and write (often under the name Pierre Lenoir) for *Que Faire?* until September 1939. He remained in France until his death in 1943.

Kalinin, Mikhail I. Born in 1875 into a Russian farming family. He finished his education at a local school in 1889 and worked on a farm for awhile before going to St. Petersburg, where he became an industrial worker. He joined the RSDLP when it was founded in 1898; engaging in its clandestine activities brought him several arrests. He participated in the 1905 revolution and later was active in Tiflis, Revel, and Moscow. At the Bolshevik party conference in Prague in 1912 he was elected an alternate member of the central committee and sent, with four other members, to work inside Russia. During the February 1917 revolution he joined the Petrograd Bolshevik committee and organized the publication of *Pravda*. He also took part in the preparations for the Bolshevik victory of November 7, 1917. In 1919 he was elected a full member of the RCP(B) central committee; also in that year he succeeded Sverdlov as head of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and as such was nominal leader of the Soviet state.

In 1920 he attended the Second Congress of the Comintern with the Bolshevik delegation, was seated on the presidium rostrum, and took part in the debates. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he delivered a report on the first issue on the agenda—Lenin and the Comintern. Then, with the growing tendency in Moscow to separate the existence of the Comintern from that of the Soviet state in the public mind, Kalinin, as nominal chief-of-state, took no part in future Comintern congresses. In January 1926 he was made a member of the RCP(B) politburo. He kept that position and the title of president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet until his death in 1946.

Kamenev (Rosenfeld), Lev. Born in Moscow in 1883 into a lower middle-class family. After finishing secondary school in 1901 in Tiflis he became a militant in the Russian social democratic movement. He enrolled in law school in Moscow where he was arrested for his political activity, jailed for a few months, and then sent back to Tiflis. In the autumn of 1902 he went to Paris,

where he met Lenin. When the RSDLP split in 1903 he supported the Bolshevik faction. In Paris he also met Trotsky's sister, Olga Davidovna, whom he later married. In September 1903 he returned to Russia to lead revolutionary activities in Moscow, Tiflis, St. Petersburg and elsewhere. At the third congress of the RSDLP, held in London in 1905, he was a delegate from the Caucasus under the pseudonym Gradov. In 1906 and 1907 he remained primarily in St. Petersburg as a Bolshevik leader. After another short arrest in 1908 he went to Geneva, where with Lenin and Zinoviev he edited the Bolshevik organ *Proletarian*. For a time he represented the Bolsheviks in the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International. In 1910 he participated in the international socialist congress in Copenhagen and in 1912 was the Bolshevik delegate at the congress in Basel. In 1913 he settled in Cracow, together with Lenin and Zinoviev, but at the beginning of 1914 Lenin sent him to Petrograd to head the Bolshevik paper *Pravda* and the Bolshevik faction in the Duma. In November 1914 he was arrested and the following May was tried and deported to Siberia, where he remained until the February 1917 revolution. He then returned to Petrograd, where at the national Bolshevik conference in April he was elected a member of the Bolshevik party central committee. In July he was arrested by the Kerensky government but released at the time of General Kornilov's action.

Even though he disagreed with Lenin over the operation to be launched on November 7 Lenin named him to preside over the second congress of the soviets, which sanctioned the Bolshevik victory at Petrograd. In 1918 Kamenev was a delegate to the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations and also headed a Soviet mission intended for London and Paris; however, the British government expelled him and on his return he was arrested in Finland. He returned to Petrograd in August 1918 and was elected president of the Moscow soviet. From 1919 on he was also a member of the RCP(B) politburo. During Lenin's illness in 1922 he was named a vice-president of the council of people's commissars. After Lenin's death Zinoviev, Stalin, and Kamenev formed the "troika" which ruled the party and the state.

Kamenev took part in the affairs of the Comintern from the beginning. In 1919 he attended the founding congress (evidenced by a photograph, although he was not included on the official list of Bolshevik delegates). In 1920 he was a member of the Bolshevik delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern and with Lenin represented the RCP(B) on the commission for national and colonial questions. In 1921 he attended the closed meetings preceding the Third Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed. At the close of the congress he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. In June 1922 he was with the Bolshevik delegation to the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was elected a member of the ECCI and an alternate member of its Presidium. During the seventh

enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in November and December 1926, Zinoviev was officially eliminated from the party and Kamenev addressed the Comintern for the last time. He then was named Soviet ambassador to Rome but in 1927 was recalled to Moscow and expelled from the party. He was reinstated in 1928 but expelled again in 1932. In January 1935 he was sentenced to five years in prison but at the first public trial, held in Moscow in August 1936, was condemned to death and later executed. He was not rehabilitated during the de-Stalinization procedures of 1956.

Kang Sheng. Born Chao Yun in 1901, son of a wealthy landowner in the Shantung region of China. After secondary school he enrolled at the University of Shanghai, where he joined the Communist Youth League and in 1925 the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In Shanghai he was active in the party apparatus during its alliance with the Kuomintang and continued to work secretly after the split in 1927. Since the CCP was based in Shanghai he remained closely associated with its leadership and at the fourth plenum of the party's central committee, in January 1931, became a member of the politburo and took charge of the orgburo; in September he was given responsibility for the trade-union section of the party.

Meanwhile he had been to Moscow and in 1933 returned there (using the name Kon Sin) to participate in the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, which he addressed, and was elected a member of its Presidium. He remained in Moscow until the end of 1937, working in the Comintern apparatus under the pseudonyms Kon Sin, Kang Sin, and Kang Hsing. In 1935 he spoke at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and at its close was elected an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium. In October 1937 he returned to China, where he held various executive positions in the CCP apparatus—organization section, central school, information services, and secretariat. At the seventh congress of the party in April 1945 he was one of 15 members on the rostrum of the presidium, was reelected to the central committee and the politburo, and once more directed the orgburo.

From March 1949 until the end of 1954 he was party secretary at Shantung and president of the regional government. At the eighth party congress in September 1956 he was reelected a member of the central committee but made an alternate member of the politburo. Thereafter he handled internal party problems relating to organization, cadres, security, and information and also international relations with other communist parties, especially the CPSU. In January 1959 he was a member of the CCP delegation to the twenty-first congress of the CPSU. In February 1960 he was a Chinese observer at the conference of Warsaw Pact countries and in November was a Chinese delegate to the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. He was a CCP delegate to the twenty-second congress of the CPSU, held in October

1961, and to the Sino-Soviet negotiations, held in Moscow in July 1963; during the same period he participated in the Peking meetings with numerous communist parties resulting from the Moscow-Peking conflict.

Kang Sheng became the central figure in dealings with foreign communist parties at the beginning of the cultural revolution (launched in 1966) and following the fall of Peng Chen (made public on June 3) and Teng Hsiao-ping (officially known in August). He then also joined the standing committee of the politburo, the supreme organ of the party and state. In April 1969, at the close of the ninth congress of the CCP, he was reelected one of five members of the standing committee.

Karaivanov, Ivan. Born in Bulgaria in 1889. He studied at the University of Sofia and was attracted to socialist ideas. In 1918 he became militant in the Tesniak (Narrow) Socialist Party; with the party he turned toward communism and in 1919 supported the party's adherence to the Comintern. At the time of the communist insurrection of September 1923 he was a member of the editorial staff of *Nova Vreme* (New Time), theoretical organ of the party, and a member of the party's revolutionary committee in charge of leading the insurrection. After the failure of the uprising he fled to Yugoslavia and then to Vienna, where he edited the clandestine Bulgarian newspaper *Rabotnitcheski Vestnik* (Workers' Herald). In 1926 he went to Soviet Russia, joined the RCP(B), and worked alternately in the ECCI and at the KUTV. In 1929 the Comintern sent him to Shanghai, where he worked (under cover as a merchant) for its Far Eastern Secretariat. In 1934 he returned to Moscow to work for the Comintern in the cadres section of its Balkan Secretariat and in its publishing house. He also carried out various foreign missions for the Comintern and was among its representatives in Paris in 1938 and 1939; his last such mission was in the Near East in 1943. In November 1944 he returned to Bulgaria but after a conflict with certain leaders there he settled in Belgrade in May 1945, where he became a Yugoslav citizen and was elected to parliament. During the sixth congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1952 he was elected to the party's central committee. He died in 1960.

Karakhan, Lev M. Born in 1889 into a lower middle-class Russian family. As a high school student he was converted to socialism and as early as 1904 became a member of the RSDLP. In the following years he continued his political activity, especially between 1910 and 1915 when he was a law student in Petrograd. He did not become a Bolshevik but in 1913 joined the "Mezhraiontsy," a group of militant socialists opposed to the Menshevik-Bolshevik split. At the beginning of World War I he took an internationalist stand. In 1915 he was arrested for underground socialist activity and was placed under police surveillance in Tomsk. After the revolution of February 1917 he returned to Petrograd and resumed work within the Mezhraiontsy group;

when the group, headed by Trotsky, rallied to the Bolshevik party Karakhan became a militant Bolshevik. In August and September 1917 he belonged to the presidium of the Petrograd soviet. After the Bolshevik victory he was named secretary of the Russian delegation for peace negotiations with Germany at Brest-Litovsk.

In 1918 he was appointed a deputy commissar for foreign affairs in charge of organizational matters and was associated with the preparations for the founding congress of the Comintern (March 1919), which he attended. He also took part in the work of the ECCI, which he represented at the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920. In 1921 he became Soviet ambassador to Warsaw and in August 1923 to Peking, where he stayed until 1926, maintaining contact with the Comintern delegation in China. In Moscow he was again deputy commissar for foreign affairs from 1928 to 1934, when he was sent as ambassador to Ankara. In 1937 he fell victim to Stalin's purges and in December his execution was officially confirmed. He was rehabilitated posthumously following the de-Stalinization policy inaugurated by the twentieth congress of the CPSU in February 1956.

Kardelj, Edvard. Born in Ljubljana, capital of Slovenia in 1910 into a working-class family. In 1927 he joined the Union of Young Communists of Yugoslavia and in 1928 the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). In 1931 he received his teacher's diploma but shortly afterward was arrested and sentenced to two years in prison for communist activity. After his release in 1933 he was made a member of the party's regional committee for Slovenia. In 1934 he left Yugoslavia via Czechoslovakia for the Soviet Union, where he studied at the Leninist School of the Comintern (using the name Birk) and later lectured on the history of the Comintern at the KUNMZ. At the beginning of 1937 he returned to Yugoslavia, where he worked as a publicist under the name Bevc. Also in that year he joined the new leadership of the CPY formed by Tito and was elected a member of the politburo at the fifth national conference of the party in October 1940. During the war he was alternately a communist leader in Slovenia and a member of Tito's headquarters. On November 29, 1943, he was named vice-president of Tito's first provisional government; and when the official Yugoslav government was formed in Belgrade in March 1945 he retained that position and at the same time was minister in charge of preparing the new constitution.

In September 1947 he and Milovan Djilas represented the CPY at the founding of the Cominform. At the fifth congress of the CPY in July 1948 (after Tito had been condemned by the Cominform) Kardelj was reelected to the politburo and the secretariat of the central committee. He also was minister of foreign affairs from 1948 until 1953 (the year of constitutional reform), at which time he was named first vice-president of the federal executive council, of which Tito was president. He then became president of the Yugoslav federal assembly,

a position he held until 1967. At the close of the ninth congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in March 1969, he was reelected to the politburo (now called the executive committee). He also headed various Yugoslav delegations in negotiations with both East and West—in 1946 he was chief of the Yugoslav delegation to the Paris peace conference, he represented his country at the U.N. General Assembly, and in November 1957 headed the Yugoslav delegation to the Moscow World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

He published some of his speeches, articles, reports, and studies in a number of books, including *The Way of the New Yugoslavia* (1949) and *Problems of Our Socialist Edification* (1954). In 1960 he published a study translated into French and English entitled *Socialism and War*.

Kasparova, E. M. Born in 1888; she became a militant in the Russian revolutionary movement in 1903 but did not join the RCP(B) until 1919. Particularly active in the women's section, she held various posts in the Soviet government. From 1918 to 1922 she was responsible for the housing section in the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and later was secretary of the presidium of the state plan of the U.S.S.R. When the International Secretariat for Women was formed at the close of the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921 she became a member and began to work closely with the Comintern central apparatus. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November 1922 she participated in the debates on communist work among women, and also took part in the debates at the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in February and March 1926. She retired from Comintern work at the beginning of the Stalin era. She died in 1963.

Kasuga, Shojiro. Born in Osaka in 1903; he began political and trade-union activities at age 20. In 1924 he was sent by the Japanese Communist Party to study at the KUTV in Moscow; he graduated in 1926 and returned to Japan under the name Kawamura. He then became a party leader in the Osaka region and also directed the party's foreign relations section. In 1928, however, he was arrested and sentenced to eight years in prison; released in 1937, he went underground to head the Japanese Communist Party. In the autumn of 1938 he was arrested again and remained in prison until the end of the war in 1945.

Subsequently he resumed his place in the communist party leadership and joined the politburo, of which he was a member when the party was forced underground in 1950. When the party could resume activity legally he became president of the control commission but on the eve of the eighth party congress in July 1961 he resigned from the party.

Katayama, Sen. Born in 1859 into a Japanese peasant family. In 1881 he went to Tokyo for work and education and in 1884 left for the United States. In San Francisco he was converted to Christianity and from 1888 to

1895 studied at three American colleges. In 1896 he returned to Japan, in 1897 joined the workers' movement, and in 1898 became secretary of the metallurgists' union. During that period he edited *Labor World*, the first workers' paper in Japan, and in 1901 helped found the Japanese Social Democratic Party. In 1904 he attended the international socialist congress in Amsterdam and there, with Plekhanov, denounced the Russo-Japanese Socialist Party. In 1912 he was sentenced to nine months in prison for his political activities.

In 1914 he went into exile in the United States, where he was connected closely with the left wing of the American Socialist Party. In 1919 he founded a Japanese communist group in New York. In March 1921 he went to Mexico with Louis Fraiaa where he worked as a member of the Comintern's American Bureau. In December 1921 he arrived in Moscow and on January 21, 1922, addressed the Congress of Far Eastern Revolutionary Organizations. Later in the year he was elected to the ECCI and at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November was a member of the congress presidium, offered a report on the Eastern question, won reelection to the ECCI, and gained membership on the ECCI Presidium. Thereafter he continued to participate in important Comintern work and followed the official Comintern and Kremlin line throughout its changing course. He left Soviet Russia only rarely, as when he participated in the Conference of Three Workers' Internationals, held in Berlin in April 1922. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was again a member of the congress presidium, read a report, and was reelected to the ECCI and its Presidium. At the seventh, eighth, and ninth enlarged plenums of the ECCI he remained a member of the Presidium. He addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 and retained his previous offices.

In July 1929, after the fall of Bukharin, he was again a speaker at the tenth plenum. He also joined a number of Comintern front organizations. In 1927 he was a delegate to the first congress of the League Against Imperialism and in 1932 attended the Amsterdam congress against war. He was also vice-president of the executive committee of the MOPR. At the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in April 1931 he was reelected to the Presidium of the ECCI, and at the twelfth plenum, in August and September 1932, gave his last speech. He died in Moscow in November 1933.

Katterfeld, Ludwig. Born in 1880. In 1905 he became a member of the American Socialist Party, for which he was active in various parts of the country. A leftist party leader, he gravitated toward communism after the Bolshevik revolution. When the Communist Labor Party of America was founded in Chicago in September 1919 he was elected a member of its national executive committee. In January 1920 he was arrested in Chicago and jailed; soon after his release he went to Soviet Russia, where at the end of 1921 he settled under the name John Carr as a representative of the Communist Party of America in the ECCI. In December 1921 he was a member of the ECCI delegation attending the

national conference of the RCP(B). In February 1922 he took part in the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI, at which he presented a report on communist activities in the United States; at the close of the meeting he was elected a member of the ECCI Presidium. He participated actively at the Fourth Comintern Congress in November 1922, was one of its chairmen, took part in debates, and had a talk with Lenin at the end of the congress. After returning to the United States in 1923 he rejoined the leadership of the communist party; in 1924, as a member of its central executive committee, he defended a leftist position. In 1927 he launched a magazine; when he refused to give the party complete control over it he was expelled from the party, early in 1929. He was still alive in 1960.

Ker, Antoine. Born Louis-Antoine Keim in 1886. In Paris he studied at the Normal School for Technical Instruction and then at the Practical School of Industry, and in 1914 graduated from the Higher School for Commerce in Munich. He then was drafted, sent to the front, and decorated for his services. In 1919 he joined the SFIO, in which he soon supported the left wing. At the founding congress of the PCF in Tours in December 1920 he was elected to the directing committee but in January 1921 was arrested for involvement in a transaction concerning checks carried for the party by the Comintern's emissary, A. E. Abramovich-Zalewski; Ker was freed at the end of March. At the Marseilles congress of the PCF in December 1921 he was reelected to the directing committee and after the withdrawal of Fernand Loriot became international secretary of the party. In February 1922 he was in Moscow for the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI. At the Paris congress of the PCF, held in October 1922, he was again reelected to the directing committee. In November he attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern as a centrist member of the French delegation, but when the new directing committee for the party was chosen by the Comintern he was dropped from the committee because of his Freemasonry. Unlike many other Freemasons, however, he remained in the party until his death in 1923.

Kerrigan, Peter. Born in 1899. He became a member of the British Communist Party in Scotland in 1921 and also was active in the trade-union movement; during the general strike of 1926 he played an important role in Glasgow. From 1927 on he was a member of the executive committee of the British Communist Party (BCP), of which he was a leader during the early 1930s in Glasgow. In 1935 he belonged to the British delegation to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed, and joined the ICC. During the Spanish civil war he was sent as a political commissar for the British fighters in the International Brigades. After returning home he became a member of the politburo and orgburo of the BCP. In 1945 he ran as communist candidate for parliament in a Glasgow constituency but was defeated. Both before and after the death

of Stalin he loyally followed the BCP line and in the early 1960s still worked for its central apparatus. At the end of the twenty-ninth party congress in November 1966 his membership in the executive committee was terminated but in March 1969 he did represent the BCP at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Comintern in Moscow.

Khaitas, Andronikos. A militant in the Greek Communist Party (GCP) from the time of its founding he was chosen in 1924 as its representative in the Comintern. At the beginning of 1926, after the GCP had been outlawed by General Pangalos, the Comintern ordered Khaitas to return to Greece secretly to organize the party's underground activities, where he was arrested and exiled to the island of Anafi. When the Pangalos regime fell he was freed, and resumed his leadership in the party. At the GCP congress in Athens in 1927 he headed the pro-Comintern majority faction. Despite factional struggles at the December 1928 party congress Khaitas, who was then secretary-general, retained his party leadership with Moscow's support. Later he was arrested by the Greek police again but managed to flee the country and in 1931 reached the Soviet Union. Although he then was forced to abandon the leadership of the GCP he accepted a professorship in Kuybishev. He was arrested in 1935 on the eve of Stalin's purges and later accused of Bukharinism and shot.

Khitarov, R. M. Born Rafael Moiseevich in 1900 into a Russian Jewish family. He took part in the Bolshevik revolution and in 1919 joined the RCP(B). After the civil war he worked for the Komsomol (Young Communists) in Moscow and in the mid-1920s became its representative to the Comintern. In March 1925 he participated in the first conference on organizational questions, convoked by the Comintern, and in February 1926 was a spokesman for the Komsomol at the second organizational conference. From 1926 to 1928 he made several political trips abroad, including one to France. In 1928, at the fifth congress of the KIM, he was seated with the executive committee as a Komsomol representative. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in August of that year, he represented the KIM on the presidium rostrum, and was made a member of the ECCI and its Presidium and an alternate member of the political Secretariat. At the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1929 he was reelected to its Presidium. At the plenary meeting of the KIM executive committee, held in November and December 1929, he reported on current problems within the KIM. At the sixteenth congress of the RCP(B) in July 1930 he was a member of the Comintern delegation and spoke on behalf of the KIM; also in that year he published a book on the history of the KIM. When the first Five-Year Plan was being enforced the RCP(B) sent him to Stalinsk in Siberia. At the seventeenth congress of the RCP(B) in 1934 he was seated as the Western Siberian representative. During Stalin's purges, however, he was arrested. It is probable that he died in 1939.

Kilbom, Karl. Born in Sweden in 1885; a metalworker by occupation. He was militant in the Swedish socialist youth movement and from 1914 to 1917 was secretary of the Swedish Young Social Democratic Union and editor of its journal, *Stormklockan* (Storm Bell). During World War I he took an internationalist and pacifist position, which led him toward the Zimmerwald Left. In April 1917 he was one of 11 European socialists approving the trip for Lenin and his group across imperial Germany. He participated in the founding of the Left-Wing Social Democratic Party in 1917 and in its transformation into the Swedish Communist Party in 1921.

After the founding of the Comintern, he traveled to Petrograd and Moscow, where he took part in the meetings of the ECCI in the interval between the First and Second Congresses of the Comintern. After the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921 he was elected a member of the ECCI but obtained a leading position within the party and the Comintern only after the expulsion of Karl Höglund from the party in 1924. Kilbom then became editor of the party paper and also the party spokesman in Moscow. He was reelected a member of the ECCI at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 and participated in both enlarged plenums held in 1926. At the ninth enlarged plenum in February 1928 he was elected to membership in the ECCI Presidium. In August 1928 he presided at the debates of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and was reelected to the ECCI and its Presidium.

In October 1929 he and his friends were accused of "rightist deviation" and expelled from the Comintern. He then founded a dissident communist party but at the same time managed to preserve control of the party paper and retain his seat in the Swedish parliament. In 1934 the dissident movement changed its name to Swedish Socialist Party and in 1937, following internal conflicts, Kilbom broke with that party, too.

Kingisepp, Viktor. Born in Estonia in 1888; he finished secondary school there and in the autumn of 1906 registered at St. Petersburg University. Shortly afterward he joined the RSDLP and during the factional struggles within the party favored the Bolsheviks. In the following years he was heavily involved in underground revolutionary activity in St. Petersburg and Estonia. At the beginning of World War I he was arrested by the tsarist police and deported, first to Tver and later to Kazan'. Following the revolution of February 1917 he was released and returned to Estonia, where in Reval (Tallin) he was active on the revolutionary military committee and in the Red Guard. After the Bolshevik victory of November 7, 1917, he joined the Cheka (political police) in Moscow and acted as the Estonian representative at the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. When the Estonian Communist Party began to organize its secret apparatus he was sent to Reval and from then on he belonged with the top party leaders, being a member of both the central committee and the politburo of the Estonian party. He was reelected to the same bodies at the 1920 and 1921 party congresses. Occasionally he traveled to Comintern headquarters,

as in September 1921, when the ECCI Presidium had the Estonian situation on its agenda. In May 1922 he was arrested by Estonian authorities and shot.

Kippenberger, Hans. Born in 1898, the son of a Hamburg publisher; he started work as a bank employee. He became militant in the KPD and in 1923 participated in preparations for the German October and also took part in the Hamburg insurrection. The Moscow emissaries sent to Germany at the time had taken note of him and in 1924 he was invited to the Soviet Union, where he attended an international military school. After returning to Germany he devoted himself to the secret and military projects of the KPD—in 1927, using the pseudonym Alex, he headed the M-Apparat, a military apparatus organized for civil war; in 1929, at the twelfth congress of the party, he became a member of the central committee; and in 1930 he was elected a communist deputy to the Reichstag, which gave him parliamentary immunity and the opportunity to sit on the Reichstag's military commission.

After Hitler's rise to power in January 1933 he continued to head the secret apparatus of the KPD but later in the year he was forced to seek refuge in Prague and then left for Paris in 1934. In 1935 he was in Moscow during the Seventh Congress of the Comintern; in October he took part in the so-called Brussels conference (held in fact in Moscow) in lieu of a KPD congress but was not reelected to the party central committee. He remained in Moscow until his arrest in 1936 during Stalin's purges and a few months later, after having "confessed" to being "a spy for the German Reichswehr," he was executed. When de-Stalinization was activated by the twentieth congress of the CPSU in 1956 he was rehabilitated posthumously in Soviet Russia but not in East Germany.

Kirsanova, N. Born in 1885. She became militant in the Russian socialist movement before World War I and married E. Iaroslavsky, a well-known Bolshevik leader who worked in the secretariat and later the central control commission of the party. She joined him in his work, and when the Leninist School of the Comintern was founded in 1926 she became its rector, a post she held for ten years. In the early 1930s she took charge of the Women's Secretariat of the Comintern and as such addressed the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in December 1933 and the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935. She also was editor of the *Foreign Press Bulletin*, published for a limited number of Bolshevik leaders. During Stalin's 1936 purges she was criticized for her direction of the Leninist School and dismissed from her post; she narrowly escaped arrest. From then on neither she nor her husband played a political role within the Comintern or the RCP(B).

Klinger, Gustav. A German from the Volga region, born in 1876. In August 1917 he was admitted to the Bolshevik Party, and after the Bolshevik victory worked from March 1918 to March 1919 at Saratov as a member of the collegium

of commissars. After that he was urgently summoned to Moscow, where he was named to represent the Volga Germans at the founding congress of the Comintern. A secretary of the founding congress he later became the Comintern's administrative secretary, in which position he participated in the work of the ECCI in the interval before the Second Congress. At the Second Congress in July and August 1920 he had a consultative voice as a member of the ECCI delegation. At the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921 he was a member of the Bolshevik delegation, again representing the Volga Germans. In 1921 he left the Comintern for administrative work in the Soviet government and from 1921 to 1924 worked in the people's commissariat for nationalities, of which Stalin was the commissar. He then handled the same matters in the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and from 1925 to 1931 headed its secretariat.

Knorin, Wilhelm. Born in 1890 into a Latvian peasant family. He became a teacher and joined the Latvian Social Democratic Party in 1910. Since that party was an autonomous part of the RSDLP, during the latter's factional struggles he joined the Bolsheviks. In Riga he led underground Bolshevik activities and wrote for the legal socialist press. Drafted into the tsarist Army at the beginning of World War I he found himself in Byelorussia at the time of the February 1917 revolution. In March he was one of the organizers of the Minsk soviet of workers' deputies and became its secretary in May. After the Bolshevik victory at Petrograd he became a leader of the Minsk Bolshevik Party committee and a member of the regional military revolutionary committee. When the imperial German army occupied the region he joined the Bolshevik leadership underground and after the return of Bolshevik troops reappeared at the head of the party and the military revolutionary council. He remained a member of the central committee of the Byelorussian Communist Party until 1922, when he was called to work in the central apparatus of the RCP(B) in Moscow, where he remained for five years. During that period Stalin took complete control of the RCP(B) apparatus and in 1927 sent Knorin to Byelorussia to drive out followers of Trotsky and Zinoviev. In 1927 and 1928 Knorin was secretary of the Byelorussian Communist Party and successfully carried out Stalin's orders. He then began his career in the central apparatus of the Comintern.

He already had attended the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 as a member of the RCP(B) delegation and in 1928 attended the Sixth Congress. His rise to the top of the hierarchy began with the elimination of Bukharin and the "rightists" from Comintern leadership. Knorin was named a member of the ICC and beginning in 1929 headed the Comintern Secretariat for Central Europe, which controlled, for example, German communist activity in the critical years preceding Hitler's victory. At the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1931 Knorin was elected an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium and a member of the ECCI political Secretariat; he was a speaker for the ECCI

at the twelfth plenum (1932) and the thirteenth plenum (1933, following Hitler's victory).

During those years Knorin accumulated other important titles. At the fifteenth congress of the RCP(B) in 1927 he was elected a member of the central committee, to which he was reelected at the congresses of 1930 and 1934. He also became director of the Bolshevik Institute of Red Professors. Moreover, beginning in 1929 the Comintern entrusted him with the control over the Polish Communist Party although he never was a member; at the fifth congress of the Polish party in 1930 he was elected a member of its central committee. (In his supervisory functions he used the pseudonym Sokolik.) Although in 1935 he was a delegate and speaker at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern he was not reelected to the ECCI or its Presidium. Soon afterwards he was removed from his post as chief of the Secretariat for Central Europe. He was arrested in June 1937 and shot in 1939; in 1956 he was rehabilitated posthumously.

Knorin wrote about 20 books and brochures for the RCP(B) and the Comintern. He published works dedicated to revolutionary activity in Byelorussia and also directed the publications of the *Précis of the History of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks)* in 1934, and a two-volume popular work on the history of the RCP(B) in 1935.

Kobetsky, Mikhail. Born in Russia in 1881. He became a member of the RSDLP in 1903, and his revolutionary activity in St. Petersburg, Baku, Kursk, and Ekaterinoslav resulted in several arrests and deportations. In 1908 he settled in Denmark, where for many years he handled clandestine political work such as the shipment of Bolshevik propaganda published in Western Europe to party organizations in Russia.

In 1917 he returned to Russia and worked in a machinegun factory but in 1919 was called to work in the central apparatus of the newly founded Comintern. At the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 he was one of five Bolshevik representatives elected as members of the ECCI and also became a member of two supreme organs of the Comintern—the ECCI Presidium and Secretariat; however, at the Third Congress of the Comintern, held in June and July 1921, he was elected only an alternate member of the ECCI but remained in the Comintern central apparatus at Zinoviev's side and thus took part in the meetings of the ECCI held in April and May 1922. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November he belonged to the RCP(B) delegation and worked on the Norwegian commission. In June 1923 he was present at the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI and shortly afterward completed a Comintern mission in Norway. In 1924 he left the Comintern to work for the Soviet commissariat for foreign affairs; he acted as ambassador first to Tallin (Estonia) and then to Warsaw. From 1930 to 1933 he represented Soviet Russia in Denmark and in 1934 was named ambassador to Greece. He remained there until Stalin's purges, during which he lost his life in 1937.

Köblös, Elek. Born in 1887 to Hungarian parents, in the Muresh region of Transylvania; he worked as a woodcutter. He became militant in the trade-union movement and won over to communism took part at the end of 1918 in the revolutionary activity in the Austro-Hungarian empire. When Transylvania was incorporated into Rumania in 1919 he became a Rumanian citizen. During a general strike in 1920 he was arrested for the first time by the Rumanian police but was soon released. In May 1921 he was a delegate of the Transylvanian communists to the founding congress of the Rumanian Communist Party. Meanwhile he remained active in the trade-union movement. Beginning in 1922 he was editor of a Hungarian-language communist newspaper. At the second congress of the Rumanian Communist Party, held in Ploesti in 1922, he was elected a member of its central committee. He then joined the politburo and directed the trade-union section of the party, handling in particular the woodworkers' union, of which he was in turn president and secretary-general. In the spring of 1924 he was appointed by the Comintern to restricted leadership of the Rumanian party and acted as its secretary-general. In June and July he attended the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. At the third congress of the Rumanian Communist Party, held in Vienna in August, he presented a major report on the general policy of the party and was elected secretary-general.

In 1925 he returned to Rumania, where in July he headed a secret meeting of the party central committee, which then took steps to use the workers' and peasants' bloc as a legal outlet for future communist party activity. In the autumn of 1925, however, he was forced to leave the country and remained in exile until 1927, mostly in the Soviet Union and Vienna as a member of the politburo abroad. After his return to Rumania he was threatened with arrest and crossed over into Czechoslovakia. He was arrested at Košice but extradition to Rumania for prosecution was refused when a press campaign was organized in his behalf. He then was authorized to leave for the Soviet Union, where in June 1928 he attended the fourth congress of the Rumanian Communist Party in Kharkov. At that congress Comintern representatives criticized the Rumanian party line, for which Köblös was held responsible. Although he made a public self-criticism, he was not reelected to the party's central committee and thereafter held no executive positions in either the Rumanian or the international communist movement. In December 1929 both the RCP(B) central committee and the Comintern condemned him again and he was forbidden to take part in political work in the Rumanian Communist Party. He remained in the Soviet Union until 1937, when he was executed during Stalin's purges.

Koehler, Bruno. Born in 1900 into a working-class family living in the Sudetenland. As a youth he worked for the press of the Sudeten Social Democratic Party at Liberec (Reichenberg). Toward the end of World War I he was drafted into the Austrian army. At the end of 1919 he was active in the pro-communist wing of the Social Democratic Party. He then became a member of the Communist

party branch formed in the Sudetenland and in 1921, after all of the Communist groups had been unified, he joined the resultant Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz). Also in 1921 he was a member of its delegation to both the Third Congress of the Comintern and the second congress of the KIM. During the following years he assumed his first major duties with the communist youth movement and the party.

In 1926 he left with the first contingent of young Czechoslovak communist militants to study at the Leninist School of the Comintern and remained there until 1928, in which year he also attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. At the fifth congress of the CPCz in February 1929 he was made a member of the party central committee, headed by Klement Gottwald. (Koehler had previously worked with him when Gottwald was interim secretary of the party in Ostrava from 1924 to 1928.) In 1931 Koehler became organizational secretary of the party central committee and then a member of the politburo. In 1932-33 he became an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium and at the thirteenth enlarged plenum (December 1933) a full member. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was again elected an alternate member and also in that year he was elected a communist deputy to parliament.

Following the Munich pact in September 1938 he was forced to leave the country and took refuge in Paris, where he was the representative of the CPCz. At the beginning of 1941 he was summoned to Moscow to join the other Czechoslovak communist leaders. At the end of the war he became the CPCz representative to East Berlin. Upon his return to Czechoslovakia in 1947 he worked in the party central apparatus as chief of the cadres section. In December 1952 when the Slanský group was liquidated he was named an alternate member of the central committee. In 1953 he became secretary of the central committee and in June 1961 an alternate member of the politburo. From 1964 on he held no political positions but worked at the Institute of the History of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. At the time of "Prague's Spring" in 1968 he was excluded from the party for his participation in the repression against the communist militants in the 1950s.

Koenen, Bernard. Born in Hamburg in 1889. A mechanic by trade, he followed the political path of his older brother, Wilhelm Koenen—in 1907 he joined the SPD, in 1917 the USPD, and in 1920 the KPD. In 1921 he attended the Third Congress of the Comintern and in July was sent by the Presidium of the ECCI as the Comintern emissary to Belgium. There he was responsible for the formation of a united Belgian Communist Party, a mission he accomplished in September 1921. In November 1922 he attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. Back in Germany he attended the eighth congress of the KPD, held in January 1923, at which he was elected a member of the party's orgburo. He settled in Saxony and in 1929 became deputy to the Prussian Landtag. After Hitler's victory in 1933 he was arrested but succeeded

in fleeing from Germany and reaching Soviet Russia. During the period of Stalin's purges he was twice arrested and tortured by the Soviet police but escaped death. He then became deputy head of the German section of the last Comintern school until its dissolution in 1943.

In the latter part of World War II he took part in the founding, on Soviet soil, of the Free Germany committee. In 1945 he returned to Berlin and signed the first postwar manifesto of the KPD's central committee to the German people. His signature (on behalf of the communist organization of Saxony) is also to be found on the 1946 act of merger between the KPD and the East German SPD. He then became a member of the central committee of the new SED. In 1953 he was named East German ambassador to Czechoslovakia. After his return in 1958 he headed the SED organization at Halle and also sat in the East German parliament. He died in 1964.

Koenen, Wilhelm. Born in Hamburg in 1886; a commercial clerk by trade. In 1903 he joined the SPD, later worked for its press, and during World War I was an SPD regional leader. He became an active member of the USPD at its founding in April 1917, and was elected a member of the party's directing committee in 1919. He was a leader of its left wing, which advocated adherence to the Comintern. In Berlin in December 1920 he was a USPD spokesman at the congress of unification of the KPD and the left wing of the USPD; he then was elected a member of the national committee (*Zentrale*) of the newly unified KPD.

During the first half of 1921 Koenen went to Moscow, where as a co-opted member of the ECCI Presidium he took part in the final preparations for the Third Comintern Congress; when the congress convened in June he was one of its chairmen and in July, following the congress, he became a member of the newly constituted ICC. At the 1921 KPD congress he was not reelected to its *Zentrale* but at the following party congress in 1923 was reinstated. In January 1924 he returned to Moscow with the KPD delegation summoned by the ECCI Presidium as a result of the failure of the German October. At the party congresses of 1924 and 1925 he was not reelected to the *Zentrale* but became a member again after the congress of 1929. Meanwhile he remained a communist deputy to the Reichstag until 1932; in that year he lost his Reichstag mandate but was elected to the Prussian Landtag.

After Hitler's victory Koenen emigrated by way of Prague and Paris to England, where he remained throughout World War II. He belonged to the exiled leadership of the KPD and as a leader signed the appeal for a German Popular Front in 1937. In 1945 he returned to Germany, where he later directed the organization of the SED in Saxony and sat on the party's central committee. In 1953 he was censured by the party for a "lack of revolutionary vigilance" and dismissed from leadership in the SED but was allowed to fulfill various functions in the National Front and in the East German parliament. He died in 1963.

Koenig, Arthur. Born in Germany in 1884; he was first a laborer and then a bookstore clerk. In 1904 he was militant in the SPD and also in trade unions of the Ruhr region. Drafted during World War I, he deserted in 1918 and joined the Spartacus League. He became a member of the KPD at its founding in December 1918. In the ensuing factional struggles he leaned toward the left wing and in 1923 was co-opted as one of its four representatives to the national committee (*Zentrale*) of the KPD. After the failure of the German October in 1923 he went to Moscow as one of four left-wing representatives to the discussions held with Comintern leaders in January 1924. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, also held that year, he was elected to the ICC. Later in 1924 he was elected communist deputy to the Reichstag and at the congress of the KPD was nominated party treasurer. Because of poor financial management he was removed from that position in 1925 and was forced to give up his deputyship. After that he held no leading positions in the party but remained a member and performed some subordinate functions.

Kofardzhiev, Nikola. Born in Bulgaria in 1904; he became a barber and joined the communist youth movement in 1920. In 1923 he took part in preparations for the September communist insurrection in the mining area of Pernik and later participated in the revolutionary action in Sofia. Unlike many communist militants who left the country after the failure of the insurrection he continued to fight secretly in Bulgaria under the name Sacho. In 1926-27 he headed the communist youth movement and in that capacity joined the central committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP). At the fifth congress of the KIM, held in Moscow in 1928, he was elected (under the name Pavel) to its executive committee as one of two Bulgarian representatives. Between 1928 and 1930 he also worked in the central apparatus of the KIM in Moscow; he then returned to Bulgaria. At the plenum of the BCP's central committee, held secretly at the end of 1930, he was elected party secretary. In 1931 he was called to Moscow to confer with Comintern leaders and with a group of young Bulgarian communists opposed to Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov. Upon his return to Bulgaria in October 1931 he was killed by Bulgarian police on a Sofia street. With tactical changes in the BCP and the Comintern, and Dimitrov's nomination as Comintern secretary, Kofardzhiev and the entire group of young Bulgarian leaders were later condemned for "left sectarian deviation."

Kohn, Felix (Iakovlevich). Born in Warsaw in May 1864 into a Polish Jewish family. As a student he was active in the socialist movement as early as 1882 and as a result was arrested in 1884 and sentenced to deportation and hard labor. He returned to Poland in 1904 and joined the left wing of the Polish Socialist Party. In 1905 he was elected a member of the central committee and in 1906, when the party split, became one of the leaders of the left; in 1907 he left tsarist territory and settled in Galicia. In November 1914 he moved to Switzerland, where he rallied the Zimmerwald movement; in May

1917 he left Switzerland with the second group of Russian revolutionaries, traveled across Germany, and settled in Petrograd.

In December 1918 he became a member of the RCP(B). In 1919 he was elected to the central committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and in the summer of 1920 joined the Polish provisional government at the time of the Red Army's offensive. In 1920 he addressed the Second Congress of the Comintern as a member of the RCP(B) delegation; at the Third Congress in 1921 he was elected to the ECCI Secretariat; in November 1922 he took part in the Fourth Congress; and he addressed the Fifth Congress in 1924 and was elected to the ICC, of which he became vice-president. He also took part in the enlarged plenums of the ECCI, including the two held in 1926. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was reelected to the ICC but was not at the Seventh Congress, held in 1935.

Besides his career in the Comintern Kohn played an important role in the journalistic and educational life of Soviet Russia—from 1925 to 1928 he was in turn editor of the newspapers *Krasnaia Zvezda* (Red Star) and *Rabochaiia Gazeta* (Workers' Newspaper); in 1930-31 he was director of the art section in the people's commissariat of public instruction of the Russian Federal Republic; from 1931 to 1933 he was chairman of the broadcasting committee of the U.S.S.R.; from 1933 on he was chief of the museum section in the people's commissariat of the Russian Federal Republic; and from 1937 to 1941 he edited the review *Nasha Strana* (Our Country). He died in 1941.

Kolarov, Vasil. Born in 1877, son of a shoemaker; he went to school in Bulgaria and then studied law at the University of Geneva. In 1897 he joined the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and in 1903, at the time of the party split, joined the Tesniak (Narrow) faction. From 1904 to 1912 he headed the local Tesniak organization at Plovdiv; in 1905 he became a member of the central committee and in 1913 a deputy to the Bulgarian parliament. He attended the Socialist International congresses in 1907 at Stuttgart and in 1910 at Copenhagen. In September 1915 he participated in the Zimmerwald conference but did not belong to the Lenin-supported left. In 1917 he was his party's delegate to the socialist conference held at Stockholm. When the Bulgarian Communist Party was founded in April 1919 he was named secretary of its central committee.

From then on he began to make frequent trips to Soviet Russia. In 1920 however, he was arrested in Rumania and was unable to attend the Second Congress of the Comintern, but in 1921 he presided at the Third Congress and spoke in his party's name. At the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1922, he reported on the Balkan communist movement, presided at certain meetings, and was a member of various commissions. In April he represented the Comintern at the Rome congress of the Italian Communist Party and at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November he presided over

the debates and was elected to the ECCI, the Presidium, the Secretariat, and the Orgburo.

At the beginning of 1923 he traveled to Western and Central Europe on behalf of the Comintern—in January he went to Paris, in February to Frankfurt, and in March to Oslo and Prague for the congresses of the Norwegian and Czechoslovak Communist Parties. In June 1923 he spoke at the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI. At the end of the month he returned secretly to Bulgaria, where he was arrested but was freed on August 5. He played a key role in convincing the Bulgarian Communist Party to follow the Comintern's directives and organize an insurrection, and he belonged to the supreme revolutionary committee which launched that attempt in September 1923. When it failed he fled by way of Yugoslavia and Austria to Soviet Russia, where he rejoined the central apparatus of the Comintern. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he again presided over the debates, submitted a report on the peasant question, and was reelected to the ECCI. At the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1925 he was a speaker and commission member, and at the two enlarged plenums of 1926 and the ninth plenum of February 1928 he was again elected a member of the ECCI Presidium. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern (August 1928) and the Seventh (1935) he was reelected a member of the ECCI and its Presidium. In 1928-29 he directed the Balkan Secretariat of the ECCI. He also participated in the enlarged plenums of 1929, 1931, and 1933. In May 1943 he signed the act of dissolution of the Comintern.

During those years Kolarov performed a number of missions for the Comintern in Europe and in Outer Mongolia; in addition, he was president of the executive committee of the Krestintern from 1928 until its dissolution in 1939 as well as director of the International Agrarian Institute in Moscow.

In September 1945 he returned to Bulgaria. In 1946 he was a member of the Bulgarian delegation at the Paris peace conference and in November was elected president of the Bulgarian popular assembly. When the government headed by Georgi Dimitrov was formed in December 1947 he was named deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. Following Dimitrov's death in July 1949 he became prime minister. He fell ill and died in 1950.

Kollontai, Alexandra. Born in 1872, the daughter of a tsarist general. She was a member of the RSDLP as early as 1899, when she made her first trip abroad, to England; after her return she left Russia again in 1901. For many years she fought for the socialist cause in Western Europe and Scandinavia and in 1915 and 1916 advocated it in the United States.

Following the 1903 split between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks she at first remained close to the Bolsheviks but later in the year broke with them and worked actively with the Mensheviks until 1915, when she again changed her mind and joined Lenin's party. In March 1917 she returned to Petrograd. At the close of the sixth congress of the Bolshevik Party, held during July

and August 1917, she became a member of the party's central committee. After the Bolshevik victory at Petrograd on November 7, 1917, she became a people's commissar—the first woman in the Soviet government—but soon resigned over a disagreement with Lenin about tactics.

In March 1919 she attended the founding congress of the Comintern, where she worked as an interpreter and in July and August 1920 attended the Second Congress of the Comintern as a member of the RCP(B) delegation. Also in 1920 she became the head of the women's section at the central committee of the RCP(B) and assumed the duties of deputy-secretary of the International Women's Secretariat; in that capacity she chaired the international conference of communist women in 1921. Also in that year she was a spokesman for the "Workers' Opposition" in the RCP(B) and defended her point of view at the Third Congress of the Comintern in June and July. At that congress she was nominated secretary to the International Women's Secretariat and as such took part in the meetings of the ECCI. In February 1922, at the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI, she and other leaders of the "Workers' Opposition" submitted a statement against the policies of the Bolshevik leadership.

At that time she abandoned her work in the RCP(B) and the Comintern and entered the Soviet diplomatic corps. In May 1923 she was named Soviet representative to Norway and except for a year's interruption to represent her government in Mexico remained in Norway for many years. In 1930 she was named ambassador to Sweden and retained that office during Stalin's purges and throughout World War II. In 1945 she returned to the Soviet Union and was named advisor to the foreign affairs ministry. She died in 1952.

Kopecký, Václav. Born in 1897, the thirteenth child of a Czech merchant; he studied law at the University of Prague. He joined a group of socialist students in 1917, became a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party at its founding in 1921, and then worked in various party organizations and in its press. While in Ostrava in 1925 he established contact with other younger militants, such as Klement Gottwald, Rudolf Slanský, and Bruno Koehler. He also was arrested for his communist activity in 1925 and after his release joined the Gottwald group, which in 1929 the Comintern helped become leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. At that time he was named editor-in-chief of the official party organ, *Rudé Právo* (Red Right), and elected a communist deputy to the Czechoslovak parliament.

In 1935 he was a member of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed. At the end of 1938, after the Munich pact, he took refuge in Soviet Russia, where he was named representative of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to the ECCI, and also worked with the Agitprop section of the Comintern. After the war he returned to Czechoslovakia, was elected a central committee member at the party congress in 1946, and in 1951 was promoted to membership in the politburo. Meanwhile he held

the post of minister of information until it was abolished in 1953, at which time he was named deputy prime minister, a position confirmed at the time of the cabinet reshuffling in July 1960. From September 1953 to December 1954 he was also minister of culture. By 1966, however, he held no posts in the politburo or in the government.

Koplenig, Johann. Born in 1891; he worked as a shoemaker, joined the Austrian trade-union movement in 1910, and became a member of the Socialist Party in 1911. During World War I he was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army and in 1916 was captured on the Russian front. In April 1918, following the Bolshevik victory at Petrograd, he joined the Nizhni Novgorod branch of the Federation of Foreign Communist Groups affiliated with the Russian Communist Party. In the autumn of 1919 he became leader of the German-speaking communist group at Perm. At the end of 1920 he returned to Austria, where he joined the communist party. In 1922 he became secretary of the party organization in the province of Styria and at the fifth congress of the party was elected a member of its central committee. In November 1924 he became party secretary, a post he held for many years, during which he faithfully followed the Kremlin line through all its shifts and accompanying purges, for example, during the 1927 purge he eliminated the Trotskyites and other opposition elements from the Austrian party. He was arrested several times for his communist activity, as in July 1927 and October 1928.

At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was the spokesman for the Austrian delegation and was elected a member of the ECCI, a post he held until the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943. Meanwhile he participated in the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1929, the eleventh plenum in 1931 (in which he became an alternate member of the Presidium of the ECCI), and the thirteenth plenum in 1933.

Following the civil war of February 1934 he fled to Moscow, where in 1935 he was elected a full member of the ECCI Presidium at the close of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. During the great purges he worked in the central apparatus of the Comintern. In May 1943 he was among the signatories of the act dissolving the Comintern.

After the entry of the Red Army he returned to Vienna and from April to December 1945 was vice-chancellor and secretary-of-state without portfolio in the Austrian coalition government. In 1946 he was elected a communist deputy to the Austrian parliament and reelected continuously until 1959. In May 1945 he became president of the Austrian Communist Party and was its representative in Moscow at all of the major postwar meetings. In 1952 (during the Stalin regime) he was a speaker at the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B); he addressed the twentieth congress in February 1956 (during the de-Stalinization period). In November 1957 he led his party delegation to the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, and in November 1960

and August 1917, she became a member of the party's central committee. After the Bolshevik victory at Petrograd on November 7, 1917, she became a people's commissar—the first woman in the Soviet government—but soon resigned over a disagreement with Lenin about tactics.

In March 1919 she attended the founding congress of the Comintern, where she worked as an interpreter and in July and August 1920 attended the Second Congress of the Comintern as a member of the RCP(B) delegation. Also in 1920 she became the head of the women's section at the central committee of the RCP(B) and assumed the duties of deputy-secretary of the International Women's Secretariat; in that capacity she chaired the international conference of communist women in 1921. Also in that year she was a spokesman for the "Workers' Opposition" in the RCP(B) and defended her point of view at the Third Congress of the Comintern in June and July. At that congress she was nominated secretary to the International Women's Secretariat and as such took part in the meetings of the ECCI. In February 1922, at the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI, she and other leaders of the "Workers' Opposition" submitted a statement against the policies of the Bolshevik leadership.

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performed the same function at the Conference of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. In October 1961 he headed the Austrian delegation to the twenty-second congress of the CPSU. At the congress of the Austrian Communist Party in May 1965 he relinquished the party presidency to Franz Mühlri and became honorary party president. He died in December 1968 in Vienna.

Kopp, Victor. Born in Russia in 1880 into a middle-class family; he became interested in the socialist movement while still in high school. By 1900, when he entered the Technological Institute of Kharkov, he was already a member of the revolutionary movement, for which he was expelled from school in 1901. Later he continued his socialist activities at Ekaterinoslav and organized the distribution of *Iskra* (Spark). In 1903 he was elected a delegate to the second congress of the RSDLP (Brussels-London) but was prevented from attending. During the factional struggle which raged in the party he did not join the Bolsheviks; he maintained that he was "above factionalism." After arriving in Western Europe in 1909 he collaborated on Trotsky's newspaper *Pravda* and wrote for the German social-democratic press. On the eve of World War I he returned to Russia, where he was drafted and sent to the front. At the beginning of 1915 he was taken prisoner by the Germans and in 1917, while still being held in Germany, he joined the Bolshevik Party; in the autumn of 1918 he was freed as a result of intervention by the Soviet legation in Berlin, which then employed him as an adviser. He left Germany when the Russian diplomatic mission headed by Adolf Ioffe was expelled. At the end of 1919 he returned to Germany, first as a delegate of the Soviet Red Cross charged with the exchange of civilian and military prisoners and then as a Soviet commercial representative in Berlin. In late 1919 and throughout 1920, under cover of this position, he established close contact with German governmental and military circles, with the secret apparatus of the KPD, and with the WES. On his return to Moscow he was named a member of the commissariat of foreign affairs, a post he held until 1925, when he was named Soviet ambassador to Japan. He died in 1930.

Koritschoner, Franz. Born in 1891 into an Austrian middle-class family, a nephew of Rudolf Hilferding. He became a bank employee in Vienna, joined the Austrian Socialist Party, and during World War I gravitated toward the pacifist and internationalist left. In 1916 he visited Switzerland, where he met Lenin and was drawn toward Bolshevism; by the time the Bolsheviks were victorious in Russia he was already a communist and as such was arrested in Vienna and held from January until October 1918. When the Austrian Communist Party was founded in November he was elected a member of the central committee, a position to which he was reelected at the next six party congresses. As a party leader he directed the communist-oriented revolutionary trade unions and also was editor-in-chief of the party's official daily paper, *Die Rote Fahne*.

In 1921 he represented the party at the Third Congress of the Comintern, participated in debates, and became a member of the ECCI; in June 1923 he represented his party at the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI. After returning to Vienna he continued his communist activity and wrote for both *Die Rote Fahne* and the Comintern organ, *Inprekorr*. In 1929 he settled in Moscow and in August 1930 took part in the fifth congress of the Profintern. He then married a Russian communist, wrote on occasion for the Comintern press, and worked in the central apparatus of the Profintern until he and his wife were arrested in 1937. He was sentenced to hard labor in Siberia but after the Hitler-Stalin pact was handed over to the Gestapo. According to one source, he died in 1942 during imprisonment in Vienna; according to another, he died at Auschwitz.

Kornfeder, Joseph. Born in Austria in 1893. He went to Spain, where he joined the Spanish Socialist Party at age 16 and in 1917 emigrated to the United States. In 1919 he joined the Communist Party of America and in 1927 was sent to the Leninist School of the Comintern. After his return to the U.S. he was named Comintern representative to Venezuela and Columbia; he was arrested in Venezuela in 1932. As a member of the central executive committee of the CPUSA he fell into disagreement with the policies of the Comintern in the early 1930s and in 1934 headed a group of dissidents who claimed to be Leninists. In later years he gradually became a militant anti-communist, a position he held until his death in 1963.

Korsch, Karl. Born in Germany in 1886 into a middle-class family. He studied at several German universities and then in Switzerland and England; he returned to Germany in 1914 and was drafted during World War I. He took an internationalist, pacifist, and socialist position and joined the USPD in 1919 and the KPD in 1920. When the socialists and communists attempted to form a coalition government in Thuringia in the autumn of 1923 he was named its minister of education. When the leftists took over KPD leadership in 1924 he was elected a communist deputy to the Reichstag; however, as early as 1925 he was criticized for "ultra-left" deviation. The real cause of the criticism was his disagreement with Moscow's policy toward the KPD and Germany in general. The following year he broke with the Comintern and with Moscow—on June 10, 1926, he spoke in the Reichstag against the commercial treaty just concluded between Germany and Soviet Russia and on June 22 an ECCI decision confirmed his expulsion from the KPD. Nevertheless, he remained a deputy in the Reichstag until his legislative term ended in 1928 and during that time he edited *Kommunistische Politik*, an organ of communist opposition.

After 1928 he retired from political activity and devoted himself to the study of philosophy. In 1933, after Hitler's victory, he emigrated first to Denmark, then to England, and finally in 1936 to the United States, where he

lived until his death in 1961. A professor and philosopher he published his well-known work *Marxism and Philosophy* in 1923 (it was translated into Russian in 1924). While in exile he also wrote the book *Karl Marx*, published in London in 1938.

Kostov, Traicho. Born in 1897 into a Bulgarian working-class family. He studied law at the University of Sofia and joined the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) at its founding in April 1919, later becoming secretary of the communist youth organization in Sofia. Arrested after the September 1923 uprising he was sentenced to eight years in prison in 1924 but was freed in 1929 under an amnesty. He then went to Moscow, where he worked at the Comintern headquarters and studied at the Leninist School until 1931. Returning to Bulgaria he was named to the central committee of the BCP. In 1934 and 1935 he was again in Moscow, where he joined the Bulgarian delegation in the Balkan Secretariat of the Comintern. In February 1936 he returned to Sofia as a member of the party politburo and in 1938-39 was arrested four times by Bulgarian authorities. In 1940 he went underground and also in that year became political secretary of the party central committee. During the German-Soviet war he organized communist military and political resistance in Bulgaria. Arrested in 1942 he was sentenced to life imprisonment but on September 2, 1944, was set free by Muraviev's democratic government. When the communist-oriented Patriotic Front took over on September 9 he directed the BCP as secretary-general but in November 1945 Georgi Dimitrov returned from Moscow to assume that post. In March 1946 Kostov was named deputy prime minister in the government of Kimon Georgiev and remained in that office in the governments formed by Dimitrov in November 1946 and December 1947. At the same time he was chief government minister responsible for the Bulgarian economy.

During those years he traveled to Moscow and conferred with Stalin on Bulgarian government business; two such visits were made in June 1946 and February 1948. In June 1948 he represented the BCP at the second meeting of the Cominform, which expelled Tito. In April 1949 Kostov was arrested and accused of being a nationalist, an enemy of the Soviet Union, an Anglo-Saxon spy and a Titoist agent; after a public trial he was condemned to death and executed in December 1949. He was rehabilitated posthumously following de-Stalinization in 1956.

Kostrzewa, Wera. Born Maria Koszutska in 1879. She was militant in the Polish socialist movement at an early age and participated in the revolutionary events of 1905 and 1906. She played an important role in the left wing of the Polish Socialist Party and when that wing split from the party in 1906 became a member of its central committee. Won over by the Bolshevik revolution she helped found the Polish Communist Party in December 1918 and from the first was a member of its central committee. She then rose to the front ranks and with Adolf Warski-Warszawski and Henryk Walecki was one of the "three Ws" in the party leadership.

She reported on the agrarian question in April 1922 at the third national conference of the party and again in November at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. At the second congress of the party, held in September 1923 near Moscow, she reported on party organization and, with two others, on agrarian problems. She was reelected to the party central committee, but at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 Stalin, who was presiding over the Polish commission, attacked her opinions. The leadership of the "three Ws" was eliminated, mainly because they had not supported Stalin and Zinoviev in the fight against Trotsky. At the third congress of the Polish Communist Party in January 1925, she was not reelected to the central committee but in November 1925, at the fourth national conference of the party, she again reported on the agrarian question. At the fourth party congress, held near Moscow in 1927, she delivered a report on the political situation and the tasks of the party and was reelected to the central committee. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 she was on the presidium rostrum and took part in the debates. She finally was removed from party leadership at the sixth plenum of the central committee of the Polish Communist Party in June 1929. Beginning in 1930 she established permanent residence in the Soviet Union and like most Polish leaders fell victim to Stalin's purges and died in prison in 1939.

Kovačević, Nikola (pseud.: Chudnovsky; Nikita). Of Serbian origin but born in Austro-Hungarian territory. He was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I and later taken prisoner by the Russians. He took part in the Bolshevik revolution and joined the Red Army in 1918. Returning to Yugoslavia he was elected a communist deputy to the parliament in 1920. When the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was outlawed and its members persecuted by the police he went to Soviet Russia, where he joined the RCP(B); using the name Chudnovsky, he worked for many years in its apparatus and then in that of the Comintern. During the Spanish civil war he was stationed at the Albaete base of the International Brigades, where he used the name Nikita. In 1939, like other members of the Brigades, he took refuge in France, where he was interned until 1943, when he escaped and joined the French resistance.

In 1945 he visited his family in Soviet Russia before returning to Yugoslavia. When the Cominform ruled against Tito and his colleagues in 1948, Kovačević was arrested by Tito's police and sentenced to two years at hard labor. Actually, he remained in prison for six years, until 1955, when relations between Tito and Khrushchev were "normalized."

Kovačević, Nikola (pseud.: Miller; Klein). Born in 1890 in Montenegro; he became a teacher and fought in the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and in World War I. In 1920 he joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY); his party activities led to his dismissal from his job and he became a full-time party worker. From 1925 to 1928 he was secretary of the regional committee of the CPY for Montenegro. In 1928 he was a member of the Yugoslav delegation.

to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in Moscow, where he remained as head of the Yugoslav group at the KUNMZ and later as CPY representative to the Comintern. He then became a Soviet citizen, joined the RCP(B), and was elected a deputy to the soviet of Moscow. In 1930 he was sent to Vienna (under the name Miller) as a member of the leadership-in-exile of the CPY.

Returning to Moscow in 1933 he was sent on a Comintern mission to the Far East, first to Dairen and then to Shanghai, where both the Comintern delegation and the Chinese Communist Party central committee were seated. In 1934 he was named the Comintern emissary to the Yugoslav immigrants' colonies in the United States and Canada, where he worked under the name Klein.

In 1945 he returned to Yugoslavia, where he was nominated first ambassador to Sofia. In 1947 he was called to Belgrade to work for the CPY central committee, of which he was elected a member in July 1948 at the fifth party congress. In 1950 he was elected a deputy to the national assembly. In the early 1960s he was also vice-chairman of the national assembly of Montenegro (one of Yugoslavia's six federal republics) and member of the central committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Krajewski, Antoni. Born Wladislaw Stein in 1886; he was the younger brother of another communist leader, L. Domski (Henryk Stein). In 1904 he joined the SDPPL and became militant in the Warsaw and Lodz party groups. At the fifth congress of the RSDLP, held in London in 1907, he was a member of his party's delegation and there met Lenin for the first time. Returning to Poland he was arrested and exiled to the province of Vologda; he immediately escaped to Berlin and in Paris in 1908 took part in the fifth RSDLP conference. After two years in Western Europe he returned to Poland, where in October 1910 he headed the party committee for Lodz. Two months later he was arrested and later exiled to the province of Ienisseisk; he escaped again and went to Cracow, where Lenin was living. At the outbreak of World War I he fled to Switzerland, as did Lenin. In April 1916, under the name Dombrowski, he was one of the representatives of the SDPPL to the Kienthal conference. A few months later he re-appeared in Warsaw, where he was secretary of his party's committee from November 1916 until late 1918.

He was one of the organizers of the Polish Communist Party (PCP) and when it was founded in December 1918 became secretary of its Warsaw branch. In 1920 he was elected to its central committee and in 1923 reelected at the second party congress. At the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in June 1923, he was one of the representatives of the PCP and as such was seated on two commissions. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was a spokesman for the PCP. At the third congress of the PCP in 1925 he delivered the report on behalf of the central committee but was elected only as an alternate member of that committee. He was elected a full member at the fourth congress in 1927. In 1930 he joined the Lenin Institute. In 1931

he was admitted to the RCP(B) and also began to hold important positions within the secret apparatus of the Comintern in Moscow. At the Seventh Congress, held in 1935, he was elected a member of the ICC. He remained a Comintern leader until his execution in 1937, when Stalin purged the PCP and many of the pre-1917 militants.

Krasny, Józef. Born Joseph Rotstadt in 1877. He became active in the Polish socialist movement; during the factional struggles he rallied to Karl Radek against Rosa Luxemburg and drew closer to the Bolsheviks. Arrested and deported by tsarist authorities he was freed after the revolution of February 1917 and returned to work for the SDPPL, of which he became a central committee member. Like Józef Unszlicht, Felix Dzerzhinsky, and other Polish socialist militants he rallied to Bolshevism and participated in the October Revolution. When the Comintern was founded in 1919 he was sent as its secret emissary to Vienna, where he directed its Agitprop work for Central Europe and the Balkans. In 1920 and 1921 he had important responsibilities in the Comintern's Viennese office (Südbureau), where he was aided by Gerhart Eisler and Karl Frank. At the time of the Polish-Soviet war in 1920 he edited *The Polish Correspondence* in Polish, German, and French. He also wrote for other publications, including the review *Kommunismus* (1920-21). Even after the liquidation of the Südbureau by Moscow he remained in Vienna and in 1922-23, under cover as an employee of the Soviet embassy, was in charge of the secret apparatus of the Comintern.

In 1924 he was recalled to Moscow, where he no longer was active politically but worked on the university level in the scientific field, publishing several books, including a collection of documents on the socialist movement in Poland and a book on Leo Jogiches-Tyszko. He died in 1932.

Kreibich, Karel. Born in 1883 into a German working-class family in the Sudeten region of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. He studied business and in 1902 joined the local social-democratic party and business employees' union. In 1906 he was editor of the party paper, *Vorwärts*, at Reichenberg (Liberec) and beginning in 1909 headed the party youth organization. During World War I he moved toward the left wing of the party. As chairman of the Reichenberg regional organization of the party he favored joining the Comintern. In 1920 he was elected a deputy to the Czechoslovak parliament. He then organized a congress of the Sudeten Social Democratic Party left wing which met at Reichenberg in March 1921, approved adherence to the Comintern, and founded the Sudeten German section of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. He represented that section in June and July 1921 at the Third Congress of the Comintern, at which with other partisans of the "theory of the offensive" he took a left-wing stand. At the congress of unification of all communist groups into the Czechoslovak Communist Party in September 1921 he was

elected member of its executive committee (future politburo) and vice-president of the party. He remained member of the executive committee until 1924, when he departed for Moscow. After returning to Czechoslovakia in 1927 he resumed his seat at the politburo and remained its member until 1929.

Meanwhile, he was active in the Comintern. At the close of the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921, he was elected a member of the ECCI. In February 1922, at the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI, he reported on the communist movement in Czechoslovakia and was elected to membership in the ECCI Presidium. At the second enlarged plenum in June 1922, he again offered a report. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924, he was elected a member of the ICC. He then remained in Moscow as a representative of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to the ECCI. In 1924 he also represented the Comintern at the Rotterdam congress of the Dutch Communist Party. In March 1925 he participated in and addressed the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. In 1929 he returned to Moscow to join the editorial staff of the Comintern's official organ *Communist International*, with which he remained until 1933. In 1928 he was present at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern but gave no speech.

At the fifth congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in February 1929, Klement Gottwald took over the party leadership and Kreibich was not reelected to the politburo or the central committee. When he returned from Moscow in 1933 he became editor-in-chief of *Vorwärts*. In 1935 he was elected communist senator. At the end of 1938, following the Munich pact, he fled to England, where he was a member of the council of state, which collaborated with the Benet government-in-exile.

After World War II he returned to Czechoslovakia and from 1950 to 1952 served as ambassador to Moscow. At the time of the Slansky trial he retired with a pension. He died in 1966.

Krestinsky, Nikolai. Born in 1883, the son of an Ukrainian high school teacher. He studied law at the University of St. Petersburg, where as early as 1901 he was active in the socialist movement and in 1903 was a member of the RSDLP. In 1905 he participated in the revolution and within the party sided with the Bolsheviks. He was arrested often for his revolutionary activity and in 1914 was confined to the Urals, where he directed the Bolshevik committee in 1917. At the sixth congress of the party in July and August 1917, he was elected a member of the central committee, a position he retained until the tenth congress in March 1921. From December 1919 to March 1921 he was also secretary of the RCP(B) central committee.

Meanwhile, he had forged a career in the Soviet government—from August 1918 to October 1921 he was people's commissar of finance; in 1920 he was a member of the Bolshevik delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern; and in October 1921 he was named Soviet ambassador to Berlin, where he worked with the WES. In 1923 and 1924 he sympathized with the Bolshevik

opposition against Stalin but did not commit himself publicly; in 1928, when the opposition was politically defeated by Stalin, he openly denounced it. In 1930 he was named deputy minister for foreign affairs but was arrested during the great purge. In March 1938, at the public trial against Bukharin, Rykov, and other Bolsheviks, he was condemned to death and executed.

Kreuks, Jan. Born in 1892, son of an Estonian farm laborer. He completed elementary school and started work as a locksmith's apprentice and then as a sailor in the merchant marine. In 1911 he lived in St. Petersburg and in 1912 worked in Reval as a blacksmith. During the war he was drafted and sent to the Austrian front. After the February 1917 revolution he returned to Estonia and shortly afterward joined the Bolshevik party. In 1918 he sought refuge in Soviet Russia but in 1919 returned to Estonia. At the clandestine fourth congress of the Estonian Communist Party in 1920, he was elected a member of the central committee, on which he remained until his death. He later organized the first communist youth congress and in 1922 represented his party at both the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and the third congress of the KIM. Returning to Estonia he resumed underground activity. In March 1923 he was killed by police on a Reval street.

Kristescu, George. Born in Rumania in 1882; he became an elderdown artisan, hence his nickname Plapumaru. From 1905 to 1906 he was active in the trade-union movement and the Rumanian Social Democratic Party. During World War I he took a centrist position and like many European centrists gravitated toward communism in 1919-20. In November 1920 he was a member of the Rumanian socialist delegation which negotiated with Comintern leaders on the 21 conditions for admission to the Comintern, with some reservation he favored affiliation with the Comintern. Returning to Rumania he participated in the founding congress of the Rumanian Communist Party in Bucharest in 1921 and became a member of the party's central committee. A few months later, at the national conference of the party held in Ploesti, he was reelected to the central committee and soon afterward named secretary-general of the party. In 1922 he was among the communist militants arrested and tried in Bucharest and after his release from prison resumed party leadership. In September 1923 he went to Moscow as a member of the Rumanian Communist Party delegation which discussed the Rumanian national question and the struggle against the Treaty of Versailles.

At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in June and July 1924, he was elected a member of the ECCI, the only Rumanian representative. However, at the third congress of the party, held in September, he was criticized for rightist deviation and in the following year was criticized by the Comintern also.

He survived World War II and the Stalinist regime established in Rumania after 1945 but did not assume any responsible functions in the Rumanian Communist Party. In October 1967 his 85th birthday was officially celebrated.

Kristiansen, Henry W. Born in 1902; he became a militant in the Norwegian socialist movement. In November 1923, at the time of the split in the Norwegian Workers' Party, he chose to support the communist minority. He then became a member of the first central committee of the Norwegian Communist Party and in that capacity edited the party organ *Klassekampen* (Class Struggle). In 1931, during the period when the Comintern was imposing young leaders on most of its foreign sections, he was made party chairman and then secretary-general, which position was confirmed by the fifth congress of the party in March 1932 and which he held until 1934. During that period he maintained regular contact with the Comintern and participated in its work—in 1932 he attended the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and in 1933 was the Norwegian spokesman at the thirteenth enlarged plenum. In 1934 he was placed in charge of a new party organ, *Arbeideren* (The Worker). However, with the onset of the German-Soviet war he was one of the first victims of German reprisals in Norway; he was arrested in 1941 and sent to a concentration camp, where he died in 1942.

Królikowski, Stefan. Born in Warsaw in 1881 into a working-class family, he joined the Polish Socialist Party in 1900. A militant, he was arrested often. In 1901 he was given a nine-month sentence and for the next two years kept under police surveillance. He was arrested again in 1904 but after his release participated in the seventh congress of the Polish Socialist Party in Warsaw in March 1905. In that year he also was elected a member of the party committee for Warsaw. He was arrested again briefly in 1906 and in 1907 was captured by the tsarist police and although given a five-year prison term, was freed in 1911.

A militant of the Polish Socialist Party's left wing (Levitsa) he took part in its 1912 congress and became a member of its central committee. In 1915 he was arrested by the tsarist police again and this time exiled to Siberia. Following the February 1917 revolution he went to Petrograd, where he headed the local section of the Levitsa and then became a member of its central committee in Russia. After the Bolshevik victory in November 1917 he worked at the people's commissariat for nationalities.

During the second half of 1918 he returned to Warsaw and in December, at the founding congress of the Polish Communist Party (PCP), was elected a member of the central committee. In 1921 he was one of the Polish delegates to the Third Congress of the Comintern and also to the founding congress of the Profintern. In 1922 he was elected a communist deputy in Warsaw, but at the second congress of the PCP in 1923 was not reelected to the central committee.

In 1925 he resigned his post as deputy for reasons of health and went to Berlin, where he resumed his activity among the leaders of the PCP abroad. At the closing of the fourth congress of the Polish party in 1927, he was

again elected an alternate member of the central committee. In 1928 he was a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, at which he spoke for the PCP. In 1929-30 he worked in a Soviet kolkhoz administration, then as an interpreter in Moscow. In 1937, during Stalin's purges, he was arrested and shot. He was rehabilitated posthumously in 1956.

Krumiņš, Jānis. Born in 1894, son of a Latvian farm laborer; as early as 1912 he was active in the Latvian Social Democratic Party. During the following years he drew closer to Bolshevism and under the pseudonym Pilats joined the central committee of the Latvian Social Democratic Party. He supported both its transformation into a communist party and its adherence to the Comintern in 1919. He became a member of the first central committee of the Latvian Communist Party. He was a delegate with full voting rights to the eighth congress of the RCP(B) in March 1919. Following the outlawing of the Latvian Communist Party he returned to Moscow and in 1931 became chief of the Latvian party's foreign bureau. He also represented his party in the ECCI and in that capacity addressed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935; at its close he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. He was unable to escape Stalin's purges, however; accused of being a "Latvian nationalist" he was arrested in 1938 by the Soviet police and shot a few months later.

Kun, Béla. Born in 1886 into a Hungarian Jewish family in Transylvania; while still in high school he became a militant in the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. He studied law at the University of Kolozsvár and then in Budapest. In 1914 he was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army and later was taken prisoner as a second lieutenant on the Russian front. At a prisoner-of-war camp near Tomsk he came in contact with the local social-democratic organization and after the February 1917 revolution joined the Tomsk regional Bolshevik committee. After the Bolshevik victory on November 7 he went to Petrograd, where he met with Lenin, and then to Moscow, where he became a militant in the Bolshevik organization. On March 24, 1918, he organized the Hungarian communist group within the Bolshevik Party and during a conference of foreign communist groups, held on April 13-14, was elected chairman of a federation of those groups. In November 1918 he returned to Hungary and on November 20 was elected head of the newly founded Hungarian Communist Party. He was arrested on February 20, 1919, but freed on March 21, the day on which the Hungarian Soviet Republic was proclaimed. Although his official title was commissar of foreign affairs he was actual head of the republic.

When the republic was crushed after 133 days he fled to Austria, where he was interred; freed in the summer of 1920 he arrived in Russia following the Second Congress of the Comintern. In September 1920, during the Russian civil war, he was named a member of the revolutionary council of the southern

front. Later he headed the revolutionary council which liquidated Wrangel's troops in the Crimea. In Moscow he became a member of the ECCI Presidium in February 1921 and soon afterward was sent to Germany to launch the March Action. That Action was criticized by Lenin and in May 1921 Kun was sent to Ekaterinburg as a member of the Ural region committee of the RCP(B). He continued, however, to hold the highest posts in the Comintern. On July 13, 1921, at the close of its Third Congress, he was reelected to the ECCI Presidium and also during that year participated in meetings of the ECCI. At the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1922 a commission of inquiry was formed to examine accusations against Kun by exiled Hungarian communists; Kun was declared innocent. He was absent from the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in June 1922, but at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November he offered one of the key reports, its subject being the fifth anniversary of the Russian revolution and the prospects for world revolution. However, he was no longer a member of the ECCI nor was he reelected to its Presidium. He did not take part in the third enlarged plenum, held in June 1923. In 1924, he was responsible for the Agitprop section of the Comintern and at the close of its Fifth Congress that year was elected alternate member of the ECCI.

At the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in March 1925 he was named a member of the Orgburo; at the seventh enlarged plenum, held in 1926, he became an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, held in 1928, his ECCI functions were confirmed. After the fall of Zinoviev and Trotsky and the elimination of Bukharin he survived as a Comintern leader and during the early Stalinist period his importance in the ECCI grew. He was a speaker at the tenth plenum in 1929 and also responsible for the Balkan Secretariat. At the eleventh plenum in 1931 he was a member of the ECCI Presidium, and at the plenums of 1932 and 1933 was again a speaker. In 1934 he was a member of the commission in charge of preparations for the Seventh Congress of the Comintern; when that congress met in 1935 he again was elected a member of the ECCI. In 1936, when Stalin's purges began, he was a member of the central apparatus of the Comintern but in 1937 he was interrogated by a special Comintern commission and then arrested. He died on November 30, 1939; according to one account he was shot, while another attributes his death to tortures suffered in prison. He was rehabilitated, however, in an article signed by Eugen Varga which appeared in *Pravda* on February 21, 1956.

Kunin, Petko. Born in 1900; he attended business school. Following the establishment of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) in 1919 he took up communist activity and became a militant in the youth movement. After the April 1925 terrorist bombing of a cathedral in Sofia he was sought for arrest, like other leaders of the communist youth, but fled to Greece and later arrived

in Soviet Russia, where he studied at the Leninist School of the Comintern. When the younger communists were selected by the Comintern to join the leadership of the BCP he was returned to Bulgaria in 1929 as an alternate member of the central committee and a leader of the party organization in the Sofia region. In 1930 he was arrested and sentenced to five years in prison but was freed in 1931 and resumed his communist activities. He became a member of the BCP central committee and was given charge of the agrarian section but once again was forced to seek refuge in Soviet Russia, where from 1934 to 1936 he worked at the International Agrarian Institute and at the Krestintern, then headed by Vasil Kolarov.

He returned to Bulgaria and continued party work but was arrested in 1939 and for the next four years was shifted among a variety of prisons and concentration camps. In August 1943 he escaped, joined the BCP guerrillas and became political commissar of their eleventh group; he also resumed his seat in the BCP central committee and headed its economic section. When the communists took part in the Bulgarian coalition government in September 1944 he was made a member of the economic council. At the University of Sofia he became a professor of agrarian economy. In 1945 he was elected a deputy. In the government formed by Georgi Dimitrov in December 1947 he was minister of industry. In January 1948 he was made an alternate member of the BCP politburo. Later in 1948 he became minister of finance and in December was seated on the presidium of the fifth congress of the BCP. In 1949, however, with a wave of purges of the "nationalist and Titoist elements," he was first deprived of all leading political functions, then demoted to head of a state enterprise, and finally arrested. In April 1951 he was sentenced to 15 years in prison but was released in 1956 following the twentieth congress of the CPSU. After lecturing for some time at the Karl Marx Economic Institute in Sofia he was elected deputy of the National Assembly in 1963 and restored to full membership in the central committee of the BCP. He was reelected to the same committee at the tenth congress of the party in April 1971.

Kurella, Alfred. Born in 1895, the son of a German doctor. He was among the socialist youth leaders in Munich when imperial Germany collapsed in 1918. In April 1919, at the time of the Soviet republic in Bavaria, he went to Moscow, where, using the name Ziegler, he helped prepare for the founding of the KIM. There he met Lenin and in the same year was sent as an emissary to organize the communist youth movement in Central Europe. He went to Vienna and participated in the founding congress of the KIM, held in Berlin in November 1919. From then on he acted as a professional revolutionary in the service of the central apparatus at Moscow.

In early 1922 he took part in the meetings of the ECCI and in June participated as a member of the KIM delegation in the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI. In November 1922 he represented the KIM at the Fourth Congress

of the Comintern and at the third congress of the KIM in December 1922 was reelected to the executive committee. During 1923 he remained in Moscow to write a practical manual for KIM militants. After the fourth KIM congress in 1924 he left its apparatus to work for the Comintern, which sent him to France at the close of the year to direct the first communist school for PCI cadres founded at Bobigny. He was active under the pseudonym A. Bernard and remained in France during 1925 and part of 1926; under that pseudonym he published in Paris in 1925 two pamphlets entitled *ABC de la politique communiste* and *Rôle et méthode de l'enseignement léniniste*.

In February 1919 he was the Comintern representative to the fifth congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, which he addressed under the name Ziegler. In 1929-30 he remained for an extended period in Moscow, where his book on the founding of the KIM appeared. In 1932 the Comintern sent him to Paris to edit the weekly paper *Monde*. There he was also secretary of the International Committee for the Struggle Against War and Fascism. In 1934 he returned to the Soviet Union, where he remained until his return to East Germany in 1954. He escaped the Stalinist purges in which his brother Heinrich, an editor for *Inprekorr*, was eliminated. During the war he worked for Soviet propaganda.

In 1955 he was named director of the Institute for Literature at Leipzig. In 1957 he became chairman of the cultural commission of the SED politburo. At the fifth congress of the party in July 1958 he was elected a member of the central committee and an alternate member of the politburo. Also in that year he entered the East German parliament. Meanwhile, he had written several books, including *Mussolini ohne Maske*, Berlin, 1931; *Ich lebe in Moskau*, Berlin, 1947; and *Ost und/oder West: Unsinn, Sinn und tiefere Bedeutung eines Schlagwortes*, Berlin, 1948. In March 1969 he and Walter Ulbricht represented veteran German communists at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Comintern in Moscow.

Kusovac, Labud. Born in Montenegro in 1900. He took up communist activity as a university student in Yugoslavia and Vienna, where his wife also was active. After receiving his doctorate he returned to Belgrade, where he was arrested for his activities in 1927 and was acquitted in February 1928. He and his wife then left the country and after a stay in Vienna settled in Moscow with the Yugoslav delegation to the Comintern. He became a central committee member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, a post he held until 1938, after the Comintern had entrusted Tito with provisional leadership of the party. At that time Kusovac also headed the foreign bureau of the Yugoslav party in Paris. After a conflict in 1938 Tito removed him from the central committee and in 1939 he and his wife were officially expelled from the party "because of their connections with Trotskyites and other suspicious elements." He lived in Yugoslavia when the communist regime was established there in

1944-45 but in 1948 when the Cominform decided to strike against Tito, Kusovac and his wife were arrested by the Yugoslav police and sentenced to two years in prison. Actually he remained in prison for six years, after which he lived in retirement until his death in the 1960s.

Kuusinen, Otto Wilhelm. Born in 1881, the son of a Finnish tailor. In 1905 he received a degree in history and philology from the University of Helsinki and joined the Finnish Social Democratic Party and in 1907 headed the party's official organ, *The Worker*. In 1908 he was elected a social-democratic deputy to the Finnish parliament. In 1912 he was a party delegate to the Socialist International Congress at Basel. When the Finnish Soviet Republic was proclaimed in January 1918 he was named people's commissar for national education; with the fall of the republic he fled to Soviet Russia, where in August 1918 he was among the founders of the Finnish Communist Party.

In March 1919 he was a delegate and speaker at the founding congress of the Comintern. Later in that year he returned secretly to Finland, where he barely escaped police arrest. In 1920 he was listed among the delegates to the Second Congress of the Comintern but did not participate in the debates. In 1921 he wrote both the report and the theses on the organization of communist parties for the Third Congress of the Comintern; after the congress he was named one of three secretaries of the Comintern. In February 1922 he participated in the work of the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI and was elected to membership in both the ECCI and its Presidium. These functions were confirmed in November 1922 at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and in 1924 at the Fifth Congress. In April 1924 he was one of three Comintern emissaries to the KPD congress at Frankfurt am Main. Later he participated in the campaigns against Trotsky and Zinoviev, when Zinoviev was driven from power in the Comintern at the end of 1926. In 1928 he was one of the chairmen of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, reported on revolutionary activity in colonial and semicolonial countries, and was reelected to the ECCI and its Presidium and to the political Secretariat of the Comintern. In July 1929, after Bukharin's fall, he presented the first and most important report at the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI on the international situation and tasks of the Communist International. In 1932 and 1933, he delivered reports at the twelfth and thirteenth plenums, which were completely dominated by Stalinism.

At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was again elected to the ECCI, its Presidium, and its Secretariat. During his many years with the Comintern he headed various sections and secretariats, including those concerning Scandinavia, Eastern Europe, and the colonial countries. He survived the Stalinist purges (which struck some members of his family) and in May 1943 signed the act of dissolution of the Comintern.

From 1918 on Kuusinen lived almost continuously in Soviet Russia; he became a Soviet citizen and changed part of his given name to Wilhelovich.

During the Finno-Soviet war in December 1939 he was named head of the puppet government of Terioki. From 1940 until 1956 he was president of the Finno-Karelian Republic. In 1941 he was named a member of the central committee of the RCP(B). At the last congress of the RCP(B) under Stalin in October 1952 he was made a member of its new politburo (presidium). His membership was terminated in March 1953, however, after Stalin's death. Yet in June 1957, when the "anti-party" group consisting of Molotov, Malenkov, and Kaganovich was expelled from the politburo, Kuusinen returned to it. At the same time he became a member of the central committee secretariat and in that capacity helped Suslov control the international communist movement. He participated in denouncing Stalin's "cult of personality" and at the twenty-second congress of the CPSU in October 1961 criticized the "anti-party" group. At that congress he was reelected to the politburo and central committee secretariat, positions he held until his death in 1964.

Kuusinen published numerous articles, brochures, and papers during his Comintern years. In 1959 he also was responsible for the CPSU's publication, *Fundamental Principles of Marxism-Leninism*, a new version unmarred by Stalin's "cult of personality."

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Lacerda, Fernando. Born in Brazil in 1890; he became a physician. During the 1920s he was militant in the Brazilian communist movement and joined the party leadership after its second congress in 1925. For many years he was a member of the party's governing bodies, including the general secretariat. In 1928 he first visited Moscow, where he took part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and at the opening meeting was named one of the 35 members of its presidium, the only representative from Latin America. He also was seated on the Comintern program commission of the congress and under the assumed name Amerigo Ledo was elected a member of the ECCI. At the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in July 1929 he became a member of the ECCI Presidium.

In 1930 he returned to Brazil and in the party's name criticized the views of Luis Carlos Prestes on the priority of insurrectional means and the decisive role of peasantry in the triumph of the revolution. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 Lacerda was a speaker for the Brazilian Communist Party but it was Prestes who became a member of the ECCI. In Brazil Lacerda continued to hold leading positions within the party and in 1938-39 was still writing for the Comintern press. He remained with the party through all its Stalinist and post-Stalinist changes until his death in 1957.

Landler, Jenő. Born in 1875; he became a lawyer. From the beginning of the century he was active in the Hungarian workers' movement and in 1907 entered the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. Meanwhile, he had become a leader of the railroad workers' trade union. He gravitated toward the left wing of the party and in June 1918 was arrested for his political activities. After his release, when the social-democratic and communist parties merged in March 1919 he took an active part in political life. He held a series of important positions during the Hungarian Soviet Republic, these being, in turn, people's commissar for internal affairs, commander of Army Corps III, and commander-in-chief of the Hungarian Red Army. With the collapse of Soviet Hungary he took refuge in Vienna and for the next few years often traveled between the Austrian capital and Moscow. In 1921 he attended the Third Congress of the Comintern and, as a leader of a Hungarian Communist Party faction, criticized Béla Kun. In 1922 he was a delegate and speaker at the Fourth Congress and in 1924 attended the Fifth Congress. At the beginning of the Bolshevization of the Comintern's sections in 1924 he carried out confidential missions in Central and Western Europe. At the first congress of the Hungarian Communist Party, held in 1925 in Vienna, he delivered a report on the trade-union question and was elected a member of the central committee. He died in France in 1928; his ashes were buried in the Kremlin wall on Red Square.

Lao Hsiu-chao. Born in China in 1892 but from age five lived in tsarist Russia. During the 1917 revolution he supported the Bolshevik cause; in 1918 the Bolsheviks began to organize foreign communist groups and in December in Petrograd, Lao was elected chairman of the executive central committee of the Union of Chinese Workers in Russia. At the founding congress of the Comintern in March 1919 he represented the Chinese Socialist Workers' Party, gave a speech of greeting in Russian, and had a consultative vote. As chairman of the Union of Chinese Workers he made contact with Soviet leaders, including Lenin, who met with him in November 1919 concerning the revolution in China. At the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 he was again a Chinese representative, spoke on the colonial problem, and had another meeting with Lenin on August 11 at the close of the congress. Thereafter mention of his activities disappeared completely from the Comintern annals but after the Chinese communist victory in 1949 he held various diplomatic posts in the new regime. In 1954 he was a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and in the early 1960s was adviser to the judicial section of the Chinese ministry of foreign affairs.

Lapinski, Stanislaw. Born Pawel Lewinson in Poland in 1879; he became an economist and publicist. He was active in the Polish Socialist Party and in 1906 became a leader of its left wing (Levitsa). In exile during World War I he took an internationalist position. At the Zimmerwald conference in 1915

and the Kienthal conference in 1916 he represented the party's left wing but at that time remained closer to Martov than to Lenin. After the Bolshevik victory in Russia, however, he rallied to communism and took part in the early activities of the Polish Communist Party. In 1920 he attended the Second Congress of the Comintern, where he prepared a study on the international political and economic situation for Lenin. In 1921 he became an official of the commissariat for foreign affairs, under cover of which he went to Berlin to handle problems relating to the international communist movement. During the 1921 March Action he was in touch with Béla Kun, Lapiński's office of economic studies in Berlin also served as a haven for visiting foreign communists. In early 1930 he was no longer attached to the commissariat for foreign affairs. In Moscow he worked on scientific and journalistic matters and published articles in the Russian, Polish, and German communist press. He was arrested and executed during Stalin's purges in 1937 but after the twentieth congress of the CPSU, held in February 1956, was rehabilitated.

Laporte, Maurice. Born in 1901. He joined the SFIO during World War I and in 1918-19 emerged as a pro-communist leader in the Federation of Young Socialists. In January 1920 he was elected secretary of the newly founded Committee for the Adherence of Young Socialists to the Third International. At the end of the year the majority of the national congress of young socialists announced that it would join the Third International. Laporte then became secretary-general of the French Federation of Young Communists. After the founding of the PCF in Tours he was chosen to represent the French Federation of Young Communists in the party directing committee. He was a delegate of the Federation at the Third Congress of the Comintern in June 1921. He attended the meetings of the ECCI on June 16 and 17, which were devoted to examining the situation in France, and defended the position of the left wing of the PCF; he was criticized for this attitude by Trotsky and then by Lenin. In July he attended the second congress of the KIM and participated in its debates. In November and December 1922 he represented the Federation at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and the third congress of the KIM, at which he again supported the left wing of the PCF. In March 1923 he was arrested in France with other communist leaders for activities protesting the occupation of the Ruhr; he was freed in May without having been brought to trial. At the close of the Villeurbanne congress of the French Federation of Young Communists, held in June 1923, he relinquished his position as secretary-general to Jacques Doriot.

He remained a communist militant in 1924-25 but broke with the party soon afterward. He then devoted his time to journalism, writing anti-communist articles and sensationalist books, such as *Les Mystères du Kremlin* (Paris, 1928) and *Espions rouges* (Paris, 1929). His activities in Paris during the German occupation of World War II resulted, after the liberation, in his prosecution by the French and a life sentence in absentia. At the end of World War II he took refuge in Geneva, where he still lived at the end of the 1960s.

Larkin, James. Born in Ireland in 1876; he became a laborer and from the beginning of the century participated in the Irish workers' movement. In 1909 he was one of the organizers of the Union of Transportation Workers. He organized the dockworkers' strike in Dublin in 1911 and the general strike in 1913. At the founding of the Irish Workers' Party in 1912 he joined its left wing and often took a position close to that of revolutionary syndicalism. In 1914 he emigrated to the United States, where he lived until 1923. After the communist victory in Russia he became known as an extreme-left militant in the American workers' movement. In June 1919 he participated in the national conference of left-wing socialists in New York and was elected to its nine-member directing body. He edited the communist paper *The Irish Worker* and became a leader of the Communist Labor Party of America. He was arrested at the end of 1919 but left shortly thereafter for Soviet Russia, where he represented the Irish workers' revolutionary movement at the Second Congress of the Comintern. He returned to Ireland in 1923 and formed a new political movement called the Irish Workers' Union; in 1924 he was its delegate and spokesman at the third congress of the Profintern and the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, at the close of which he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. In March and April 1925 he took part in the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI but soon after that moved away from communism. In 1927 he founded a dissident political and trade-union movement in Dublin, through which he was elected a parliamentary deputy in 1937, 1943, and 1944. He died in January 1947.

Larsen, Axel. Born in 1897; he became a foundry worker and joined the Danish Communist Party when it was founded in 1921. In July 1921 he attended the second congress of the KIM in Moscow and was elected a member of its executive committee. In the late 1920s he returned to Moscow where he remained until the beginning of 1930. With a mandate from the Comintern he forced Thøger Thøgersen out of the top position in the Danish Communist Party and in 1932 became chairman of the party and also entered parliament as a communist deputy. In 1933 he was a delegate and speaker at the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI; in 1935 he was present at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern but was not elected to any of its directing bodies.

During the German occupation he directed the activities of the Danish Communist Party and edited an underground paper, *The Free Danes*. In November 1942 the Germans arrested him and sent him to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, from which he was liberated in 1945. Returning to Denmark he was named minister without portfolio in the Danish government on May 7, 1945, a post he held until November 7. He also continued to head the Danish Communist Party and at its seventeenth congress in 1952 was again elected party chairman. Also in 1952 he led the Danish delegation to the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B) in Moscow, where in Stalin's presence he gave a speech of greeting. In February 1956 he headed the Danish delegation to the twentieth congress of the CPSU. In November 1957 he was the Danish spokesman at the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. In October 1958,

however, he was expelled from the communist party for "Titoist deviation."

In January 1959 he founded his own movement, the People's Socialist Party. In the elections of November 1960 his party gained 11 parliamentary seats while the communists were left without a single deputy; in the elections of November 1966 Larsen increased his representation in parliament to 20 seats while the communists still had no representative. In December 1967, however, his party suffered a split and in December 1968 he asked to be replaced as party chief because of advanced age. He died in January 1972.

Lazzari, Constantino. Born in 1857; he became a sales clerk in his youth. He was one of the founders of the Italian Socialist Party, became a member of its central committee in 1892, and from 1912 to 1919 was its secretary-general. During World War I he took a centrist and pacifist position, which he defended at the international socialist conference at Kienthal in April 1916. In 1919 he was in full agreement with the Italian Socialist Party's decision to affiliate with the Third International but at the time of the party split in January 1921 in Leghorn he did not join the communist party; he remained in Serrati's "maximalist" Italian Socialist Party and in the summer of 1921 was spokesman for that party at the Third Congress of the Comintern. After his return to Italy he took an active part in the factional struggles between the "Third Internationalists" (who were led by Serrati and favored merger with the Italian Communist Party and affiliation with the Comintern) and the "maximalists" (who opposed such a policy). At first Lazzari followed Serrati's group. At the twentieth congress of the Italian Socialist Party, held in Rome in April 1923, the majority opposed fusion with the communist party but Lazzari favored the pro-communist minority. Yet, when the minority led by Serrati decided to join the communist party in the autumn of 1924 Lazzari remained in the Italian Socialist Party. But he continued to favor a political alliance with the communists and at the socialist congress in 1926 spoke favorably of the Comintern and Soviet Russia. In 1927 he was arrested by the Fascist authorities when he tried to leave the country but soon was freed. He died in Rome in that year.

Leder, Z. Born Wladislaw Feinstein in 1882. In 1900 he joined the SDPPL, by 1904 was a member of its Warsaw committee, and from 1905 on was a member of the party's directing committee. His political activity brought him many arrests, particularly in the troubled years between 1905 and 1907. In 1908 he lived, successively, in Berlin, Vienna, and France. In December 1909 he represented his party at a Paris conference called by the RSDLP. During 1910-11 he was secretary of his party's foreign bureau and editor-in-chief of its central organ, *Social Democrat*. In 1911 he became involved in factional struggles and resigned from party leadership. He then joined Karl Radek and gravitated toward the views of Lenin, who invited him to give a lecture at the Longjumeau Bolshevik school near Paris.

During World War I he enlisted in the French army and later studied law. Late in 1918 he returned to Poland and joined the communist party there when

it was founded. From 1920 on he worked in the Agiiprop section of the Comintern, for which he wrote articles and brochures. At first he traveled between Soviet Russia and Western Europe but in 1924 he settled in the U.S.S.R., where he fell victim to Stalin's purges in 1937.

Lefebvre, Raymond. Born in 1891 into an impoverished French middle-class family. He finished his secondary education in Paris and from 1911 to 1914 studied at the Sorbonne; he then became a journalist. At the beginning of World War I he was attracted to the pacifist and internationalist position. Late in 1914 he was drafted and sent to the front; in 1916 he was wounded at Verdun and withdrawn from the front. He then joined the SFIO and by the end of the war had gravitated to its left wing. He founded ARAC (Republican Association of Veterans) and in 1919 was an unsuccessful SFIO candidate in Paris at the parliamentary elections. Also in that year he joined the Committee for the Third International and thereafter was an activist for communism in France. In 1920 he went to Moscow as a delegate of the Committee for the Third International to the Second Congress of the Comintern, where he participated in the debates. In the autumn of that year, to avoid the blockade of Russia, he took the northern route to return to France but perished in the Arctic Ocean, as did two French syndicalist friends who had accompanied him on the trip.

Lehen, Tuure. Born in Finland in 1893. He became active in the Finnish revolution early in 1918 as a secretary of the revolutionary government. After its defeat he took refuge in Soviet Russia, where he attended the founding congress of the Finnish Communist Party in August 1918. Early in the 1920s he made a career in the Soviet Red Army. He then married (and later divorced) Hertta Kuusinen, daughter of Otto Kuusinen, and like all of Kuusinen's family joined the central apparatus of the Comintern. His special field of work in the Comintern concerned military-insurrectional activity and for this purpose he studied at Red Army institutes for military training. At the close of the 1920s he was responsible for the military-political apparatus of the Comintern and under the names Alfred Langer and A. Neuberg made trips to Germany and other countries. Under these pseudonyms he published a book called in German *Der Weg zum Sieg* and in French *L'Insurrection armée*. (The French edition was published in 1931, although there is no such indication in the book itself.) While in Moscow he gave courses on military and insurrectional technique at the KUNMZ and the Leninist School of the Comintern. Before Hitler's accession in 1933 Lehen traveled almost every year to Germany but after that he lived for a few years in Russia. After the outbreak of the civil war in Spain he was sent there and, using the pseudonym Markus, was active first in Albacete and then as an assistant to the commander-in-chief of a Spanish division. After his return to Moscow and at the time of the Russo-Finnish war in December 1939 Stalin formed a Finnish puppet government in Terioki (presided over by Kuusinen) and Lehen was named minister of the interior.

He returned to Finland in 1946, became vice-chancellor of the central school for party cadres, and continued to play an important political role behind the scenes while Stalin lived. In March 1969 he represented the Finnish Communist Party at the Moscow celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Comintern. In 1967 he published *The War between the Red and the White*, a book about the civil war in Finland and Russia.

Lehtinen, Inkeri. Born in Finland in 1906. She became a militant communist while a university student; she then went to Soviet Russia, joined the first group of Finns to study at the Leninist School of the Comintern, and later married Martti Nilsson, a member of the Finnish Communist Party's central committee who taught at the Leninist School. In the 1930s she represented the Finnish communist youth at the executive committee of the KIM and although her husband was arrested during Stalin's purges she continued to play a political rôle in the U.S.S.R. She was also a member of the central committee of the Finnish Communist Party and when the puppet government at Terioki was formed in December 1939 she became minister of national education. Later she was seated on the ECCI as the Finnish Communist Party representative and as such she signed the act which dissolved the Comintern in May 1943.

After returning to Finland in October 1946 she held various positions of party leadership. As a member of the party's central committee and politburo she was one of the Finnish delegates to the twenty-second congress of the CPSU, held in October 1961. At the thirteenth congress of the Finnish Communist Party in 1963, she was reelected to the central committee and politburo and was seated on the secretariat of the central committee. She also headed the party's agitprop bureau. In January 1966, at the fourteenth congress, she was reelected to the politburo. Meanwhile she continued to direct the publication of *Kommunisti*, a monthly theoretical review of the Finnish Communist Party. In 1969 she helped edit a work devoted to the Comintern and published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow. In November 1969 she represented the Finnish Communist Party at the Moscow celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the KIM.

Lalaguet, Lucie. Born into a Basque family in 1879; she became a stenotypist. Prior to 1914 she was active in the SFIO and during World War I joined the pacifist opposition. In December 1920, at the time of the party split in Tours, she was elected to the directing committee of the newly formed PCF. In the summer of 1921 she was a member of the French delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern and in December was reelected to the directing committee at the Marseilles congress of the PCF. From May to November 1922 she was in Moscow as a representative of the PCF to the ECCI, of which she became an alternate member; at the close of the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1922 she was elected a member of the ECCI

Presidium. At the Paris congress of the PCF in October she was again elected to the directing committee, a position she retained after the resignation of L.-O. Frossard as party secretary in January 1923. In 1924 she was one of the French delegates at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. At the Lille congress of the party in June 1926 she was not reelected to the central committee and in 1928 she broke with the PCF. She rejoined the SFIO and contributed to socialist but anti-communist papers such as *Le Combat Marxiste* and *Idée et Action*. After World War II she collaborated on the review *Est-Quest*, edited in Paris and dedicated to the problems of communism. She died in 1962.

Leino, Yrjö. Born in Helsinki in 1897; he earned a degree in agronomy and taught in various schools specializing in that subject. The Finnish Communist Party sent him to Russia for revolutionary indoctrination at one of the Comintern schools; after returning to Finland he resumed communist activity until his arrest and imprisonment in 1935. He was not released until late 1944, after which he was appointed deputy minister of social welfare in the Finnish coalition government. He also became one of the secretaries of the Finnish Communist Party. At that time he married Hertta Kaasinen, who had returned from Moscow. As a leader of the Finnish Communist Party he joined the Finnish delegation to Moscow in 1946 for economic and commercial negotiations and also the Finnish delegation to the Paris peace conference in June 1946.

In April 1945 he had become minister of the interior and in that capacity went to Moscow in November 1947. In March 1948 he was a member of the Finnish government delegation entrusted with concluding a diplomatic pact with the U.S.S.R. but in May was removed from his government positions. His wife left him, and at the following elections he no longer appeared as a communist candidate for parliament. He then broke with the party. In 1958 he wrote a book of memoirs entitled *A Communist Minister of the Interior*.

Lékai, János. Born in Hungary in 1896. He took up socialist activity, was close to anarcho-syndicalism, and at the end of World War I moved to communism. He edited *Ifjú Proletár* (Young Proletarian), a communist weekly for youth, and during the Hungarian Soviet Republic was chairman of the Union of Young Workers in Hungary. When Soviet Hungary collapsed on August 1, 1919, he took refuge in Vienna. Shortly thereafter he was associated with the first activists of the KIM and in 1920 and early 1921 was on the staff of its official review, *Jugend Internationale*. In the spring of 1921 he went to Moscow, where he participated in the Third Congress of the Comintern, which opened on June 22, and the second congress of the KIM, which convened on July 9. He was elected Hungarian representative to the executive committee of the KIM and was one of two KIM representatives to the ECCI. In March 1922 he was still taking part in ECCI meetings but when the Comintern sent József Pogány as an emissary to the United States Lékai (under the name John

Lassen) soon followed him. There he became editor-in-chief of the Hungarian Communist weekly *Uj Előre* (Forward) and was active in the Hungarian Communist Federation. He died in 1925.

Lenin, V. I. Born Vladimir Ilich Ulianov in Simbirsk on April 22, 1870, the son of an inspector of public schools. He finished secondary school in 1887 and registered at the law school of Kazan'. His first arrest for socialist activity was in December 1887; expelled from the university he went to Samara in 1889 and formed a Marxist circle there. In 1893 he settled in St. Petersburg, where he associated with Marxist militants. In 1894 he wrote his first political essay, *Who Are the Friends of the People and How Do They Wage War on the Social Democrats?* In April 1895 he made his first trip to Western Europe, where he contacted leaders of Russian Marxism living in exile. He returned to St. Petersburg from Switzerland in September and by autumn he and Martov had succeeded in uniting all of the Marxist circles in St. Petersburg into a Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class. Arrested in December he was sentenced in February 1897 to three years in Siberia.

In July 1900 he went into voluntary and legal exile, having obtained a passport through tsarist authorities. He settled in Munich and became a member of the editorial staff of the social-democratic paper *Iskra* (Spark), whose first issue appeared in December 1900; in 1901-02 he wrote *What Is To Be Done?* He then helped prepare for the second congress of the RSDLP, which met in 1903 in Brussels and then in London. At that congress he became the leader of the Bolshevik wing of the party, thus began the long factional struggle within the Russian socialist movement. In 1904 he edited the Bolshevik newspaper *Vpered* (Forward) in Geneva.

Although the Russian revolution of 1905 began in January Lenin did not return to Petrograd until November. In December he went to Finland to head the Bolshevik conference at Tammerfors. In 1907 he was in London for the fifth congress of the RSDLP and in 1908 led the fifth conference of the party in Paris.

He also began to take part in the party's activities within the Socialist International—in 1907 Rosa Luxemburg, Martov, and he proposed the famous amendment to the war resolution which had been adopted at the Stuttgart congress of the International; beginning in 1908 he represented the Russian section at the Socialist International Bureau; and in 1910 he took part in the Copenhagen congress of the International.

He headed the sixth conference of the RSDLP in January 1912 in Prague; it was there that the Bolshevik faction became an independent party. He then moved to Cracow in order to be closer to tsarist Russia. At the beginning of World War I he settled in Switzerland. In September 1915 he took part in and led the Left at the Socialist International conference in Zimmerwald

and in April 1916 in Kienthal. After the February 1917 revolution he and his friends left Switzerland on March 27 and by way of imperial Germany arrived in Petrograd on April 3. On April 24 he imposed his April Theses upon the seventh conference of the party. On July 7, 1917, the Kerensky government issued a warrant for his arrest and he went underground but remained head of the party and wrote his book *State and Revolution*. In September he sent letters to the Bolshevik central committee insisting that measures be taken for the immediate conquest of power. The decision to stage a coup d'état was made on October 23 at a plenum of the party's central committee and by November 7 the Bolsheviks were masters of the capital, proclaiming themselves the new revolutionary power, with Lenin as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

Since 1914 Lenin had insisted that the Second International was dead and that a Third International should be formed; he then undertook such a formation. In late December 1918, following talks with Eduard Fuchs, the secret emissary from the Spartacus League, he wrote to Chicherin to act upon the decision. On January 24, 1919, Lenin met with a few foreign socialists living in Russia and drew up the appeal to convene a founding congress of the new International. On March 1 he presided over the final preparatory conference and on March 2 opened the founding congress of the Comintern. There he became a member of the congress presidium, led the debates, and presented his theses on bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship.

During the interval between the First and Second Congresses of the Comintern he occasionally took part in ECCI meetings and was informed in advance of the various resolutions of that body. In April and May 1920 he wrote the pamphlet *"Left-Wing Communism"—an Infantile Disorder*, which was devoted entirely to the problems of the international communist movement. In early June he personally directed the preliminary work for the Second Congress of the Comintern, writing and supervising the composition of various theses and receiving foreign delegations. On July 19 he was in Petrograd for the opening of that congress; he also presided over the first meeting held later in Moscow. He was elected to the presidium of the congress and served on commissions dealing with the international situation and Comintern tasks; national and colonial questions, and the agrarian question; he personally presented the first and most important report (on the international situation and Comintern tasks) and often intervened during the congressional debates. He was elected an alternate member of the ECCI and took part in its meeting held on August 7. At the close of the congress he met with many foreign communists.

On January 9, 1921, he and other members of the ECCI signed an appeal urging the Leghorn congress of the Italian Socialist Party to break completely with socialist reformism. After the congress, on January 25, he signed an ECCI message of greeting to the new Italian Communist Party. In February he received Béla Kun, the Comintern secretary who was leaving for Germany, and Karl

Radek, who had returned from Germany to resume his post as Comintern secretary. Following the failure of the March Action he met with the German delegates in Moscow and wrote to Clara Zetkin and Paul Levi concerning the March events in Germany. In early June he was at work preparing for the Third Congress of the Comintern and on June 15 and 17 spoke before the ECCI. At the opening of the congress on June 22 he was elected one of the honorary chairmen and during the congress spoke about the problems related to the tactics of the RCP(B) and of the Comintern. He was also elected a member of the ECCI and conferred twice with the KPD delegation during the last days of the congress.

In August 1921, at the time of the KPD Jena congress, he sent a "Letter to the German Communists" in which he commented on the decisions of the Third Comintern Congress and the political line the KPD should follow. In October he wrote a "Letter to the Polish Communists," which was one of his last texts sent to a foreign section of the Comintern. On December 1 he prepared the draft of the resolution defining the new tactic of the United Front, made public by the Comintern later in the month. On January 26, 1922, however, he informed Zinoviev that he, Lenin, would be unable to present the report on the United Front to the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI, to be held in February. Nevertheless, he watched closely over the Comintern initiatives taken during February, March, and April, which led to the conference of the three internationals held in April 1922 in Berlin.

On May 25, 1922, he became partially paralyzed and did not take part in the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI, which opened on June 7, although his presence had been announced. He made his last appearance before the Comintern in November 1922 at the Fourth Congress, which he addressed on the accomplishments of the five years following the Bolshevik revolution and the prospects for world revolution. He was nominated a member of the French commission and at the close of the congress was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. At the opening meeting of the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1923 Zinoviev announced that the ECCI had decided to name Lenin honorary chairman of the Comintern. Lenin died on January 21, 1924.

There have been five successive editions of Lenin's *Complete Works*, the first of which had 24 volumes and the last 55.

Leński, Julian. Born Julian Leszczynski in Płosk in 1889, the son of a Polish worker. He went to high school in his native city, became a socialist at age 16 and in 1906 was already a member of the committee of the SDPPL in Płosk. In 1909 he went to Cracow to pursue his university studies. In 1912 he settled in Warsaw, where he soon joined the party's city committee and in September 1913 represented that committee at a conference in Poronino called by Lenin. He then was arrested for three months and after his return to Warsaw was again imprisoned during the first half of 1914. When World War I broke out tsarist authorities decided to transfer many political prisoners

to Russia; consequently Leński was transported in the same wagon as Dzerzhinsky. In 1916 Leński was freed and settled first in Moscow and then in Petrograd, where he attended the seventh national conference of the Bolshevik party in April 1917. He took part in the coup of November 7, 1917, in Petrograd and on November 28 was named commissar for Polish affairs on the commissariat for nationalities headed by Stalin.

During the following years he remained active in Russia—when the Soviet republics of Lithuania and Byelorussia were established in 1919 he became a member of the central committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania and Byelorussia; in 1921 he was a member of the Polish bureau of the RCP(B) central committee; in 1921-22 he taught at the KUNMZ; and in September 1923 he attended the second congress of the Polish Communist Party (PCP), held in Moscow.

He spent the first half of 1924 in Berlin and Paris and then returned to Moscow as a member of the French delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. He participated in the work of the Polish commission, chaired by Stalin. Upon returning to Warsaw he was arrested but in 1925 escaped to Moscow. At the fourth national conference of the PCP, held in Soviet Russia in November, he was elected a member of the central committee and the politburo; he was reelected to the same positions at the party congresses of 1927, 1930, and 1932. At the sixth plenum of the party central committee in 1929 he was made secretary-general of the party, a post he held until 1937.

Meanwhile, in 1928 he was elected a member of the ECCI at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and became an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium. At the tenth enlarged plenum in 1929 he was made a full member of the ECCI Presidium, a position he maintained at the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth plenums (1931-33). In July 1930 he addressed the sixteenth congress of the RCP(B) in the name of the Polish party. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935, he was reelected to both the ECCI and its Presidium.

In 1936 he settled in Paris, where the new headquarters of the PCP were established (after three years in Copenhagen). In 1937 the Comintern recalled him to Moscow, where many Polish leaders already had been arrested and liquidated. In 1938 the Comintern decided to dissolve the PCP and in the following year Leński fell victim to Stalin's purges.

Levi, Paul. Born in 1883, son of a German textile manufacturer. He studied law in Berlin, Heidelberg, and Grenoble and in 1907 settled in Frankfurt am Main as an attorney. A member of the SPD and a municipal councillor in Frankfurt he defended Rosa Luxemburg at a trial there in February 1914. During World War I he was on active duty from April 1915 to the end of 1916, when he resumed political activity and became a member of the Spartacus League. Early in 1915 he made his first political trip to Switzerland in order to contact the socialist left; there he met Lenin for the first time. In 1916

he settled in Davos and then in Bern, near Karl Radek. At that time he was in full agreement with the Zimmerwald Left and again met Lenin. When Lenin left Switzerland, Levi (using the name P. Hartstein) signed the declaration of eleven European socialists approving the trip by Lenin and his group across imperial Germany.

After returning to Germany he joined the leaders of the Spartacus League. At the founding congress of the KPD in December 1918 he delivered a report on the problem of communist participation in the forthcoming parliamentary elections. He favored participation but the congress rejected his arguments by a vote of 62 to 25; nevertheless he was elected a member of the KPD's national committee (Zentrale). He became head of the KPD after the assassination of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht (January 1919) and Leo Jogiches-Tyszko (March 1919); he then took an active part in the work of the WES. In February and March 1920 he was in prison and after his release made his only trip to Soviet Russia, where he headed the KPD delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern, held in July and August 1920. At its opening he was elected one of five congress chairmen and at its closing was elected an alternate member of the ECCI.

At the Berlin congress in December 1920, when the USPD's left wing merged with the KPD, he was elected one of two chairmen of the new unified KPD. In January 1921 he represented his party at the Italian Socialist Party congress in Leghorn. However, his growing disagreement with Moscow and the KPD Zentrale provoked his resignation from party leadership in February 1921. Following the March Action he expressed his criticism publicly and on April 15, 1921, was expelled from the KPD by decision of the Zentrale; this action was confirmed a few days later by the ECCI.

Despite the expulsion he remained a deputy to the Reichstag (he had been elected in 1920) until his death in 1930. After his break with Moscow he founded a dissident communist group—the Kommunistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft. In 1922 he joined the USPD and finally, with the USPD, rejoined the SPD, of which he became a deputy in 1924. Beginning in 1923, he edited the review *Sozialistische Politik und Wirtschaft*, which in 1928 merged with the leftist social-democratic review *Der Klassenkampf*; he was one of its two directors. He committed suicide in 1930 by jumping from a window at a clinic where he was being treated.

Levin (Levin), Max. Born in Moscow in 1885, son of a Jewish merchant. He became a socialist in his youth and took part in the revolution of 1905. He then went to Zurich, where he studied at the university and became militant among socialist emigrants from tsarist Russia. He settled in Germany and in 1914 was drafted into the German army. In 1918 he resumed political activity. In November he joined a soldiers' soviet in Munich and in December headed the local organization of the Spartacus League. He then acted as its delegate

to the founding congress of the KPD, which convened on December 30, 1918; he gave a speech and was seated on the program and organization commission. In February 1919 he was a member of the Munich workers' council and in April was a leader of the short-lived Bavarian Soviet Republic. When that regime fell he fled Germany but was arrested in Vienna and after several mishaps arrived in Soviet Russia, where he lived until his death. Shortly after his arrival in Russia in November 1921 he spoke with Lenin and was nominated, with Willi Münzenberg and Mátyás Rákosi, to serve on a commission organizing a campaign to aid the starving people of Soviet Russia. At the same time he was co-opted into the ECCI and during 1922 took part in its meetings.

In the following years he remained with the central apparatus of the Comintern—in 1924 he took part in its Fifth Congress, where he was a member of the commission in charge of a resolution on Leninism; in 1925 he wrote for the Comintern theoretical review *Unter dem Banner des Marxismus*, published in Berlin; he also taught the history of the Russian labor movement and dialectical materialism at the KUNMZ. In 1934 his name appeared in a collection of remembrances of Lenin. At the beginning of Stalin's purges he disappeared completely.

Leviné, Eugen. Born in St. Petersburg in May 1883 into a wealthy family. At age 15 he went to Germany, where he studied at Wiesbaden and then took up law and economics at Heidelberg. During the 1905 revolution he returned to Russia and was active in St. Petersburg; when the revolution failed he was arrested and did not return to Germany until 1908. In 1914 he received his doctorate, became a German citizen, and worked in a trade union. He was at first a member of the SPD but in 1917 joined the USPD and at the same time belonged to the Spartacus League. At the end of the war he was sent to the Rhineland, where he was elected an Essen delegate to the first German congress of soviets, held at Berlin. He was also a delegate to the founding congress of the KPD, which opened on December 30, 1918. In January 1919 he participated in the revolutionary fighting in Berlin. Afterward he and Hugo Eberlein were nominated as KPD delegates to the founding congress of the Comintern in Moscow but he was arrested by German authorities en route. Released shortly thereafter he was sent by the party to Munich to direct the local communist paper, *Münchner Rote Fahne*. Using the name Niessen he became involved in the administration of the Bavarian Soviet Republic, particularly between April 13 and 27, when the communist element played the dominant role. With the fall of that republic he was tried and condemned to death; he was shot on June 5, 1919.

Lévy, Georges. Born in France in 1874; he studied medicine at Lyon, where he joined a socialist student group. After becoming a physician he entered the SFIO in 1910 and soon became secretary-general of the SFIO Federation

of the Rhone. In 1914 he was an unsuccessful parliamentary candidate at Lyon. He was drafted during World War I and after his return in 1918 became active in the left wing of the SFIO; in 1919 he was elected deputy. At the party congress in Tours in December 1920 he favored adherence to the Third International and became a member of the directing committee of the PCF; he was reelected at the Marseilles congress in December 1921.

In January 1923, when L.-O. Frossard broke with the Comintern, Lévy replaced him as second PCF delegate to the ECCI. He also was nominated an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium and as such was a PCF representative to the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1923. In 1924 he was not reelected a deputy, nor was he reelected to the party directing committee at the Lyon congress held that year, but in 1936 he was again elected a communist deputy. He remained in the PCF until his death in 1961.

Li Fu-chun. Born in the Hunan province in 1901. He went to high school in Changsha but left for France in 1919 with a group of Chinese students. Like several other members of the group who were to play important roles in the Chinese communist movement (such as Chou En-lai and Li Li-san) he rallied to the communist cause and in 1921 helped found the Paris section of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In 1923 he married Tsai Chang, another communist student in Paris, and in 1924 they were students at the KUTV in Moscow; they completed political training in 1925 and returned to China. During the Kuomintang's Northern Expedition in 1926 he was named political commissar for the Second Army. Later he was elected commissar for the Sixth Army and then, in 1927, for the Fourth Army. After the split between the CCP and the Kuomintang he and his wife went underground. In 1928 she was sent to Moscow to attend the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and probably Li Fu-chun was also in the Soviet Union sometime between 1928 and 1931.

Later in 1931 Li and his wife went to the Soviet region of Kiangsi. At the fifth plenum of the CCP's central committee, held in Juichin in January 1934, he was elected an alternate member of the committee. Beginning in October he and his wife took part in the Long March. In the new Soviet region of Yen-an he became deputy director of the orgburo of the party central committee. During 1935-36 his wife was again in Soviet Russia. After 1941 Li was in charge of various economic and political functions in the Yen-an republic.

At the seventh congress of the CCP in 1945 he and his wife were members of the central committee. Li also assumed temporarily the responsibilities of the deputy secretary-general of the central committee, while his wife was responsible for the committee's women's section. In 1948 he was a member of the party politburo. After the communist victory in 1949 he held such positions as deputy director of the financial and economic committee of the central government, minister of heavy industry, and member of the planning commission.

At the same time he belonged to the highest group charged with settling problems with Soviet Russia; in that capacity he accompanied Chou En-lai to Moscow in January and February 1950 and in August 1952. In October 1952 he was a member of the Chinese delegation to the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B) and in March 1953 attended Stalin's funeral.

He became chairman of the state planning commission in 1954, after the fall of Kao Kang. At the eighth congress of the party in 1956 he was reelected to the politburo. In May 1958 he was again with Chou En-lai in Moscow and in that same month he became a member of the secretariat of the party central committee in Peking. During the cultural revolution from 1966 to 1968 he received some criticism but remained deputy prime minister and chairman of the state planning commission. At the close of the ninth congress of the CCP in April 1969 he was not reelected to the new politburo but both he and his wife remained members of the central committee.

Li Li-san. Born in Hunan in 1896. He went to Peking after completing secondary school and in 1919 left China with a group of Chinese students sent to Paris. Won over to communist ideology he helped found the French section of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921 and handled propaganda among the Chinese in Paris. He returned to China at the beginning of 1922, where he led trade-union activities in cooperation with Liu Shao-chi, who had returned from Moscow. In 1923 he settled in Shanghai, where he became chairman of the local trade union in 1924, and also during that year taught at a CCP night school. On May 30, 1925, he was among the organizers of the general strike in Shanghai. Afterward he went to Moscow to attend a meeting of the Profintern, of which he became an executive committee member representing the Chinese Trade Union Federation.

In 1926 he returned to China. At the fifth congress of the CCP, held in April and May 1927, he was elected a member of the central committee and the politburo. In June 1927 at Hankow he presided over the fourth congress of the Chinese Trade Union Federation and was elected its secretary-general. During the second half of 1927 his activities and even his whereabouts appear uncertain—according to some sources he was chosen by the Comintern to organize the Nanchang insurrection, launched on August 1; other sources state that he took part in the emergency party conference, which convened on August 7 and eliminated Chen Tu-hsiu as head of the party.

In 1928 he returned to Soviet Russia to attend the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the sixth congress of the CCP, held in Moscow. Reelected to membership in the politburo and named head of the party's agitprop section he became de facto head of the party (using the pseudonym *Pai Shan*), with Hsiang Chung-fa as secretary-general. When in 1929-30 the Comintern proclaimed the "third period of the radicalization of the masses," ordering all sections to become violently activist, Li Li-san launched the slogan of general insurrection

against the Kuomintang. When this policy failed the Comintern and Pavel Mif, its new representative in China, severely criticized his "putschist line" at the third plenum of the CCP central committee in August and September 1930, and after failing to unseat Li Li-san Mif requested the Comintern to intervene publicly. On November 16 the Comintern published a letter denouncing Li Li-san's policy and at a meeting of the Chinese party politburo on November 25 he was forced to relinquish his position of leadership in the party, an action ratified by the fourth plenum, held in January 1931. Li Li-san offered a public self-criticism at that plenum and soon afterward left for Moscow, where he stayed from November 1931 until the beginning of 1945. There he worked as a translator and editor of Soviet publications. During Stalin's purges he was arrested briefly in 1936 but his life was spared and he resumed his publication work.

At the beginning of 1945 he re-appeared in China, where he was elected to the central committee at the seventh congress of the CCP. In August he was named political adviser to Lin Biao, after which he again headed the trade-union section. At the close of the sixth congress of the Chinese Trade Union Federation in August 1948 in Harbin he was elected its vice-president. In October 1949, at the time of the communist victory in China, he was named minister of labor, a position he retained until September 1956.

At the eighth party congress in September he offered a public self-criticism but still was included on the list of central committee members elected at the close of the congress. In 1962 he was secretary of the North China bureau of the party's central committee. During the cultural revolution he was again strongly criticized. According to information from Peking he committed suicide in the middle of 1967.

Li Ta-chao. Born in the province of Hopeh in 1888. He studied law and political science at Tientsin and then at Waseda University in Japan; he returned to China in 1916 and taught history at the University of Peking. Won over to nationalism he supported the Chinese revolutionary movement of 1911. He later wrote against Japanese imperialism and during World War I collaborated on the review *New Youth*, founded by Chen Tu-hsiu in 1915. After the communist victory in Russia he gravitated toward revolutionary Marxism and founded a Marxist study group in Peking University in 1918. From the time of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921, which he had not attended he was considered one of the two leading intellectuals and ideologists of the party, the other being Chen Tu-hsiu. When the Soviet emissary Voitinsky came to Peking in 1920 he met with Li Ta-chao and then negotiated with Sun Yat-sen the relations between the communists and the Kuomintang.

Li Ta-chao was the first communist leader to personally adhere to the Kuomintang in the fall of 1922, long before an official alliance between the CCP and the Kuomintang was concluded. At the first congress of the Kuomintang

in January 1924, he was elected one of three communist representatives to the central executive committee; he was also secretary of the Northern bureau of the CCP. In June he went as leader of the Chinese delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in Moscow, where he remained for almost six months. After his return he directed the party organization in northern China until he was arrested by Peking police on April 9, 1927, the day of the police raid on the Soviet embassy. He was condemned to death in a special trial and executed on April 28, 1927.

Liebknecht, Karl. Born in 1871, the son of Wilhelm Liebknecht. While studying law he became militant in the German socialist movement; as an attorney he continued his socialist activity and belonged to the left wing of the SPD. In 1902 he became a municipal councillor in Berlin. In 1907 he was one of the organizers of the first international conference of young socialists, from which emerged the Young Socialists' International. At the end of the year he was arrested but his election as a socialist deputy in the Prussian Landtag led to his release from prison. In 1912 he was elected a socialist deputy in the German Reichstag.

Although he opposed both war and militarism in general he bowed to the discipline of the socialist faction in parliament and on August 4, 1914, voted for war credits but on December 2 he became the first socialist deputy to cast a negative vote on the same point. Fully engaged in opposing the war he took part in the group called *Die Internationale*, from which emerged the Spartacus group, then the Spartacus League, and finally, at the close of 1918, the KPD. Known for his antiwar propaganda he was drafted and then arrested in May 1916 and remained in prison until November 1918. His attitude was cited frequently as exemplary by Lenin, who noted in the resolution of the Bolshevik Petrograd conference in April 1917 that Liebknecht was in the forefront of revolutionary groups.

During the German revolution of November 1918 Liebknecht became the best-known figure in the Spartacus League. At the founding congress of the KPD, convened on December 30, 1918, he delivered a report on the first item of the agenda—the crisis in the USPD. He was elected to the KPD national committee (*Zentrale*). On January 15, 1919, he and Rosa Luxemburg were assassinated after a revolutionary attempt in Berlin.

Liechtenstadt-Mazin, Vladimir O. Born into a middle-class family in 1882. He finished secondary school in Russia and went to Leipzig for university study. After his return home he took part in the 1905 revolution in St. Petersburg; however, he joined neither the Menshevik nor the Bolshevik faction. A member of the "maximalists," a left-extremist group inside the Socialist Revolutionary party, he practiced terrorism even after the failure of the revolution. Arrested in 1906 he was tried and sentenced first to death and then to life at hard labor.

He remained imprisoned at the Schlüsselburg fortress until after the revolution of February 1917. He then became active in the Menshevik movement but in early 1919 joined the Bolshevik party. When the Comintern was founded in March 1919 he joined the staff of its new president, Zinoviev. Since Zinoviev spent more time in Petrograd than in Moscow he opened a permanent Comintern office in the Smol'nyi Institute in Petrograd and made Liechtenstadt-Mazin its secretary. As secretary he recruited the first employees for the Comintern apparatus and edited the first issues of the monthly review *The Communist International*. He then joined the Red Army with the rank of commissar for the sixth division of the Seventh Army. He died in October 1919 in the battles against the Yudenich White Russian forces near Petrograd.

Lin Piao. Born in the province of Hupoh in 1907. In 1919 he left home to attend secondary school and then went to Shanghai, where in 1925 he joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and entered the Whampoa military academy, from which he emerged as an officer in October 1926. After the CCP broke with the Kuomintang he took part in the communist insurrection at Nanchang on August 1, 1927. Following its failure he retreated with Chu Teh's group, which joined with Mao Tse-tung's group in May 1928. Lin then became one of the leaders of the new communist army, which consisted of barely 4,000 soldiers; as its strength increased he rose in rank. In November 1931 he was elected a member of the central executive committee of the Soviet Republic of Kiangsi. By 1932 he was commander-in-chief of the First Chinese Red Army, which he led in the Long March starting in October 1934. During the march he seized the city of Tsunyi, where a party conference was held in January 1935 and from which Mao Tse-tung emerged as the CCP's most important leader. Lin and his army then arrived in Yen-an, where in July 1936 he was made president of the Red Academy, which was named Anti-Japanese Military and Political University the following year. In August 1937, at the time of the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, Lin was named commander-in-chief of the 115th division; in September he defeated an elite Japanese division at Pinghsingkuan. Wounded and ill with tuberculosis he left with his wife (a former student at the Anti-Japanese University) for Soviet Russia at the end of the year.

In Moscow he represented the CCP in the ECCI and wrote in its official organ, *Communist International*. He continued to live in Moscow during Stalin's purge, the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact, and the beginning of the Soviet-German war; not until February 1942 did he return to Yen-an. There, with Peng Chen, he headed the party's central school. He also joined Chou En-lai in negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek's government. At the seventh congress of the party in April 1945 he was elected a member of the central committee. In 1946 he became commander-in-chief of the Northeast United Democratic Army, which conquered Manchuria. He continued his offensive and during

1949, as head of the Fourth Army, seized the southern region of China. As a result, in August he was named first secretary of the party's southern bureau and commander-in-chief of the military region of southern China. In September 1955 the rank of marshal was established in China; Lin Piao was third on the list of promotions to this rank, following Chu Teh and Peng Teh-huai.

In April 1955 Lin had become the youngest member of the CCP politburo; he was reelected to that post in September 1956 during the eighth congress of the party. In May 1958 he became a member of the politburo's standing committee and also vice-chairman of the party's central committee. In September 1959 he replaced Peng Teh-huai as minister of national defense. After the eleventh plenum of the party's central committee, held in August 1966 (the year of the cultural revolution), he emerged as second only to Mao Tse-tung in the party hierarchy. Before the cultural revolution he had occupied sixth place on the official list of Chinese leaders; now he occupied second place and was noted as the "closest companion in arms" of Mao Tse-tung. At the ninth party congress in April 1969 he presented the political report on behalf of the central committee, became sole vice-chairman of the party, and was designated as Mao's successor. His wife, Yeh Chün, was made a member of the politburo.

However, Lin was purged in the second half of 1971—he was last seen in public in June, his name disappeared from mass media several weeks later, and his political liquidation became certain at the end of the year.

Lin Tzu-han. Born in the province of Hunan in 1886. He finished his secondary education in China and then went to Japan, where he studied at the University of Tokyo. After meeting and being influenced by Sun Yat-sen he returned to China to take part in the movement which led to the fall of the imperial dynasty in 1911.

He met Chen Tu-hsiu in Canton in 1921 and in 1922 joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Within the communist movement he used two aliases—Lin Po-chu and Lin Pai-chu. In January 1924 he was a member of the communist delegation to the first Kuomintang congress at which he was one of the CCP representatives to be elected to alternate membership in the Kuomintang central executive committee. In 1924-25 he also headed the Kuomintang peasant department. In January 1926, at the second Kuomintang congress, he was one of three communist party representatives to be seated on the powerful nine-member standing committee of the central executive committee. During the Northern Expedition, which was launched on July 9, 1926, he was also a political commissar with the Sixth Army. When the Kuomintang and the CCP split, he took part in the Nanchang insurrection of August 1, 1927; when it failed he fled to Soviet Russia by way of Hong Kong.

He remained in Soviet Russia for four years, during which time he studied at Sun Yat-sen University and wrote on the economic and cultural problems of China. In 1928 he took part in the sixth congress of the CCP and the

Sixth Congress of the Comintern, both held in Moscow. Returning to China he went to the Soviet Republic of Kiangsi and beginning in October 1934 took part in the Loog March. In 1937, after the communists had formed a government in the Yen-an region, he was named its chairman. In 1944 in Sian, he took part in negotiations with Nationalist representatives. At the seventh congress of the CCP in April 1945 he was elected a member of the central committee and politburo. In March and April 1949, on the eve of the communist victory, he was in Peking with the communist delegation to negotiate with the Kuomintang and after the communist victory was elected vice-president of the Sino-Soviet Association as well as deputy to the national people's congress and a member of its presidium. At the eighth party congress, held in September 1956, he was reelected to the central committee and the politburo, offices he held until his death in May 1960.

Linderot, Sven. Born in 1889. He participated in the Swedish trade-union movement at an early age and in 1908 joined the Swedish Social Democratic Party. He became militant in the Left Social Democratic Party when it was founded in 1917, and joined the Swedish Communist Party at its founding in May 1921. He was active in the movement in northern Sweden, became a permanent member in the party apparatus, and in 1929 was elected a member of its central committee. When the Comintern was imposing new leadership on many foreign sections during that year he was promoted to party chairman. In 1932 his title changed to party secretary, and later to that of chairman again, a position he held until 1951.

He was party spokesman at the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in December 1933 and in 1935 addressed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, where he was elected a member of the ECCI and an alternate member of its Presidium. From 1938 to 1949 he was a communist deputy to the Swedish parliament. In 1948, following a steady loss of influence in the party, he was criticized by its younger element. Under the pretext of illness he left for the Soviet Union, remaining party chairman but not effectively directing the party. Upon his return, at the fifteenth party congress in March 1951, he surrendered the party presidency to Hilding Hagberg but remained a member of the secretariat and the politburo. He died in the early 1960s.

Lindhagen Karl. Born in 1860; an attorney by profession. He joined the Swedish parliament in 1897 as a liberal and in 1909 as a socialist. From 1903 until 1930 he was mayor of Stockholm. During World War I he took a pacifist and internationalist position, heading the opposition group within the Swedish Social Democratic Party; in May 1917 he helped found the Left Social Democratic Party. His stand regarding the war had put him in contact with European socialist groups with similar views, and in April 1917 he signed the declaration of eleven European socialists approving the passage of Lenin and other Russian socialists

across imperial Germany. In 1917 and 1918 he also cooperated with the Bolshevik foreign center established in Stockholm under the direction of Karl Radek and Jakob Hänecki. In January 1918, at an international meeting in Petrograd, he spoke of founding a Third International. The Left Social Democratic Party was represented officially at the First and Second Congresses of the Comintern, though Lindhagen did not attend them; after the 21 conditions for admission were published, he led the opposition and in 1921 broke with the Comintern. In that year, however, he also signed the first international appeal launched by a Comintern committee formed to help the victims of Russian famine. He then rejoined the Swedish Social Democratic Party and remained seated in the Swedish parliament until 1940. He died in 1946.

Liu Jen-ching. In the autumn of 1920 he joined the first communist group formed in Peking. In July 1921 he was one of two Peking representatives to the congress of twelve forming the Chinese Communist Party, at which meeting he favored the leftist faction, and was elected an alternate member of a temporary directing committee consisting of three members and three alternates. As a noted leader of the party, he accompanied the party chief, Chen Tu-hsiu, to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held in November and December 1922. He was the only speaker for the Chinese Communist Party at the public sessions of the congress and took part in discussions regarding Chinese tactics. When the Comintern began its purge against Chen Tu-hsiu and other founders of the Chinese Communist Party in 1927, and when Stalin eliminated Trotsky and Zinoviev, Liu strongly disapproved those actions and broke away from the party. Like some other founders he tried to organize a dissident communist movement, and in May 1931 attended the congress of unification of the four principal Chinese groups sympathetic to Trotsky's ideas, where he was elected one of nine members of the central committee.

Liu Po-cheng. Born in the province of Szechwan in 1892. He joined the army during the Chinese revolution of 1911. He entered the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in May 1926 at the time of its alliance with the Kuomintang and when the alliance was broken took part in the communist insurrection in Nanchang in August 1927. When that failed he and a group of militants were sent by the party to Soviet Russia on Comintern request for further political and military education. He was enrolled briefly at Sun Yat-sen University, but then went to various Soviet military schools (among them the Frunze academy) until the summer of 1930, when he returned to China, where he worked first in the province of Hupeh.

In November 1931 he went to Juichin to attend the first congress of Chinese soviets, at which the Soviet Republic of Kiangsi was proclaimed. In 1932 he became commander of the Red Army academy and chief-of-staff of the central military council committee; also at that time he was translating Soviet works

on war strategy, guerrilla warfare in particular. He was elected a member of the central executive committee at the second congress of Chinese soviets, and an alternate member at the fifth plenum of the central committee of the CCP, both held in January 1934. At the beginning of the Long March in October he was chief of the general staff of the Red Army. In January 1935 he attended the Tsunyi conference at which Mao Tse-tung took over leadership of the party; later he was chosen president of the Red Army academy. He and his wife were wounded during a bombardment. In 1937 he took command of the army's 129th division.

At the seventh congress of the CCP in 1945 he was elected a member of the central committee. In 1947, when the civil war between the communists and the Nationalists again flared up, he took various leading posts in Mao's army. With his troops he controlled first the east China area and then the south China area, and finally he penetrated into Tibet.

In 1951 he was again president of the Red Army academy. In 1954 he was nominated vice-chairman of the national defense council. In September 1955 he ranked fourth on a list of the first ten marshals in China. At the eighth congress of the CCP in September 1956 he was reelected to the central committee and made a member of the politburo. After the cultural revolution, when the ninth congress of the party met in April 1969, he was again elected to the central committee and the politburo.

Liu Shao-chi. Born into a prosperous peasant family in 1898 in the province of Hunan. In 1919 he enrolled at the University of Peking and the following year joined a group of young socialists. Early in 1921 he went via Vladivostok to Soviet Russia, where he studied at the KUTV; at the end of the year he joined the branch of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) founded in Russia. In 1922 he returned to China, where he became active in the trade-union movement. In 1925 in Canton, at the second congress of the Chinese federation of trade unions, he was elected to membership on the executive committee and also became vice-president of the trade union federation of Shanghai. In 1927, at the fifth congress of the CCP, he was elected a member of the central committee. After that time, however, he was forced to continue his work underground for several years.

In the summer of 1930, at the fifth congress of the Profintern, he was elected to membership in the executive committee. In January 1931, at the plenum of the Chinese party's central committee, he was made a member of the politburo. In 1932 he went to the Soviet Republic of Kiangsi and in October 1934 took part in the Long March. During the existence of the Soviet Republic of Yenan he alternately assumed official functions at the capital and political missions elsewhere in the country, including a trip to Peking in 1937.

At the seventh congress of the party in 1945 he was reelected to the central committee and the politburo and named to the central committee secretariat. When Mao Tse-tung was away from Yenan (as when he was negotiating with

Chiang Kai-shek at Chungking) Liu Shao-chi presided over the CCP; in fact during the years just preceding and following the communist victory in 1949 he directed the party apparatus. In 1949 he was named president of the Chinese-U.S.S.R. Friendship Association and also was elected vice-chairman of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

At the eighth congress of the party in September 1956 he was reelected to the politburo and its standing committee and became one of five party vice-chairmen but no longer served as party secretary. In April 1959 he succeeded Mao Tse-tung as president of the republic, a position he held at the time of the cultural revolution in 1966.

He visited Soviet Russia many times—in October 1952 he attended the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B) and remained in the country for three months; in November 1960 he headed the Chinese delegation to the Moscow Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties, when he remained in Soviet Russia for a month and made trips throughout the country.

During the cultural revolution, however, he was attacked as a "Chinese Khrushchev," a revisionist, a counterrevolutionary, and a renegade, and was removed from his leading positions within the CCP, which decision was confirmed at the ninth party congress, held in April 1969.

Liubarsky, N.M. Born Nikolai Markovich in 1887. He joined the RSDLP in 1906, emigrated to Western Europe in 1908, and settled in Geneva, where he was attracted by the ideas and political orientation of Plekhanov, who also lived there. Under the name I. Larsky he wrote for the legal Bolshevik newspaper *Zvezda* (Star), which began publication in St. Petersburg at the end of 1910 and for which the "Plekhanovists" also collaborated at that time. During the war he took an internationalist and pacifist position. He returned to Russia after the February 1917 revolution and joined the Bolshevik party; he was a delegate to the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which opened its day the Bolsheviks took power in Petrograd. At the beginning of 1918 he edited the Vladivostok soviet's paper *Krasnoe Znamia* (Red Banner). Shortly afterward he was sent to Switzerland as secretary of the Soviet diplomatic mission headed by Ian Berzin and remained until the delegation was expelled at the end of 1918. Returning to Russia, he joined the propaganda section of the commissariat for foreign affairs in early 1919; in that capacity he helped organize the founding congress of the Comintern and belonged to its first group of leaders. He then was sent as a secret Comintern emissary to Italy, where he was in touch with the Italian Socialist Party leadership using the name Niccolini while signing reports to the Comintern as "Comrade Carlo." He contributed greatly to the socialist split in Leghorn in January 1921. In the latter half of that year he acted as secret Comintern emissary to Czechoslovakia under the name "Comrade Carlo." Returning to Moscow he resumed work with the Comintern and during the first half of 1922 took part in the meetings of the ECCI. However, he ceased to be a member of the RCP(B) in 1923. Later he worked in a

Soviet publishing house and then in the Institute for Agriculture. He was arrested during Stalin's purges and deported to a Siberian concentration camp, where he died in 1938.

Lo Jui-ching. Born in the province of Szechwan between 1902 and 1907, the son of a landowner. In 1926 he joined the communist movement and entered the Whampoa military academy, from which he graduated in 1927, the year of the Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) split. In August 1927 he took part in the abortive insurrection in Nanchang, after which he was sent to Moscow for indoctrination at Sun Yat-sen University. In 1929 he became a political commissar for the first guerrilla units formed under Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung. At the second congress of Chinese soviets in January 1934 he was elected a member of the central executive committee of the Soviet Chinese Republic. In October 1934 he took part in the Long March with Mao Tse-tung and then settled in Yanan, where—at the Military and Political University, founded by Mao—he became vice-president in 1937 and president in 1940.

At the seventh congress of the CCP in 1945 he was elected an alternate member of the central committee. In 1946 he was in the communist delegation negotiating with the Kuomintang in Peking. When the civil war flared up again, he assumed important political posts in the communist army. After the communist victory in October 1949 he became minister of public security, a position he held until 1959. In September 1956, at the eighth congress of the CCP, he was elected a full member of the central committee. After the fall of Peng Te-huai in September 1959, Lo became chief of the general staff of the Chinese army and vice-minister of national defense. His rise in the communist hierarchy continued in the following years. In September 1962 he became a member of the party central committee secretariat (the only army officer seated in that body) and in January 1965 he was elected vice-president of the national defense council. During the cultural revolution of 1966, however, he was accused of supporting Peng Chen, former mayor of Peking and an ex-member of the party politburo and central committee secretariat; consequently Lo was deprived of his governmental and military positions and disappeared from the political scene.

Lominadze, Vissarion (Besso). Born in Georgia, Caucasus, in 1898. He joined the Bolshevik party in March 1917 and after the Bolshevik victory in November began to occupy positions of importance—first in the Komsomol (Young Communists), then in the RCP(B), later in the KIM, and finally in the Comintern. He was a member of the Bolshevik delegation for the first time in November and December 1922 at the Fourth Comintern Congress. When Stalin began his final attack on Trotsky and Zinoviev, Lominadze became one of Stalin's staunch supporters and as such occupied a position of importance in the Comintern and the KIM. In February and March 1926, at the sixth

enlarged plenum of the ECCI, he was a delegate and speaker for the KIM; in April he was promoted to membership in the ECCI Presidium as representative of the KIM. He held the same positions at the following plenum, in November and December 1926 (where Zinoviev was ejected), and was also the only KIM representative to be seated with the chairmen of the meeting.

In February 1927 he went to Brussels with the Bolshevik delegation to attend the congress of the League Against Imperialism. In late July he was in China as an official emissary of the Comintern and was in fact Stalin's spokesman there. On August 7 he headed the emergency conference of Chinese Communist Party leaders at which Chen Tu-hsiu, founder and chief of the party, was condemned. With Heinz Neumann he then organized the Canton Commune, which collapsed in December 1927. Despite that disaster he remained Stalin's protégé and at the fifteenth congress of the RCP(B), also held in December, was elected an alternate member of the central committee.

At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he made three speeches but was not elected to any of its leading bodies. He was a delegate and speaker at the sixteenth RCP(B) national conference, held in April 1929. He was in charge of Stalin's first Five-Year Plan in the Caucasus. Like some other Bolshevik leaders, he disagreed with Stalin's policy of extreme collectivization. In late 1930 he was deprived of all of his leading offices within the party. He returned to his engineering studies and went to work in Magnitogorsk. However, at the seventeenth congress of the RCP(B), held in January and February 1934, he presented a self-criticism but was expelled from the party later that year. Shortly after Kirov's assassination, which occurred on December 1, 1934, he committed suicide.

Longo, Luigi. Born in Italy in 1900 into a family of small landowning peasants. He went to Turin for technical studies but was drafted and completed officers' training school. After demobilization he joined the Italian Socialist Party in 1920 and worked in the socialist press. He entered the Italian Communist Party (ICP) when it was founded in January 1921. At the first congress of the Communist Youth Federation, held in Florence in 1921, he became a member of its central committee. In 1922 he went to Soviet Russia for the first time. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern he represented the Communist Youth Federation for which he also spoke at the third congress of the KIM in December.

After his return to Italy he resumed communist activity, which in 1923-24 resulted in two arrests by Fascist authorities and a ten-month imprisonment. After his release in 1924 he left Italy for nearly 20 years, living in France, Switzerland, Soviet Russia, and Spain (where he worked under the name Gallo). At the third congress of the ICP, held in Lyon in January 1926, he was elected to the central committee; in November and December 1926 he took part in the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI; in August 1928 he was at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern.

Beginning in 1929 he directed the Paris section of the ICP and in 1931, when the party was purged of several of its leaders, filled a vacant seat in the politburo; in that year he also submitted a report on organizational problems to the fourth congress of the ICP. In 1932 he was the Italian spokesman at the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, at the close of which he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium. At the thirteenth enlarged plenum, held in December 1933, he was no longer an alternate member but remained in Moscow as an ICP representative to the ECCI.

In 1936, when Moscow decided to enlist communist militants in the Spanish civil war, Longo went to Albacete, where he was named a political commissar of the Twelfth International Brigade; in December 1936 he was named inspector-general of the International Brigades. With the republican collapse in the civil war he returned to France, where he was confined in the concentration camp at Vernet. In 1942 he was handed over to Italian Fascist authorities, who deported him to the island of Ventotene; he was released in July 1943, after the fall of Mussolini. He then went to Rome and later to northern Italy, where he organized communist resistance as commander-in-chief of the Garibaldi Brigade and deputy commander-in-chief of the *Corpo Volontari della Libertà*.

In 1945 he was elected deputy secretary-general of the ICP, and in 1946 became a deputy to the constituent assembly. In September 1947 he headed the Italian delegation to the founding conference of the Cominform in Poland. In 1960, at the ninth congress of the ICP, he was again elected deputy secretary-general of the party, and in November of that year was a spokesman for the Italian delegation at the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. After Togliatti's death in August 1964 he was elected secretary-general of the ICP, a position to which he was reelected at the twelfth congress of the party in February 1969. At the thirteenth congress of the ICP, held in March 1972, in Milan, he ceased to be the party's secretary-general and was named its president. Longo published several books, including *Un popolo alla macchia*, Verona 1947; *Sulla via dell'insurrezione nazionale*, Roma 1954; *Le brigate internazionali in Spagna*, Roma 1956; and *Revisionismo nuovo e antico*, Torino 1957.

Loriot, Fernand. Born in 1870; a teacher by profession. In 1901 he joined the French Socialist Party and at the same time was active in the trade-union movement. In 1915 he became treasurer of the national teachers' union. During World War I he took an internationalist and pacifist stand, in opposition to the majority view in the party and trade unions. He was one of the founders of the Committee for the Resumption of International Relations, of which he became secretary in 1917. In that year he also went to Switzerland, where he met Lenin and signed, with eleven other European socialist-internationalists, the declaration approving passage of Lenin and other Russian socialists across imperial Germany.

In July 1918, with the strengthening of the internationalist minority in the SFIO, he was elected party treasurer at the National Council meeting. In 1919 the Committee for the Resumption of International Relations was transformed into the Committee for the Third International and he became one of its three secretaries. In February 1919 he defended the leftist position at the international socialist conference held in Bern. It is worth noting that the letter of invitation to the founding congress of the Comintern, dated January 24, 1919, and signed by Lenin and Trotsky, mentions Loriot as the only leader of the French leftist movement.

In May 1920 he and other leaders of the Committee for the Third International were arrested; he was jailed for ten months but finally acquitted at the trial. In the meantime the PCF was created at Tours and he was elected a member of its directing committee and named its international secretary. In 1921 he headed the French delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern, where he presided over certain meetings. At the party congress in Marseilles in December 1921 he was reelected to the directing committee but resigned in protest to the elimination of Boris Souvarine from the committee. While Loriot remained a member of the PCF, he soon withdrew from militant activity for various reasons, including poor health. However, at the PCF congress held in Clichy in 1925, he criticized the beginnings of the Bolshevization policy of the Comintern, the Stalin-Zinoviev campaign against Trotsky, and the purging of Boris Souvarine and Pierre Monatte (former colleagues of Loriot on the Committee for the Third International). In 1926 he decided not to renew his party membership and was denounced, along with Souvarine and Monatte, at the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI. For a short time in 1927-28 he was active in a Trotskyite opposition group called *Contre le Courant* but soon retired from all political activity. He remained on friendly terms with the group around Monatte and Alfred Rosmer which published the review *La Révolution prolétarienne* beginning in 1925. He died in 1932.

Lovestone, Jay. Born Jacob Liebshtein in 1898 into a family living in Lithuania, then part of tsarist Russia; at age nine he emigrated with his parents to the United States. He became a socialist in his youth, and in 1917 headed the socialist club at City College of New York. He soon gravitated toward the extreme left and supported the communist cause. At the founding congress of the Communist Party of America in September 1919 he was elected to the central executive committee despite his youth. Thereafter he was in the party's front ranks and in May 1921, at the American movement's "unity convention," he was reelected to the party's central executive committee. He also became editor-in-chief of the party's underground paper, *The Communist*, was elected deputy secretary of the party in October 1921, and finally became national secretary in January 1922.

As he became involved in party factionalism he made trips to Moscow

to plead his cause to the Comintern. In 1925 he was organizational secretary of the party, and in March (using the name Powers) was a member of the American delegation to the fifth enlarged plenum of the Comintern. He then became deputy secretary-general of the party and in the spring of 1927 was named secretary-general. In 1928, at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, he was one of five persons who delivered reports on the danger of an imperialist war; he was also among the chairmen of the congress, and at its close was elected to the Presidium of the ECCI.

In March 1929, at the sixth convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, he still represented 90 percent of the delegates, but in May 1929, when he attended the deliberations in Moscow, he was eliminated from party leadership. After returning to the United States he was expelled from the CPUSA; thereafter he founded an opposition communist party which in 1933 became the Independent Labor League of America and was dissolved in 1940. He then became an official in the leadership of the American Federation of Labor, for which he was still working in the early 1970s.

Løvlien, Emil. Born in Norway in 1899 into a peasant family; he became a laborer. As early as 1917 he took part in trade-union and workers' political movements and in 1918 entered the Norwegian Workers' Party. When the party split in 1923, the minority founded the Norwegian Communist Party, which he joined; he later became one of its leaders in the Hedmark region. In 1933-34 he was editor-in-chief of the official party organ, *Arbeideren* (The Worker), and in 1934 became secretary of the party's central committee. In that capacity he headed the Norwegian delegation to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935, at which he spoke, and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. He remained party secretary until the German occupation of Norway in 1940, when he fled to Moscow. He resumed his post in 1945; also in that year he was elected a deputy to parliament, and became leader of its communist group. In 1946 he was elected party chairman.

In 1947 he participated in the Copenhagen conference of the Scandinavian Communist Parties. In 1952 he headed the Norwegian delegation to the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B), which he addressed. In 1953 he presided over the eighth congress of the Norwegian Communist Party, submitted an important report, and was reelected party chairman. In February 1956 he again led the Norwegian delegation to the twentieth congress of the CPSU and in November 1957 to the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow. In October 1961 he attended the twenty-second congress of the CPSU. In 1963, after the conflict between Moscow and Peking, he went to China. At the eleventh congress of the Norwegian Communist Party, held in March 1965, he was replaced as party chairman but was still a member of the central committee in 1968.

Lozeray, Henri. Born in 1898 into a French working-class family; he learned the printing trade, and became active in the trade-union movement. In 1914 he joined the SFIO and in December 1920 the PCF upon its formation at Tours. For the next four years he was one of the national secretaries of the French Federation of Young Communists and at that time established close ties with the secret apparatus of both the party and the Comintern; as a result he was chosen to direct anticolonial work for the party. Sent to Algiers in 1925, he was arrested and sentenced to two years in jail.

After his return to France he was placed in charge of party administration. In 1928 he was a member of the PCF delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. With the advancement of young militants to the head of the party, he became one of its leaders; when the young were eliminated from leadership by Comintern decision in 1931, some of the former leaders (such as Célor and Barbé) were expelled from the party but Lozeray was simply censured. In 1936 he regained his political influence by being elected communist deputy. However, with the entry of France into the war and the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, the PCF was outlawed and Lozeray was among those communist deputies sent to prison, a fate glorified by the party after the war as the "path of honor." Lozeray died in 1952.

Lozovsky, A. Born Solomon Abramovich in March 1878 into a poor family living in tsarist Russia. (He later used the pseudonym Dridzo.) In early childhood he worked as a blacksmith, then attended high school, and later enrolled in military school, where he first became acquainted with socialist literature. In 1901 he joined the RSDLP and in 1903 was arrested in St. Petersburg for his revolutionary activity. After a year in jail he was sent to Kazan', where he was active in the Bolshevik movement during the revolutionary events of 1905. At the close of the year he was a delegate of the Kazan' organization to the Bolshevik conference at Tammerfors, Finland, and then worked for the party in St. Petersburg and Kharkov. In 1906 he was arrested and condemned to exile in Irkutsk, but he fled, and from 1909 to 1917 lived in Paris. There he joined the SFIO, worked for the trade-union movement, and became chairman of the hatters' union. At that time he was active in Russian émigré circles in France and rallied to the Bolshevik "deviationist" group of "conciliators." During World War I he took an internationalist position and, with other Russian socialist-internationalists including Trotsky and Martov, collaborated on such newspapers as *Golos* (Voice), *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word), and *Nachalo* (Beginning), which expressed disagreement with Lenin's position.

In June 1917 he returned to Russia, and at the third all-Russian conference of trade unions, held at the end of July, he was elected secretary of the central council. However, after the Bolshevik victory of November 7, and on the eve of the all-Russian congress of trade unions to be held in January 1918, he

was expelled from the Bolshevik Party for opposing Lenin's views, particularly those concerning trade unions.

Nevertheless, he continued his union activity outside the RCP(B) and in July 1918 became secretary of the All-Russian Union of Railway Workers. Beginning in March 1918 he presided over the central committee of the Russian Internationalist Workers' Social Democratic Party; in December 1919 that group rallied to the RCP(B). In July 1920 he was a member of the Bolshevik delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed. In August and September 1920, he was sent to Germany as Soviet trade-union delegate to establish contact with revolutionary elements in the European trade-union movement; expelled from Germany, he returned to Moscow and was placed in charge of organization for that movement at the international level and in that capacity prepared for the founding congress of the Profintern. In May 1921 he was named the Profintern's secretary-general; its founding congress took place in July.

From then on he directed the Profintern and represented it in the ECCI. He was a delegate and speaker at the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921, and gave a report on the trade-union movement at the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1922. In November he reported on the same subject at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and at numerous subsequent meetings beginning with the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1923. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he again treated the trade-union question and was reelected a member of the ECCI. In April he was one of three Comintern emissaries to the KPD congress at Frankfurt am Main. At the three enlarged plenums of the ECCI, held in 1925 and 1926, he continued to report on the trade-union problem, and was elected a member of the ECCI Presidium and an alternate member of the political Secretariat of the Comintern. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was reelected to the ECCI Presidium, a position confirmed at subsequent enlarged plenums. At the fifth congress of the Profintern in August 1930 he gave the opening speech, presented the main report, and was reelected secretary-general. Meanwhile, he had advanced within the RCP(B) hierarchy—in December 1927, at the fifteenth congress of the party, he was elected an alternate member of the central committee, a position confirmed at the following two congresses; in 1939, at the eighteenth congress (following the great purge), he was promoted to full membership in the central committee. In the meantime, in 1935, at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI and an alternate member of its Presidium.

In 1937, with the dissolution of the Profintern, he ended his career as its secretary-general. From 1937 to 1939 he was director of the state publishing house, and from 1939 to 1946 was the Soviet government's deputy minister for foreign affairs. From 1940 to 1949 he was professor of the history of international relations and of the U.S.S.R.'s foreign policy at the higher party school.

In 1949 he was arrested, and died in prison in 1952. Following de-Stalinization he was posthumously rehabilitated as a victim of the "personality cult." During his long political career he published a great number of propaganda brochures.

Lu Ting-yi. Born in the Kiangsi region in 1904 into the family of a Chinese landowner. He pursued technical studies at the University of Shanghai and in 1924 joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). He became a member of the central committee of the Young Communist League and was sent to Moscow to study at Sun Yat-sen University. In 1928 he returned to Moscow to attend the sixth congress of the CCI and the congress of the KIM; he then was named a CCP representative in the KIM and remained in Moscow until the beginning of 1930.

Returning to China, he headed the agitprop section of the Young Communist League and later became secretary of its central committee. He then went to the Soviet Republic of Kiangsi to work on propaganda and beginning in October 1934 participated in the Long March. At Yen-an he was named chief of agitprop in the communist Eighth Army during the war against Japan (1937-45).

At the seventh congress of the CCP in 1945 he was elected a member of the central committee. In 1946 he was a member of the communist delegation conducting negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek's government and General Marshall. In 1948 he became an alternate member of the party politburo and in October 1949, at the time of the communist victory in China, he headed the agitprop section of the party central committee and was vice-president of the state committee for culture and education. At the eighth party congress in September 1956 he was reelected as an alternate member of the politburo and in April 1959 was named deputy prime minister. In September 1962, at the plenum of the CCP central committee, he became a member of the party's secretariat. In January 1965 he was appointed minister of culture and confirmed as deputy prime minister. In 1966, during the cultural revolution, he was stripped of all his posts and arrested.

Luhani, G. A. K. As a youth he became interested in the revolutionary nationalist movement in India and went to Berlin to join the Indian Revolutionary Committee. During World War I the committee favored imperial Germany, and later a majority of its membership supported Russian communism. In May 1921 Luhani went to Soviet Russia as a member of the committee's delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern and committee spokesman before a special commission of the ECCI. In June and July he attended the Congress itself, and stayed to work in the Agitprop section at Comintern headquarters. In 1925 he went to Paris, where in collaboration with the wife of Manabendra N. Roy he founded a communist newspaper and a committee for India. During 1927 and 1928 he wrote for the Comintern press about Indian affairs. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, he spoke twice to refute accusations

made against him by Otto Kuusinen and in July 1929, at the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, offered a self-criticism and a series of accusations against Roy. He remained in the Soviet Union but no longer worked in the central apparatus of the Comintern. During the Stalinist purges he was arrested and (according to Soviet sources, including Roy Medvedev) liquidated.

Lukács, György. Born in 1885 into a wealthy Hungarian family. He studied philosophy at Budapest, Berlin, and Heidelberg and after returning to Hungary became a professor. Only after the communist victory in Russia did he gravitate toward revolutionary Marxism. In 1918 he joined the Hungarian Communist Party and during the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic was people's commissar for public instruction and political commissar of the fifth division. When the republic collapsed he fled to Vienna, where he remained for most of the time between 1919 and 1929. Beginning in 1920 he wrote for the review *Kommunismus*. His defense of left-wing communism prompted an article by Lenin criticizing both him and Béla Kun.

From the start of the factional struggles within the Hungarian Communist Party in exile, Lukács was among the leaders of the group headed by E. Landlerj hostile to Béla Kun; in 1921 he voiced this view at the Third Congress of the Comintern. In February 1922 he represented the Hungarian Communist Party at the conference of the Communist Balkan Federation in Vienna. From 1920 to 1930 he was often a member of the Hungarian Communist Party central committee. From 1929 to 1931 he lived in Moscow where he worked at the Marx-Engels Institute; from 1931 to 1933 he lived in Berlin but returned to Moscow to devote himself to scientific work.

He escaped Stalin's purges and in 1945 returned to Budapest, where he taught at the university and became a member of the Hungarian Academy. In October 1956 he supported the Hungarian revolution and was minister of culture in the government of Imre Nagy. When Soviet troops attacked on November 4 he took refuge in the Yugoslav embassy, but later was handed over to Soviet authorities; unlike Imre Nagy, he was not tried and shot, but exiled to Rumania and expelled from the Hungarian Communist Party. In April 1957 he was allowed to return to Budapest, where he resumed philosophical studies. According to information originating from Hungary, he was readmitted to the party at his own request in the autumn of 1967. He died in Budapest in June 1971.

Lukács published many books which may be divided chronologically and ideologically into four categories—the first covers the period prior to World War I when he did not yet embrace revolutionary Marxism; the second corresponds to the interwar period when he wrote his main work, *History and Class Consciousness*, published in 1923; the third category of his writings appeared after World War II but because of their non-orthodoxy he had to make his auto-critique for the "revisionist, petty-bourgeois and cosmopolitan deviation," after which

he produced some works of strict Stalinist obedience; and finally, the fourth stems from the de-Stalinization period, when he more and more frequently argued in favor of a more liberal and humanist communism.

Lukanov, Karlo. Born in Pleven, Bulgaria, in 1897, son of Todor Lukanov. From 1916 to 1918 he fought in World War I and after demobilization studied law at the University of Sofia. He became a member of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party in 1917 and joined the Communist Party of Bulgaria at its founding in 1919. After the failure of the communist uprising in 1923 he fled to Vienna but returned to Bulgaria in 1925 to head secret communist activity, and was arrested and sent to prison. Pardoned by amnesty a year later he went to Soviet Russia, where he worked in the Comintern central apparatus; he was employed later as an economics specialist. When the Spanish civil war began in 1936, he enlisted as a lieutenant colonel in the International Brigades, stationed at Albacete. Then under the name Colonel Belov, he was named chief of the general staff of the Twelfth International Brigade; after the retreat of the International Brigades, he returned to Moscow as a Soviet citizen.

He did not return to Bulgaria until after the pro-communist coup in September 1944. He then became head of the party central committee's agitprop section, chairman of the state committee for science, art, and culture, and finally chairman of the state planning committee, a position he held from December 1949 to February 1952. In 1952-53 he was deputy prime minister; in March 1954 he was elected a member of the central committee at the party congress; and in April he left for Moscow as Bulgarian ambassador.

After his return to Sofia in April 1956 he became first deputy prime minister. From August 1956 to 1962 he was minister of foreign affairs. He later became the Bulgarian ambassador to Switzerland and held that post until December 1966. He was reelected a member of the central committee at both the ninth congress in 1966 and the tenth in April 1971.

Lukanov, Todor. Born in 1874; he became an attorney. He joined the Bulgarian Socialist Party (the Tesniak or Narrow faction) and in 1911 was a member of its control commission. In 1913 he was elected a deputy, a position he retained through several elections. When the Tesniak faction became the Communist Party of Bulgaria in 1919 he was elected to its central committee and in May 1920, at the second congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, he gave a report and was reelected to the central committee.

In 1921 he was a member of the party delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern. In 1922 he was elected secretary of the party central committee, an office he held during 1923, at the time of the military coup against the Stamboliski government in June and the communist insurrection in September. After the failure of the insurrection he was criticized for "opportunism" and expelled from the party. At the same time he was being sought by the Bulgarian

authorities and in 1925 was sentenced in absentia. Later he was authorized to rejoin the party but held no leading office. He migrated to the Soviet Union, survived the Stalinist purges, and died in 1946.

Luxemburg, Rosa. Born in the province of Lublin in 1871 into a middle-class family. In 1873 the family moved to Warsaw, where she finished secondary school in 1887. During the next two years she familiarized herself with socialist literature and joined The Proletariat, a socialist group in Warsaw. In 1889, warned of impending arrest, she fled abroad and at the end of the year settled in Zurich, where, at the university, she studied philosophy, then law, and then received a doctorate in political science. While still studying she continued her socialist activity, mingled with many Polish, Russian, and German socialists who lived in Zurich, and her political life developed in the context of those three socialist movements. In 1898 she left Zurich to live in Germany, where she became a leading Marxist theoretician within the SPD. She strongly opposed the reformist views of Eduard Bernstein and later the centrist position of Karl Kautsky.

She also maintained contact with the socialist movement in tsarist Russia. She was in Warsaw during the revolutionary period of 1905-06. She watched closely the struggles within the RSDLP; as early as 1904 she had publicly objected to the ideas expressed by Lenin in his book *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*. In the years prior to World War I she became increasingly prominent as a revolutionary Marxist, not only in Germany but also within the Second International. At the onset of World War I she took an internationalist stand and helped found the group known as Die Internationale, which became the core of the Spartacus League. In 1914-15 she was arrested for her activities and imprisoned from July 1916 until the fall of the German empire in 1918. While in prison she continued to write, under the name Junius. Although a leftist, she disagreed with some of Lenin's ideas and tactics, and thus did not support his persistent advocacy of a peoples' right to self-determination, including the right of secession; she also was critical of his wish to transform the imperialist war into a civil war and considered the immediate establishment of the Third International premature. While in prison in 1918 she wrote an essay on the Bolshevik revolution which contained several objections to Lenin's politics, but it was not made public until 1922 (by Paul Levi after his own break with Moscow).

When she was freed on November 9, 1918, she continued her militant political life within the Spartacus League. The league changed its name to Communist Party of Germany and at the founding congress, held between December 30, 1918 and January 1, 1919, she was made a member of its national committee (Zentrale) but two weeks later was arrested and assassinated in Berlin, along with Karl Liebknecht.

She wrote many books, beginning with her doctoral dissertation, "Die Industrielle Entwicklung Polens," published in Leipzig in 1898. After her death,

Clara Zetkin, Adolph Warski (Warszawski), and Paul Frölich intended to publish her collected works in nine volumes, but only three appeared. Several of her books and pamphlets were translated and published in English, French, and other languages.

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Machado, Eduardo. Born in 1902 into a wealthy Caracas family, the younger brother of Gustavo Machado (later a secretary of the Venezuelan Communist Party). He was exiled for his activity as a youth against the dictatorial regime of Juan Vicente Gómez. From 1931 to 1939 he lived abroad in many countries, including Soviet Russia, where he studied at the Leninist School of the Comintern. In 1939 he was sent back to his country to help lead the communist movement but after internal party quarrels he left for Colombia, where he opened a bookstore with his brother Gustavo.

In 1941 he returned to Venezuela to participate in the formation of an international enterprise (Film Inc.) at Caracas and to establish a communist publishing house (Bolívar). In 1942-43 he was one of the leaders of the Popular Union, a legal cover for the Communist Party of Venezuela. A split developed between those leaders who did and did not advocate opposition to the regime of General Medina, the president of the republic; the Machado brothers supported the opposition. In 1944 Eduardo promoted the split and in 1945 helped found the Partido Comunista Unitario but in November 1946 the two communist groups were reunified and he became a party leader. In 1948 he was named party secretary in charge of propaganda but in 1950 was arrested by the Venezuelan police. From 1951 until 1958 he was in exile in Mexico, where he maintained close contact with the Mexican Communist Party as well as the leaders of his own party in exile.

In September 1958 he returned to Caracas and in December was elected a communist deputy to the national congress for the state of Miranda. Also during that year he was elected a member of the Venezuelan Communist Party politburo, in which capacity he was a delegate to the twenty-second congress of the CPSU in 1961. In September 1963 he was again arrested and sentenced to ten years and ten months in prison. In April 1968 he was released and given permission to undergo medical treatment. At the thirteenth plenum of the Venezuelan Communist Party central committee in May 1969, he was reelected to membership in the politburo.

Machado, Gustavo. Born in 1898 into a wealthy Caracas family, he became politically active during his university years. In 1918 he evaded arrest by going abroad, where he remained for most of the next 18 years. During this exile

he became a communist in Cuba in 1925. He then traveled to the Soviet Union, where he completed his communist indoctrination at a Comintern school. In 1928 he fought against the U.S. Marines in Nicaragua and beginning in 1929 headed the Venezuelan Revolutionary Party, formed in exile. When he returned to Venezuela he and his brother Eduardo helped found the Venezuelan Communist Party in March 1931; a few months later the majority of the party founders were arrested but the Machado brothers managed to flee abroad. It was not until early 1936 that Gustavo returned to his homeland; upon arrival he was arrested but was set free in May and when he was arrested a second time chose exile and remained abroad until 1941. When the Venezuelan Communist Party split in 1944, he and his brother organized the Partido Comunista Unitario; when the party was reunified in 1946 he was elected to its politburo. In 1947 he was the communist candidate in the presidential elections. Until the military coup of 1948 he was also a communist deputy in parliament. From 1948 to 1950 he was editor of *Tribuna Popular*, the communist daily; when the paper and the party were banned in 1950 he went underground, but was soon arrested and permitted to return to Mexico in exile.

In 1959, after the regime of Perez Jimenez fell, he returned to Caracas and immediately regained his leading position in the party as a member of its politburo and secretariat. He was reelected a communist deputy but in 1962 was stripped of parliamentary immunity when the party was banned again. In 1963 he was arrested and sentenced to ten years and ten months in prison where he remained until April 1968 when he was granted amnesty. In May 1969, at the thirteenth plenum of the Venezuelan Communist Party central committee, he was reelected as one of the 15 members of its politburo.

MacLaine, William. Born in 1891. He became a militant trade unionist and for 30 years, beginning in 1916, held leading positions in the British mechanics trade union. During World War I he took an internationalist and pacifist position; he joined the British Socialist Party and in 1918 became a member of its central committee. He attended the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 and took part in various debates. He then joined the British Communist Party. In 1929, however, he broke with the party and communism and later became known for anti-communist activity in British trade unions. He died in 1960.

MacMannus, Arthur. Born in Belfast in 1891 or 1892, son of an Irish laborer; as a small child he moved with his family to Glasgow. At first he wanted to become a Catholic priest but soon embraced socialism and began to earn his living as a metalworker. He became militant within the labor movement and joined the Socialist Labor Party (S.L.P.), founded in 1903 in Scotland. During World War I he took a pacifist and internationalist stand, which led to his first arrest in 1915. In that year he also helped found the workers' committee in Clydeside. At a Manchester conference in 1917 he was elected chairman of the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees. In 1918 he became editor

of the *Socialist*, organ of the S.L.P., and gravitated toward communism. In 1919 he took part in negotiations among various extreme left-wing groups which wanted to form a unified communist party in Great Britain. In 1920 he presided over the founding congress of the British Communist Party and became party chairman and a member of the politburo. He was reelected chairman at the second congress of the party in 1921 and at the end of the year left for Soviet Russia. There he took part in the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI, in February and March 1922, and submitted a report on the British communist movement. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November he was elected a member of the ECCI. In June 1923, at the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI, he was elected to membership in the ECCI Presidium. He was a speaker at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924, chairman of the commission on the Japanese question, a congress secretary, and again a member of the ECCI Presidium. In 1925 he was named a member of the ECCI Orgburo; however, in October he was arrested in Great Britain with other communist leaders and sentenced to six months in jail. When he died in 1927 his ashes were buried in the Kremlin wall on Red Square in Moscow.

Maddalena, Max. Born in Germany in 1895. A locksmith by trade, he joined the SPD in 1913. Drafted in 1914, he resumed civilian life in 1918, he became a member of the USPD and belonged to its left wing. He rallied to communism after the congress of Halle in October 1920 and during the next several years performed various political and trade-union functions at the local and regional levels of the communist hierarchy. In 1928 he was elected KPD deputy to the Reichstag and was also a member of the German delegation attending the fourth congress of the Profintern, held in Moscow in March and April. In 1931 he was sentenced to two years of prison for subversive activities but was released earlier by an amnesty. After Hitler's rise to power he fled to the Soviet Union, where he joined the central apparatus of the Profintern. In December 1933, at the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, he was one of the speakers for the KPD. As a representative of the German party at the ECCI, he participated in the elaboration of the Comintern's new Popular Front policy (May to August 1934). He was also a member of the preparatory commission of the Seventh Comintern Congress. In January 1935 he attended a Moscow conference of the exiled KPD leaders whose task was to build a new, clandestine KPD leadership in Germany; he was designated a member of that leadership. From Moscow he traveled to Prague, and from Czechoslovakia he entered Germany illegally. By the end of March 1935 he had been arrested in Berlin and sentenced to life imprisonment; he died in jail in 1943.

Maffi, Fabrizio. Born in 1868; he became a physician and professor of medicine. In his youth he was active in the Italian socialist movement and in 1888 became a member of the Italian Socialist Party. Arrested and sentenced for his socialist activity, he was forced to seek refuge in Switzerland in 1898;

after his return he was active in the left wing of the party, of which he became a deputy. He sat in parliament without interruption until 1926.

At the party congress in Leghorn in 1921 he remained faithful to Giacinto Serrati and did not join the Italian Communist Party; in June and July he was in Moscow with the delegation which negotiated the reintegration of Serrati's Italian Socialist Party into the Comintern. He also addressed the Third Congress of the Comintern for the Italian Socialist Party. After his return to Italy he became a leader of the "third internationalist" group, which supported party adherence to the Comintern, and was again in the Italian Socialist Party delegation at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, in November 1922. When the socialists of his persuasion were reunified with the communists, he became a member of the Italian Communist Party central committee in 1924, and at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern that year was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. Under the Fascist regime he was active in the party-directed underground movement, using the pseudonym Berbi. At the third congress of the Italian Communist Party, held clandestinely in Lyon in January 1926, he was reelected to the central committee but in November was arrested by Fascist authorities despite his being a deputy in parliament. He remained in prison until the Rome process against communist leaders, held in May and June 1928, but was not sentenced by the tribunal because of poor health. He survived the Fascist regime and after World War II remained one of the oldest members of the communist party. He died in February 1955.

Magyar, Lajos. Born the son of a Hungarian civil servant. Prior to 1914 he worked as a journalist and writer, during World War I was a war correspondent, and at the end of 1918 became secretary-general of the journalists' union. As a left-wing liberal, he headed the press bureau during the Count Károlyi government, which preceded the regime of Béla Kun. During the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919 he continued to work as a journalist but rallied to the communist cause. After the fall of the Republic he was arrested and sentenced to prison in January 1920. In 1922, like many Hungarians, he benefited from the exchange of prisoners between the Soviet Russian and Hungarian governments and settled in Russia to work as a journalist in the Soviet press. In 1924 he was nominated by the Soviet government to serve in its Berlin embassy; later he was sent to the Soviet embassy in Peking. When diplomatic relations with China were severed in 1927 he returned to Moscow and entered the Comintern central apparatus as a deputy to Otto Kuusinen, who then headed the Far Eastern section. There he worked on elaborating the Comintern policy toward China, which was exemplified in the condemnation of Li Li-san's party line at the December 1930 meeting of the ECCI Presidium. At the same time he taught at the KUTV and wrote in the Comintern press about the Far East.

In 1933 he was sent to Germany as a Comintern instructor to the KPD central committee but soon settled in Paris. In 1935 he was recalled to Moscow

and, during Stalin's purges, he and his wife were arrested. He probably was executed in 1937; his wife Alice survived 15 years of detention.

Malaka, Tan. Born in Sumatra sometime between 1893 and 1897, the son of a wealthy village chief. He attended school in Sumatra and in 1913 continued his studies in Holland, where in 1916 he joined the Indonesian Student Association and familiarized himself with Marxist literature. In 1919 he returned to Sumatra and in 1921 settled in Java, where he befriended Semaun, who was soon to help found the Indonesian Communist Party.

He became a leader in the Indonesian Communist Party and was expelled from his native country in March 1922; he returned to Holland, where he ran unsuccessfully for deputy in parliament. Later he contacted the WES in Berlin and from there went to Moscow, where in November and December 1922 he took part in both the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and the second congress of the Profintern. He remained in Moscow for about a year, during which time the Comintern placed him in charge of matters relating to Southeast Asia; he worked under the pseudonym Jép. In late 1923 he went to Canton, where in June 1924 he took part in the transport workers' conference which had been called by the Comintern and the Profintern. He had developed tuberculosis and in June 1925 settled in the Philippines.

At the end of 1926 the communists staged an uprising in Java, and at the beginning of 1927 another in Sumatra, of which Malaka did not completely approve. In 1928 he was present at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. He then carried out various Comintern missions in the Philippines and China, where at the end of 1932 he was arrested. Soon afterward he left the communist party and continued to search for a less internationalist and more nationalist form of communism. His condemnation of "Western imperialism" led him to seek Japanese support on the eve of World War II, when he went to Tokyo. During the Japanese occupation of Indonesia he spoke on the radio and taught at a political school founded by the Japanese. During the period of unrest in Indonesia which followed the Japanese surrender in 1945 he participated in various political activities. In April 1949, however, he was shot by officers of the Indonesian army.

Malecki, A. M. Born Alexander Rubinstein in Poland in 1879. At the end of the century he joined the socialist movement and became a militant in Lodz and then in Warsaw. In 1906 he was elected a member of the directing committee of the SDPPL. At the London congress of the RSDLP in 1907 he was elected an alternate member of the central committee, representing Poland; in that year he also participated in the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart.

In 1909, following disagreements within the SDPPL, he resigned from party leadership. After the party split in 1912 he became one of the leaders (with Jaköb Hanecki) of the "Razlamovtsy" faction, which was close to the Russian

Bolsheviks. He then headed the socialist *Gazeta Robotnicza* (Workers' Gazette) and participated in the International Socialist Congress held in Basel. In 1914 he also attended the consultative conference called by the Second International in Brussels with the aim of unifying the different factions within the Russian social-democratic movement.

In 1921-22, after the communist victory in Russia, he headed the information bureau of the Soviet commissariat of foreign affairs. From 1922 to 1935 he worked for the ECCI, where he was especially involved with agitprop. Also in 1922, after the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, he was appointed one of the three editorial secretaries of the review *Communist International*, the official organ of the Comintern, for which he wrote in the ensuing years. In the early 1930s he was assistant director of the KUNMZ. From 1926 to 1935 he also taught at various Soviet universities. Afterwards he was an adviser at the Lenin State Library. He died in 1937.

Malëshova, Seyfulla. An Albanian by origin; he was a professor and poet, writing under the name Lame Kodra. He became the personal secretary to Fan Noli, prime minister of Albania, from June to December 1924. When that government fell, he went into exile first in Vienna and then in Moscow, where he underwent communist indoctrination at one of the Comintern schools. Later he settled in Western Europe, lived in France until 1943, and then returned to Albania, where he soon gained a leading position in the communist government. He became a member of the central committee of the Albanian Communist Party and in 1944 was named secretary-general of the National Liberation Front. In November he was named minister of education in the first government of Enver Hoxha. Shortly afterward, however, he became a target for criticism by the so-called pro-Titoist group within the party, led by Koteçi Džodze. At the fifth plenum of the party central committee, held in February 1946, he was expelled from the politburo and the central committee. At the eighth plenum, held in early 1948 when the pro-Titoists dominated the party, he was expelled from the party for "rightist deviation" (support of "opportunist, liberal, pro-Western, and nationalist" policies). At the first congress of the party, held in 1948, and at the second, in 1952, he also was criticized. Although no mention was made of his fate, it is probable that he was executed following his political downfall.

Mališić, Jovan. Born in Montenegro in 1902; he became a schoolteacher. In his youth he was militant in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and in 1923 was among the first group of Yugoslav communists sent by the party to the KUNMZ in Moscow. After completing his studies there and at a military academy in Leningrad he remained in Soviet Russia and probably worked for the Comintern.

In early 1928, under the name Martinović, he was a member of the CPY

central committee and in November, at the CPY fourth congress held in Dresden, he was elected political secretary of the central committee, the highest position within the party. In 1929, at the time when the Comintern decreed "the radicalisation of the masses," the CPY—under Mališić's direction—launched terrorist and pseudo-insurrectional action which resulted in total failure. In August 1930 he was dismissed from his post by Comintern decision. He continued to live in the Soviet Union until his arrest in 1938 during Stalin's purges and then disappeared completely. In 1958 he was rehabilitated posthumously by Soviet authorities.

Malzahn, Heinrich. Born in Germany in 1884; he was an industrial worker. He became active in the trade-union movement and in the SPD. He joined the KPD upon its foundation in December 1918. By 1921 he was voicing his opposition to Moscow decisions, particularly the March Action led by Béla Kun. Within the party he supported the opposition view and went, with Clara Zetkin, to the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921 to defend that position. He actively participated in the debates on Comintern tactics and on the March Action. At that time he also attended the founding congress of the Profintern. After his return to Germany he continued to express his disagreement, unlike Clara Zetkin, who decided to support the official KPD and Comintern policy. At the end of 1921, when Ernst Reuter, secretary-general of the KPD, opposed the Comintern, Malzahn sided with him, signed a manifesto prepared by dissidents, and was immediately expelled from the party.

Mann, Tom. Born in England in 1856; in his youth he worked as a miner and then became a mechanic. In 1884 he was close to the Social Democratic Federation; he also was active in the British trade-union movement and from 1890 to 1893 headed the dockers' trade union. In 1893 he participated in the founding of the Independent Labour Party and later became one of its general secretaries. From 1901 to 1910 he lived in Australia, where he continued his trade-union work. After returning to England he resumed militant activity, which resulted in his arrest and a six-month prison sentence in 1912.

During World War I he took an internationalist and pacifist stand. He then gravitated toward communism and joined the British Communist Party at its founding in 1920. Also that year he became secretary-general of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers; in December he was nominated chairman of the British provisional Profintern bureau.

In 1921 he took part in the Third Congress of the Comintern and at the founding congress of the Profintern became a member of its supreme body, the executive bureau. In 1924 he was in Moscow to participate in the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and the third congress of the Profintern. Then, in England, he presided over the founding conference of the National Minority Movement in August and was a communist candidate for parliament in October.

At the beginning of 1927 he was again in Soviet Russia but left in February with a Comintern delegation to China. In 1928, at the fourth congress of the Profintern, he was reelected a member of the executive bureau. During the Comintern's Stalinist period he remained a member of the British Communist Party but no longer held positions of leadership in the Comintern. He died in 1941.

Manner, Kullervo. Born in Finland in 1880; he studied at the University of Helsinki. After the revolution of 1905 he joined the Social Democratic Party of Finland, in which he held several responsible positions. He was elected a deputy to the Finnish parliament in 1910 and remained a member until 1918. In 1911 he was elected a member of the Finnish Social Democratic Party's central executive committee and in 1917 became party chairman. Meanwhile, in 1916 the party had him elected president of the parliament and in that capacity, despite the veto of the provisional Russian government, he called a meeting of parliament in 1917. When the revolutionary government was proclaimed in Finland in January 1918 he became its prime minister. When the revolutionary regime was crushed he fled to Soviet Russia, where he headed the founding congress of the Finnish Communist Party in August 1918.

During the following years he played an important role in the Finnish Communist Party, as its secretary-general, and in the directing bodies of the Comintern. In March 1919 he was a member of the Finnish delegation at the founding congress of the Comintern and at the Second Congress in 1920 he spoke for the Finnish delegation and was elected a member of the ECCI. In 1922, prior to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, he participated in the work of the ECCI and in 1923 took part in the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI. At both the fifth and sixth plenums (1925 and 1926) he was a member of various commissions. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was a delegate, speaker, and again a member of the ECCI. He was still the party secretary-general in 1929. In 1931 he participated in the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI. In 1935, on the eve of Stalin's purges, he was expelled from the Finnish Communist Party; then he and his wife, Hanna Malm, were arrested and condemned to ten years at hard labor. His trail vanishes in the Stalinist concentration camps.

Manuilsky, Dmitri. Born in 1883, son of an Orthodox priest in a Ukrainian village; after secondary school he enrolled in the University of St. Petersburg. In 1903 he joined the RSDLP and in 1904, at the time of the Russo-Japanese war, was arrested for the first time by tsarist police. During 1905-06 he was a Bolshevik militant in St. Petersburg, Dvinsk, and Kronstadt under the pseudonym Foma. He was arrested as a member of the Petersburg Bolshevik committee and deported but escaped from prison and in 1907 went into exile in Western Europe. There he sided with the dissident Bolshevik group known as Otzovists and collaborated on its paper, *Vpered* (Forward). From the beginning

of World War I he took an internationalist and pacifist stand and (under the name Bezrabortnyi) collaborated on the papers of the Russian socialist-internationalists in Paris, *Golos* (Voice) and *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word), which Lenin sharply criticized as opportunist and centrist.

He returned to Russia from Switzerland after the revolution of February 1917. He was in the second Russian convoy traveling through imperial Germany (following Lenin's) with Martov and other internationalists with whom he had collaborated in the Paris Russian press. In Petrograd he joined the "Mezhraiontsy," a group headed by Trotsky which was halfway between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks; at the sixth congress of the Bolshevik Party in August 1917 this group was admitted into Lenin's party. At the time of the October revolution, Manuilsky was political commissar at Krasnoe Selo; after the Bolshevik victory he became a member of the collegium of the people's commissariat for food.

At the beginning of 1919 he was assigned his first international mission for the communists—he was sent to France with Inessa Armand under cover of the Russian Red Cross delegation. However, he was confined at Malo-les-Bains and thus prevented from contacting communist groups in France and elsewhere. After his return to Soviet Russia he was sent to the Ukraine for political work. In 1920 he was a member of the Ukrainian revolutionary committee and then commissar for agriculture in the Ukrainian government. Also in that year he participated in the Second Congress of the Comintern as a member of the Bolshevik delegation. In 1921 he was secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party central committee as well as editor of the newspaper *The Communist*. Also, as an Ukrainian representative to the Third Congress of the Comintern, he was nominated one of the fifteen secretaries of that meeting.

In 1922 he was recalled to Moscow, where he was received by Lenin and sent to represent the Comintern at the Paris congress of the PCF, held in October; upon his return he attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. He was elected a member of the RCP(B) central committee at its twelfth congress in April 1923. Soon after the Comintern sent him to Italy (under the name Beruzzi) and then in April 1924 to the Frankfurt am Main congress of the KPD, under the name Ivanov. In July 1925 he also went as a Comintern representative (under the name Samuely) to the subsequent KPD congress.

In June and July 1924 he played an important role at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, reporting on the national question and presiding over various commissions; he also was elected a member of the ECCI and its Presidium and held these positions until the dissolution of the Comintern in May 1943. At the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI (which ratified Zinoviev's elimination from the Comintern) in November and December 1926, he became a member of the Comintern's political Secretariat, a position he also held until the Comintern's dissolution. In 1924 he replaced Trotsky as the Kremlin's representative in charge of PCF affairs and as such made several clandestine trips to Paris

between 1924 and 1931. In the fall of 1927 he went secretly to Berlin for the inauguration of the Comintern Western European Bureau.

At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he reported on the situation in Soviet Russia and the RCP(B) and was reelected to the Presidium of the ECCI. After Bukharin's fall and Molotov's brief leadership of the Comintern, he became the principal spokesman for the RCP(B) at the Comintern. From 1929 to 1933 he was the central figure at the enlarged plenums of the ECCI, where he gave reports and intervened in the name of the Kremlin (that is, for Stalin).

At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was reelected to all his leading posts. He escaped Stalin's purges and in March 1939 attended the eighteenth congress of the RCP(B), where he offered a report on the Comintern; at that time he was reelected to the RCP(B) central committee. He continued to handle Comintern affairs until May 1943, when with Zhdanov, he was one of the Bolshevik signers of the resolution dissolving that organization.

In 1944 he was named deputy prime minister for the Ukrainian government and minister of foreign affairs. In 1945 he was present at the San Francisco conference for the founding of the United Nations and in 1946 was part of the Soviet delegation at the peace conference held in Paris; later he participated in four successive general assemblies of the U.N. In 1950, without official announcement, his name disappeared from the list of Ukrainian government officials and was not on the list of central committee members elected at the close of the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B) in October 1952. Only in 1953, after Stalin's death, did the Soviet government award him a decoration. He then fell ill and retired. He died in 1959. During his long service as a Comintern leader he published many articles and brochures.

Mao Tse-tung. Born in the province of Hunan on December 26, 1893, in a peasant family. He attended primary school until age 13 and then worked on his father's farm. In 1911 he joined the revolutionary army which helped to overthrow the dynasty; in 1912 he was demobilized and admitted to the Hunan first middle school. In 1913 he entered the Hunan Provincial First Normal School, where he studied for five years. From September 1918 he was employed as an assistant librarian at the University of Peking, where he met Li Ta-chao and Chen Tu-hsiu, professors who were to become founders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

In 1920 he became a communist and organized a Marxist group in Changsha. In July 1921 he was one of 12 who took part in the founding congress of the CCP in Shanghai and also in that year helped found the Hunan provincial committee of the CCP. Although he did not attend the second congress of the CCP, held in July 1922, he took part in the third congress, held in Canton in June 1923, and was elected a member of the party central committee.

At the first Kuomintang congress, held in January 1924, he acted as a

representative of the CCP and as such was elected an alternate member of the central executive committee. During the year he worked in Shanghai as a leader of both the CCP and the Kuomintang but at the year's end returned to Hunan for health reasons. In January 1925 he attended the fourth congress of the CCP but was no longer a member of the central committee. During 1925 he was active politically in Hunan and Canton. At the second Kuomintang congress, held in Canton in January 1926, he was reelected an alternate member of the central executive committee. He headed the peasant department at the CCP headquarters in Shanghai and then returned to Hunan to organize the peasant movement. He was one of 80 delegates who attended the fifth congress of the CCP, which opened on May 1, 1927, in Wuhan; since he was in conflict with Chen Tu-hsiu he was deprived of voting rights and was not elected to the central committee, but during May he became chairman of the All-China Peasant Union, founded immediately after the party congress. Less than three months later, on August 7, he was present at an emergency conference of the CCP at which Chen Tu-hsiu was eliminated; Mao was named alternate member of the central committee. When the CCP decided to stage an insurrectional action against the Kuomintang, Mao was charged to direct the Autumn Harvest Uprising in Hunan and Kiangsi, launched in September of the same year. After its failure he established a communist base in Chingcangshan. In March 1928 he became secretary of a special committee of the Chingcangshan area, which became the nucleus of future Soviet power. Mao did not attend the sixth congress of the CCP, held in June and July 1928 in Moscow, but the congress elected him to the central committee.

When the First Red Army Corps was formed in the Kiangsi region at the beginning of 1929 Chu Teh became its commander-in-chief and Mao its political commissar. That position helped him to consolidate communist power in that region and to strengthen his position within the party; he was nominated chairman of the Chinese Soviet Republic when it was proclaimed officially in Juichin on November 7, 1931 (the occasion of the first All-China Soviet congress). At the second congress, held in January and February 1934 in Juichin, he was reelected chairman of the Soviet Republic. In October of that year, however, a decision was made to evacuate the region, and the Long March began. At a conference held in Tsunyi in January 1935, during the march, Mao became chairman of the military commission of the central committee and a member of the standing committee of the politburo; in effect, after that conference he emerged as the de facto chief of the CCP.

During the previous seven years Mao's name had been mentioned more and more frequently in the Comintern press. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, held in July and August 1935, he was elected a member of the ECCI in absentia. When the Long March ended, a new Soviet region was established in 1936 with Yen-an as its capital. He continued to head the CCP during the second alliance with the Kuomintang in the war against Japan,

as he previously had during the war against the Kuomintang. It was during the Yenian period that he wrote several of his political works.

At the reunion of the politburo held in December 1937 he was confirmed in his leading functions and elected chairman of the preparatory committee for the convocation of the seventh congress of the CCP. At that congress, held from April to June 1945, he was officially elected party chairman and as such went to Chungking in August to confer with Chiang Kai-shek. He remained party chairman during the victorious campaign against the nationalists and the proclamation, in October 1949, of the People's Republic of China. From then on until September 1954, he was chairman of the central government and then became chairman of the People's Republic of China. From December 1949 to February 1950, he was in the Soviet Union, where he signed the Sino-Soviet Friendship Treaty.

At the eighth congress of the CCP in September 1956 he was again elected party chairman. In November 1957 he headed the Chinese delegation to the Moscow World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. In 1958 he initiated the Great Leap Forward economic policy; he also received Khrushchev, who arrived in Peking for a three-day visit on July 31. In December he announced that he was resigning as president of the republic and in April 1959 Liu Shao-chi replaced him in that post. Although Khrushchev returned to Peking in October 1959, the Sino-Soviet conflict erupted shortly thereafter. In 1966 the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution inspired by "Mao Tse-tung's thought" was inaugurated; the revolution was officially endorsed on August 8, 1966, by a decision of the CCP central committee. In April 1969, at the close of the party's ninth congress, Mao was reelected chairman of the party central committee.

Beginning in 1951, a commission of the central committee of the CCP edited Mao's *Selected Works* in four volumes; they were translated into Russian and published in the Soviet Union in 1952-53, followed by many editions in other languages. Since the outbreak of the Sino-Soviet conflict and following the Chinese cultural revolution, Mao has been considered by communists of the pro-Chinese camp as a "classic of Marxism-Leninism"; communists of the pro-Soviet camp criticized his thought as "alien" to Marxism-Leninism.

Marabini, Anselmo. Born in 1865. He joined the Italian socialist movement at an early age and was first active in his native city, Imola. In 1890 he took part in the organization of the socialist congress at Ravenna, where the first step was taken to establish a unified socialist party. In 1892 he participated in the congress at Genoa, where the Italian Socialist Party originated. He attended all the subsequent socialist congresses and in early years was arrested several times for his socialist activity. From 1906 to 1910 and from 1914 to 1920 he was a member of the party central committee. Before 1914 he had supported the left wing; when the party split in 1921 he chose to become a communist.

At the Leghorn congress he presided over the founding of the Italian Communist Party and was elected a member of its first directing committee. He had been a socialist deputy in the parliament since 1919; after the party split he also presided over the communist parliamentary group.

In 1922 he was a member of the Italian delegation to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, where he was seated at the presidium rostrum. When he returned to Italy the Fascists were in power, so in 1924 he was forced to emigrate to Soviet Russia, where he remained until 1945; while there he worked at the headquarters of the MOPR. After his return to Italy in 1945 he attended the fifth congress of the Italian Communist Party. He published a political autobiography entitled *Prime lotte socialiste*. He died in 1948.

Marchlewski, Julian. Born in Poland in 1866. He joined the Marxist group called The Proletariat in Warsaw in 1885 and finished his secondary education in 1887. Although forced to work in a factory, first in Warsaw and then in Germany, he remained politically active. He returned to Poland and in 1889 took part in the organization of the Polish Workers' Union, for which he was arrested in 1891. He was expelled from Poland in 1892 and settled in Zurich, where in 1893 he represented the Warsaw socialists at the third congress of the Second International. In 1896 he received his doctorate at the University of Zurich, after which he lived for almost ten years in Germany (Dresden, Saxony, and Munich), where he became militant in the left wing of the SPD. In 1905, at the time of the attempted revolution in Russia, he returned to Poland, where he was arrested again in 1906. After his release in 1907 he was a delegate of the SDPPL to both the London congress of the RSDLP and the Stuttgart congress of the Second International; in London he was elected an alternate member of the RSDLP's central committee, but subsequently was forced to remain in Germany, where he was active politically from 1907 to 1918. At the onset of World War I he took an internationalist stand and under the name Johannes Kämpfer helped found the group known as Die Internationale, from which the Spartacus League later emerged. In 1916 he was arrested by German authorities and remained in jail until June 1918, when the Soviet Russian government intervened in his favor. He then went to Moscow, where he was named to the Soviet diplomatic mission in Vienna and then to the mission in Warsaw; however, he occupied neither of these positions but spent that year organizing the Polish communists living in Moscow. Under the name Karski he signed (for the Polish communists) the manifesto of January 24, 1919, to convene the founding congress of the Third International but did not attend the congress, held in March 1919, for he was in Germany working with the central committee of the KPD and organizing revolutionary activities in the Ruhr. After the founding of the Third International he returned to Moscow as representative of the Polish Communist Party. In 1920 he helped prepare for the Second Congress of the Comintern, drafting the theses on the agrarian question, but was unable to

attend because he was called to the front after the outbreak of the Polish-Russian war. On July 30, when the Bolsheviks formed a provisional government (the Polish revolutionary committee) in Bialystok, he became its chairman; however, the government was dissolved after the retreat of Soviet troops from Warsaw.

In 1921 the Soviet government placed him in charge of several diplomatic missions, the longest of which was his trip to the Far East—he left in the autumn of 1921 for Dairen, went to Peking, and returned to Moscow in June 1922. He then was made rector of the newly founded KUNMZ, a position he held for several years. Meanwhile, he periodically took part in the work of the Comintern and was one of the chairmen at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held in November 1922.

In 1923 he helped found and lead the MOPR but became ill shortly afterward and was sent for treatment to Italy, where he died in 1925. His ashes were first deposited in Berlin but transferred in 1950 to Warsaw.

Marcu, Valeriu. Born in 1898 into a wealthy Rumanian Jewish family. He moved at an early age to western Europe, and became a socialist militant. In 1916 he settled in Switzerland, where he met Willi Münzenberg and also Lenin, who sent him at the end of the year as a secret emissary to Paris, Moscow, and Rumania, where he was arrested. After World War I he went to Germany and joined the KPD. He also helped Willi Münzenberg to establish the KIM in Berlin, and represented the Rumanian communist youth at its founding congress in November 1919. He then took part in a clandestine international conference organized by the WES from November 26-29 at Frankfurt am Main. Because of his pre-revolutionary connections with important Russian and German communists, he was very close to the ruling circles of the Comintern but left the communist movement at the beginning of 1921 following Paul Levi's break with Moscow. He became a publicist and writer, exclusively, and produced a book on Lenin. In February 1930 he presented the eulogy at Paul Levi's funeral. Later he settled permanently in France on the Côte d'Azur, where he died during World War II.

Marinko, Miha. Born in Slovenia in 1900; he worked as a miner. In 1922 he joined the League of the Communist Youth of Yugoslavia; also in that year he was a member of the Yugoslav delegation to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed on factional struggles within the party. In December 1922 he was the Yugoslav spokesman at the third congress of the KIM. In 1924 he was dismissed from his job and emigrated to France, where he joined the PCF. In 1930 he returned to Yugoslavia, from where he was sent by the party in 1931 to the Leninist School of the Comintern for political training. Returning to Yugoslavia in 1933, he became political secretary to the communist party's regional committee for Slovenia. He was arrested twice for his communist activities (in 1936 and 1940) but the tribunal for the protection of the state did not sentence him at either trial.

At the very beginning of the communist-led partisan action in 1941 he belonged to its directing group in Slovenia. In September he was arrested by Italian police and sentenced to 30 years in jail but was freed in September 1943 at the time of the Italian surrender.

After the communist victory in Yugoslavia he held the highest positions in the party and state. At the fifth party congress in 1948 he was reelected to the central committee. In January 1954 he was made a member of the party politburo; during that time he was secretary of the party central committee in Slovenia. From 1947 to 1953 he was prime minister of the Slovenian government, and then became chairman of the Slovenian assembly. After the October 1966 rearrangement of the leading bodies of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, he was elected a member of the presidium (formerly the executive committee) of the central committee, but at the league's ninth congress, held in March 1969, he was not reelected to that post.

Marković, Sima. Born in Serbia in 1888, the son of a teacher; he studied mathematics at the University of Belgrade and received his doctorate in 1913. In 1907 he had joined the Serbian Social Democratic Party, within which he represented the "direktaši," or partisans of direct action, a trend comparable to revolutionary syndicalism in France. During World War I he remained in Serbia, which was under Austrian occupation. After the war, he taught at Belgrade University but was dismissed in 1920 because of his communist activity. At the founding congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) in April 1919 he became a member of its directing body and subsequently distinguished himself as the CPY's principal spokesman and theoretician. At the second congress in 1920 he was elected secretary-general of the party; also in 1920 he was elected a communist deputy.

In June 1921 he headed the Yugoslav delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern, where he was the CPY spokesman; despite an altercation with Zinoviev at the congress he was elected to the ECCI. He remained in Moscow until September 1922, except for a trip to Vienna, where in July the CPY had been forced to call its first national conference following the governmental anti-communist measures taken at home. Although Marković, who headed the right-wing faction, was attacked by left wingers at the conference, he maintained his leadership of the party.

He was arrested when he returned to Yugoslavia and in December 1922 was sentenced to two years in jail. In 1924, at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, he was elected in absentia an alternate member of the ECCI. In September 1924 he was freed from jail and left for Moscow, where (under the name Semic) he took part at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in March and April 1925. There, before a commission dealing with Yugoslav affairs, he engaged in a polemic with Stalin concerning the nature of the national problem in Yugoslavia. In 1926 in Vienna, at the third congress of the CPY, he was reelected secretary-general and held that post until April 1928. That summer

he was chosen a delegate to the Sixth Comintern Congress but was arrested en route at the Austrian border. In October, at the fourth congress of the CPY in Dresden, he was criticized by Comintern emissaries Mannilsky and Fogliatti, relieved of his positions in the party leadership, and placed at the disposal of the Comintern; in 1929 he was expelled from the CPY.

Returning to Yugoslavia, he wrote books (occasionally under the pseudonym V. Bunić) on mathematical and philosophical problems. In 1931 he was jailed again by Yugoslav authorities but was allowed to leave the country in 1934. He then returned to the Soviet Union, where he lived under the name Milan Milić. His request for reinstatement in the CPY was refused at first but then accepted in 1935. In Moscow he held no political positions but worked at the Philosophical Institute in the Soviet Academy of Sciences until his arrest in July 1939, when he was condemned as an "imperialist agent" to ten years of hard labor. The exact date of his death remains unknown but in 1958 he was rehabilitated posthumously by Soviet authorities.

Marks, John. Born in West Transvaal (South Africa) in 1903 to a negro father and a white mother, midwife by profession. After completing elementary school, he entered the Pretoria College of Pedagogy in 1919, became an instructor, and taught at various primary schools, particularly in the diamond-mine areas. He joined the Communist Party of South Africa in 1928 and was barred from his teaching functions in 1931. That same year he embarked on a full-time party career in Johannesburg and was elected a member of its central committee in 1932. The following year he was sent to the Soviet Union where he studied at the KUTV.

Upon his return to South Africa Marks resumed his activities in the central apparatus of the party, working particularly in the trade-union sector. He became president of the mine workers union and played an important role in the big strike of gold-mine workers in August 1946. He was brought to trial for his part as an instigator of that movement but was not sentenced. After the communist party was outlawed in 1950, he continued his communist activities, partly under cover of the African National Congress of whose executive committee he became a member. He was elected president of the South African Communist Party at a secret conference in 1962 but the following year was obliged to leave his country and live in exile from then on.

Marks was still president of the communist party in the early 1970s and made several trips to the USSR - he represented his party at the 50th anniversary celebration of the October revolution in November 1967; headed the South African delegation and was its spokesman at the World Conference of Communist Parties in June 1969; and attended the 24th Congress of the CPSU in 1971 where he spoke in behalf of his party. In addition, he was also a member of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace until 1969.

Marrane, Georges. Born in France in 1888; he became a watchmaker. He was militant in the PCF from its founding in December 1920. In 1921 he was administrative secretary of the Communist Federation of the Seine. In October 1922, at the Paris congress of the PCF, he was elected a member of both the directing committee and the politburo, and at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November his election to the directing committee was confirmed. In January 1923, when Louis-Oscar Frossard resigned as party secretary, Marrane, who had shared the same centrist views, remained on both the directing committee and the politburo. At the Lyon congress in January 1924 he was reelected to both positions and for a short while was also one of two assistants to the party secretary-general. In June and July 1924 he was in Moscow at the fourth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, where he presented the PCF's resolution against Boris Souvarine and was also a delegate to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, where he was seated on both the British commission and the commission on propaganda.

In France in 1924 he was named managing director for the communist daily newspaper *L'Humanité*. In 1925 he was elected communist mayor of the Ivry. At the party congress held in Lille in 1926 he was reelected to the central committee but not to the politburo. He was also a general councilman for the Seine region, and in 1936-37, during the Popular Front, presided over the general council. During the German occupation of France, he was a leader of communist resistance and remained seated on the party's central committee. At the tenth congress of the PCF in June 1945 he was elected chairman of the central control commission. From January to May 1947 he was a minister in the government of Paul Ramadier. He was reelected to the Council of the Republic (Senate of the Fourth Republic) in 1946, 1948, and 1952. In the presidential elections in late 1958 he ran as communist candidate against General de Gaulle. In October 1959 he accompanied Waldeck Rochet to Peking to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. At the sixteenth congress of the PCF in May 1961 he was reelected to the control commission. In view of his advanced age he was not reelected to the same post at the next PCF congress, held in May 1964. He was still living at the end of the 1960s.

Marty, André. Born in France in 1886, the son of a participant in the Paris Commune of 1871. In 1908 he entered the French navy as a machinist and throughout World War I served in different French naval units and was promoted to the rank of mechanical engineer. In November 1918 his ship was sent with a French squadron to the Black Sea, where he participated in the movement known in communist propaganda as the Revolt of the Black Sea. In April 1919 he was arrested and in July condemned to 20 years at hard labor by the French war council but was freed in July 1923.

In September 1923 he joined the PCF and in 1924 was elected a communist deputy. In early 1925 he became a member of the PCF central committee; in March he took part for the first time in the enlarged plenum of the ECCI and gave a report on the MOPR. In August 1927 he was arrested again—for his campaign against the war in Morocco. Although he lost his parliamentary seat in 1928 he was reelected in 1929 and remained in parliament until the end of 1955.

After having taken part in the denunciation of the Barbé-Célor group, he was elected to membership in the party politburo in 1931. In 1932 he was sent to Moscow as a PCF representative to the Comintern. In August and September 1932 he took part in the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, and from then on belonged to the ECCI until the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943. In December 1933 he attended the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and in 1935 the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed, and became a member of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the ECCI. After the Spanish civil war started in 1936, Moscow named him commander-in-chief of the International Brigades, a position he held until their retreat into France. In the summer of 1939 he was recalled to Moscow, where he joined the Comintern leadership during World War II. His signature appeared on the act of dissolution of the Comintern in May 1943.

In October 1943 he went to Algiers, seat of the French provisional government, where he represented the PCF in the provisional assembly and participated in the party leadership. At the tenth PCF congress in 1945, and again in 1947 and 1950, was reelected to the politburo and the central committee secretariat. In 1952, however, he was accused of provoking the factional struggle within the party and working with the police. These accusations resulted in his elimination from the secretariat in September and from the politburo in October and finally in his exclusion from the PCF in January 1953. In 1955 he published a book, *L'Affaire Marty*, recounting his version of the conflicts which provoked his expulsion from the party. He died in 1956.

Martynov, A. Born Alexandr Samoilovich Piker in 1865. As early as 1884 he was active in the Russian revolutionary movement as a member of the Narodnaya Volia; in 1887 he was arrested and deported for ten years to Kolymsk. Toward the end of the century he gravitated toward the RSDLP, which he joined in about 1899. He quickly became a theoretician and leader of the "economist" tendency, which Lenin fiercely attacked in 1902 in his book *What Is To Be Done?* When the split between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks occurred in 1903, Martynov supported the Mensheviks, was a member of the new editorial staff of *Iskra* (Spark), and wrote the pamphlet *Two Dictatorships* against Bolshevism. In 1905 he returned to Russia and became an editor of the Menshevik paper *Nachalo* (Beginning). In 1906, at the Stockholm congress of the RSDLP,

he gave a report in the name of the Mensheviks; at the following congress, held in London in 1907, he joined the party's central committee.

During World War I he took a pacifist and internationalist stand. In 1917 he was elected to the Menshevik central committee. In 1918, after the Bolshevik victory in Petrograd, he returned to the Ukraine, gave up Menshevik activity, and finally in 1923, at the twelfth congress of the RCP(B), was admitted as a party member. In 1924, he joined the editorial committee of the *Communist International*, official organ of the Comintern. He began his career within the Comintern on a low level but slowly gained importance as the successive purges of the followers of Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Bukharin left vacancies in the central apparatus—in 1928 he addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern; in July 1929 he participated in the tenth plenum of the ECCI; in April 1931, at the eleventh plenum, he loyally carried out Stalin's policy. He died in 1935.

Maslow, Arkadi. Born Isaak Tchemerinsky in 1891 in Germany to Russian parents. At the end of World War I he studied at the University of Berlin, where he was attracted to communism and in 1918 was involved in the Soviet movement. He joined the KPD immediately after it was founded and became a leader of its left wing, which remained with the party even when the KAPD was formed. This left wing emerged as a dominant political force in Berlin in 1921, opposing first Paul Levi and then the Brandler-Thälheimer leadership. Maslow represented the Berlin left wing of the KPD at the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921 but did not take part in the public debates. He was arrested briefly for communist activity in Germany in 1922. At the KPD congress in January 1923 he was spokesman for the opposition, after Heinrich Brandler had reported in the name of the party leadership. In May the Comintern invited him and two other left-wing leaders (Ruth Fischer and Ernst Thälmann) to Moscow to negotiate with the official KPD leadership.

During the unsuccessful German October in 1923 Maslow was in Moscow, where a commission of the Comintern was investigating his past political behavior and particularly his attitude during his imprisonment in 1922. The commission decided that he should be deprived of all leading positions in the KPD and spend a year in the Soviet Union; however, on Stalin's intervention, the verdict was invalidated. The left wing of the KPD had assumed leadership in the meantime, and at the party congress of April 1924 Maslow was elected to the central committee and the politburo. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, held in June and July 1924, he was elected, in absentia, an alternate member of the ECCI. At the KPD congress in July 1925 the leftist leadership was confirmed but suddenly, on September 1, the Comintern published an open letter to the party condemning the left. Maslow was in prison at that time and remained there until July 1926. Meanwhile the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in February and March 1926, criticized the Ruth Fischer-Maslow

group, which then was expelled from the KPD on August 19. That decision was confirmed by the Presidium of the ECCI on August 27 and by the seventh enlarged plenum, held in November and December. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 Maslow and Fischer appealed for reintegration into the party but the congress refused and Maslow then joined the communist opposition. With Hitler's rise to power in 1933 Maslow fled to France, where he remained until the German victory there in 1940; he then left the country with Ruth Fischer. She received a visa for the United States but he was obliged to wait in Havana, where he died in 1941.

Maurin, Joaquín. Born in 1896; in 1914 he taught at an elementary school in Lerida, Spain. A militant within the Spanish revolutionary trade-union movement, he became editor of *Lucha Social*, a trade-unionist newspaper, in 1919. In 1920 he became secretary of the provincial trade-union federation in Lerida and a member of the directing committee of the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) in Catalonia. In the spring of 1921 he went with the confederation's delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern and the founding congress of the Profintern. After his return to Spain he joined the communist party and was elected a member of the central committee at the second congress of the party in 1923. Meanwhile, he was editor of *La Batalla*, a trade-union paper published weekly in Barcelona until 1925. In 1924 he attended the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and spoke at the third congress of the Profintern.

Arrested upon his return to Spain, he was wounded in an attempt to escape in January 1925, and imprisoned in the fortress of Monjuich. Released in October 1927 he went to Paris, where he remained until 1930; there he edited the review *La Nueva Era* and acted as a correspondent for TASS and *Izvestia* on Spanish issues. He returned home after the fall of the Spanish monarchy in April 1931. There he was active politically but not within the Spanish Communist Party or the Comintern; in July 1931 the ECCI approved the party's decision to expel him.

Later in 1931 he founded and became secretary-general of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Alliance. When the POUM (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista) was formed in 1935 he became its secretary-general. In February 1936 he was elected deputy, but when the civil war erupted in July 1936 the nationalists imprisoned him until 1946. In 1947 he joined his family in New York City, where he has lived ever since. He has written extensively about Spanish politics in both French and Spanish. His last book, published in 1966, was entitled *Revolución y Contrarevolución en España*.

Mauvais, Léon. Born in France in 1902; he became a laborer. At the end of World War I he joined the CGT but did not join the PCF until 1925. In 1929 he was elected a member of the executive committee of the CGTU. In August 1930 he attended the fifth Profintern congress, was elected a member of its executive bureau, and remained in Moscow as the French representative

to the Profintern. While on a Profintern mission to the Balkans in 1930 he was arrested in Rumania.

After his return to France in 1931 he became a secretary of the CGTU and in 1932 was elected a member of the central committee of the PCF. In 1935 he became a city councilman for Paris. At the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1940 he was arrested for his communist activities, but the following year escaped from prison and became active in the communist resistance. In 1944 he was a PCF delegate for the south zone. After the liberation of France he became an alternate member of the party politburo and organizational secretary of the party. At the twelfth party congress in 1950 he was elected a full member of the politburo but ended his term as organizational secretary. In 1952 he presented the accusations against party leaders André Marty and Charles Tillon. He was reelected to the politburo at the 1954, 1956, 1959, and 1961 congresses of the party, and during that same period was seated on the bureau of the CGT and became one of its secretaries. He also took part in meetings of the World Federation of Trade Unions, such as the fourth congress, held in 1957. At the close of the seventeenth congress of the PCF in 1964 he ended his term in the politburo and was elected only to the central committee; he was reelected in 1967 at the eighteenth congress and in February 1970 at the nineteenth congress.

Mavrak, Anton. Born in Bosnia in 1899 into a Croatian family; he studied law at the University of Zagreb. In 1924 he joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY); he played a leading role in the communist youth movement and, beginning in 1925, in the Zagreb communist organization. In 1928 he became secretary of the regional committee for Croatia and also attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern as a member of the CPY delegation. When he returned from Moscow he was threatened with arrest by the Yugoslav police and fled to Austria; expelled from Vienna, he went to Paris, where he headed the Yugoslav communist organization in France. During a visit to Moscow in August 1930 the Comintern named him organizational secretary of the CPY; in 1931 he became head of the party as its secretary-general and in that capacity participated at a consultative meeting of the CPY held in Vienna. In April he was present at the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI but in April 1932 was expelled from the party by Comintern decision; nevertheless, he continued to live in the Soviet Union, under the name Karl Yakovlevich. Until early 1938 he worked as a laborer in Rostov and in Moscow. He then was arrested by police and disappeared after sentencing, during the Stalin purges. In 1963 he was rehabilitated posthumously by Soviet authorities.

Maximos, Serafim. Born to Greek parents living in Turkey. In October 1918 he helped organize the first communist group in Istanbul; there in 1920 he founded the International Labor Union (embracing construction and harbor workers) which in 1921, under his direction, joined the Profintern. In November

he was arrested and later fled to Greece; there he was active in the communist movement first in Kavála and then in Athens, where he took charge of the trade-union section of the central committee of the Greek Communist Party (GCP). At its second extraordinary congress in September 1923 he was elected a member of the central committee and was reelected in February 1924 at the national party conference. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, held in Moscow in June and July 1924, he was a delegate and spokesman for the GCP.

When the Greek party was outlawed in January 1926, he was deported to the island of Skiros; later in the year he was elected a communist deputy in Larissa and took office upon his release. In December 1927 the Greek government demanded that the immunity of communist deputies be revoked; the required two-thirds vote against Maximos was not obtained, and he became the only communist deputy to retain his seat.

Meanwhile purges were taking place at the summit of the Comintern, and a factional struggle ensued within the GCP; as a result, Maximos was expelled from the party at its fourth congress, held in December 1928. He died in 1961 while living in exile in Vienna.

Menzel, Rudolf. Born in Germany in 1910; he became a militant in the communist youth movement near Leipzig and later joined the KPD. After Hitler's rise to power he sought refuge in Czechoslovakia and then in Moscow, where in 1936 he was admitted to the Leninist School of the Comintern. In 1937 he was sent to Spain, where he fought with the "Thälmann Battalion" in the International Brigades; when the brigades dissolved he fled to France. The Gestapo arrested him in Paris and sent him to the Buchenwald concentration camp, where he remained until the Soviet liberation in 1945.

In 1950-51 he was chief of police in Thuringia, East Germany. In June 1954 he became a general, from 1954 to 1956 was deputy minister of the interior for the East German government, and in 1957 became deputy minister of national defense in charge of military equipment and scientific research; he continued to hold that office in the 1960s.

Marino-Gracia, Ramón. Born in 1890; a teacher by profession. When the Spanish Communist Party was founded in April 1920 he became its first secretary-general. In that year he also attended the final sessions of the Second Congress of the Comintern, and after the congress closed he traveled in Soviet Russia with a group of foreign communists and held discussions with Russian leaders of the Comintern. When he returned home he worked to unify the divided communist movement in Spain. In 1921 he went to Moscow for the Third Congress of the Comintern, as head of one of the two Spanish communist delegations, and was elected a member of the ECCL. When the two Spanish

communist groups merged in the autumn of 1921 he lost his position as secretary-general and soon afterward left Madrid for Barcelona, where he headed the local communist party section. In 1924 he was arrested for communist activities and in order to gain his freedom sought help from a trade-union organization in the service of Spain's dictator, Primo de Rivera, and made a public statement in favor of Rivera's government. He retired from political activity after his release.

Merker, Paul. Born in 1894 into a German working-class family; at an early age he worked as a hotel employee. In 1911 he joined the trade-union movement and by 1918 headed the hotel workers' union in Berlin. He became a member of the USPD at its founding in 1917, and when its left wing merged with the KPD at the Berlin congress of December 1920 he joined the KPD. In 1922 he became militant in the KPD trade-union section, in 1924 was elected communist deputy in the Prussian Landtag, and in 1925 was sent as German representative to the Profintern in Moscow.

At the KPD congress in 1927 he was elected a member of the central committee and the politburo. He was then put in charge of trade-union activity and in that capacity participated in the fourth congress of the Profintern, held in Moscow in 1928. He was reelected to the politburo at the 1929 party congress in Berlin, to which he reported on trade-union activity; in the autumn of that year he was promoted to party secretariat. He then found himself in conflict with the KPD leadership over trade-union tactics and appealed to the ECCL, which supported the party leadership. He was forced to offer a self-criticism for "ultra-left deviation." In April 1930 he lost his functions in the party secretariat and politburo as well as responsibility for the trade-union section.

After Hitler's assumption of power he fled to Prague and then to Paris. Later he was reelected to the KPD central committee at the so-called Brussels conference in 1935 (actually held in Moscow) and at the so-called Bern conference in 1939 (which took place in a suburb of Paris). At the beginning of World War II he was imprisoned by the French government, but escaped, stayed secretly in Marseilles, and then left for Mexico. There, under cover of his role as president of the Free Germany Committee for Latin America, he headed communist activity among German emigrants.

In July 1946 he returned to East Germany and immediately became a member of the SED central committee and politburo. From October 1949 to July 1950 he also served as undersecretary in the ministry of agriculture in the first formal East German government. In July and August 1950, however, at the time of political trials in other East European countries (like that of László Rajk, held in September 1949 in Budapest) he was condemned for his activity among émigrés and for his relationship with "the American spy, Noel Field," and was expelled from the party. In December 1952, during the Slaňský trial in

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Merino-Gracia, Ramón. Born in 1890; a teacher by profession. When the Spanish Communist Party was founded in April 1920 he became its first secretary-general. In that year he also attended the final sessions of the Second Congress of the Comintern, and after the congress closed he traveled in Soviet Russia with a group of foreign communists and held discussions with Russian leaders of the Comintern. When he returned home he worked to unify the divided communist movement in Spain. In 1921 he went to Moscow for the Third Congress of the Comintern, as head of one of the two Spanish communist delegations, and was elected a member of the ECCI. When the two Spanish

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Czechoslovakia, he was criticized again and then arrested. He remained in prison until 1956, the year of de-Stalinization, but after his release did not resume leadership functions in the party or the government. In 1957 he worked as a proofreader in the Volk und Welt publishing house in East Berlin. He died in May 1969.

Meyer, Ernst. Born in Germany in 1887; he studied economics and philosophy at the University of Königsberg and received a Ph.D. degree in 1910. In 1908 he joined the SPD and the editorial staff of *Vorwärts*, its official daily; in 1911 he took charge of the newspaper's economics section and in 1913 became its political editor. During World War I he took an internationalist position and helped found the Spartacus League, which he represented at the international socialist conferences at Zimmerwald in 1915 and Kienthal in 1916. From August through December 1916 he was jailed for his socialist activity against the war. In the spring of 1918 he placed himself at the disposal of the Soviet embassy in Berlin and was made director of Rosta, the Soviet press agency in Germany.

When the Spartacus League became the KPD at the end of 1918 he was elected to its national committee (Zentrale); at the congress of 1920 he was reelected and also joined the party politburo. Also during that year he was a member of the German delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern, to which he reported on the agrarian question, and at the close of the congress was elected to the ECCI and its Presidium.

In 1921 he was elected communist deputy to the Prussian Landtag and also during that year supported Moscow's decision to exclude Paul Levi from the KPD. At the Jena congress of the party in August 1921 he submitted the political report on behalf of the KPD leadership. In 1922 he was part of the German delegation to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. At the KPD congress in January 1923 he again gave a political report but was not reelected to the central committee (as the former KPD Zentrale was called from then on). He attended the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in February and March 1926, at which the resolution on German problems included some criticism of Meyer and his associates. In November and December he participated in the seventh ECCI plenum and declared himself in accord with the policies of the KPD and the Comintern; at the party congress of 1927 he was reelected to the central committee and the politburo. As one of the leaders in the "Versöhler" (conciliatory) group, he took an anti-Thälmann position in 1928 and consequently was condemned by the Comintern. In December he was the only member of the central committee who did not vote to expel several leaders of the "Versöhler." Although he addressed the twelfth party congress in June 1929, he was relieved of all his party functions. After a long battle with tuberculosis he died in February 1930.

Michaut, Victor. Born in Paris in 1909; he became a marble worker. He first joined the communist youth and later became a member of the PCF. In the early 1930s he worked in the communist youth secretariat and edited its official newspaper, *Avant-Garde*. At the sixth congress of the KIM, held in September and October 1935, he was a spokesman for the French communist youth, later became a member of the KIM executive committee, and in 1936 became secretary-general of the French communist youth. At the PCF congress in December 1937 he was elected a member of the party central committee.

Following the German aggression against the Soviet Union in 1941, he was active in the communist resistance in unoccupied southern France. In 1942 he was arrested but escaped to resume his activity and after a second arrest was deported to Dachau. After his return to France in 1945 he was seated in the consultative assembly and later was elected a deputy to the National Assembly. At the eleventh congress of the PCF in June 1947 he was made an alternate member of the politburo, was reelected at the twelfth congress in 1950 but was not reelected at the thirteenth congress in 1954. Meanwhile he remained a member of the central committee and director of the review *Cahiers du communisme*. At the next three party congresses, held in 1956, 1959, and 1961, he also remained a member of the central committee but stepped down at the seventeenth congress held in 1964. Since 1966 he has been a member of the Board of Directors of the Maurice Thorez Institute, founded by the PCF after the death of its secretary-general.

Mif, Pavel. Born Mikhail Firman in the Ukraine in 1899 into a Jewish family. After November 1917 he was active in the Komsomol (Young Communists) and then in the Bolshevik party. At the end of the Russian civil war he was a political commissar in a Red Army unit, after which he studied at the superior school for Bolshevik cadres, where his abilities were noted and he was chosen to specialize in problems concerning Far Eastern revolutionary movements. In 1926 he was sent to Shanghai as a member of the Comintern delegation in China; later he became a Comintern specialist in Chinese affairs and in that capacity published his first articles in the communist press. In 1927 he returned to Moscow, where he was named deputy director of Sun Yat-sen University. In 1928 he was nominated to head that university in place of Karl Radek and under university auspices published a book on the history of the Chinese Communist Party. He also attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, at which, with Bukharin and Lozovsky, he represented the RCP(B) on the commission in charge of drafting theses on the revolutionary movement in colonial countries. In 1929, at the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, he acted as official spokesman for the Comintern.

At the sixteenth congress of the RCP(B) in July 1930 he gave a speech on the revolutionary struggle in the Far East. Also during that year he was

sent to China as head of a Comintern mission, accompanied by 28 young Chinese communists who had been designated to assume direction of the party after their graduation at the Comintern schools. Early in January 1931, in his capacity as Comintern emissary, he prepared the plenary session of the central committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which took place in Shanghai. At that occasion Li Li-san was removed from party leadership, while the most prominent of the 28 Moscow-trained party members—Chen Shao-yü, Chang Wen-tien, and Chin Pang-hsien—entered the politburo. He then returned to Moscow and in 1932 edited a collection of articles on China which he had written between 1926 and 1931. In 1933-34 he wrote for the Comintern press on the Chinese question and in December 1933 addressed the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in the name of the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern. From 1934 to 1937 he edited many works on the subject of China; the last—in collaboration with Grigori Voitinsky—on the occupation of Manchuria. A short time later he was arrested and his trail disappeared completely during the Stalinist purges.

Miletić, Petko. Born in Montenegro in 1898 into a peasant family; after attending elementary school he went to Hungary to become a carpenter. In 1919 he took part in the Hungarian revolution but soon returned to Yugoslavia, where he joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). In Montenegro he took part in a communist insurrection attempt, for which he was imprisoned from 1924 to late 1926. He then went to Moscow, where from early 1927 to late 1929 he attended the KUNMZ. In 1930 in Vienna he joined the leadership of the exiled CPY, first as a central committee member and later as a politburo member. He then was named a party instructor for Serbia and secretary of the Serbian regional committee but when he attempted to enter the country secretly was arrested in July 1932 near the Hungarian-Yugoslav border and sentenced to seven years at hard labor; later he was glorified as a hero by the Yugoslav communists and the Comintern.

While in the Sremska Mitrovitsa prison he staged a long hunger strike. Many communists were incarcerated there and, as their leader, Miletić became influential in communist organizations in Serbia and Montenegro as well as those in exile, especially the one in Paris. During the Spanish civil war a company was named after him; however, when Tito became the secretary-general of the CPY, he decided in December 1937 to remove Miletić as party leader within the prison and there ensued a long struggle, which eventually was concluded in Moscow. When Miletić was released from prison in 1939 he presented a report to the Comintern criticizing Tito, who also was in the Soviet capital at the time. Miletić was arrested the next day and disappeared without trace.

Milkić, Ilija. Born in Serbia in 1882; he became a salesman. In 1901 he took part in the founding of the salesmen's trade union; in 1903 he helped found both the Serbian Central Trade Union and the Serbian Social Democratic Party;

in 1905 he was a member of the secretariat of the Serbian Central Trade Union. In 1910 he was part of the Serbian delegation to the international socialist congress held at Copenhagen, and was elected municipal councillor of Belgrade on the socialist ticket. During World War I he left Serbia for France and then Switzerland. He supported the communist revolution in Russia, wrote to Trotsky from Switzerland in June 1918, and then became a member of the staff of the Soviet embassy in Bern. In January 1919 he left to settle in Soviet Russia.

In March 1919, as a representative of the Yugoslav communist group in Russia, he had a consultative voice at the founding congress of the Comintern and in the interval preceding the Second Congress he took part in the meetings of the ECCI. At the Second Congress in 1920 he was a spokesman for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and became a member of the ECCI. At the Third Congress, held in 1921, an authentic communist delegation from Yugoslavia arrived; Milkić nevertheless was seated in that delegation and also participated as the Yugoslav representative among fifteen secretaries of the congress.

In 1922 he settled in Vienna, which became the seat of the Balkan Federation and the location of important meetings of the CPY. There he took part in the February 1922 conference of the Balkan Communist Federation and in July attended the first national conference of the CPY, where he was criticized for alleged mismanagement of Comintern funds. In 1926 he returned to Belgrade, where he apparently ceased political activity and opened a haberdashery. According to one source, however, the store was a front for the financing of communist activities; another source maintained that the store was opened with secret communist funds diverted by Milkić for his own use. He lived in Belgrade until his death in February 1968.

Mineff, S. Born in Bulgaria in 1893. In his Comintern career he used the names Lorenzo Vanini, Dr. Chavaroche, Lebedev, Moreno, and particularly Stepanov. After finishing secondary school he became a socialist and joined the Tesniak (Narrow) Bulgarian Socialist Party. At the beginning of World War I he went to Switzerland to study medicine, and as an opponent of the war and an internationalist he quickly joined with socialists and emigrant Bolsheviks of similar outlook. In April 1915, at the socialist youth conference held in Bern, he was the Bulgarian representative and reported on his country's socialist movement. He was also among the leftists in the Zimmerwald movement and wrote two articles for Henri Guilbeaux's review *Demain*. After Lenin's victory in Petrograd Mineff placed himself at the disposal of the Bolsheviks. He remained in Switzerland and in 1919 wrote for the review *Le Phare*, which favored the Third International. In 1920 he went to France, and in July and August of that year attended the Second Congress of the Comintern (under the name Lorenzo Vanini) as a member of the PCF delegation, and sat on the agrarian commission. He was one of the few professional revolutionaries who managed to remain for more than 20 years in the service of the Comintern's

central apparatus despite its changes in policy; during this period he traveled to France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany on Comintern missions. When in 1926 the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI created geographical sections within the Secretariat, he became assistant chief and then chief of the Latin section, which included France, Italy, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, and Luxemburg. Between 1926 and 1933 (under the name Chavaroche) he published articles in the Comintern press on the communist movement in these countries. He later handled underground missions for the Comintern in Latin America and probably in China. From 1927 to 1929 he worked in Stalin's personal secretariat. Later (under the name Moreno) he went to Spain with the Comintern delegation which determined the communist party's policies during the civil war. Prior to the collapse of the Spanish Republic he returned to Moscow to work as assistant to the Comintern's chief, Dmitri Manuilsky. In 1939-40 he was still working for the Comintern's central apparatus and was evacuated with its personnel from Moscow to Ufa in October 1941 (following the German offensive against Moscow). He soon became seriously ill and was forced to abandon all political activity.

Minkin, A. E. Born in Russia in 1887. He joined the RSDLP in 1903 and his party activities in Warsaw, the Urals, and other regions resulted in numerous arrests. In 1910 he emigrated to the United States, where he entered the Russian section of the American Socialist Party. After the February 1917 revolution he returned to Russia and worked within the Bolshevik party's Petrograd committee. In 1918, after the Bolshevik victory, he headed the regional RCP(B) committee at Penza and then at Perm; later he was party secretary in the Arkhangel'sk region.

In 1922 he was called into the central apparatus of the Comintern, in which he became one of the secretaries of the ECCI and as such was concerned especially with English-speaking countries. Shortly thereafter he went to work for the Soviet state apparatus; he became, successively, a member of the collegium of the commissariat for commerce, Soviet minister plenipotentiary in Uruguay, and vice-president of the Supreme Court of the Federal Republic of Russia. He died in 1955.

Minor, Robert. Born in 1884, the son of an American lawyer. At 16 he left home and after many jobs finally became a painter and also a cartoonist for the American press. In 1907 he entered the American Socialist Party but at the beginning of 1912 moved toward anarchism and revolutionary syndicalism. During World War I he took a pacifist position. He went to Europe as a war correspondent and in May 1918 arrived in Soviet Russia, where he remained until November; at that time he met Lenin and also wrote revolutionary propaganda for *The Call*, an English-language newspaper edited in Moscow and distributed among "interventionist" Anglo-American troops in Russia. He later traveled to Germany and France.

After his return to the United States in 1920 he became a militant for the

communist cause. In 1921 (under the name Ballister) he attended the Third Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed, and again met with Lenin. In 1921 and 1922 he was elected a member of the central executive committee of the Workers Party of America, the legal cover for the Communist Party of America. At that time he also edited the *Daily Worker*, principal organ of the communist party. In 1928-29 he remained in the central committee of the CPUSA, although he disassociated himself from its majority, which had been disavowed by the Comintern. His faithful support of the Moscow line brought him promotion on the central committee secretariat in 1929; in July he addressed the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was elected a member of the ICC. He continued to support the Moscow position throughout all the Stalinist reversals, and all personnel and policy changes in the CPUSA. In 1941 he was named acting secretary of the party, while Browder was in prison. In 1945, as a member of the National Committee, he dissociated himself from Browder, but was relegated to the post of Washington correspondent of the *Daily Worker*. He died in 1952.

Mirov-Abramov, Jakob. Born in czarist Russia. Before the outbreak of World War I he went to Germany for university studies. He joined the party apparatus following the Bolshevik victory of November 1917. At the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921, when Iosif Piatnitsky became chief of the Comintern's secret operations, Mirov-Abramov was nominated his representative to the OMS in Berlin. He settled there in late 1921 or early 1922 and, working under cover as a Soviet embassy employee, organized the apparatus of the OMS first for Germany and later for other West European countries. Because he had diplomatic immunity, the German authorities did not discover his activity and did not expel him during or after the German October of 1923. He continued his work in Berlin until about 1930, when he was recalled to Moscow to become Piatnitsky's assistant. From 1931 to 1934 he directed a special school for the formation of cadres for the OMS; it was located near Moscow, and was operated under cover as the Eighth International Sports Base. He remained Piatnitsky's assistant until 1935, when they were both eliminated from the apparatus of the Comintern. According to one source, he then worked for the Soviet foreign office until his arrest during the purge in 1937. However, memoirs published by Ernst Fischer, Sándor Négrádi, and Ivan Karaivanov (members of the Comintern central apparatus until its dissolution in 1943) mention a Russian Jew named Mirov who was a secretary to Dimitrov and Manuilsky during the purges and the war and also editor-in-chief of the review *Communist International*.

Misiano, Francesco. Born in 1884. In 1907 he became a member of the Italian Socialist Party, and from 1908 to 1914 was the party secretary in Naples; at the same time he headed the railroad workers' trade union. He was fired from his railway job after a strike and went to Turin, where he was arrested

in July 1915. He was drafted in 1916 but fled to Switzerland, where he contacted socialists of internationalist and pacifist persuasion. In Zurich he edited an Italian socialist newspaper called *The Worker's Future* and also worked with Willi Münzenberg but was expelled from Switzerland after the general strike in the autumn of 1918. He first went to Stuttgart and then to Berlin, where in December 1918 he and Münzenberg took part in the first preparatory meeting for the founding of the KIM. After the Berlin revolutionary attempt of January 1919 failed, he was arrested and sentenced to ten months in prison and, though absent, was elected socialist deputy to the Italian parliament; he returned to Italy and was reelected deputy in 1921. In June and July 1921 he was part of the Italian delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed; in January 1922 he returned to Moscow to take part in the meetings of the ECCI.

At the second congress of the Italian Communist Party in March 1922 he was elected a member of the central committee but also in that year lost his parliamentary seat. Threatened with prison, he fled to Berlin, where he helped Münzenberg until 1924 with *Mezhrabpom* (Workers' International Relief) work. In 1924 he went to Moscow, joined the RCP(B), and worked at the headquarters of the *Mezhrabpom* for which he directed a film company. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was one of two spokesmen for the *Mezhrabpom*, and worked for that organization until 1935, when it was dissolved by Comintern decision; he was then criticized for "political errors" and forced to make a self-criticism. He later fell ill and retired to a clinic in the Crimea, where he died in August 1936.

Mitskevich-Kapsukas, Vikenti. Born Vincas Mickevičius-Kapsukas (which he later Russified) in 1880 in Lithuania. In 1903 he became active in the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party. He took part in the revolutionary struggles of 1905-06, for which he was deported from 1908 to 1913 by tsarist authorities. After his return to Riga he edited a legal journal in 1913-14. He joined the Bolshevik party near the end of 1915 and after the revolution of February 1917 edited the first Bolshevik newspaper in Lithuania. He participated in the sixth congress of the Bolshevik party in July and August and in the second all-Russian congress of soviets, held during the November revolution in Petrograd.

In December 1917, following the communist victory, he was named commissar for Lithuanian affairs and, for a time, commissar for the public treasury in Petrograd. He headed the Lithuanian section at the central committee of the Bolshevik party and helped actively in the foundation of the Lithuanian Communist Party; after its formation in August 1918 he became a member of its central committee. At the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919 he headed the first Soviet government in Lithuania, and after its fall worked secretly there for awhile, but later returned to Moscow to work in the Comintern's central apparatus.

In June 1922 he took part in the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI. At the close of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. In 1925, at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, he became a member of the Comintern's Orgburo. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he became a full member of the ECCI. Until his death in 1935 he took part regularly in the enlarged plenums, and gave speeches at the tenth (1929), eleventh (1931), and thirteenth (1933) ECCI plenums.

Molotov, Viacheslav M. Born Viacheslav Skryabin in 1890 into a Russian lower middle-class family. During his secondary studies in Kazan' he took up political activity and in 1906 joined the RSDLP and favored the Bolsheviks. A professional revolutionary, he was arrested repeatedly by the tsarist police and in 1913 was exiled to Siberia, but escaped and returned to underground activity in Petrograd in the fall of 1915. When the clandestine Russian bureau of the Bolshevik central committee was formed in late 1916 he became a member. After the revolution of February 1917 he edited the Bolshevik paper *Pravda*; on the eve of the November 7, 1917 coup he became a member of the revolutionary military committee in Petrograd. In 1918-19 he assumed important party duties in such regions as northern Russia, the Volga, and the Donets. At the congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party in 1920 he was elected secretary of the central committee; at the ninth congress of the RCP(B) he was elected an alternate member of its central committee. In 1921, at the tenth Bolshevik congress, he was elected a full member of the central committee, a member of the central committee secretariat, and an alternate member of the politburo. At the eleventh party congress in 1922 he remained in the central committee secretariat but relinquished its leading role to Stalin, whom he supported during the struggle for Lenin's succession. In 1925 he was promoted to full membership on the RCP(B) politburo.

Molotov's first contact with the Comintern dates from 1921, when he was a member of the Bolshevik delegation to the Third World Congress. In 1924 he was a Bolshevik delegate to the Fifth Comintern Congress, and sat on the Polish commission as deputy to the presiding Stalin. In 1925 he was part of the Bolshevik delegation to the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, and sat on the agrarian commission.

He became an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium at the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI (at which Zinoviev was eliminated) in November and December 1926. He was reelected at the eighth plenum in May 1927 and at the ninth plenum in February 1928. In August 1928 he was a member of the Bolshevik delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern; as Stalin was prepared to eliminate Bukharin, Molotov's ascension was confirmed—at that congress he was elected a member of the ECCI and at the first post-congress meeting of the ECCI on September 3 he was elected a member of its Presidium and Secretariat. When the Presidium met in December 1928 Bukharin did not

attend and from then on Molotov, who gave a report on the KPD, figured as Stalin's representative for Comintern affairs. After Bukharin's fall in 1929 Molotov became in effect the leader of the Comintern and sat on several commissions, among them the one dealing with the CPUSA, in which Stalin also participated. In 1929 he spoke at the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and, in March, at the formal session of the ECCI honoring the tenth anniversary of the Comintern. At the sixteenth congress of the RCP(B) in July 1930 he presented a report on the activity of the Bolshevik delegation to the ECCI.

Molotov's career in the Comintern ended in December 1930, when Stalin awarded him Rykov's position as president of the council of people's commissars; he held that position until 1941, at which time he was succeeded by Stalin. In August 1939 he became people's commissar of foreign affairs and signed the nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany. During World War II he was with Stalin at the conferences of Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam. He headed the Soviet delegation to the U.N. conference in San Francisco in 1945 and the Paris peace conference in 1946. In 1949 Vishinsky replaced him in the ministry of foreign affairs but in March 1953, after Stalin's death, he was named deputy premier and once again minister of foreign affairs. In June 1956, after the twentieth congress of the CPSU, he was no longer minister of foreign affairs but remained deputy prime minister and a member of the party politburo.

In November 1956 he was named minister of state control but in June 1957, following the failure of the "anti-party" group (to which he had belonged in order to eliminate Khrushchev), he was sent as ambassador to Outer Mongolia. In August 1960 he was recalled, and was named Soviet representative to the International Atomic Energy Commission in Vienna. In 1961, during preparations for the CPSU twenty-second congress, he sent a memorandum from Vienna broadly criticizing Khrushchev's politics and collaborators; as a result there were many attacks against him when the congress convened in October. In November he left his foreign post and returned to Moscow and in 1962 he was expelled from the CPSU.

Monatte, Pierre. Born in 1881, the son of a blacksmith. After attending secondary school he became a boarding-school supervisor and then a proofreader. He was drawn to anarchism and in 1904 became a member of the CGT directing committee. In 1906 he attended the Amiens congress of the CGT, which adopted a charter of revolutionary syndicalism. In 1907 he participated in the international anarchist congress at Amsterdam and in 1909 founded the paper *La Vie Ouvrière*, an organ of revolutionary syndicalism. In November 1914, after World War I began, he resigned from the directing committee of the CGT in protest against the "sacred union" and took an internationalist and pacifist stand but was drafted and unable to resume political activity until 1919, when he returned to *La Vie Ouvrière* and rallied to the cause of the communist revolution in Russia. He supported the adherence of revolutionary syndicalism to the Comintern and

became one of three secretaries of the Committee for the Third International in France. In May 1920 he was arrested with the other committee leaders and remained in prison for nine months.

As a partisan of revolutionary syndicalism, Monatte did not approve of communist plans to subordinate the trade unions to the party and did not join the PCF when it was founded at Tours in 1920. At the beginning of 1922, however, he became a staff editor for the PCF organ, *L'Humanité*, and joined the party in mid-1923. At the party congress in Lyon in January 1924 he became a member of its directing committee but in December was expelled from the PCF. In 1925 he founded a review advocating the cause of revolutionary syndicalism, *La Révolution prolétarienne*, which he continued to direct until his death in 1960.

Mondok, Iván. Born in the Ukraine in 1893; he became a teacher. He was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I and taken prisoner on the Russian front. After the Bolshevik victory in Russia he became a communist and in 1919 was active in Budapest during the Hungarian Soviet Republic. In 1920 he returned to Uzhgorod in sub-Carpathian Ukraine (part of Czechoslovakia at that time) where he at first was a militant in the left wing of the social democratic party and later helped found the communist party. From 1923 to 1929 he was a member of the central committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and in 1927-28 edited the local communist review *Pravda*.

In 1928 he was a member of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, during which he participated in discussions on colonial matters and was elected a member of the ICC. When Klement Gottwald and his associates took over the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1929 he was forced to relinquish his functions in the party. In that same year he emigrated to Soviet Russia and became a member of the Ukrainian Communist Party but at the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in December 1933, he was accused of having "joined ranks with the class enemy" and was expelled from the Ukrainian party and the ICC. He was arrested during Stalin's purges and died in December 1941.

Monmousseau, Gaston. Born in France in 1883 into a family of farmers. He worked as a village carpenter's assistant until he was 21 and then went to Paris, where in 1910 he was employed by the state railroads. Because of his sympathy with anarchism he was reluctant to join any workers' organization, and did not join the railwaymen's union until 1914, but by 1919 was one of its leaders and wrote his first articles for the socialist paper *L'Humanité*. In April 1920 he was elected secretary-general of the National Federation of Railwaymen but in May, following a railway strike, he was dismissed from his post by the government, and then arrested at the same time as the leaders of the Committee for the Third International; he was acquitted at a trial in

February 1921. Later in the year he was named editor of the revolutionary syndicalist newspaper *La Vie Ouvrière*, and also elected secretary-general of the CGT in the Paris region. In July 1922 he became secretary-general of the newly founded CGTU. As a revolutionary syndicalist he still opposed the Bolshevik concept that trade unions should be subordinated to the party, and although he attended the second congress of the Profintern in November 1922 and the third congress in July 1924 he did not join the PCF until 1925.

From then on he broke with his revolutionary syndicalist friends and followed the fortunes of the Comintern. He was imprisoned in January 1923 after the action protesting occupation of the Ruhr, and arrested again, with other communist leaders, during the Moroccan war in 1925. At the sixth congress of the PCF in June 1926 he was elected to the central committee. He was reelected at the congresses of March 1932, January 1936, and December 1937.

Meanwhile he participated in the sixth plenum of the ECCI, held in Moscow during February and March 1926, and in the seventh plenum, held in November and December. In March and April 1928 he presented a report on the struggle against Fascism at the fourth Profintern congress. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in August 1928 he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI and in 1929 he addressed the tenth enlarged plenum. Later in that year and also in 1931 he again was arrested and briefly detained. At the fifth congress of the Profintern in August 1930 he was reelected to the executive bureau and at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was elected a member of the ICC.

In 1936, in France, he was elected a communist deputy. When the party was outlawed after the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, he went underground and in April 1940 was tried in absentia. After the liberation he became a member of the consultative assembly, in 1945 a secretary of the CGT, and in addition was a member of the PCF central committee, to which he was reelected at the congresses of June 1954, July 1956, and June 1959. He died in 1960.

Montagnana, Rita. Born in Turin in 1895, she became a dressmaker. In 1914 she joined the Italian Socialist Party; when the party split in Leghorn in January 1921, she joined the Italian Communist Party (ICP) and in that year attended the Third Congress of the Comintern as a member of the Italian delegation. She also attended the International Conference of Communist Women, held in Moscow in the same year. After her return to Italy she edited *La Compagna*, a newspaper for women which was published first in Rome and then in Turin.

In 1924 she married Palmiro Togliatti. In 1926 she settled in Soviet Russia, where she lived until 1944 except for trips to France, and to Spain during its civil war. During World War II she was active in Moscow's radio propaganda. In April 1944 she and Togliatti returned to Italy, where she founded the Union of Italian Women and became its national secretary. Until 1948 she was simultaneously a member of the central committee and of the directorate of the ICP

responsible for women's work. She was also a communist deputy in parliament for Bologna. At the seventh congress of the ICP in 1951 she was demoted to alternate member of the directorate but remained a member of the central committee. In February 1956 she was a member of the Italian delegation to the twentieth congress of the CPSU and in December, at the eighth congress of the ICP, she was not reelected to the central committee but became a member of the control commission. In 1972 she was in retirement and without leading functions in the party.

Moor, Karl. Born in 1853 into an aristocratic German family with military traditions; he took the name Karl Moor after the hero of Schiller's *Die Räuber*. Won over to socialism, he settled in Switzerland and became militant in the left wing of the social democratic movement. From 1895 to 1907 he was editor of the socialist newspaper *Berner Tagwacht*. In 1904 he was a member of the Swiss delegation to the Amsterdam congress of the Second International. From 1907 to 1911 he was secretary of the Swiss Social Democratic Party for the canton of Bern, as well as socialist deputy to the cantonal parliament. In September 1915 he was one of four Swiss representatives to the international socialist conference at Zimmerwald.

During World War I he established close contact, on the one side, with Russian socialist emigrants (including Lenin) and, on the other side, with the diplomatic services of imperial Germany (using the name Baier or Beier). After the Russian revolution of February 1917 he went to Stockholm, where he collaborated with the Bolshevik delegation, to which Karl Radek then belonged. After the Bolshevik victory in November he moved to Soviet Russia. In 1919 he was in Berlin working closely on the establishment of the Comintern's secret apparatus; there he kept in touch with Radek (then in the hands of the German authorities) and other Soviet emissaries and also with official German circles.

When he later returned to Moscow he undertook no other confidential missions but maintained contact with Bolshevik leaders, among them Lenin and, more often, Radek. He was pensioned by the Soviet government and lived in a Moscow rest home. Later he was authorized to return for treatment to Berlin, where he died in a sanatorium in 1932; representing his close friends, Willi Münzenberg gave his funeral oration.

Moscu, Ghita. Born in Rumania in about 1890. He was a militant in the socialist and trade-union movements before World War I. In 1916 he wrote antimilitarist and pacifist articles in a socialist youth paper and was one of three leaders of the commercial employees' trade union. Later he moved toward communism and in December 1918 was arrested for "attack on public security" and was tried the following year. In the spring of 1921 he went to the Soviet Union with his wife, Clara. He headed the Rumanian delegation to the Third

Comintern Congress and was elected (under the pseudonym A. Badulescu) a member of the ECCI as the only Rumanian representative. His wife (under the name Anna Badulescu) was elected on that same occasion to the International Women's Secretariat. From then on he spent most of his time in Moscow where he wrote for the Comintern press, but in 1924 he went to Vienna to take part in the third congress of the Rumanian Communist Party. At the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1926 he was a member of the agrarian commission. At the fifteenth congress of the RCP(B) in December 1927, he was a representative of the central committee of the Rumanian Communist Party as well as a member of the RCP(B), to which he was admitted in 1924. During 1927 he also wrote a chronicle of books for the Comintern organ, *Communist International*; at the beginning of 1929 an article appeared in that review under his name.

At the time he was entrusted with a high position in the Autonomous Soviet Republic of Moldavia but a few years later was accused of "bourgeois nationalism," was arrested, and liquidated during the Stalinist purges. He was rehabilitated posthumously, first in the U.S.S.R. and then in April 1968 in Rumania.

Müller, Kurt. Born in Germany in 1903 into a laborer's family; in his youth he became a metalworker. In 1920 he joined the KPD. Later he worked for the central apparatus of the Communist youth organization, became a member of its central committee, and in 1929 was elected its president. In 1931 he was sent to Moscow to work at the headquarters of the KIM and at the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in April became an alternate member of the Presidium of the Comintern. In the summer of 1932, as a member of the Heinz Neumann-Herrmann Remmele "factionalist group," he was removed from those positions and was obliged to work in a Soviet factory. Later he was sent to Hitler's Germany to organize underground communist action. In 1934 he was arrested and sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, from which he was liberated in 1945.

After the war he resumed his communist activities—he became head of the KPD in Hanover, then vice-president of the party in the British occupation zone, vice-president of the communist party in West Germany in 1948, and communist deputy to the parliament in Bonn in 1949. In May 1950 he was invited to East Germany, where he was arrested and handed over to the Soviets as a "Trotskyist agent." He was released in 1955 and permitted to return to West Germany, where he was still living in the late 1960s.

Muna, Alois. Born in 1886; he became a tailor. Before World War I he was active in the Czech Social Democratic Party; during the war he was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army. Taken prisoner by the Russians, he supported the revolution of November 1917 and took part in subsequent revolutionary

activity. In Kiev he edited a Czechoslovak newspaper, *Svoboda* (Freedom), which supported Bolshevism. Later in Moscow he edited another newspaper, *Průkopník Svobody* (Pioneer of Freedom), aimed at his countrymen. When a Czechoslovak communist group was formed in Soviet Russia, he became its leader.

After returning to Czechoslovakia he was arrested briefly in June 1919 for revolutionary activities. At Kladno he edited the communist newspaper *Svoboda* from 1919 to 1921. He was arrested again in 1921 and at the Third Congress of the Comintern was elected an honorary president in absentia. When freed from jail he went to Soviet Russia, where he participated in the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1922. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI; in 1924, at the Fifth Congress, he was elected a full member of the ECCI and became an alternate member of its Presidium and in that capacity participated in the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI during March and April 1925. Also in that year he was elected a communist deputy to the Czechoslovak parliament. However, in 1929, when Moscow helped elect new leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, headed by Klement Gottwald, Muna voiced his opposition and in June 1929 was expelled from the party and subsequently founded a group called the Leninist Opposition.

Münich, Ferenc. Born in Hungary in 1886, the son of a Jewish veterinarian; he received a law degree at the University of Kolozsvár. During World War I he was drafted and sent to the Russian front, where he was taken prisoner in 1916. After the revolution of February 1917 he sided with the Bolsheviks in the Tomsk region and in May of that year became a member of the Bolshevik party. In Siberia and the Urals he fought against the White forces. He then returned to Hungary, where he joined the Hungarian Communist Party when it was founded. After the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in March 1919, he became a political commissar first for the Red Guard at Budapest, then for the Sixth Division, and finally for the general staff of the Red Army. When the republic fell he fled to Vienna, where he continued his communist activity before proceeding to Berlin. As a member of the Comintern's secret apparatus, he participated in the 1921 March Action in central Germany. He was then jailed for a short time and at the beginning of 1922 settled in Soviet Russia. In Moscow he worked among Hungarian communist exiles and was given responsible positions in the Soviet gasoline industry. At the beginning of the Spanish civil war he went to Spain, where he became commander-in-chief of the Eleventh International Brigade. From 1939 to 1941 he was interned in France and then returned to the Soviet Union, where as a Red Army officer he fought in various places, including Stalingrad.

After returning to Hungary in 1945 he was named chief of political police in Budapest, a position he occupied until the end of 1949. Then he was transferred

to the diplomatic corps and served as ambassador to Finland, Bulgaria, the U.S.S.R. (1954-56), and finally Yugoslavia, where he was living at the outbreak of the 1956 Hungarian revolution. He returned to Budapest and on October 27 became minister of the interior in Imre Nagy's government; subsequently, with János Kádár, he sided with the Soviet Union. When the revolution was crushed on November 4 he was named deputy prime minister and placed in charge of the ministries of defense and interior and also became a member of the politburo of the Hungarian Communist Party. From January 1958 until the end of September 1961, he was prime minister and then minister of state. He held the latter post until 1965 and remained a politburo member until 1966. He died in late 1967.

Munschke, Ewald. Born in Berlin in 1901, the son of a tile installer; he worked as a mason in his youth. During the 1920s he was militant in the trade-union movement and in 1930 joined the KPD. After Hitler's rise to power in 1933 he worked in the underground communist movement. At the end of the year he went to the Soviet Union, where he studied at the KUNMZ until 1936. After the outbreak of the Spanish civil war he fought with the International Brigades and subsequently became political commissar of the Tchapaiev battalion of the Thirteenth Brigade. When the International Brigades left Spain he went to France, where in 1939 he was sentenced to six weeks in prison for illegally crossing the border. He then settled in Holland, where he took part in the communist resistance during the German occupation.

In 1945 he returned to East Germany to work in the political and police apparatus which the communists were organizing. In 1953 he became deputy minister of interior in charge of the cadres section. When the national defense ministry was created in 1956, he headed its cadres section, with the rank of general. Later he was elected an alternate member of the central control commission of the SED, a position he continued to hold in the 1960s.

Münzenberg, Willi. Born in Erfurt, Germany in 1889; at an early age he worked as a shoemaker. He became a militant in the socialist youth movement and in 1910 went to Zurich and took part in the movement there. In 1913 he edited *Die Freie Jugend*, the official newspaper of the young socialists. Beginning in 1914 he was secretary of the Young Socialists' League in Switzerland. When World War I began he called an international conference of young socialists opposed to the war; the conference met in April 1915 in Bern. From 1915 to 1918 he was secretary of the International Bureau of the Young Socialists at Zurich and edited its paper, *Jugend-Internationale*.

At the beginning of 1916 he belonged to the directorate of the Swiss Social Democratic Party; subsequently he supported Lenin and the Zimmerwald Left. In 1918 he was arrested, and in November was expelled from Switzerland for his revolutionary activities. He returned to Germany, where he joined the

KPD at its founding. In January 1919 Lenin and Trotsky invited "The Socialist Youth International (represented by Comrade Münzenberg)" to attend the founding congress of the Third International; however at that time Münzenberg was arrested in Stuttgart and jailed for five months. In November 1919 in Berlin he was a key person at the founding congress of the KIM, of which he remained secretary until 1921.

In 1920 he went to Soviet Russia for the first time to represent the KIM at the Second Congress of the Comintern. He performed the same function in 1921, at the Third Congress, at which he became a member of the ECCI; at both meetings he took a position near the left wing. Subsequently Lenin and the Comintern assigned him to organize an international campaign to aid the starving in Russia and thus he began his fruitful career as a promoter of Comintern front organizations. In August 1921, in Berlin, he founded a foreign committee to organize the workers' aid for the starving in Russia. In September he organized an international conference with the same objective, from which emerged the Workers' International Relief (Mezhrabpom) and which he headed for more than ten years. In February 1922 he presented the enlarged plenum of the ECCI with the first report on international activity for the relief of starving Russians. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November he submitted a report on the Workers' International Relief.

From then on he operated principally in Berlin but visited Moscow frequently. In 1924 he became a KPD deputy to the German Reichstag. In 1927 he promoted a new international front organization—the League Against Imperialism, whose founding congress met in February in Brussels; also in 1927 he was elected to the KPD central committee. In 1928 he attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern as a representative of the Workers' International Relief. He was reelected to the central committee at the KPD congress of 1929. He continued to travel to Moscow—in 1931 he attended the eleventh enlarged ECCI plenum; in 1932 he took part in the twelfth enlarged plenum.

After Hitler's rise to power he left for Paris, where he propagandized against the Nazi regime, published books (Carrefour Editions), organized an international campaign in favor of Georgi Dimitrov, who had been tried at Leipzig, and formed committees—a Relief Committee for the Victims of Fascism, a Committee for the Aid of the Spanish People, a Committee on Inquiry into Foreign Intervention in the Spanish Civil War, and other groups. In July and August 1935 he attended the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and in that same year, at the so-called Brussels conference of the KPD (actually held in Moscow), he was reelected to the central committee.

In October 1936 he made his last trip to Moscow. In January 1937 he signed, for the KPD, an appeal for the creation of a German Popular Front. In 1938, however, he was removed from the party central committee and then expelled from the party; in January 1939 the ICC in Moscow ratified this decision. Subsequently he edited a weekly newspaper in Paris, *Die Zukunft*. After the

outbreak of World War II he was interned in France; at the time of the armistice in June 1940 his internment camp was disbanded and he was found hanging from a tree.

Murphy, John T. Born in Scotland in 1888 into a working-class family. In 1917 he joined the Socialist Labour Party in Scotland and in 1918 the party presented him as one of its three candidates for parliament, but he gained only 1500 votes. He became a leader of the shop stewards' movement and in 1920 was its representative at the communist conference in Amsterdam and then at the Second Congress of the Comintern in Moscow. He joined the British Communist Party and in 1921 was elected to its central committee. In that year he was entrusted by Moscow to organize a branch of the Profintern in Great Britain. In October 1922 he was elected a member of the first politburo of the British Communist Party.

In November 1922 he attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed in the name of the British delegation; at the Fifth Congress in 1924 he was elected a member of the ICC. In the middle of 1926 he went to Moscow again, for a prolonged stay as a representative of the British Communist Party to the Comintern. At the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in November and December 1926 he reported on British problems. At that time he became a member of the Presidium of the ECCI and an alternate member of the Comintern Secretariat. In May 1927, at the eighth enlarged plenum, and in February 1928, at the ninth plenum, he was reelected a member of the ECCI Presidium. He also was nominated the Comintern's representative on the directorate of the Leninist School and remained 18 months at that post. In August 1928 he was seated on the Presidium rostrum of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern but was not reelected to the ECCI Presidium; he again became a member of the ICC. He broke with the communist party and the Comintern in 1932. He described his career in the book *New Horizons*, published in 1941. He was still living in the early 1960s.

Murto, Yrjö A. Born in 1899 into a Finnish working-class family. In his early youth he worked in lumberyards, joined the woodworkers' union, and became its leader during the years 1927-30. He also joined the Communist Party of Finland, which sent him to the Soviet Union in 1931 for political training at the Leninist School of the Comintern. In 1935 he returned to Finland to resume his communist activities but the Finnish authorities arrested him and sentenced him to seven years in prison and in 1942, at the end of his term, he was sent to a concentration camp, where he stayed until the Russo-Finnish armistice in 1944.

After his release he immediately resumed his place in the party leadership and became organizational secretary in the Oulu region. He also represented the party in the coalition government. From April 1945 to March 1946 he

was deputy minister of transportation and public works; he then became deputy minister of food production until the departure of the communists from the government in 1948. At that time he became vice-president of the Finnish Communist Party. At the thirteenth congress of the party in 1963 he was reelected to the central committee. He died before the opening of the following congress in 1966.

Musso. Born in a village in eastern Java in 1897. He attended secondary school in Batavia and then lived in Surabaya. In his youth he became a militant in the left wing of the Centrale Sarekat Islam, an Indonesian nationalist revolutionary movement, for which he was arrested by the Dutch authorities. After his release in September 1923 he joined the Indonesian Communist Party, favoring its left wing. In 1925 he headed a trade-union movement in Java and published the communist newspaper *Proletar*. In January 1926 he was threatened with arrest and fled to Singapore and then, by way of Canton, to Soviet Russia. In late 1926 he left Moscow to take part in a revolutionary attempt in Indonesia but was arrested in Singapore and later deported.

In 1927 he returned to Soviet Russia and, with his countryman Alimin, entered the Leninist School of the Comintern, where he studied in 1927-28. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was seated on the presidium, spoke for the Indonesian Communist Party (under the pseudonym Manavar), and at the close of the meeting was elected a member of the ECCI and its Presidium. At the fourth congress of the Profintern he was elected an alternate member of the directing body—the executive bureau. In 1929 he addressed the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and was reelected to the ECCI Presidium.

In 1935 he returned to Surabaya on a secret Comintern mission to reorganize the Indonesian Communist Party. Threatened with imprisonment by the Dutch, he fled to Moscow in 1936 and remained there throughout the purges and World War II.

He returned to Indonesia in August 1948, after the country had gained independence. He convened a national conference of the Indonesian Communist Party and on September 1 became its official head. On September 18 the communist insurrection erupted at Madiun but by September 28 was suppressed. Musso fled with a few followers but on October 31, 1948, he was shot down by a patrol of the new Indonesian republic.

N

Nagy, Imre. Born in Hungary in 1896, the son of an agricultural worker; he earned his living as a metallurgical worker. In 1915 he was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian Army and sent to the eastern front, where he was taken prisoner in 1917 by the Russian army. He joined the RCP(B) in 1918 and enlisted in the Red Army.

In 1921 he returned to Hungary, where he joined the Hungarian Social Democratic Party in order to work as a communist infiltrator, but he was expelled by the party leadership and in April 1925 formed a dissident party with other leftists. He was arrested and detained briefly in 1927. In 1929 he went to Austria, where he joined the foreign headquarters of the Hungarian Communist Party. At the party's second congress, held in Vienna in 1930, he gave a report on the agrarian question. In 1930 he also traveled to the Soviet Union, where he worked in the International Agrarian Institute and wrote for the communist press. In 1935 he spoke for the Hungarian Communist Party at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. During the Stalinist purges he lived at a kolhoz in Siberia. He returned to Moscow after the German invasion and became director of Hungarian-language radio broadcasts.

At the end of 1944 he returned to Hungary, where he became minister of agriculture in the provisional government formed in December. On November 15, 1945, following the formation of a new government, he was named minister of the interior but by March 23, 1946, yielded that post to László Rajk. In September 1947 he was elected president of parliament; however, because of a more or less open conflict with Mátyás Rákosi which began in 1948, he was removed from the party politburo in 1949. Meanwhile he held the chair in agrarian economy at the University of Budapest. In 1951 he began to regain his old positions in the party and the government. In November 1952 he became deputy prime minister under Rákosi. On July 4, 1953 (after Stalin's death), he became prime minister charged with carrying out the "new course" but Rákosi and the party apparatus remained hostile to him and in March 1955 he was accused by the party central committee of "rightist deviation." In April he was dismissed from the post of prime minister and excluded from the politburo and at the end of the year was expelled from the party.

He was readmitted to the party on October 14, 1956. On October 27, four days after the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution, he again became prime minister. On November 4, when the Red Army units were reoccupying Hungary, he took refuge in the Yugoslav embassy but when he left there on November 23 he was immediately arrested. He was condemned to death for treason and hanged on June 16, 1958.

Negarville, Celeste. Born in Turin in 1905; at an early age he worked in a metallurgical plant. In 1920 he joined the young socialists and, like the majority, turned to the Italian Communist Party (ICP) when it was formed in January 1921. At the time of Mussolini's victory in the autumn of 1922 he was secretary of the communist youth organization in a small Italian town and in 1924 became secretary of Turin's Federation of Young Communists. In 1927 he was arrested for communist activity and sentenced to 15 years in prison but was freed in 1934. He then left for France and subsequently for the Soviet Union.

At the sixth congress of the KIM in 1935 he was elected to the executive committee and its presidium; he also took part in the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. He later returned to France, where (using the name Ferri) he joined the foreign bureau of the ICP. Early in 1943 he returned secretly to Italy and after its surrender was active in the communist resistance.

When the ICP was reconstituted he was named, in 1945, head of agitprop, a member of the party central committee, and party secretary for the Piedmont region. The communists then entered the government and from July 1945 to July 1946 he was undersecretary of state for foreign affairs. In 1946 he was elected communist deputy and mayor of Turin. At the seventh congress of the ICP in 1951 he was reelected to the central committee and to the party directorate (at that time the equivalent of the politburo). In July 1956, following the twentieth congress of the CPSU, he went to Moscow with an Italian delegation to discuss problems raised by de-Stalinization. In December 1956, at the eighth ICP congress, he was reelected to its central committee but not to the party directorate. He died in 1958.

Nemes, Dezső. Born in Hungary in 1900; he first worked as an upholsterer's assistant. In 1925-26 he became militant in the Hungarian communist movement. In 1928 he rose to a leading position in the communist youth organization but was arrested by Horthy's police and sentenced to three years in prison; released in 1931, he went to Soviet Russia to attend the Leninist School of the Comintern.

After his return to Hungary in May 1933 he became party secretary for Budapest and the surrounding region. For the next three years he headed the underground work of the party and was in contact with Hungarian party centers in Prague, Paris, and Moscow. In 1936 he returned to Moscow, where he remained during Stalin's purges and World War II. At the end of the war he returned to Hungary. From 1945 to 1948 he was a secretary for the national council of trade unions. From 1948 to 1950 he edited the publication, in Hungarian, of the Cominform's newspaper *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*. From 1950 to 1953 he was a department head in the ministry of education and from 1953 to 1956 director of the party's publishing house, Szikra.

Not until the crushing of the Hungarian revolution and the rise of János Kádár did Nemes play an important political role. At the party conference held in June 1957 he became a member of the central committee and later in the year became editor of the party's daily, *Népszabadság* (People's Freedom). Still later he became an alternate member of the politburo and in December 1959, at the close of the seventh party congress, he became a full member of the politburo. In September 1961 he resigned as editor of *Népszabadság*. In 1962 he became a secretary of the party's central committee but in June 1965 he was released from that position and named director of the Institute for the History of the Party. Early in 1969 he was still a member of the politburo and in March he represented the Hungarian Communist Party at the Moscow celebration of the Comintern's fiftieth anniversary. He also helped edit a history of the Comintern published in 1969 by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow.

Nerman, Tore. Born in Sweden in 1886; he was later known as a journalist, poet, and translator. In 1904 he became militant in the left wing of the Swedish socialist movement, belonging to the party youth group opposed to the official leadership. He was among the left-wing elements at the Basel congress of the Second International in 1912. At the beginning of World War I he took a pacifist and internationalist stand. He represented the Swedish left at the Zimmerwald conference in September 1915 and signed the manifesto prepared by the Zimmerwald Left. In April 1917 he was one of eleven European socialists approving the trip for Lenin and his group across imperial Germany. From 1916 on he was editor-in-chief of *Politiken*, a newspaper of the Swedish socialist left; when the left separated from the Swedish Social Democratic Party in May 1917, he helped the dissident group to found the Swedish Left Social Democratic Party, which in 1921 became the Swedish Communist Party. In 1919 he was editor-in-chief of *Stormklockan* (Storm Bell), a youth-oriented newspaper. He remained a member of the communist party until 1929 and then joined a dissident communist movement.

In 1936 he rejoined the Swedish Social Democratic Party and condemned the evolution of communism and the Comintern toward Stalinism. This view was expressed in his book *Kommunisterna*, published in 1949. He was several times deputy to the Swedish parliament, first from 1931 to 1937 and then from 1946 to 1953. In the mid-1960s he was living in Stockholm.

Neumann, Heinz. Born in 1902 into a middle-class German family. At age 17 he entered the University of Berlin to study philology; later his linguistic talent was useful in his political career. In December 1921 he was a KPD delegate to the Marseilles congress of the PCF. At the beginning of 1922 he went to Soviet Russia with a KPD delegation (headed by August Thalheimer) to the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI, which convened on February 21, served as an interpreter, and made numerous contacts in the RCP(B) and the

Comintern; in November he was again in Moscow for the Fourth Comintern Congress. In 1923 he became secretary of one of the party's districts and also joined the party's secret apparatus.

In 1924 he was with the German delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, at which he served as secretary of the propaganda commission. In 1925 he was nominated the KPD representative to the ECCI and as such became one of the most prominent spokesmen to favor the new Comintern policy of Bolshevization of its foreign sections (at the end of 1924, before going to Moscow, he already had written an approving pamphlet entitled *Was ist Bolschewisierung?*). In August 1925 he was a member of a KPD delegation which discussed the internal affairs of the German party with the ECCI; these discussions resulted in an open letter to members and organizations of the KPD, issued on September 1 by the ECCI and criticizing the leftist leaders of the KPD (particularly Ruth Fischer and Arkadi Maslow). At the 1927 KPD congress Neumann was reelected to the central committee and sat on the politburo. In August he was one of three party delegates in Moscow to offer KPD support for Stalin's struggle against Trotsky and Zinoviev. Neumann was known as a favorite of Stalin, who sent him to China to organize the Canton Commune in December 1927, an action which ended in failure within a few days. In 1928 he spoke at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and in 1929 participated in the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI.

He was reelected to the central committee and politburo at the closing of the KPD congress in 1929 and presented a report on the first Soviet Five Year Plan before the new central committee. In 1930 he represented the party at the sixteenth congress of the RCP(B). In the same year he drafted the declaration of a program for social and national liberation of the German people, in preparation for parliamentary elections in which he became a communist deputy. At the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in April 1931 he was elected alternate member of the ECCI Presidium. His star dimmed in 1932—in August he was eliminated from the KPD politburo and the ECCI Presidium, and in October he was criticized at the third national conference of the KPD for alleged tactical errors committed in the struggle against Fascism. In October, following the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, he was in Moscow to offer a self-criticism during a meeting attended by Dmitri Manuilsky. At the end of 1932 the Comintern sent him on a mission to Spain, where he was active for about a year under the name Octavio. In late 1933 he arrived in Switzerland and in 1934 was arrested in Zurich. Threatened with extradition to Nazi Germany, he obtained authorization to return to Soviet Russia in 1935. He lived there until 1937, when he was arrested during the Stalinist purges and then disappeared.

Neumann, Paul. Born in Germany in 1888; he became a metalworker. He was active in the trade-union movement and by the end of World War I had moved politically toward the extreme left. In December 1918 he was a delegate to the first All-German Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.

He later joined the KPD but continued his trade-union activities. In 1921 he expressed his disagreement with the March Action headed by Béla Kun. In April, with Clara Zetkin, Curt Geyer, Ernst Däumig, and several other communist leaders, he signed a declaration supporting Paul Levi, the ex-president of the party who had just been expelled. At the Third Congress of the Comintern, held in June and July 1921, he and Heinrich Malzahn, another communist trade-union militant, pleaded Levi's case. Although in the public debates he defended views close to those of Levi on three occasions, he decided after his return from Moscow to remain in the party. However, a new KPD crisis arose concerning its secretary, Ernst Reuter, and in January 1922 Neumann signed an appeal to German communists to oppose Comintern policies within the party. Later he broke permanently with the KPD.

Neurath, Alois. Born in Vienna in 1886 into a German family. He was militant in the workers' movement in the Sudeten region and later was one of the founders of the German section of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. From 1921 to 1926 he was secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's central committee and also a communist deputy to parliament.

During that period he also represented his party in the Comintern. In 1922 he went to Moscow and was named to the ECCI prior to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held in November. At the congress he was one of the chairmen, and participated in the debates; his membership in the ECCI was confirmed, and he was made an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium. In 1923 he was a delegate to the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI, and in 1924 he addressed the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and was reelected to the ECCI and its Presidium. In 1925 he attended the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, and in February and March 1926 he was present at the sixth plenum. At the beginning of the year, however, he had been under attack from Moscow for his opposition to certain Comintern and Kremlin policies. He openly declared himself a Trotskyite and as a result was deprived of all his positions in the party and then expelled from it in June 1929. After that he headed a Trotskyite group of dissident communists especially active in the Sudeten region. After the communist take-over of Czechoslovakia in February 1948 he went to Sweden.

Newbold, J. T. Walton. Born in England in 1888; he studied at the University of Manchester, where he received an M.A. degree. In 1910 he joined the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party and later became a journalist dealing with political and social questions. In December 1918 he was an unsuccessful party candidate for parliament. In March 1921 he joined the British Communist Party with the left-wing group of the Independent Labour Party.

In November 1922 he was elected a communist deputy to parliament and on December 5, at the close of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, was elected an alternate member of the ECCI; in June 1923 he was a member

of the British delegation to the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI. When the Comintern decided to reorganize the leadership of the British Communist Party, he became an alternate member of the party politburo while remaining a member of its executive committee, a larger body. In December 1923, however, he lost in the parliamentary elections. After the fourth congress of the party, held in May 1924, he was no longer in the party leadership. He then left the party and did not run in the parliamentary elections of October 1924.

Nieh Jung-chen. Born in China in 1899 into a prosperous peasant family. In 1919 he took part in the May Fourth Movement before leaving for France to work and study. In 1922 he joined the Communist Youth League and in 1923 the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In 1924 he went to Moscow for indoctrination at the KUTV and a Soviet military school.

After his return to China in the autumn of 1925, he became secretary-general of the political department and political instructor at the Whampoa Military Academy. He took part in the Northern Expedition in 1926. After the break between the CCP and the Kuomintang in 1927, he was secretary for the Nanchang front committee of the CCP. He then took part in the Nanchang insurrection and, in December 1927, in the Canton Commune insurrection. In 1931 he was named political commissar of the first Red Army corps. At the beginning of the Chinese-Japanese war in 1937 he became deputy commander and political commissar of the 115th division of the Eighth Army. In November 1937 he became commander and political commissar of the Shanxi-Hopeh military area. In 1948, after the war between the nationalists and the communists had been resumed, he became commander of the North China military area and second secretary of the North China bureau of the CCP central committee. When the communist troops entered Peking in February 1949 he became commander of the Peking-Tientsin garrison.

In 1945 he had been elected to the central committee at the seventh congress of the CCP and in April 1949 he was a member of the communist party delegation to the final talks with the Kuomintang. In September 1955 he was one of the ten top officers in communist China to be made first marshals of the people's army. At the eighth congress of the CCP in September 1956 he was reelected a member of the central committee, a post he managed to retain during the cultural revolution of 1966, and at the ninth congress of the CCP held in April 1969 he was reelected again to the central committee.

Nielson, Marie-Sophie. Born in 1875. She became militant in the Danish workers' movement and from 1916 to 1918 was a member of the directing committee of the Danish Social Democratic Party. As a leftist, she participated in the founding of the Danish Socialist Workers' Party in March 1918, which later favored adherence to the Comintern and which merged with other leftist elements to found the Danish Communist Party in November 1919.

In 1920 she traveled to Soviet Russia, where she attended the Second Congress of the Comintern. During the following years she worked with the Comintern, but, she disassociated herself from the struggle against Trotsky and as a result was expelled from the party in 1928. In 1932 she requested and obtained readmission into the party but in 1936, during the Stalinist purges in Soviet Russia, she was expelled again. She died in 1951.

Nin, Andrés. Born in 1892, the son of a Catalan shoemaker. In 1911 he joined the Spanish Socialist Party and in 1914 was secretary of the strike committee in Catalonia. In 1920-21 he was secretary-general of the national committee of the National Confederation of Labor (CNT). He was arrested and held briefly by Spanish authorities for his political and trade-union activities. He favored joining the Comintern and the projected Profintern and in June 1921 left for Moscow, where in July he attended the founding congress of the Profintern, was elected a member of the executive bureau, and with Lozovsky and Tom Mann was chosen as a Profintern representative to the ECCI.

In the autumn of 1921 he was arrested briefly in Germany and after being freed returned to Moscow. During the first half of 1922 he took part in ECCI meetings and in June, at the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI, was again a member of the Profintern delegation. At the second congress of the Profintern in November he was elected deputy to Lozovsky, the secretary-general, and also given responsibility for activities in Spain and all of Latin America. In 1923 he joined the RCP(B). At the third congress of the Profintern in July 1924, he was reelected to the executive bureau and confirmed as Lozovsky's deputy. In November and December 1926 he participated in the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI as a member of the trade-union commission. However, he rallied to Trotsky in the struggle with Stalin and as a result was expelled from the party in 1927. In March 1928 he addressed the fourth congress of the Profintern but was stripped of all his political and administrative positions and in 1930 was expelled from Soviet Russia. Returning to Spain he again was imprisoned. When released he founded a communist opposition group tied to Trotsky but after joining the labor and peasant bloc he came into conflict and broke with Trotsky. In 1935, with Joaquín Maurín, he founded the Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM), an extreme left-wing revolutionary movement though strongly anti-Stalinist. During the Spanish civil war the POUM, under Nin's leadership, fought on the Republican side but was bitterly opposed and mercilessly attacked by Spanish communists and their Soviet advisers. In May 1937, despite warnings, Nin was kidnapped by GPU men and disappeared.

Nógrádi, Sándor. Born in 1894, the son of a poor merchant in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. After completing secondary school he worked as a locksmith and in his youth joined the Hungarian Socialist Party. He became a member of the Hungarian Communist Party when it was founded in November

1918, and during the Hungarian Soviet Republic under Béla Kun he was a party leader in his native province. When the republic fell, Nógrádi sought refuge in Czechoslovakia, where he continued communist activities. In the autumn of 1926 the Czechoslovak Communist Party placed him in the first group of students to attend the Leninist School of the Comintern, from which he graduated in 1928 under the name Alex Kellermann. He then joined the Comintern apparatus, which sent him on missions to Germany and then to France, where he was active from 1933 until his return to the Soviet Union in October 1936. He wrote occasionally for the Comintern press under the name Kellermann, editing the ECCI confidential bulletin and working as director of a department in the Comintern's press bureau.

Toward the end of World War II the Russians parachuted him into Slovakia to head a partisan group of Hungarians. After the war he served the Hungarian government as undersecretary for the ministry of industry, deputy minister of national defense, chief political commissar for the armed forces, and ambassador to China (1957-60). He also served the party as a member of the central committee (from 1945), a member of the *orgburo* (from 1951), head of the agitprop section of the central committee, and president of the control commission (in 1965).

Nosaka, Sanzo. Born in Japan in 1892, the son of a merchant and orphaned at age 14. With the help of his elder brother he attended the polytechnical school at Kobe and then the University of Tokyo, where he received a degree in political economy. In 1913 he joined a workers' organization called The Brotherhood, embryo of the future General Confederation of Labor; in 1917 he was a leader of the confederation and edited its official newspaper. In 1919 he went to England, where he took courses at the London School of Economics. Already a partisan of Marxist and socialist thought while in Japan, he now gravitated toward communism and in 1920 took part in the founding congress of the British Communist Party; in 1921 he was expelled from England for his revolutionary activities.

After visiting several West European countries he went to Moscow, where he met Sen Katayama and worked from 1921 to the spring of 1922 at Profintern headquarters. He then returned to Japan and in January 1923 joined the Japanese Communist Party. From 1922 to 1928 he was very active in the General Confederation of Labor. In 1923 he spent eight months in prison. In 1925 he was elected a member of the party central committee and quickly became one of its leaders. He was imprisoned again from 1928 to 1930 but then was transferred to a hospital because of illness. He escaped in March 1931 and went to Moscow, where he was a representative of the Japanese Communist Party at the Comintern, using the name S. Okano.

At the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in August and September 1932, he delivered a speech and shortly afterward was elected to the ECCI; in December 1933 the thirteenth enlarged plenum confirmed his position. Mean-

while he had taken the place of Katayama in the ECCI Presidium and in 1935 spoke at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and was reelected to the ECCI and its Presidium. In 1940 he left Moscow for Yenan, the seat of Mao Tse-tung's government. He remained with the Chinese communists for five years and in 1945 was the only foreign speaker at the seventh congress of the Chinese Communist Party.

In January 1946 he returned to Japan, where he regained his position in the party politburo and central committee secretariat. Also in 1946 he was elected a communist deputy to parliament. In 1950, however, two events disturbed his career—in January he was criticized violently by the official organ of the Cominform for his "anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist theories" and forced to make a self-criticism; in June, after the Korean war began, the Japanese Communist Party went underground. When the party legally reappeared and held its sixth national conference in July 1955 he was elected first secretary of the central committee. Later he left that post to become party president and in 1961 headed the Japanese delegation to the twenty-second congress of the CPSU. In October 1966, at the tenth congress of the Japanese Communist Party, he was reelected to the party presidency and to the politburo of the central committee.

Novaković, Kosta. Born in Serbia in 1886. He studied law at the University of Belgrade, there became a socialist, and in 1907 joined the Serbian Social Democratic Party. He was drafted at the beginning of World War I. In 1917-18 he was in Paris, where he helped edit a Serbian socialist review, *The Future*, and rallied to communism. After his return to Serbia he was active in the communist cause and when the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) was founded in 1919, he became a member of its executive central committee. In 1920 he was elected a communist deputy to parliament but lost his deputyship following measures taken against communists in 1921. When the CPY was divided by tactical conflicts soon after that, he joined the left wing.

In 1922 he went to Moscow to take part in the March meetings of the ECCI, under the name Stanić. He then was appointed to the Comintern delegation to the Berlin conference of the three Internationals, held in April 1922; there he used the name Stojanović. In November 1922, at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, he was a spokesman for the CPY left (again under the name Stanić).

After he returned to Yugoslavia he continued his communist activities, which led to several arrests and two prison sentences. In 1926 he was condemned to five years in prison but escaped in January 1927 and went to Soviet Russia. In 1928 he attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and at the end of the year the Comintern sent him to Berlin as a Yugoslav representative to

its Balkan Communist Federation; using the name Dragačevac he participated in the affairs of the CPY. In 1931 he was recalled to Moscow, where he settled under the name P. Petrovič, and worked first in the executive committee of the MOPR. In the autumn of 1932, however, he was indicted for factionalism and excluded from the CPY for one year; in 1935 his reentry was proposed. At the beginning of Stalin's purges he worked in a printing shop. In November 1938 he was arrested, tried, and executed; on June 10, 1958, however, he was rehabilitated by a decision of the military collegium of the Soviet Supreme Court.

Novotný, Antonín. Born in 1904 into a Czech working-class family; from an early age he worked as a blacksmith. He joined the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1921 and assumed his first administrative functions in the party in 1929. In 1935 he was a delegate to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern but did not take part in the debates and was not elected to any of the governing bodies. As a permanent functionary of the party he was rewarded with various positions—in 1937, a regional party secretary in Prague; in 1938, secretary and editor of the regional party newspaper for southern Moravia; and in 1939, after the outlawing of the party, one of its underground leaders in Prague.

In September 1941 he was arrested by the Gestapo and deported to Mauthausen, where he remained until the end of the war. After his return to Czechoslovakia he again became the regional party secretary in Prague and in 1946 was elected a member of the central committee of the party. In September 1951 he became a member of the central committee secretariat and the orgburo and in December, after Slansky's arrest, entered the top leadership of the party by becoming a member of the politburo and political secretariat. In February 1953 he became deputy prime minister of the Czechoslovak government and in September 1953 first secretary of the central committee. When the president of the republic, Antonín Zápotocký, died Novotný took his place in November 1957.

Meanwhile he led the Czechoslovak delegations to all the important meetings in Moscow, including the twentieth congress of the CPSU in February 1956, the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1957, the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1960, and the twenty-second congress of the CPSU in October 1961.

On January 5, 1968, he was forced to surrender his post as first secretary to Alexander Dubček but on March 25, at the time of "Prague's Spring," he resigned as president of the republic and three days later relinquished his seat on the politburo of the central committee; on May 29 he was deprived of his seat in the central committee and suspended from party membership.

O

Oelssner, Fred. Born in Leipzig in 1903, the son of a militant syndicalist and socialist. In 1917 he joined the youth section of the USPD and in December 1920, when the left wing of the USPD merged with the KPD, he became a member of the new communist party. He soon became a leader of the young communists in the Halle-Merseburg region, where his father led the communist party; both father and son took part in the 1921 March Action. As a member of the party's central apparatus, young Oelssner joined the German delegation to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in 1922. In 1923 he participated in the German October, and was arrested after its defeat. Later he was sent for political training to Moscow, where he remained from 1926 to 1932. When he returned to Germany he was active in the secret party apparatus until the end of 1933, after which he worked for the Comintern in Prague and at the foreign headquarters of the KPD in Paris.

In 1935 he returned to Moscow to teach in the Leninist School of the Comintern. In 1937, during Stalin's purges, he was dismissed from his post and sent to work in a paper factory for three years; after Hitler's attack on Soviet Russia, however, he rejoined the communist apparatus and during the war directed German radio broadcasts from Moscow using the pseudonym Larw.

In July 1945 he returned to East Berlin to lead the communist party's agitprop section and then the SED agitprop and ideological training section; in 1947 he joined the SED central committee, and in 1949-50 he was a member of the SED secretariat and politburo. From 1950 to 1955 he remained in charge of the central committee propaganda section. In 1955 he was named deputy prime minister. In 1958, however, he was stripped of all his duties in the government and the party politburo. In 1959 he offered a public self-criticism and from then on worked in the economics section of the East German Academy of Sciences.

Olbracht, Ivan. Born Kamil Zeman in 1882 in the Czechoslovak part of Austro-Hungary. An author and journalist, he went to Soviet Russia in 1920 as a member of the Czech left socialist delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern and remained in Russia for nine months. After returning he worked for several years as an editor of *Rudé Právo* (Red Right), the central organ of the Czechoslovak party, and also published a three-volume work, *Reflections of Contemporary Russia*.

During the party factional struggles of 1928-29, he favored Bohumil Jilek over the leftist Klement Gottwald; in 1929 he publicly condemned the new leadership and left the party but a few years later was granted a request to rejoin. In the interim he wrote many novels. He participated in the resistance during World War II but after 1945 held no positions of party leadership. He died in 1952.

Olgeirsson, Einar. Born in Iceland in 1902. He studied first at the University of Reykjavik and then at the University of Berlin, from which he received a degree in foreign languages and literature in 1924; then he returned to Iceland and began a teaching career. He took part in the founding of the Icelandic Communist Party and in 1930 was elected a member of the party's central committee at the founding congress and in 1931 became a member of the politburo. He also took charge of agitprop. He edited *Réttur* (Right) the party's theoretical review, and at the beginning of 1935 the communist daily *Thjóðviljinn* (The National Will), which became the second most popular paper in Reykjavik.

At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he gave a speech in his party's name. In 1937 he was elected a communist deputy to the Icelandic parliament and in 1938 took part in the merging of the Icelandic Communist Party and the left wing of the Icelandic Social Democratic Party, which together became the Icelandic Unified Socialist Party. He was elected vice-president of the new party and in 1939 became president. In 1945, after the war, he traveled to the Soviet Union.

He remained party president for almost 30 years and at the thirteenth congress of the party, held in November 1966, was again reelected. In April 1967 he headed his party's delegation to the seventh congress of the SED, held in East Berlin. In November 1967, at the Moscow celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, he represented his party and delivered a speech. At the fourteenth congress, held in November 1968, he relinquished the party presidency to Ragnar Arnalds.

Olsen, Jeanette. Born in 1873. In 1900 she joined the Norwegian labor movement and prior to World War I was secretary of the fishermen's trade union. During the war she took a pacifist and internationalist stand, as did the Norwegian Labor Party. She remained with the party when it joined the Comintern and was a member of the party leadership from 1918 to 1923. As a leader she was with the Norwegian delegation at the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 and at the Third Congress in 1921.

When the party split in November 1923 she remained with the minority which founded the Norwegian Communist Party. She then became a member of its central committee and politburo but left the party in 1928 with Olaf Scheflo, the communist chief. In 1936 she joined the Trotskyite movement and edited *October*, the Trotskyite newspaper for Norway and Denmark; she remained in touch with her Trotskyite friends until her death in Oslo in 1959.

Ossinsky, N. Born Valerian Obolensky in 1887 into an aristocratic Russian family. He became a socialist while a student at the University of Moscow and in 1907 joined the RSDLP, favoring its Bolshevik faction. Under the tsarist regime he worked for the party in many cities, including Moscow, Tver, and Kharkov. After the February 1917 Revolution he worked in Moscow's regional committee of the Bolshevik party and also edited the newspaper *Sotsial Demokrat*. After the October Revolution he took charge of the state bank and then presided

over the national economic council. During 1918 he was a leader of the communist left, whose platform he drafted and published in the newspaper *Kommunist*. In 1918-19 he worked on the editorial staff of *Pravda* and in the party agitprop section. In that capacity he had a consultative voice and submitted a report to the founding congress of the Comintern, held in March 1919. In 1920 he belonged to the Bolshevik delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern. At the tenth congress of the RCP(B) in 1921 he was elected an alternate member of the central committee but also leaned toward an opposition group called Democratic Centralists; at the next congress in 1922 he lost his alternate membership in the central committee.

From 1921 to 1923 he was deputy commissar of agriculture. In February 1922 he took part in the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI. In October 1923 he once again was aligned with the opposition as a signer of the "Letter of the 46" but later supported the majority and in December 1925, at the fourteenth party congress, he was reelected an alternate member of the central committee. At the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, in November and December 1926, he was a member of the Bolshevik delegation and a member of the commission on the agrarian question. In the years following he held various party posts in the economic and diplomatic fields and sometimes wrote for the Comintern press. During the Stalinist purges he was arrested, used as a witness against Bukharin at the third show trial in 1938, and then executed.

Overstraeten, Eduard Van. Born in Belgium in 1890 into a Flemish family. In Brussels at the end of World War I he was militant in the Young Socialist Guards and rallied to communism. During 1920 he defended "left communist" positions. That year he attended the Second Congress of the Comintern as the only Belgian representative. At the Third Congress, held in June and July 1921, he took part in the debates and was elected a member of the ECCI. At the founding congress of the unified Belgian Communist Party in September 1921, he was the principal speaker and became the party's national secretary of the executive bureau. From March to July 1923 he was in prison as a result of his campaign against occupation of the Ruhr.

In 1925 he was elected a communist deputy to parliament. In 1927 he led the majority of the party central committee in opposing Stalin's plan to expel Trotsky and Zinoviev; Moscow, however, reacted quickly and in 1928 he found himself in the minority and expelled from the party as a Trotskyite. He then took charge of a dissident communist movement but in 1930 he moved away from communism and finally abandoned all political activity. He devoted himself to painting as a profession and was still active in the mid-1960s.

P

Paikes, A. K. Born in Russia in 1873. He became a militant in the RSDLP and belonged to the Menshevik faction. In 1918 he joined the RCP(B) and from then until late 1920 (the civil war period) he was in Siberia, where he held various important posts on the revolutionary military committee and on the control commission of the party. In late 1921 he was sent to China, where he contacted some of the first intellectuals converted to communism in Peking and elsewhere. He then returned to Russia and became Soviet ambassador to Lithuania in 1922. Later he worked in the economic apparatus of the Soviet government. He died in 1958.

Pajetta, Giancarlo. Born in Turin in 1911. At a very early age he was active in the underground communist movement against the Fascists and his younger brother, Giuliano, later followed in his footsteps. In 1927 Giancarlo joined the Turin regional committee of the Italian communist youth movement but was arrested in November. In 1931 he left for Paris and worked there at the foreign headquarters of the Italian Communist Party (ICP). He then went to Moscow, where for six months in 1932, using the pseudonym Nullo, he was the Italian representative to the KIM and a member of its executive committee. In February 1933 he returned to Italy secretly but was arrested a few days later. In February 1934 he was tried and sentenced to 21 years in prison; he remained in prison until August 1943, after the fall of Mussolini.

After his release he joined the communist resistance and in January 1945 was elected a member of the ICP's central committee and directorate (politburo). Simultaneously he was leader of the Communist Federation of Milan and editor of the party's daily newspaper, *L'Unità*, published in Milan. At every succeeding congress of the party he was reelected to the central committee and the directorate. From 1955 to 1969 he was also a member of the secretariat of the central committee. From the time of the constituent assembly, of which he was also a member, he was reelected a parliamentary deputy regularly.

He was often in charge of missions abroad—in 1956 he was a member of the ICP delegation to Moscow, following the publication of Khrushchev's "secret" report; in March 1965 he led the party delegation to the Moscow Conference of Nineteen Communist Parties; and in June 1965 he performed the same function at a conference of the communist parties of capitalist Europe. In February 1969, at the twelfth congress of the ICP, he was reelected to the central committee and politburo (formerly the directorate) but was no longer seated in the secretariat of the central committee.

Pak Chin-sun. Born in Korea; prior to World War I but still in his youth, he settled in tsarist Russia, where he studied at the University of Moscow. After the Bolshevik victory of November 7, 1917, he rallied to the communist cause and helped establish the Korean Socialist Party in June 1919 at a congress held in Khabarovsk. He became its secretary-general and as such wrote an article published that year in the Comintern's official organ, *The Communist International*. In 1919 he also returned to Moscow, where he occasionally took part in meetings of the ECCI as Korean representative. At the Second Congress of the Comintern, held in July and August 1920, he was the only Korean delegate; he sat on the commission dealing with national and colonial questions and gave a speech on that subject during the public debates. At the close of the congress he was elected a member of the ECCI, as a representative of the Far East. He then wrote an article for *The Communist International* entitled "Comintern Politics in the Orient."

In 1921 he went to Siberia and then to Peking and Shanghai, where he was closely involved in the factional struggles of the Korean communist immigrants. In May 1922 he returned to Moscow as a delegate for one of the Korean factions. However, at its Fourth Congress, held in November and December 1922, the Comintern would not recognize him as a delegate and he was dismissed from all leading positions within the party and the Comintern. He remained in Soviet Russia, where in 1935, according to one source, he was "peddling for his daily sustenance" in Moscow.

Pankhurst, Sylvia. Born in 1882, the daughter of Emmeline Pankhurst, one of the first British suffragettes. At age 16 she joined the Independent Labour Party and from then on was active in the British labor movement and as a suffragette. In 1906 and again in 1907 she was arrested as a political agitator. In 1912 she published her first book, *The Suffragette—A History of the Militant Movement*, and in March 1914 launched her newspaper, *Workers' Dreadnought*. During World War I she took a pacifist and internationalist stand and in 1917 supported the Bolshevik revolution in Russia.

In July 1918 she founded the People's Russian Information Bureau and began to take part in international communist activities. In October 1919, at the congress of the Italian Socialist Party in Bologna, she spoke in favor of the Comintern, and in February 1920 she attended the International Communist Conference in Amsterdam. In the summer of 1920 she took part in the Second Congress of the Comintern, at which as a leftist she opposed the idea of communists joining the Labour Party and participating in parliamentary elections. When the British Communist Party was founded at that time, she became a member but soon came into open conflict with the party leadership. Shortly thereafter she was jailed for six months and after her release in 1921 was asked to submit her newspaper, *Workers' Dreadnought*, to party control but refused to do so and subsequently was expelled from the party. She then drifted away from

Soviet communism in the following years and was critical of its development. She died in 1928.

Pannekoek, Anton. Born in 1873. He received a Ph.D. degree in astronomy in 1902, became a professor at the University of Amsterdam, and a member of the Dutch Academy of Sciences. In 1902 he joined the Dutch Social Democratic Workers' Party and aligned himself with its left wing. He taught socialism in labor and socialist circles in Holland and Germany and in 1907 helped found *De Tribune*, a newspaper of the socialist left. In 1909 the leftists separated from the Social Democratic Workers' Party and formed the Social Democratic, or Tribune, Party. In Hamburg Pannekoek published the book *Die Taktischen Differenzen in der Arbeiterbewegung* and also during 1909 collaborated closely with the leftists of the SPD.

During World War I he took a pacifist and internationalist stand and moved toward the Zimmerwald Left, whose review, *Vorbote*, he helped to publish. He joined the Dutch Communist Party at its founding in 1918. In 1919 he participated in the first work of the Comintern in Holland and Germany. Using the pen name K. Horner he wrote in the Comintern organ, *The Communist International*, from its beginning; however, in 1920 the Comintern criticized the leftist views expressed in his articles, and in his pamphlet "Weltrevolution und Kommunistische Taktik." In 1921 he separated from the Dutch Communist Party. He influenced the policy of the KAPD for a short time and then retired from all communist activity. He died in 1960.

Parović, Blagoje. Born in 1904 into a peasant family in Herzegovina; he earned his living as a shoe repairman. In 1924 he joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and soon was arrested for the first time. In 1925 he worked for the communist organization in Zagreb and in 1929 entered the Leninist School of the Comintern in Moscow for three years of study. He then joined the Comintern apparatus and, using the name Schmidt, carried out missions in Germany and elsewhere. In 1932 the Comintern imposed new leadership on the CPY and he became a member of the party central committee. At the national conference of the party in 1934 he was reelected to the central committee and shortly afterward made a member of the politburo. In that capacity he joined the CPY delegation to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, held in 1935, and was one of two speakers for his party. In 1936 he was eliminated from the politburo and went to Spain to take part in the civil war. There he was made political commissar of the Thirteenth International Brigade and was killed in action in July 1937.

Partsalides, Demetrios (Mitsos). Born in 1905 into a Greek family living in Trebizond, on the Turkish Black Sea coast; the family later moved to Greece and he worked in a tobacco factory in Kavála. In 1924 he joined the communist

youth movement. He was later elected mayor of Kavála. Meanwhile, he went to Moscow for communist indoctrination.

After his return he was elected a communist deputy to the Greek parliament and in 1935 became a member of the central committee of the Greek Communist Party (GCP). In January 1938, when the Metaxas regime took measures against the communists, Partsalides was deported to Corfu, where he remained until 1941; he then was imprisoned by the occupation authorities until 1944. After the liberation he became secretary-general of the National Liberation Front (EAM). He was among the leaders of the communist insurrection in December 1944 and during the truce had talks with the Greek premier, George Papandriou, and with Winston Churchill. In February 1945 he signed (in the name of the EAM) the Varkiza disarmament agreement with the British and Greek governments and in late 1945 and early 1946 he led an EAM mission to London, Paris, and Moscow.

At the twelfth plenum of the GCP central committee in 1945 he was elected one of six members of the politburo. In October 1945 he gave a report at the seventh congress of the party and retained his post in the politburo. In July 1947, however, he was arrested and deported to the island of Icaria, from which he escaped in December to take part in the communist insurrection; when the insurrection was crushed in 1949 he fled to Eastern Europe. In 1950 the GCP accused him of deviation and treason and stripped him of his party positions; he then was sent to Rumania as a factory worker. However, in February 1956, the process of de-Stalinization was inaugurated at the twentieth congress of the CPSU and one month later Partsalides was reelected to the GCP politburo; his position was confirmed at all subsequent party meetings until 1968. At the eighth congress of the GCP in August 1961 he was elected a member of the politburo and a member of the three-man central committee secretariat. At the eighth plenum of this committee, held in February 1965, he disagreed with secretary-general Costas Koliyannis and at the twelfth plenum, held in February 1968, he was expelled from the party. With two other members excluded from the politburo he formed a dissident central committee, which precipitated an open split within the GCP. In October 1971 he was arrested during a clandestine party meeting in the Athens area.

Parvulescu, Constantin. Born in Rumania in 1895 into a worker's family; he attended but did not have the opportunity to complete high school. He then worked in Bucharest and after 1912 became interested in the political action of the Rumanian Social Democratic Party. Having joined the party, he later belonged (in 1919) to its left wing and adhered to the Rumanian Communist Party (RCP) at the time of its founding congress in May 1921. At the end of the year he went to Soviet Russia, where he enrolled in the "Stefan Gheorghiu" communist school for Rumanian militants. In February 1922 the school was absorbed by the KUNMZ and Parvulescu remained a student for more than

three years. After his return to Rumania he assumed work within the RCP and around 1929 was promoted to membership in its central committee. He was arrested in 1934 but later escaped, and reached the Soviet Union in 1938. He returned to Rumania with the Soviet Army in 1944 and became a member of the provisional secretariat of the RCP. In 1945 he was named chairman of the control commission of the party. He also was elected to the politburo of the RCP (reelected at the party congress in 1955) and in 1953 became president of the national assembly. However, at the congress of the RCP in June 1960 he lost three of his party functions—membership in the central committee, in the politburo, and chairmanship of the control commission. In March 1961 he also was removed from the presidency of the national assembly, and the plenum of the RCP central committee, held in November and December of that year, criticized him for his "factional activities."

Pauker, Ana. Born in Moldavia in 1893, daughter of a rabbi. She studied at a university and in 1915 joined the Rumanian Social Democratic Party. After the Bolshevik victory in Petrograd she became a communist and as early as 1918 was known for her revolutionary activities. She and her husband, Marcel Pauker, joined the Rumanian Communist Party (RCP) when it was founded in 1921 and at its second congress in October 1922 Ana was elected to the central committee. The Paukers also took part in the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held in November 1922.

They continued their activities after returning to Rumania. In 1924, when the RCP was outlawed, Ana organized underground activities and was arrested in 1925. She fled abroad and with her husband went to Moscow, where they worked for the central apparatus of the Comintern. In the following years she carried out various missions in foreign countries. In France in 1931 she worked (under the name Marina) with Eugen Fried as a Comintern emissary at the central committee of the PCF. She then went to Soviet Russia to work at Comintern headquarters. Afterward she returned alone to Rumania to lead clandestine communist party activity. In 1935 she was arrested and sentenced to ten years in prison. In the latter half of 1940, at the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact, she was one of the prisoners exchanged between the Soviet and Rumanian governments. In Moscow she belonged to the ECCI and was in charge of Rumanian-language radio broadcasts. In May 1943 she was a signatory to the document dissolving the Comintern. She then worked with Rumanian prisoners-of-war who had been gathered into the Tudor Vladimirescu division.

In September 1944 she returned to Bucharest, where she became one of the secretaries of the RCP central committee and a member of the politburo. In September 1947 she represented the Rumanian party at the founding of the Cominform. In November of that year she became foreign minister. In June 1948 she represented the RCP at the second meeting of the Cominform, at which Tito was excommunicated. In May 1952 she was expelled from the

politburo and central committee, relieved of her position as foreign minister, expelled from the party, and finally placed under house arrest. A few years later she was allowed to return to Bucharest, where she worked as a civil servant and translator. She died in June 1960.

Pauker, Marcel. Born in 1901 into a middle-class Jewish family in Bucharest, where he received a doctorate in law. He was an avowed communist by the time the Comintern was founded in 1919 and was an early advocate of the founding of the Rumanian Communist Party (RCP). In November 1920 he represented his country at the first congress of the Balkan Trade Union Federation in Sofia. When the RCP was established in May 1921 he was elected to the central committee and reelected at the second congress in October 1922. In November and December he attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and, using his real name, was seated on the Yugoslav commission and spoke at the public debates.

Returning to Rumania he continued his communist activities until 1924, when the RCP was outlawed and he was forced to leave for Moscow; in 1925 he was sentenced in absentia to ten years in prison. In Moscow he continued to represent the RCP in the Comintern and at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, held in August 1928, he was elected member of its executive committee under the pseudonym Popescu. In the following years, under the name Luximin, he was involved in factional struggles of the RCP but in 1930 "Luximin" was removed by Comintern decision from all responsible party positions for two years. He was still living in Soviet Russia at the time of the show trial against Zinoviev and Kamenev in August 1936, when he was arrested and accused of belonging to the Zinoviev opposition. He was liquidated without a trial in 1937.

Pavlović, Pavle. Born in Serbia in 1886; he worked as a tailor. From 1903 on he was a militant in the Serbian trade-union movement and in 1905 joined the Serbian Social Democratic Party; before World War I he became a party leader and secretary of the Serbian trade-union movement. In April 1919 he took part in the founding congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). In September he was elected secretary of the central committee of the Yugoslav trade unions. At the CPY congress in June 1920 he became president of the executive central committee and in November was elected a communist deputy to parliament.

In 1921 he was a member of the CPY delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern. At the Fourth Congress, held in November 1922, he represented the left wing of the party, using the name Petrović. When the party was outlawed in Yugoslavia, he lived from 1921 to 1923 in Vienna, where he represented the CPY at the executive committee of the Balkan Communist Federation. After his return to Yugoslavia in October 1923 he was arrested,

and in June 1924 was sentenced to one year in prison. After his release he worked in independent trade unions close to the communists but in 1927 was expelled from the CPY.

In 1946, after the communist victory, he became deputy minister of labor in the Serbian government. From 1945 to 1950 he sat in the Yugoslav national assembly. In 1969 he was still living in Belgrade.

Pavlovich-Weitmann, Mikhail. Born in 1871 into a Jewish family in tsarist Russia. Shortly before completing secondary school he became militant in the socialist movement. In 1892 he was arrested, imprisoned for a year and a half, and deported to Siberia for a five-year term. He then went to Odessa and after another arrest went into exile in Paris, where he continued militant socialist work and periodically contributed to *Iskra* (Spark). During the Boer war he had become interested in military problems, and while in St. Petersburg in 1905 he worked for the military section of the RSDLP. A Menshevik since 1903, he was arrested and imprisoned for six months in 1906. Later he was imprisoned again and after his release returned to Paris.

During World War I he took an internationalist stand and wrote for the Parisian daily *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word). After the Russian revolution of February 1917 he returned to Petrograd. Following the Bolshevik victory of November 7 he joined the new commissariat for foreign affairs. From then on he held various governmental and military positions in Soviet Russia; he was also active briefly in the Comintern. In the summer of 1920 he was a member of the Bolshevik delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. He helped organize and then took part in the Congress of the Peoples of the East in September 1920 in Baku, where he remained with Elena Stasova to direct Comintern propaganda and other activities related to the Middle East and Far East. In 1921 he returned to Moscow and became a member of the commissariat of nationality affairs. In 1923 he was president of the Scientific Association for Study of the East. He wrote many books and pamphlets dealing with imperialism. He died in 1929.

Peluso, Edmondo. Born in Naples in 1882; he left Italy in 1898. A socialist militant, he worked in various countries; in Spain and Portugal, for example, he was a printer. He then left for the United States but in 1909 returned to Spain. In 1910 he went to Berlin, where Karl Kautsky and Rudolf Hilferding encouraged him to write articles on Spanish and Portuguese problems for the German socialist press.

At the beginning of World War I he took an internationalist position. In 1916 he was the Portuguese representative at the socialist conference held in Kienthal. At the end of World War I he was in Germany again, where he was militant in the Spartacus League and then, in Bavaria in 1919, in the KPD. He joined the Italian Communist Party when it was founded in January 1921.

and represented and spoke for it at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November 1922. From then on he contributed frequently to the Comintern bulletin *Inprekorr*. In 1923 and 1924 he represented the Italian Communist Party at the ECCI. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, held in June and July 1924, he was secretary for the commission on the Austrian question.

After his return to Italy at the beginning of 1925 he was particularly active in the communist press—he collaborated in the review *L'Ordine Nuovo*, became a member of the editorial staff of *L'Unità*, and wrote profusely for *Inprekorr*. He was arrested briefly in 1925, and two years later a special court sentenced him in absentia to 12 years in prison because he previously had fled the country. He took refuge in Soviet Russia, where he worked in the Comintern apparatus and then at the Marx-Lenin Institute. During Stalin's purges he was arrested. He died in 1942.

Penelón, José F. A militant in the Argentine Socialist Party, he headed its pacifist-internationalist faction during World War I, which faction became the opposition group at the third congress of the party, held in April 1917. Shortly afterward he became co-editor of *La Internacional*, an organ of the socialist left. In January 1918 the opposition group became the Internationalist Socialist Party, which he then led. In 1920 this party changed its name to Argentine Communist Party, and he assumed its leadership. In November 1920 he was elected a communist member of the Buenos Aires city council. In late 1922 he represented his party at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and was a member of the commission dealing with ECCI activities; at the close of the congress he was elected a member of the ECCI as a Latin American representative. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was reelected to the ECCI. In December 1925, at the seventh congress of the Argentine Communist Party, he presented the report on Bolshevization. Also during that year he was reelected to the Buenos Aires city council. In 1926-27 he was involved in factional struggles which eventually led to a party split. In 1928 he was condemned by the eighth congress of the Argentine Communist Party and by an open letter from the Comintern and then was expelled from the party. Following his expulsion a dissident communist group was founded under his leadership.

Peng Shu-chih. As a student in China he joined the Socialist Youth League. In the fall of 1920 he became a member of one of the first communist circles in China and in 1921 was among the first group of Chinese students to study in Moscow at the KUTV. Liu Shao-chi was a fellow student, but it was Peng Shu-chih who became secretary of the Moscow section of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) when it was founded. By the time he returned to China he knew Russian and was a trained "Bolshevik." Consequently, he became the collaborator and translator for Chen Tu-hsiu, secretary-general of the party in

China. At the third congress of the CCP in June 1923 he was elected to the nine-member central committee. At the following congresses of the party, held in January 1925 and April 1927, he was reelected to the central committee and politburo, in which he had charge of agitprop activities. At the first friction in the alliance between the CCP and Kuomintang he advocated a firm attitude, which he explained to the Comintern delegation in Canton in 1926 and also at Hankow in 1927. After the communist defeat in 1927, Moscow accused him of "opportunism," and at the extraordinary conference of August 7, 1927, he and Chen Tu-hsiu were eliminated from party leadership. Thereafter he continued to criticize the direction of the party and was expelled in November 1929.

He remained the leader of the leftist opposition in China, and when a dissident communist movement was founded in Shanghai in 1931 he and Chen Tu-hsiu became its leaders. In 1932 they were arrested in Shanghai as exponents of Chinese Trotskyism. After his release from prison, Peng remained a member of the Trotskyite Fourth International but emigrated to the West after the communist victory in China in 1949.

Pérez Solís, Oscar. An artillery captain in the Spanish army, he left his military career and in 1910 joined the Socialist Party. His talents as a speaker and journalist were quickly noticed. At the 1919 and 1920 Socialist Party congresses he did not favor joining the Comintern but at the 1921 congress he headed the communist faction which split the party and subsequently founded the Communist Workers' Party in Spain. In 1922, when two communist groups joined forces in a unified Spanish Communist Party, he became one of its leaders and at the party congress in 1923 its secretary-general. Later in the year he went to Soviet Russia, where he attended the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, held in June and July 1924, and using the name Oscar Persolis sat on the national and colonial affairs commission and became a member of the ECCI. When the leaders of the Spanish Communist Party were arrested later in the year Solís was charged with reorganizing the party. After a stay in France he returned to Barcelona secretly in 1925 and was arrested. After three years in prison in Barcelona and Bilbao, he announced in March 1928 that he had broken with the communists and had been converted to Catholicism, and when he was released he was appointed to a lucrative post in an oil company. In 1929 he published his memoirs, which explained the reasons for his political and religious conversion.

Péris, Gabriel. Born in 1902. He joined the French socialist youth movement as an adolescent and while in college at the end of World War I he moved toward the extreme left. He became secretary of the socialist youth in Marseilles and then secretary of the socialist youth for that region. Shortly after its founding in December 1920 he joined the PCF. He became a well-known militant in

the Communist Youth Federation and was one of its three delegates to both the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held in Moscow in November 1922, and the third congress of the KIM, held in December. At the Lyon congress of the PCF in January 1924 he was elected to the directing committee. From then on he remained a party leader and was in charge of the international politics column of the daily newspaper *L'Humanité*. He was elected a communist deputy in 1932 and reelected at the 1936 elections.

He was arrested and sentenced several times for communist militancy—in 1921 for spreading anti-militarist propaganda; in 1923 for his activities in protesting the occupation of the Ruhr; and again in 1929. In the autumn of 1939 he was sought for arrest in connection with the Comintern-influenced defeatist policy of the PCF but eluded French authorities and went underground; in April 1940 he was sentenced in absentia by a military court. Arrested in the spring of 1941 he was shot on December 15 by the Germans at Mont Valérien.

Pessi, Ville. Born in Finland in 1902 into a working-class family; at an early age he worked in lumbering and then as a metalworker. He was in the army from 1922 to 1924 and then worked in the railroad workshops in Pasila. He was active in the labor movement and joined the Finnish Communist Party in 1924, and then became militant in the communist youth movement and led the party's organization in the Pasila workshops. In 1927 the party sent him to Moscow for indoctrination at the KUNMZ and the Leninist School of the Comintern after which he worked in the Finnish delegation at the Comintern. In 1931 he became a member of the central committee of the Finnish Communist Party and returned to Finland to organize party activities. He was regional secretary first in Vaasa and then in Turku, but was arrested in 1935 and sentenced to seven years at hard labor, after which he was transferred to a concentration camp, where he remained until the autumn of 1944.

After the liberation he regained his leading position in the party. He soon was elected secretary-general and also held membership in the party politburo. He was elected a deputy to parliament in 1945, which post he held from then on. He made many trips to the Soviet Union after 1945. In October 1952 he was spokesman for his party at the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B) and was present at the twenty-second congress of the CPSU (October 1961) and the twenty-third congress (March 1966). He led his party's delegation to the international communist conferences held in Moscow in November 1957 and November 1960 and in November 1967 took part in the Moscow celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik victory. In April 1969, at the close of the fifteenth congress of the Finnish Communist Party, he was not reelected secretary-general but remained a member of the politburo.

Pestaña, Angel. Born in 1888; a watchmaker by trade, he was militant in the Spanish anarchist movement. In 1916 he became editor of *Solidaridad Obrera*, an organ of the CNT (National Confederation of Labor), an anarchist

trade-union branch; he became its leader at the end of World War I. At the December 1919 congress of the CNT he was appointed its delegate to the Moscow talks to be held with Bolshevik leaders. He arrived in Soviet Russia late in June 1920 and took part in the Second Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed several times in defense of the anarchist trade-union movement. After returning to Spain he disassociated himself from the faction which favored joining the Comintern and later the Profintern. In 1924 he published *Setenta Dias en Rusia*, a book which finalized his split with communism. In 1934 he founded a new syndicalist party and in February 1936 was elected its deputy. He died in 1937.

Pestkowski, Stanislaw. Born in 1882, son of a Polish landowner. He received his secondary education in Lodz and became a socialist as a university student. He joined the left wing of the SDPPL but in national matters followed Rosa Luxemburg rather than Lenin. From 1914 to 1917 he lived in London. After the revolution of February 1917 he went to Petrograd, where he took part in the Bolshevik victory of November 7, becoming a commissar of the central telegraph office. In 1918 he was nominated (under Stalin) assistant commissar at the Commissariat of Nationality Affairs, in charge of Western nationals living in Russia. He was a member of the RCP(B) but in May 1918 also took part in the second conference of the Polish Social Democratic Party, which had been organized by Polish activists living in Russia.

In April 1919 he was the Soviet government's special delegate to the Lithuanian communist government in Vilno. In 1920 he was a Bolshevik delegate to the Second Congress of the Comintern. In 1921 he was again a governmental representative in negotiations with the Polish government to determine new borders following the war of 1920. In 1923-24 he was Soviet diplomatic representative in Mexico. After his return to Moscow he became a member of the presidium of the MOPR and spoke as its representative at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, held in June and July 1924. During that period he occasionally worked in the apparatus of the Comintern and the Profintern. In the early 1930s he wrote for Soviet reviews and worked in the Soviet association for cultural relations with foreign countries. He disappeared during Stalin's purges in 1937.

Petin, K. G. Born in 1887 of Lettish ancestry. He supported the Bolsheviks after their victory of November 7, 1917, and early in 1918 became a Bolshevik Party member. In April he became a member of the commissariat for German affairs in the Volga region, in charge of Cheka (political police) activities. When the Volga Commune was founded in October 1918 he became one of its principal leaders. In March 1919 he attended the founding congress of the Comintern, fictitiously identified as one of two representatives for Austria, and presented a written report on the Austrian revolutionary situation; after the congress he took no further part in Comintern activities. Later traces of him disappear completely.

Petrovsky, D. Born Max Goldfarb in tsarist Russia. He became militant in the Bund (Jewish socialist movement) and in the factional struggles within the RSDLP he leaned toward the Mensheviks. Before World War I he emigrated to the United States and in New York edited the Socialist newspaper *Daily Forward*. After the revolution of February 1917 he went to Stockholm as one of three American representatives to the international socialist conference. After the Bolshevik victory of November 7, 1917, he returned to Russia, became a member of the Bolshevik party, and fought with the Red Army in the civil war. In the early 1920s he joined the Comintern central apparatus, in which he specialized in British problems before being sent to Great Britain as the Comintern's permanent representative to the leadership of the British Communist Party.

In 1924 he attended the Fifth Congress of the Comintern as a member of the RCP(B) delegation but also was secretary for the British commission and spoke during the public debates. From then on he used the pseudonym A. J. Bennet and frequently traveled between England and Moscow. At the ninth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1928 he became an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium. In August 1928 he took part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern (as did his wife, the militant English communist Rose Cohen). In 1929, when the Comintern decided to reorganize the leadership of the British Communist Party, he ceased to be the Comintern emissary and returned to Soviet Russia. He also carried out a mission for the Comintern in France and then for a time was in charge of the Anglo-American department in the Secretariat of the ECCI. Both he and his wife were arrested and disappeared during Stalin's purges.

Piatkov, Georgi. Born in 1890, the son of a Ukrainian industrialist. He studied at St. Petersburg University and was active as a revolutionary anarchist. In 1910 he joined the RSDLP and sided with its Bolshevik faction. In 1912 he was deported to Siberia but in 1914 escaped and went to Japan, the United States, and finally Switzerland, where, using the name P. Kievsky, he took part in the Bolshevik conference held in Bern in 1915. There he came into conflict with Lenin, especially over the Bolshevik stand on nationalism and the rights of peoples to self-determination.

In 1916 he moved to Sweden and in 1917 to Russia. After the Bolshevik victory of November 7, 1917, he held a number of important posts—in December 1918 he became chairman of the provisional workers' and peasants' government of the Ukraine and later held various positions in the political and economic apparatus of the Soviet state. He also gained important positions in the RCP(B)—in 1921, at the tenth congress of the party, he was elected an alternate member of the central committee and at the twelfth congress, held in 1923, became a full member. Nevertheless he often expressed his opposition within the RCP(B), as in 1918, when he was a leftist, in 1920-21 during a trade-union controversy; and in the fall of 1923, when he opposed Stalin.

During 1923 he played a brief but important role in the Comintern—in June he attended the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI as a member of the RCP(B) delegation; beginning in September he was closely associated with preparations for the German October; at times he was a member of the ICC (as in the case concerning Arkadi Maslow); and, under the name Arwid was a member of the Comintern delegation sent to Germany to ensure the success of the German October.

From 1923 to 1927 he was in opposition to Stalin, which led to his expulsion from the RCP(B) in 1927, but a few months later he offered a self-criticism from his place of deportation and denounced his former opinions; he then was readmitted to the RCP(B). Although he no longer worked in the Comintern, he gained an important Soviet governmental position—as assistant commissar for heavy industry he was a leader in industrialization during the first Five Year Plan. In 1930 he was elected a member of the RCP(B) central committee. During the preparation for the trial against Zinoviev and Kamenev in 1936 he took part in the campaign against the accused but in that year he again was expelled from the party and arrested. In January 1937 he was tried during the second public trial in Moscow, sentenced to death, and executed later in the year.

Piatnitsky, Iosif. Born Osip Aronovich in 1882, the son of a carpenter. In 1898 he joined the RSDLP and in his career as a professional revolutionary used the names Piatnitsa (in Russia) and Freitag (in Germany). In 1902 he went to Western Europe on a secret mission to organize the smuggling of illegal socialist propaganda into Russia and to arrange secret trips for Russian revolutionaries in and out of Russia.

In 1903 he took part in the second congress of the RSDLP, favoring the Bolsheviks, and in 1905 attended the third congress. Later in the year he returned to Russia and was arrested in January 1906; after his release he worked in the Bolshevik organization in Moscow, was arrested again in 1908, and when freed returned to Germany, where he once again arranged secret communications between Bolshevik emigrants and Russia. In January 1912 he attended the Bolshevik party conference in Prague and after he returned to Russia in 1913 was arrested again in June 1914 and sent to Siberia.

After the February 1917 revolution he was released; he returned to Russia to become a member of Moscow's Bolshevik committee. From 1919 to 1920 he was president of the Unified Railroad Workers' Trade Union. In 1920 he became secretary of the Moscow Bolshevik committee. Following the Third Congress of the Comintern, held in June and July 1921, the ECCI Presidium named him treasurer of the Comintern and chief of the OMS, and after the Fourth Congress, held in November 1922, he was a member of the Orgburo and the budget commission. At the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1923 he became one of the four members of its Secretariat (with Kolarov, Kuusinen, and Rūkosi) and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI.

At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, held in 1924, he was one of its five secretaries as well as secretary and reporter of its organization commission; in addition he was reelected an alternate member of the ECCI and a member of the Orghuro, budget commission, and Secretariat. At the seventh ECCI plenum, held in November and December 1926, at which Zinoviev was eliminated, the post of president of the Comintern was abandoned, and the former ECCI Secretariat was transformed into a political Secretariat to emphasize its growing political importance; Piatnitsky became a member of the new Secretariat. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 his positions on the ECCI and its political Secretariat were confirmed and then, were reconfirmed in 1931 at the eleventh ECCI plenum. In April 1930 he was elected a member of the Profintern's executive bureau at its fifth congress. In 1932 he was hailed on his fiftieth birthday by the ECCI and by Krupskaya, Lenin's widow.

During those years he also occupied positions of importance within the RCP(B). At the ninth congress of the party in 1920 he was elected an alternate member of the central committee and later became a member of the central committee as well as the central control commission.

He addressed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 but was not reelected to any of the leading Comintern bodies; he then worked for a short while on the central committee of the RCP(B). He was arrested in 1937, during Stalin's purges, but was not executed until October 30, 1939. In 1956 he was rehabilitated posthumously after the twentieth congress of the CPSU.

Pieck, Wilhelm. Born in 1876, son of a German laborer. In his youth he worked as a carpenter's helper and at 18 became active in the carpenters' trade union. In 1895 he joined the SPD and in 1896 he settled in Bremen, where in 1906 he was elected secretary of the SPD. In 1907-08 he attended the party's central school, where Rosa Luxemburg taught; he then became secretary of the school and second secretary of the party's central commission on education, in which capacity he went to Berlin in 1910. He leaned toward the left wing and at the beginning of World War I was in the group *Die Internationale*, which later became the Spartacus League. He was arrested for pacifist activity in May 1915; later he was drafted and sent to the front. In February 1918 he fled to Holland but when the German empire fell in November returned to Berlin to lead the Spartacus organization there.

When the founding congress of the KPD convened on December 30, 1918, Pieck was one of two chairmen of the meeting and subsequently was elected a member of the party's national committee (*Zentrale*). He remained a leader in the KPD from 1918 to 1960, longer than any of his colleagues. His talent for survival was evident as early as January 1919—he was arrested during the brief and unsuccessful Spartakist uprising in Berlin but soon emerged safely from prison (unlike Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, who were assassinated). He also survived all the party leaders eliminated by Moscow decision

(Paul Levi, Ernst Reuter, Heinrich Brandler, August Thalheimer, Ruth Fischer and Arkadi Maslow), appearing on the new central committee after each of the purges.

He was a member of the Prussian Diet from 1921 to 1928 and then deputy to the Reichstag until 1933. As Comintern leaders disappeared he advanced to positions of increasing power. He first went to Moscow in the autumn of 1921, when the Comintern had decided to replace the secretary of the KPD, Ernst Reuter (who used the pseudonym Friesland). Pieck returned to Moscow in January 1924, after the decision to replace the Brandler-Thalheimer leadership of the party. It was not until 1928, however—after the fall of Trotsky and Zinoviev and on the eve of Bukharin's fall—that Pieck began to hold positions at the highest level in the Comintern. At the Sixth Congress in 1928 he was elected a member of the ECCI and in 1931, at the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, was elected a member of the ECCI Presidium and Secretariat. During 1931-32 he was in Moscow as often as he was in Berlin but when Hitler rose to power in 1933 Pieck went to France and then to Moscow, where in December he reported on the German communist movement to the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. When Ernst Thälmann was arrested, Pieck succeeded him as official head of the KPD.

At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he reported on the activities of the ECCI and then was reelected to the ECCI, the Presidium, and the Secretariat. He continued to hold these positions during Stalin's purges, and in May 1943 was a signatory to the document which dissolved the Comintern. In July 1943 he was among the founders of the Free Germany committee in Soviet Russia.

In May 1945 he returned to Berlin. In April 1946 he was elected one of two presidents of the SED and in October 1949 was elected president of the German Democratic Republic; he held both offices until his death in 1960.

Pikel, Richard Vitoldovich. Born in Russia in 1896; in his youth he became a militant socialist. He was close to the *Mezhraiontsy* group (half-way between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks), which collectively joined the Bolshevik party in July 1917. After the Bolshevik victory in November he held various responsible governmental positions in Byelorussia and elsewhere. During the civil war he was a political commissar of the Red Army. He then entered the Secretariat of Zinoviev, who was at that time president of the Comintern. He later became chief of the Secretariat, sharing with A. Levit (known as A. Tivel) the responsibility for administration under Zinoviev. At first Pikel supported Zinoviev in his struggle with Stalin but at the fifteenth RCP(B) congress in 1927, when Stalin emerged victorious over the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition, Pikel abandoned his convictions and leveled public accusations against the opposition leaders. That did not prevent his expulsion from the RCP(B), though he later was readmitted. After the assassination of Kirov on December 1, 1934,

Pikel and other ex-members of the opposition were arrested and in August 1936 he was tried with Zinoviev and Kamenev and accused of having formed a terrorist group in Moscow plotting an attempt on Stalin's life. After "confessing" to his "crimes" he was condemned to death and shot with the other defendants.

Platten, Friedrich (Fritz). Born in 1883; he worked as a metalworker in Zurich and in his youth was militant in the Swiss socialist and trade-union movements. He made contact with Swiss-exiled Russian socialists and during the revolutionary year of 1905-06 traveled to Russia, but only got as far as Riga before the revolution was crushed. Already a well-known leader of the Swiss Social Democratic Party he was elected its secretary in 1912. In 1915 he represented his party at the Zimmerwald conference, where he rallied to Lenin's position and signed the manifesto of the Zimmerwald Left, and in 1916 attended the Kienthal conference. In March and April 1917 he played an important role in organizing the trip which he, Lenin and other expatriate Russian revolutionaries planned across imperial Germany to Russia. Platten, however, was turned back at the Russian border but after the Bolshevik victory he joined the last group of Russian socialists to travel from Switzerland into Russia.

In January 1918 he spoke for the Swiss labor movement at the all-Russian congress of soviets and also in January was wounded in the arm while protecting Lenin from an assassination attempt. After returning to Switzerland he was sought for arrest in connection with the general strike of November 1918. He fled to Moscow and in March 1919 took part in the founding congress of the Comintern, at which he was seated with the presiding officials and participated in the first meetings of the ECCI. In April he was arrested in Finland while on a Comintern mission; after his release he returned to Switzerland but then spent six months in a Zurich prison. At the party unification congress in 1921 he became a member of the Swiss Communist Party central committee and late in 1921 he went again to Russia, where he talked with Lenin and presented a report on Switzerland to the ECCI. He returned to Switzerland but in July 1923 decided to move his family to Russia; there he founded a Swiss commune called "Solidarité." In 1931 he settled in Moscow and worked at the International Agrarian Institute until the time of Stalin's purges. In 1937 his wife, Berta Zimmermann (who worked at the Comintern's record office), was arrested; in 1938 he also was arrested, sentenced to a long prison term, and sent to the Arkhangel'sk area. He developed a heart condition and died in a prison hospital in 1942; he was rehabilitated posthumously on his eightieth birthday in 1963.

Pogány, József. Born in 1886; he became a high school teacher and journalist. A militant in the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, he wrote for its official organ, *Népszava* (People's Voice). During World War I he was a war correspondent. When the Austro-Hungarian empire collapsed in 1918, he was

leader of a soldiers' soviet in Budapest but supported the policies of Count Karolyi's government. However, in March 1919, when the Hungarian Communist and Socialist parties merged he was one of five who signed the document for the socialists. When the Hungarian Soviet Republic was proclaimed that month he became the people's commissar of national defense, then deputy commissar of foreign affairs, and finally commissar of public instruction; he was also a member of the party's control commission. When the Hungarian Soviet Republic fell he fled to Vienna and then to Moscow, where he held important positions in the Comintern apparatus for about ten years.

In March 1921 he went to Germany with Béla Kun to organize the March Action of the KPD; after its defeat he returned to Moscow and took part in the Third Congress of the Comintern. In 1922 he was sent to the United States, where (using the names John Pepper, Lang, and Strong) he became the de facto head of the Communist Party of America. In the following years he traveled regularly between Moscow and the United States. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern he was the American party's main spokesman and member of the political commission. At the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1925 he was a speaker and a member of its most important commission, the political commission. After the plenum he became chief of the information department of the Comintern's Secretariat. At the sixth enlarged plenum, held in February and March 1926, he became an alternate member of the ECCI Secretariat and at the seventh enlarged plenum, in November and December 1926, he was again a member of the political commission; the commission's work became of particular importance because of the proposed elimination of Zinoviev from the Comintern's presidency.

In 1928, at both the ninth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, Pogány's political work came under attack; at the Comintern Congress Vissarion Lominadze criticized him for erroneous views on the evolution of the working class in Western Europe and the United States as well as for his opinions on the question of Chinese Communist Party policy. In 1929, Stalin repeated accusations against him at the ECCI Presidium and in May the Comintern sent an open letter to the American party informing it that the "Pepper case" would be submitted to the ICC. The verdict of the ICC, delivered in September 1929, confirmed the previous accusations against him and he consequently was removed from all Comintern functions. He then found a job in the Soviet Gosplan (economic planning office), where he worked during the early 1930s. In 1937, during Stalin's purges, he was arrested and executed.

Pögelman, Hans. Born in 1875; from its beginning he was a militant in the Estonian socialist movement. In 1905 he was active in the abortive revolution. In the years preceding the 1917 revolution he had close contacts with socialist movements in Germany and Russia and drew close to the Bolsheviks. In 1918

he was among the founders of the Estonian Communist Party and in 1919-20 was a member of the short-lived Soviet government in Estonia. In March 1919 he was his party's only representative at the founding congress of the Comintern; in 1920, at the Second Congress of the Comintern, he was a member of the Estonian delegation and was Estonian representative to the agrarian commission. In 1921-22 he represented his party in Moscow as an alternate member of the ECCI. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was elected a member of the ICC but was not reelected at the Sixth Congress in 1928. In 1937, during Stalin's purges, he was accused of "nationalism" and was shot in 1938.

Pojel, Karl. Born in Lithuania in 1895. After his secondary school education he entered the University of Dorpat. He joined the Bolshevik party following its 1917 victory and shortly afterward entered the Bolshevik apparatus and became a professional revolutionary. In September 1918 he took part in the founding congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party. When a Soviet government was established in Lithuania early in 1919, he became vice-president of a local soviet; when the regime collapsed he went underground, using the names Petrovski and Adolf.

In his domestic political career, he began as a member of the central committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party. In 1923 he became secretary of the party's *orgburo* and a member of its *politburo*. On numerous occasions he represented his party at Comintern headquarters—as in 1924 at the Fifth Congress (where he belonged to the trade-union and organization commission) and in March and April 1925, when he attended the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. Beginning in 1922 he was arrested several times by the Lithuanian authorities and was executed after his final arrest, in December 1926.

Polano, Luigi. Born in Sassari (Sardinia) in 1897. As a student at the end of World War I he became a leader in the Italian socialist youth movement and in 1918 was arrested for spreading antimilitarist and revolutionary propaganda. With the youth movement he rallied to communism and in 1919 in Berlin participated in the founding congress of the KIM and was elected to its five-member leadership. In 1920 he addressed the Second Congress of the Comintern as the Italian youth delegate and at the Leghorn congress in January 1921 took part in the founding of the Italian Communist Party and was elected to its central committee. Later in that year he went to Moscow to participate in the debates of the Third Congress of the Comintern and to attend the second congress of the KIM.

In 1922, at the congress of the Italian Communist Party in Rome, he was reelected to the central committee. In February 1923, after the Fascist victory, he was arrested, but in May an Italian court freed him for lack of evidence. In about 1925 he left Italy with his wife and settled in Soviet Russia, where

he remained until 1945, but during Stalin's purges he was deported to Siberia for two years. In 1945 he returned to Italy, where he became a communist deputy. He was still an assembly member in the early 1960s and by then had assumed the vice-presidency of the committee for friendship between Italy and East Germany.

Poll, Sándor. Born in Hungary in 1897. At the time of the Hungarian Soviet Republic he was a member of the communist youth and when the Soviet regime fell in the summer of 1919 he fled to Vienna and then to Germany. In 1921 the outlawed Hungarian Communist Party sent him to Moscow. He then returned to Hungary, where he was militant in the left wing of the officially recognized Hungarian Social Democratic Party. In 1925 the communists tried to regain legal status by founding the Hungarian Socialist Labor Party, in which he was active from the beginning and was a member of its central committee. In 1927 he was arrested for communist activity and sentenced to three and a half years in prison.

After his release in 1931 he went to Moscow (using the name Farkas) to represent the Hungarian Communist Party on the ECCI. In 1932 he returned secretly to Hungary but soon was arrested again and sentenced to four years in prison. When he was released in 1936 he returned to Moscow to resume his position with the ECCI. He died in 1937 after an illness.

Pollitt, Harry. Born in 1890 into an English working-class family. He became a boilermaker at age 15 and was militant in the trade-union movement. In 1906 he joined the Independent Labour Party but withdrew in 1912 to join the British Socialist Party. During 1918-19 he was active in the London strikes and in what was known as the "Hands Off Russia" movement, which opposed foreign intervention in the Russian civil war. He joined the British Communist Party (BCP) at its founding in 1920 and in 1921 went to Moscow for the founding congress of the Profintern. Until 1924 he was secretary of the London branch of the Profintern and during that same period his career advanced in the BCP and the Comintern; in 1922 he became a member of the party's central committee and *politburo*. In June 1923 he was with the BCP delegation to the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI, and at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he became a member of the ECCI and an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium. In 1925 he received a jail sentence for his communist activity. In 1928 he addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and was an alternate member of both the ECCI and its Presidium. In 1929, at Moscow's insistence, he was made secretary-general of the BCP despite the opposition of many British members. Also in that year he took part in the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and was Comintern representative at the congress of the CPUSA.

In the following years he often returned to Moscow. At both the eleventh enlarged plenum in 1931 and the thirteenth in 1933 he was reelected to the

ECCI Presidium, and at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was reelected again. During the purges he continued to support Stalin's policies; however, after the Stalin-Hitler pact of August 1939 and Comintern insistence on a defeatist attitude in the BCP, he expressed disagreement with the party politburo and subsequently was demoted to a subordinate position in southern Wales. After Hitler declared war against Soviet Russia in June 1941, and Russia joined the Allies, Pollitt regained his positions on the party's executive and political committees and again became secretary-general.

In 1935 he had been an unsuccessful candidate for parliament; in 1945 he ran again and lost by a narrow margin. Beginning in 1946 he represented the BCP at communist congresses in such European countries as Sweden, France, Italy, and Czechoslovakia. In 1952 he addressed the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B) and in February 1956 led the British delegation to the twentieth congress of the CPSU. In April 1956 he stepped down as secretary-general and became president of the BCP. As such he led the British delegation to Moscow in November 1957 to attend the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties which he addressed. He died in 1960.

In 1940 he published his autobiography, *Serving My Time: An Apprenticeship in Politics*, and later published several other books.

Ponomarev, Boris. Born in 1905. According to his official biography he joined the Komsomol (Young Communists) in 1919 at age 14; from 1920 to 1922 he worked for the Komsomol in the Moscow area and in 1922-23 was secretary for the communist organization in a Moscow factory. In 1926 he graduated from the University of Moscow and then was active in party agitprop in various Russian localities until 1928. In 1932 he received a diploma from the Institute of Red Professors and from 1933 to 1936 worked for the administration of that institute and occasionally wrote for the Comintern press. In 1937, when Stalin was purging the Comintern, Ponomarev worked in the ECCI on Dimitrov's team and remained in that position until the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943.

In May 1943 and from 1944 to 1946 he worked in the international section of the RCP(B) central apparatus. From 1946 to 1949 he was head of the government information bureau and then returned to work for the party apparatus, in which he became chief of the department dealing with the international communist movement, especially in countries outside the Soviet bloc. He was a member of the CPSU delegations to such countries as China, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, North Vietnam, Bulgaria, France, Italy, Finland, and Austria. In 1957 and 1960 he took part in the international conferences of communist parties held in Moscow. In March 1969, at the Moscow celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Comintern, he and Suslov spoke for the CPSU.

During that period he also advanced his career in the CPSU—at the nineteenth

congress of the party in 1952 he was elected an alternate member of the central committee; after the twentieth congress, held in February 1956, he was a full member of the central committee; and at the twenty-second congress, held in October 1961, he became a central committee secretary, a position he maintained at the close of all subsequent party congresses including the twenty-fourth held in 1971.

Popov, Blagoi. Born in 1902. He became militant in the Bulgarian Communist Party and in September 1923 participated in the Bulgarian communist insurrection, for which he received a 15 year prison sentence. Freed by an amnesty in 1925 he went to Yugoslavia and then to Soviet Russia, where he received political indoctrination at the Leninist School of the Comintern. He returned to Bulgaria and became secretary of the Bulgarian communist youth movement and a member of the party's central committee. Shortly thereafter he went to Soviet Russia, worked for the Balkan secretariat of the KIM executive committee in 1930-31, and at the same time became a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party politburo. In June 1932 he was sentenced in absentia to twelve years in prison by the Bulgarian authorities. In late 1932 he was sent on a mission to the West European Bureau of the Comintern in Berlin, which was headed by Dimitrov; on March 9, 1933, he and Dimitrov were arrested and at the trial in Leipzig were accused of setting fire to the Reichstag. Popov was released, and after his return to Moscow was greeted by Stalin and given work in the Comintern apparatus again. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, held in 1935, he became an alternate member of the ECCI.

Although he had married the daughter of Otto Kuusinen he could not escape Stalin's purges; in 1936 he was forced to make a public self-criticism (published in the Soviet press) and then disappeared from the records of the Comintern. He was sentenced to deportation but managed to survive World War II. Not until 1954, after Stalin's death, did he receive permission to return to Bulgaria, where he was employed in the foreign affairs ministry until his retirement. In 1967 in Sofia he appeared in a public discussion on the Reichstag fire affair, following the showing of a controversial film produced in West Germany.

Popov, Dimitri. Born in 1879 into a Bulgarian lower middle-class family. He became militant in a socialist student group, and when he went to Munich to study at a technical school he headed a group of Bulgarian socialist students there. He returned to Bulgaria in the midst of his studies for health reasons, then registered at law school in Sofia, and after graduation practiced in Varna, where he became a leader of the Tesniak (Narrow) Socialist Party. He was elected to the city council and then the Bulgarian parliament. He remained a leader when his party became the Communist Party of Bulgaria in 1919.

In June and July 1921 he was with the Bulgarian delegation at the Third Congress of the Comintern and was elected his party's representative to the

ECCI. In July 1921 he was a member of the Bulgarian delegation to the founding congress of the Profintern. In February 1922 he was seated on the United Front commission at the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI, remained in Moscow for about a year, and took part in ECCI meetings until May 1922. After his return to Bulgaria he resumed party activity, for which he was arrested after the September 1923 insurrection. Like many other Bulgarian communist leaders he managed to escape to Vienna, where he died in March 1924.

Poptomov, Vladimir. Born in Bulgarian Macedonia in 1890; a teacher by profession. Having become a socialist, in 1918 he joined the Bulgarian Tesniak (Narrow) Socialist Party, which in the following year became the Bulgarian Communist Party. In 1920 he was elected a communist deputy to parliament. During the September 1923 insurrection he had charge of revolutionary activity in the Razlog district. When the insurrection failed he sought refuge in Yugoslavia and then settled in Vienna, where he worked closely with the Balkan apparatus of the Comintern taking charge of contacts between communists and Balkan nationalist revolutionaries, especially those from Macedonia. When the communists formed a new Macedonian revolutionary organization in Vienna in October 1925 he became its political secretary and served in that capacity until 1933.

In 1934 he settled in Moscow, where Dimitrov soon employed him in the central apparatus of the Comintern, and in 1938-39 was in charge of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Balkan Secretariat of the Comintern. During the Russo-German war he was director of radio broadcasting at the Khristo Botev station. In 1943 he represented Bulgaria at the Pan-Slav congress held in Moscow. At the meeting of the People's Anti-Fascist Council of Yugoslavia, held in Bosnia in November 1943, he appeared as a representative of Macedonia although he still lived in Soviet Russia.

After Soviet troops entered the Balkan states, he returned to Bulgaria in the autumn of 1944. In Sofia he became editor-in-chief of the communist daily *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Workers' Deed), and was elected a member of the party central committee and politburo. When the Cominform was founded in September 1947 he and Vulko Chervenkov represented the Bulgarian Communist Party. In January 1948 he represented his party at the sixth congress of the Italian Communist Party. From August 1949 to May 1950 he was minister of foreign affairs. In November 1949 he took part in the third and last meeting of the Cominform. From January 1950 until his death in 1952 he was deputy prime minister of Bulgaria.

Prestes, Luis Carlos. Born in 1898 into a Brazilian family with a long military tradition. He graduated from the military academy of Rio de Janeiro and from 1918 to 1924 followed a military career as a captain and then a major in the corps of engineers. In 1924 he and his battalion joined the rebellion

against the Bernardes regime; his group became known as the Prestes Column and fought throughout the country until 1927. He had marched 36,000 kilometers (he came to be known in the revolutionary press as the Knight of Hope for his feats), but in 1927 he went into exile.

In 1931 he went to Moscow and there became a communist. On August 1, 1934, he officially joined the Brazilian Communist Party and immediately participated in the South American communist conference held by the Comintern in Moscow. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was elected a member of the ECCI. He returned to Brazil, was elected president of the National Liberation Alliance (a communist front organization) and in October of that year launched an insurrectional action against the Vargas dictatorial regime. In 1936, however, he was arrested and sentenced to 46 years in jail. While imprisoned he was elected a member of the party central committee (although he had been performing that function for some time) and then secretary-general of the party. In May 1945 he was freed, and returned to his work as a party leader. Later in the year he was elected to the Brazilian senate.

In May 1947 the Brazilian Communist Party was outlawed and Prestes then led the party into a semi-clandestine existence. Not until 1958 was he able to function legally again as party leader. Since that time he made several trips to Moscow, as in October 1961, when he attended the twenty-second congress of the CPSU. After the coup against president Goulart in March 1964, Prestes again was forced into exile, and as secretary-general of the party visited Cuba and the communist countries of Europe. In June 1966 at a court-martial in São Paulo he was sentenced in absentia to 14 years in prison. At the sixth congress of the Brazilian Communist Party, held in December 1967, he was reelected secretary-general. He was chief of the Brazilian delegation and its spokesman at the international conference of communist parties, assembled in Moscow in June 1969.

Próchnik, Edward. Born in 1888 into a Polish laborer's family; he became a metalworker. In 1903 he joined the SDPPL and was arrested for political activity in 1905 and again in 1906, when he was deported to Siberia. In 1909 he returned to Poland and immediately took up underground activity, using the name Sewer; in 1910 he became party secretary in Lodz. In 1911 he went into exile in Paris and attended the political school headed by Lenin in Longjumeau near Paris. After returning to Poland he was arrested again and sentenced to five years at hard labor; when World War I began he was transferred to a prison in Moscow and was freed after the February 1917 revolution. He then renewed his activities in Polish circles in Russia, joined the Bolsheviks, and took part in the November 1917 revolution. Early in 1918 he was in charge of the commissariat for Polish affairs in Moscow.

In late 1918 he returned to Poland at the time of the founding of the Polish Communist Party (PCP), in which he played a leading role from the beginning.

In 1920 he was again in Soviet Russia—in July, during the Russo-Polish war, he was a member of the provisional government (Polish Revolutionary Committee) in Bialystok; in late 1921, in Moscow, he was the PCP representative on the ECCI; in 1922, at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, he was reelected to the ECCI; and in 1923, at the second congress of the PCP, he was confirmed as the Polish representative to the ECCI and held that position until the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924.

In 1924, when Moscow imposed a change of leadership upon the PCP, Próchniak was assigned to an inferior post in Baku, despite the fact that he had been elected a member of the ICC at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. In 1925 he regained his place in the communist hierarchy. At the fourth national conference of the PCP he was elected a member of the central committee and the politburo. At the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1926 he was elected a member of the ECCI Presidium, a position which was confirmed at the ninth plenum in 1928, the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in August 1928, and the eleventh plenum in 1931. At the sixth congress of the PCP in 1932 he was elected a member of the central committee and an alternate member of the politburo. Later in the year he spoke at the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and in December 1933 addressed the thirteenth enlarged plenum. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. In 1937, when Stalin's purges reached the Polish communists in Russia, he was arrested and executed. He was rehabilitated posthumously.

Purman, Leon. Born in 1892. At an early age he became militant in the Polish workers' movement and in 1908 belonged to the left wing of the Polish Socialist Party. After traveling to Germany he returned to Poland and in 1912 became politically active in Lodz. Following the 1917 Bolshevik victory in Petrograd he joined the communists and in November 1918 helped organize the soviets and the Red Guard in one region of Poland. In December he attended the founding congress of the Polish Communist Party (PCP) and then, under various pseudonyms (Kazik, Brunon, Mann, Léon), devoted himself to revolutionary activity, for which he was arrested repeatedly by Polish authorities. After an arrest in 1922 he organized a hunger strike in the Pawiak prison in Warsaw.

Freed in 1923, he left for Soviet Russia to participate in the second congress of the PCP, which took place near Moscow in September and at which he was elected an alternate member of the central committee. He remained in the Soviet Union and was elected to the central committee at the third congress of the PCP, which met in January 1925 near Moscow. He then returned to Poland to direct the clandestine activities of the PCP; he was arrested again but escaped from the Pawiak prison in December 1926 and returned to the Soviet Union. In 1927 he was nominated the PCP representative at the ECCI and at the ninth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1928 became an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium. Later in 1928 he took part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, where he was elected an alternate member

of both the ECCI and its Presidium. He continued to participate in the activities of the ECCI (he attended the tenth enlarged plenum in 1929) but occasionally was sent on missions abroad—one of which was to France, where he made contact with the leadership of the PCF.

At the fourth congress of the PCP in 1927 he was elected an alternate member of the central committee but at the fifth congress in 1930 was not reelected. In late 1933, when the political atmosphere in Moscow grew more tense especially among the Polish communist émigrés, Purman committed suicide, which act was officially announced in December 1933 at the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI.

Q

Quelch, Thomas. Born in Great Britain in 1886. He first became a member of the Social Democratic Federation and then joined the British Socialist Party. During World War I he took a pacifist and internationalist position. In 1919 he urged his party to affiliate with the Comintern and in the summer of 1920 went to Soviet Russia to attend the Second Congress of the Comintern, at which he was a member of the commission on national and colonial questions; at the close of the congress he was elected to the ECCI as its only British representative. He then went with the Comintern delegation headed by Zinoviev and Radek to the Congress of the Peoples of the East, held in Baku in September 1920.

From 1923 to 1925 he was a member of the central committee of the British Communist Party and also joined the national minority movement sponsored by the party in 1924. Until 1931 he was on the editorial staff of the review *Communist International* and from 1924 to 1953 worked at the central office of the construction workers' trade union. Toward the end of his life he withdrew from the communist party. He died in 1954.

R

Rabaté, Octave. Born in France in 1899. He worked as a laborer, joined the PCF at its founding in December 1920, and became a militant in the CGTU. In 1923 he was nominated secretary-general of the Federation of Metalworkers and also made his first trip to Moscow. In January 1925 he was elected a member of the central committee of the PCF at its fourth congress and was reelected in June 1926 at its fifth congress. In the course of the next few years he became a member of the apparatus of the Comintern and of the Profintern. After 1927 he visited Moscow frequently and from there undertook missions

in Latin America and Spain, where he was briefly imprisoned. Early in 1928 he spent several months in Moscow; in February he participated in the ninth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and during March and April attended the fourth congress of the Profintern, which elected him a member of its executive bureau. From 1930 to 1932 he lived mostly in Moscow and worked in the Comintern apparatus.

In the mid-1930s he was secretary of the Amsterdam-Pleyel peace movement and then a member of the Popular Front national committee in France. After the German occupation of France he was arrested in March 1942 and deported to Mauthausen concentration camp in April 1943. In 1945 he was named administrator in charge of *L'Humanité* and his wife was elected a communist deputy for Paris. He remained a member of the PCF until his death in 1964.

Racamon, Julien. Born in France in 1885. A baker by trade, he had become militant in the French syndicalist movement by 1905 and in 1910 was elected deputy secretary of the bakery workers' union in the Paris region. He was drafted during World War I and in 1920 became secretary of the Paris bakery workers' union. In June 1922 he participated in the founding congress of the CGTU and in 1923 was elected one of its national secretaries, a post he held until the dissolution of that organization in 1936. In July 1924 he addressed the third congress of the Profintern, held in Moscow. From 1925 on he was militant in the PCF; from 1926 until 1936 he was a member of the party's central committee and for a time he also belonged to the politburo. He addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928; that year and also in 1933 he visited Moscow for debates on the PCF. When the two trade-union organizations, the CGT and the CGTU, were unified in March 1936 he was named deputy secretary of the resulting new CGT. He also took an active part in the formation of the Popular Front, of which he was a national committee member in 1936. He followed the official Comintern policy and adopted a defeatist position after the signature of the Hitler-Stalin pact; consequently, in October 1939 he was arrested but then freed provisionally. After the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, he joined the communist resistance. After the liberation he was elected a secretary of the CGT, a post he held until he retired in 1953. He remained a member of the PCF until his death in 1966.

Radek, Karl. Born Karl Bergardovich in L'vov in 1885 into a lower middle class family; his mother was a teacher. He was active in European socialist and communist movements, using the pseudonyms Parabellum, Paul Bremer, and Arnold Struthahn. After finishing secondary school in 1902 he enrolled at the University of Cracow; by then he was already a fervent Marxist, militant among socialist students, and writing his first articles.

In 1904 he went to Switzerland and made contact with several Russian socialist leaders living in exile there. During the 1905 revolution in Russia

he went to Warsaw and propagandized for the SDPPL, for which he was arrested in 1906. In 1908 he settled in Germany and joined the SPD, within which he favored the left wing. Subsequently he was active in the socialist parties of Poland, Germany, and Russia. During factional struggles in 1912 he was accused of misusing party funds and was expelled from the SDPPL; other accusations were made against him in 1913, at the congress of the SPD in Jena. His case was examined in Paris by a special commission of inquiry composed of various factions of the RSDLP and he was declared innocent.

At the beginning of World War I he was in Germany but shortly thereafter went to Switzerland, where he met with internationalist socialists opposed to the war. As a representative of a dissident group of the SDPPL he took part in the Zimmerwald conference in 1915 and the Kienthal conference in 1916, and although he did not fully agree with Lenin, Radek belonged to the Zimmerwald Left. After the Russian revolution of February 1917 he joined the Russian revolutionaries returning from Switzerland to Petrograd by way of Germany but the provisional government of Russia refused him entry. He had become a member of the Bolshevik party in that year; hence he remained in Stockholm with its foreign delegation. After the Bolshevik victory of November 1917 he went to Petrograd, where he worked in the Central European section of the foreign affairs commissariat. In party discussions on the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, he supported the view of the communist left.

After the German revolution of November 1918 he was sent as a Soviet emissary to Berlin, where on December 31 he took part in the founding congress of the KPD. When the January 1919 insurrection failed he was arrested on February 15 and imprisoned but later was placed under house arrest, first in the home of a baron and then at a policeman's lodgings, where he received many visits.

When the eighth congress of the RCP(B) met in March 1919 he was elected, in absentia, a member of the central committee. In January 1920 he was allowed to return to Soviet Russia, where in March he became a secretary of the Comintern, beginning an outstanding career in the highest levels of that organization. He was concerned especially with German affairs. At the Second Comintern Congress, held in July and August 1920, he reported on the trade-union question and was elected a member of the ECCI. In September he and Zinoviev headed the congress of the Peoples of the East, held in Baku.

Late in September he returned to Germany for several months as a Comintern emissary under the name Comrade Max; after returning to Comintern headquarters he became a member of the Presidium of the ECCI in February 1921 and helped prepare for the Third Congress of the Comintern to be held in June. At the congress he reported on Comintern tactics and was reelected to the ECCI and its Presidium. In February 1922 he attended the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI and in April he and Bukharin led the Comintern delegation to the conference of the three Internationals held in Berlin. At the Fourth Congress

of the Comintern in November he presented several reports and later headed a Soviet delegation to the Hague conference against war. In early 1923 he was sent to Norway as Comintern emissary because of the rift in the Labor Party there. He then proceeded to Germany to attend the Leipzig congress of the KPD. At the twelfth congress of the RCP(B) in April he was elected a member of the central committee for the last time, and at the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June he reported on the international situation; in October he was sent as a Comintern emissary to Germany, where he witnessed the failure of the German October.

In 1923-24 he favored the Trotsky opposition. In May 1924 he participated in the thirteenth congress of the RCP(B) but was not reelected to the central committee. In June and July he took part in the Fifth Congress of the Comintern but was criticized at the congress and subsequently dropped from all its leading bodies. At the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in March and April 1925, a special resolution was passed against Radek, Heinrich Brandler, and August Thalheimer. In 1926 the Comintern named him to head Sun Yat-sen University but one year later he was dismissed. At the fifteenth congress of the RCP(B) in December 1927 he was expelled from the party, and was deported in January 1928, but in 1929 he publicly broke with Trotsky, presented a self-criticism, and was readmitted to the RCP(B). Although he wrote articles for the Comintern press he did not resume his activities in the Comintern apparatus, but he was very active in the Soviet press as its principal commentator on international politics.

In 1935 he became a member of the commission in charge of preparing Stalin's new constitution. In early 1936 he publicly approved preparations for the trials to be held against Zinoviev and Kamenev but in that same year was expelled from the party and arrested. In January 1937 he was tried at the second public trial held in Moscow; of the 17 defendants 13 were sentenced to death but Radek received a ten-year prison term; however, he died in 1939 after being deported. During his career he wrote many pamphlets and countless articles, of which there are two important collections—*Piat' Let Kominternu* (Five Years of the Comintern), two volumes, Moscow 1924, and *Germanakaja Revolutsiia* (The German Revolution), three volumes, Moscow 1925.

Radovanović, Ljubomir. Born in 1886; he worked in Serbia as a high school teacher before World War I. In his youth he supported revolutionary syndicalism, then socialism, and joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) at its founding in 1919 and became one of its leaders. In 1920 he was elected a communist deputy. In the factional struggles of 1921-22 he followed the right wing, headed by party secretary-general Sima Marković. At the first national CPY conference, which met in Vienna in July 1922, he was elected a member of the party central committee. Later in 1922 he went to Moscow to address the Fourth Congress of the Comintern (using the pseudonym Radić)

as spokesman for the party majority. In March and April 1925 he accompanied the CPY delegation to the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and was seated with the commission concerned with trade-union problems.

After returning to Belgrade he became involved in further factional struggles in the CPY and finally was expelled from the party after the nomination of Tito as secretary-general in 1937. When the communists rose to power in Belgrade in the autumn of 1944 he was arrested for the first time and when Stalin condemned Tito in 1948 he was arrested again by Yugoslav communist authorities. He died in the early 1960s.

Rafes, Moisei. Born in 1883 into a middle-class family in tsarist Russia. In 1899 he joined the social democratic movement and in 1903 became militant in the Bund (Jewish Socialist Party), especially in the Ukrainian cities of Gomel' and Kiev; from 1912 to 1919 he was a member of the party's central committee. After the February 1917 revolution he was elected a member of the Soviet executive committee in Petrograd. He remained hostile to the Bolsheviks even after their victory of November 7, 1917, and fought against them in the Ukraine until 1919; yet, at that time he and several leftist leaders of the Bund joined the Bolshevik party. Soon afterward he became a commissar in the Red Army during the civil war against the Whites. At the end of the war he settled in Moscow and worked for the central apparatus of the Comintern, in which he directed the Agitprop section of the Secretariat; in that capacity he worked on the colonial and Yugoslav commissions at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in March and April 1925. When the Zinoviev group was purged, Rafes rose in the hierarchy of the Comintern and became one of its representatives in China—in 1927 he published his book, *The Turning Point of the Chinese Revolution*, and also participated (in Moscow and in China) in the leadership of the Chinese communist movement. With the victory of Stalin over his colleagues, however, Rafes was eliminated from the Comintern, given a minor job in the film industry, and finally was arrested during Stalin's purges. He died in 1942.

Rahja, Eino A. Born in 1886; he was the elder brother of Jukka Rahja. Beginning in 1903 he was militant in the socialist movement in Russia and then Finland. When the provisional government of Russia issued a warrant for Lenin's arrest in July 1917 Rahja concealed him in Finland until October. In 1918 Rahja was among the leaders of the Red Guard in Finland. After the failure of the Finnish revolution he settled in Soviet Russia. Shortly after the Finnish Communist Party was founded in August 1918, he was co-opted into the central committee and in that capacity was a member of the Finnish delegation to the founding congress of the Comintern in March 1919. In that year he also helped defend Petrograd against the counterrevolutionary attack of Judonich.

In September 1919 he was reelected to the central committee at the second congress of the Finnish Communist Party. As an opponent of Otto Kuusinen he became deeply involved in factional struggles. At the 1925 party congress he headed the left faction but in 1927 was permanently eliminated from the central committee. He died in 1936.

Rahja, Jukka A. Born in Kronstadt in 1887; he worked in his youth as a metallurgist. He was converted to socialism and took part in the revolutionary events of 1905 as a member of the RSDLP (Bolshevik faction) in Kronstadt; when that revolution failed he escaped to Kuopio, Finland, and became militant in the Finnish socialist movement. In 1913 he returned to St. Petersburg and resumed his activity in the Bolshevik party; in 1917 he became a member of Petrograd's Bolshevik committee. After the victory of November 7, 1917, the party sent him to Finland to help the revolutionary movement and organize the Red Guard. With the collapse of the Finnish revolution he returned to Soviet Russia, where in August 1918 he was one of the founders of the Finnish Communist Party and a member of its central committee.

In March 1919 he was a member of the Finnish delegation to the founding congress of the Comintern and, with Lenin, reported on "bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat." In July 1920 he was again a member of the Finnish delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern. On August 13, 1920, he and seven other Finnish communists were killed in Petrograd by a rival group of Finnish communist exiles called "the Petrograd opposition."

Rákosi, Mátyás. Born in 1892 into a Hungarian Jewish family of tradesmen. He joined the socialist youth movement and in 1910 became a member of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. After schooling in Budapest he continued his studies in Hamburg in 1913 and in London in 1913 and 1914 when he was drafted and sent to the eastern front. In 1915 he was taken prisoner by the Russians and remained in a prisoner-of-war camp until the beginning of 1918. He then became a Bolshevik and after returning to his country joined the Hungarian Communist Party when it was founded in November 1918. During the period of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919 he held various important governmental positions, among them deputy commissar for commerce, commissar for production, and political commissar for an army division. When the republic fell on August 1 he left for Vienna, like many other Hungarians. After nine months he went to Soviet Russia, where he arrived in time to attend the Second Congress of the Comintern. He immediately entered the central apparatus of the Comintern and undertook various missions; one was a trip to Leghorn for the founding congress of the Italian Communist Party in January 1921. Later in that year he participated in the Third Congress of the Comintern and was a member of the ECCI Secretariat until 1924; in November 1922 he took part in the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and in June 1923, at the

third enlarged plenum of the ECCI, he was a member of the Italian commission. In the interval between the Fourth and Fifth Comintern congresses the ECCI placed him in charge of Italian communist affairs; as its emissary and using the pseudonym *Pinguino* he secretly visited Milan during the summer of 1923. At the Fifth Comintern Congress in 1924 he again sat on the Italian commission as a member of the Russian delegation but took no part in the public debates and was not reelected to the Secretariat. Also in 1924 he was named a member of the Hungarian Communist Party central committee. In December he was sent on a secret mission to Hungary, where he was arrested in September 1925; he was first sentenced to eight and a half years in prison and then, in 1934, to life. The following year, during the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, he was elected in absentia a member of the ECCI. In October 1940 he was one of the political prisoners exchanged between the Soviet and Hungarian governments. When he arrived in Moscow he rejoined the leadership of both the Hungarian Communist Party and the Comintern and in May 1943 was the only Hungarian to sign the manifesto dissolving the Comintern.

In February 1945 Rákosi returned to Hungary and was elected secretary-general of the Hungarian Communist Party. In November he was named deputy prime minister of the Hungarian government, a post he held until August 1952, when he became prime minister while still retaining the position of party secretary-general. In June 1953 that title became party first secretary, which he kept, but on July 4 he was succeeded by Imre Nagy as prime minister. At the third congress of the party in 1954 he was retained as first secretary. In both 1952 and 1956 he led the Hungarian delegation to the CPSU congress. When de-Stalinization reached Hungary in July 1956 he was dismissed as party secretary. During the Hungarian revolution in October he emigrated to the Soviet Union and in August 1962 was expelled from the Hungarian Communist Party. He died in the Soviet Union in February 1971.

Rakovsky, Christian. Bulgarian by birth but of Rumanian nationality, he was born in the city of Kotel (Dobrudja region) in 1873 into a wealthy landowning and commercial family. He went to secondary school in Gabrovo but was expelled for his socialist political activities. In 1890 he left to study medicine in Geneva where he devoted himself to socialist causes. In 1893 he went to Berlin and Zurich and then finished his medical studies in 1896 in Montpellier. During his European travels he met Plekhanov, Wilhelm Liebknecht, and several other European socialist leaders and in 1893 went to the Zurich congress of the Second International as the Bulgarian representative. After becoming a doctor he returned to Bulgaria but then went to St. Petersburg, and in 1903-04 he was in Paris. In 1905 he settled in Rumania, where he became a socialist leader, for which he was arrested several times.

During World War I he took an internationalist position and in 1915 participated in the Zimmerwald conference. After Rumania's entry into the war he

was arrested but was freed in May 1917 by Russian troops at Iasi. He first went to Odessa then to Petrograd, where he was active in the Russian revolutionary movement but joined the Bolshevik party only in December 1917. In March 1918 he was named prime minister of the Ukrainian government. He also belonged to the politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party and in 1919 was elected a member of the RCP(B) central committee. In January 1919 he signed, for the Executive Committee of the Balkan Revolutionary Social-Democratic Federation, the call for the founding congress of the Third International; at the congress in March he was a delegate and a speaker for the Balkan Revolutionary Federation and signed the resolution for the immediate formation of the Third International. He belonged to the Bolshevik delegation at both the Second Congress (1920) and the Third Congress (1921) and took part in the debates.

Except for a short interruption at the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919, he remained prime minister of the Ukrainian government until July 1923, when he became Soviet ambassador to England; in 1925 he was named ambassador to France. He had criticized Stalin at the thirteenth congress of the RCP(B) in 1924 and his continued opposition resulted in his elimination from the party's central committee at the fourteenth congress in 1925. At the fifteenth congress in 1927 he was expelled from the party and deported to Astrakhan. He was one of the last opposition leaders to capitulate, by a declaration in 1934. In 1935 he was permitted to rejoin the RCP(B) but at the beginning of Stalin's purges he was again expelled and in 1938 was tried at the third public trial. He was given a long sentence and died in prison in 1941.

Ramsay, David. Born in England in 1883. He became a laborer, and was militant first in the Social Democratic Federation of Great Britain and later in the British Socialist Party. A pacifist during World War I he became known as one of the organizers of the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees movement at the end of the war. As a representative of that movement he was a member of the British delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920, which he addressed in defense of the left communist positions. In that year he also joined the newly founded British Communist Party, for which he performed various functions, among them instructor of the central committee and member of the agitprop section. He died in 1948.

Rappoport, Charles. Born in 1865 into a Jewish family in tsarist Russia. He became active in the Russian revolutionary movement in 1883 and was forced into exile to Western Europe in 1887. Still a Socialist Revolutionary in the early 1890s he gradually leaned toward Marxism. In France, where he was naturalized in 1899, he wrote for socialist journals in France, Germany, and Switzerland and in the press of Russian exiles in Western Europe. During World War I he followed the general Zimmerwald trend. Initially critical of

the Bolshevik revolution, he later came to support the communist positions. In March 1920 he joined the executive bureau of the Committee for the Third International. At the founding congress of the PCF in December he was elected a member of its directing committee, at the Marseilles congress in December 1921 he was reelected, and in June 1922 he joined the PCF delegation to the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI. At the PCF congress held in Paris in October he took part in the debates but was dropped from the directing committee of the party, and at its congress in Lille in 1926 he was criticized by the new PCF leadership but not expelled from the party. In January 1928, in two articles published by *L'Humanité*, he denounced Trotsky and Zinoviev and their companions. He then became Paris correspondent for *Izvestia*. In 1938 the trial of Bukharin led to his resignation from that position and from the PCF. He died in 1941.

Rappoport was a prolific political writer. His first book appeared in 1894 under the title *La Question sociale et la morale*; it was followed by *La Révolution sociale* (1912), *Philosophie de l'histoire* (1915), *Jean Jaurès* (1915), and *La Crise socialiste et sa solution* (1918), and after World War I by *Précis du communisme* (1920) and *La Révolution mondiale* (1921). From March 1920 through 1922 he edited *La Revue communiste* in Paris.

Raskolnikov, Fedor F. Born in Russia in 1892; after completing secondary school in 1909 he registered at the polytechnical institute in St. Petersburg. In December 1910 he joined the RSDLP and sided with the Bolsheviks. He collaborated on the Bolshevik St. Petersburg weekly newspaper, *Zvezda* (Star), from its establishment in 1911 and was the original editorial secretary for *Pravda*, which first appeared in St. Petersburg in April 1912.

After a few months in prison and a short trip abroad he returned to St. Petersburg in 1913 and resumed his position on *Pravda*. During World War I he was drafted into the navy. He was in Petrograd during the February 1917 revolution and resumed his political work there. In Kronstadt he edited the local Bolshevik party paper, *Golos Pravdy* (Voice of Truth), headed the Bolshevik committee, and was vice-president of the local soviet. In July 1917 he was arrested but after his release in October he took part in the Bolshevik coup of November 7. He held several leading positions within the Soviet military apparatus—commissar at navy headquarters, people's vice-commissar for the navy, commander of the Volga flotilla, member of the revolutionary council for war on the eastern front, commander of the Caspian Sea flotilla, and finally, in June 1920, commander of the Baltic fleet. In March 1921, after the civil war, he was demobilized and then named the first Soviet diplomatic representative to Afghanistan.

In December 1923 he returned to Moscow, where he was active in the literary world as well as in the Comintern apparatus, and as a literary man held some of the highest Soviet positions, beginning with editor of the reviews

Krasnaya Nov' (Red Soil) and *Molodaya Gvardiya* (Young Guard). He also was very active (under the name Petrov) in the central apparatus of the Comintern. At the Fifth Congress, held in June and July 1924, he was secretary of the Japanese commission and became an alternate member of the ECCI and a full member of its orgburo. He also directed the Eastern Department of the Comintern Secretariat and became one of three editors of the review *Communist International*. At the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1925 he was seated on the political commission as representative of the Eastern Department and was reelected to the Orgburo. Also in 1925, using his real name he published a book entitled *The Awakening China*. At the sixth enlarged plenum, held in February and March 1926, he was reelected to the Orgburo and became a member of the ECCI Secretariat; at the following plenum, held in November and December 1926, he was named (along with M. N. Roy) a secretary of the Chinese commission and took part in the debates. In May 1927, at the eight plenum, he again spoke on the Chinese question but no longer held responsible positions in the Comintern apparatus.

In 1930 he resumed his career as a Soviet diplomat and was in succession ambassador to Estonia, Denmark, and Bulgaria. In 1938 Stalin recalled him to Moscow, but instead he went to France, where in July 1939 he learned that Stalin had denounced him as an "enemy of the people." He answered the charge with an open letter to Stalin but died shortly afterward, in September 1939, in Nice. In 1963 he was rehabilitated posthumously in the Soviet review *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* (Questions on the History of the CPSU), in an article entitled "Hero of the October and the Civil War."

Rau, Heinrich. Born in 1899 into a peasant family in Germany; he became a metallurgist. In 1913 he supported the Socialist Youth Organization. He joined the USPD at its founding in 1917 and became a member of the KPD when it was established in December 1918. He soon entered the party apparatus and from 1920 to 1923 handled the agrarian section and edited a communist newspaper for peasants. From 1928 to 1933 he was a KPD deputy in the Prussian Landtag; he then was arrested by Hitler's police and sentenced to two years in prison. In 1935 he fled to Czechoslovakia and then to the Soviet Union, where for awhile he held an executive position at Moscow's International Agrarian Institute but in 1937 the Comintern sent him to Spain, where he commanded the Eleventh International Brigade. After the retreat of the brigades in 1939 he was interned in France and in 1942 was turned over to the Germans, who sent him to the Mauthausen concentration camp.

After his release at the end of the World War II he assumed new administrative functions in Brandenburg; with the formation of the East German government in October 1949 he became minister for economic planning and also joined the politburo of the SED. In November 1950 he was promoted to the post of deputy prime minister, for two years (1950-52) was also chairman of the

state planning commission, and in 1955 became minister of foreign trade. At both the fourth congress (1954) and the fifth congress (1958) of the SED he was reelected to the politburo. He died in March 1961.

Ravesteijn, Willem Van. Born in Holland in 1876; after completing secondary school in Rotterdam he studied humanities at universities in Leiden, Amsterdam, and Utrecht. In 1900 he joined the Dutch Social Democratic Workers' Party. In 1906 he was foreign policy editor for *Voorwaarts* (Forward), the Dutch leftist weekly in Rotterdam and as a leftist militant helped found the newspaper *De Tribune* in 1907; however, he was expelled from the party with other "Tribunists" in 1909 and with them founded the dissident Social Democratic Party, of which he became a parliamentary deputy in 1918; then with other former "Tribunists" he founded the Dutch Communist Party, of which he was a deputy in parliament until 1926. In 1922 he represented the party at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and reported on the Far Eastern colonial question but in 1926 was expelled from the party and denounced by the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in November and December. With David Wijnkoop he then founded a dissident communist party; later, however, Wijnkoop reentered the Dutch Communist Party and Van Ravesteijn retired from political activity. He wrote several books, one of which (published in 1947) concerned the history of the communist movement in Holland until 1925. By the early 1960s he had retired in Rotterdam from his position as curator of the municipal library, and he died early in 1970.

Ravines, Eudocio. Born in Peru in 1897. In 1917 he went to Lima to work and there joined the socialist movement. Later he embraced the communist cause and went to Europe, where in February 1927 he took part in the first congress of the League Against Imperialism, held in Brussels. Later he worked in Paris for the International Federation of Instruction, a front organization of the Comintern. In 1929 he attended the second congress of the League Against Imperialism, held in Frankfurt am Main; also in that year he went to Moscow and entered the Comintern apparatus. In 1930, by way of Paris, he returned to Lima, where until 1934 he worked for the Comintern's Latin American bureau under the name Jorge Monterdo. He then returned via Paris to Moscow, where he took part in deliberations over Comintern actions in Latin America. In 1936 he joined the Comintern delegation in Spain. In the winter of 1938 he went to Moscow again, but in 1939 returned to Latin America, where he broke away from communism after World War II began. He lived in Santiago, Chile, until the end of the war and then returned to Peru. In 1951 he went to Mexico, where he wrote a book, *The Yanan Way*. From 1953 to 1956 he lived in Paris and then returned to Peru. After the military coup of October 1968 he was forced to leave his country and seek refuge in Mexico.

Reed, John. Born in 1887 into a wealthy American family; he studied at Harvard and began his career as a journalist in 1911, when he went to Mexico to observe the revolution, about which he later published a book. In 1913 he was on the editorial staff of the leftist magazine *The Masses*. After the outbreak of World War I he went to Europe as a war correspondent and as such arrived in Russia in September 1917. He was there during the November revolution, about which he wrote the book *Ten Days That Shook the World*, remained in Russia for six months, and rallied to the communist cause. Returning to the United States in 1918 he became militant in the left wing of the American Socialist Party; at the close of the socialist conference in New York in February 1919 he became a member of the national council. In April he assumed editorship of the paper *New York Communist*. On August 30, 1919, when the Socialist Party split between the partisans and the adversaries of the Third International, Reed joined the leaders of the communist wing, which group founded the Communist Labor Party of America.

Soon afterward he returned to Soviet Russia, where in October 1919 he was co-opted as a member of the ECCI. In the summer of 1920 he took a very active role in the Second Congress of the Comintern and was reconfirmed as a member of the ECCI. In September 1920 he addressed the Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East as a member of the Comintern delegation. Shortly afterward he was struck by typhus and died in Moscow on October 17; his ashes were buried in the Kremlin wall.

Reich, Y. S. Born in Galicia in 1886. He became a militant socialist before going to Switzerland to study and during World War I was active there among Polish and Russian emigrants. He supported the Bolshevik revolution and when the first Soviet diplomatic mission was established at Bern in 1918 worked as editor-in-chief of its information bulletin, *Russische Nachrichten*. The Swiss authorities expelled the mission in November 1918 but Reich was not permitted to leave the country until January 1919.

Returning to Moscow he helped organize the founding congress of the Comintern, which opened on March 2, 1919. He worked for the Comintern until autumn, when he was sent to Berlin to set up the WES; under the pseudonym Thomas he directed its apparatus until April 1925. During his stay in Berlin he was responsible for maintaining contacts between Moscow and communist movements in Central and Western Europe. He traveled to Moscow in 1920 to attend the Second Congress of the Comintern and returned in March and April 1922 for the meetings of the ECCI Presidium. After a visit in 1925 he abandoned communist activities and returned to Berlin, where he remained until Hitler's rise to power. In March 1933 he settled in Czechoslovakia and in the spring of 1938 emigrated to New York City, where he died in 1956.

Reichenbach, Bernhard. Born in Germany in 1888 into a middle-class family. He was attracted as a youth toward socialist ideas and became a leader of socialist students. He disagreed with the official position of the SPD leadership, and although drafted during World War I he resumed his political activity as soon as he could (1917) and joined the USPD. He worked in a USPD press office but in 1920, when the party split between partisans and opponents of fusion with KPD, he declared himself in favor of the KAPD which had been established in April. As a prominent militant of that party he was sent (following its extraordinary congress held in February 1921) as party representative to the Comintern in Moscow; he left for the Soviet Union in early March and by April already was authorized to participate in the ECCI meetings. In May he had a talk with Lenin and in June joined the KAPD delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern in Moscow.

After a split within the KAPD in 1922 he belonged to its Essen group but in 1924 decided to rejoin the SPD and remained a member until 1931, at which time he joined the SAP (Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands). After Hitler's rise to power he escaped to Great Britain, where he was still living in the 1960s.

Reiman, Paul. Born in 1902 into a German descendant family living in Brno, Moravia. At the end of World War I he studied at a German university, became a communist, and in 1921 joined the KPD. In 1923 he returned to Czechoslovakia, where he became militant in the party's Sudeten German section and wrote for the communist press. In 1926 he was sent to Liberec (Reichenberg) to edit the German-language communist paper *Vorwärts*.

In 1928 he was a member of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed, and became an alternate member of the ECCI. At the Fifth Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in February 1929 he was elected a member of the central committee and then the politburo. In July he took part in the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and in 1929-30 sat as an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium. In 1931 he was reelected to the central committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and headed its agitprop section. From 1933 to 1936 he remained in Moscow as a Czechoslovak party representative on the ECCI and then returned to Czechoslovakia to work in the party secretariat. In September 1938, after the Munich pact, he fled to England.

Returning to Czechoslovakia in 1945 he resumed work in the party secretariat and beginning in 1948 headed the party's theoretical review, *Nová Mysl* (New Thought); however, in 1952 he was removed from his party positions and in November appeared as a witness for the prosecution at the trial of Rudolf Slanský. In 1962 (after de-Stalinization) he was named director of the institute

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of party history. In 1966 he published a book of political memoirs of the years 1921-29.

Reimann, Max. Born in Germany in 1898. In 1913 he joined the German socialist youth and in 1919 the KPD. From 1920 to 1928 he worked as a miner in the Ruhr and was militant in the party; in 1928 he entered the KPD apparatus as secretary of a local organization. In 1932 he became secretary of the Revolutionary Syndicalist Opposition organized in the Ruhr. After Hitler's rise he continued to work secretly in Germany until 1935. He then went to Moscow as a member of the KPD delegation to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. From then until 1939 he was a member of the foreign bureau of the KPD central committee. In April 1939 he was arrested at the German border by the Gestapo, was imprisoned in Dortmund, and in 1942 was transferred to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. He was freed in April 1945 and became a leader of the communist party in the Ruhr. In 1947 he was elected chairman of the party in the British zone of occupation. In April 1948 a communist party for the whole of West Germany was formed and he was named its chairman, a title he exchanged in 1954 for that of first secretary of the central committee, while remaining the effective head of the party. He was a communist deputy in the Bundestag until 1953. In the summer of 1954, however, a warrant was issued for his arrest; he then moved to East Germany and frequently visited the Soviet Union, during which period he headed his party's delegation to the 1952, 1956, and 1961 CPSU congresses and also represented his party at the international communist conferences of 1957 and 1960 in Moscow. In November 1967 he returned to Moscow to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik victory. Not until November 1968, after 14 years in exile, did he return to West Germany. He was chief of the West German delegation and its spokesman at the international conference of the communist parties, assembled in Moscow in June 1969.

Reinstein, Boris. Born in Rostov-on-Don in 1866 into a merchant family, he became a druggist. Beginning in 1884 he was active in the revolutionary movement but eventually fled to Western Europe and after an arrest in Paris in 1901 left for the United States. He opened a drug store near Buffalo and became militant in the Socialist Labor Party, handling relations with the Socialist International. In 1917 he was chosen to attend the international socialist conference at Stockholm and later that year returned to Russia. At first he was sympathetic to the internationalist Mensheviks but in April 1918 he joined the RCP(B) and then worked in the propaganda section of the foreign affairs commissariat. He also helped prepare for the founding of the Comintern, signed the manifesto of January 24, 1919, inviting foreign delegates to the founding congress, and in March 1919 took part in the congress. After that time he worked for the Soviet foreign affairs commissariat and later for the Profintern, at whose founding

congress in July 1921 he was secretary for the provisional mandate commission. At the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1922 he was seated on the commission investigating the accusations against Béla Kun. In March 1922 he attended the meetings of the ECCI devoted to discussion of the communist movement in the United States, after which he went there with two other Moscow emissaries, József Pogány and Henryk Walecki; in this "troika" Reinstein represented the Profintern, using the pseudonym Davidson. During the following years he continued to work for the Comintern apparatus but without assuming important functions. In 1929, during the celebration of the first decade of the Comintern, he published his recollections about its founding congress in a special issue of *Communist International* under the title "Ten Years of Struggle for the World Revolution." He died in 1947.

Reisner, Larissa. Born in Lublin, Poland, in 1895 of Baltic origin. Her father, a socialist, taught at that time at Lublin's Institute of Agronomy; during her childhood she lived with her parents first in Germany and then in Paris. The family settled in Russia around 1910 and she fell under the influence of her father's leftist circle. She opposed World War I and began to collaborate in Maxim Gorki's review *Letopis'* (Annals). She was against the coalition government after the February 1917 revolution but joined the Bolshevik party after its victory in October. During the first months of the Soviet regime she worked in Russia in an office for the conservation of monuments. Later she volunteered for the Red Army and during the civil war was a commissar to the Fifth Army and later to navy headquarters. After the civil war she married Fedor Raskolnikov, whom she accompanied to Afghanistan when he was appointed Soviet ambassador, but they separated and she returned to Moscow early in 1923. In the autumn of 1923 she accompanied Karl Radek to Germany under a false passport and during the ill-fated German October acted as liaison between leaders of the KPD in Berlin and the Comintern delegation in Dresden. After the failure of the insurrection in Hamburg she went there to write her book *Hamburg on the Barricades*. Returning to Soviet Russia she undertook missions in the Urals, the Don Basin, and Iran. Taken ill, she visited Germany once more in 1925 but she died in Moscow in November 1926.

Relecom, Xavier. Born in Belgium in 1901. From 1919 to 1928 he was a member of the Belgian Socialist Party and joined the Belgian Communist Party in 1928, in which he held leading positions beginning in 1929 first as a member of the central committee and later as a member of the politburo. In 1936 he succeeded Joseph Jacquemotte as secretary-general of the party and as a member of the ECCI. In late March when the ECCI Presidium summoned the secretary-generals of what it considered the ten most important foreign sections, Relecom represented the Belgian Communist Party and reported on its activity.

During the Stalinist purges he followed the Comintern line faithfully. He

also approved of the Soviet-German nonaggression pact. When Hitler attacked the U.S.S.R. on June 22, 1941, Relecom was arrested and deported to a German concentration camp. When he returned to Belgium in 1945 he found that Edgar Lalmand held the position of secretary-general. He was reprimanded for his attitude during his German captivity and in the following years held a succession of secondary positions, such as administrator for the communist press and secretary of the party federation of Charleroi, and from 1949 to 1954 he was forced to leave his positions one by one. When the pro-Chinese communists made themselves known in Belgium in 1963-64, he joined that faction and in October 1964 he was a candidate of the pro-Chinese communist party in the municipal elections. When a split developed in the new party in October 1967, Relecom and other leaders were expelled from the party by its secretary-general, Jacques Grippa.

Remmele, Hermann. Born near Heidelberg in 1886; he became a metal worker. At a very early age he joined the SPD and became militant in its political and trade-union organizations but during World War I broke with the SPD and in 1917 joined the left wing of the USPD. At the Halle congress of the USPD in 1920 he voted in favor of its entry into the Comintern and when the KPD merged with the left wing of the USPD in December he was elected to the secretariat of the new party. At the Jena congress in August 1921 he was elected a member of the central committee and in December went to Moscow to sit for two months as KPD representative on the ECCI. In 1924 he participated in the sessions of the enlarged plenum of the ECCI (under the pseudonym Freimuth) and presented a report on Fascism at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern.

He remained a member of the party central committee and was reelected at the congresses of 1923, 1924, 1925, 1927, and 1929. He was also regularly elected a communist deputy to the Reichstag. In February 1924 he was named president of the KPD, replacing Brandler, but did not occupy that post very long. At the same time he was active in the Comintern. At the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February and March 1926 he was elected a member of the ECCI Presidium and at the following plenum in December became a member of the ECCI Secretariat. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was reelected to the ECCI and its Presidium and those positions were confirmed at the enlarged plenums of 1929 and 1931. However, in 1932 he was criticized—first in April-May at the political commission of the ECCI and then again in September at the twelfth enlarged plenum—as a “member of the Heinz Neumann group” hostile to Ernst Thälmann. At the thirteenth plenum in December 1933 he was expelled from the Comintern apparatus and deprived of all his leading functions in the KPD. With Hitler's rise to power in that year he took refuge in the Soviet Union. In January 1934 his self-criticism was published in the communist press and at the “Brussels conference” of

the KPD (actually held in Moscow); his disgrace was confirmed. He was arrested during Stalin's purges in 1937 and executed in 1939; shortly thereafter his wife and son suffered the same fate.

Renoult, Daniel. Born in France in 1880. He became a member of the SFIO in 1906; in 1914 he worked on the editorial staff of its daily, *L'Humanité*, but was drafted during World War I. At first a centrist he rapidly moved toward support of the Comintern during 1920. At the founding congress of the PCF in December, he was elected a member of the directing committee; at its next congress, in December 1921 in Marseilles, he was reelected to the directing committee but came into conflict with the Comintern line on tactics of the United Front. During the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in February and March 1922, he went to Moscow to defend the hostile position of the party majority. He continued to maintain his views and as a result he and his newspaper, *L'Internationale*, were criticized in June 1922 at the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI. In November he addressed the Fourth Congress of the Comintern but following a Comintern veto was not reelected to the directing committee of the PCF. At the Lyon congress in January 1924 he criticized the sectarianism of the party leadership but refrained from any critical remarks concerning the Comintern and its policies.

In 1935 he was elected communist mayor of Montresail, a Paris suburb. During World War II he participated in the communist resistance; after the liberation he was reelected to the central committee of the PCF at the congresses in June 1945 and July 1947. After 1950 he no longer belonged to the central committee but remained a member of the central commission for financial control of the party until his death in 1958.

Reuter, Ernst. Born in Germany in 1889, the son of a former merchant marine captain. He studied history and geography at Marburg and Munich and in 1912 joined the SPD. In 1915 he was drafted and in the following year was captured by the Russians. He rallied to the Bolshevik revolution of November 1917 and early in 1918 was a leader of the revolutionary committee of former war prisoners formed in Moscow. In April he was chosen one of two chiefs of the German affairs commissariat for the Volga region. In late December he returned to Germany, where he was militant in the KPD under the name Friesland. At the party congress held in April 1920 he was elected an alternate member of the national committee (*Zentrale*) and became the leader of the communist organization in Berlin. As spokesman for the Berlin left he opposed the party chairman, Paul Levi, and after the March Action in 1921 became one of the most important KPD leaders.

In June 1921 he was a delegate and speaker at the Third Congress of the Comintern. After his return he was elected secretary-general of the KPD at its Jena congress in August but by December he was in conflict with Moscow,

whose partisans in the KPD saw to his expulsion in January 1922. Shortly afterward he joined the USPD and worked as editor for its newspaper, *Die Freiheit*. After the socialist unification in Germany he was an editor for the SPD's organ, *Vorwärts*. In 1931 he was elected mayor of Magdeburg and in 1932 socialist deputy for that city.

After Hitler's rise to power Reuter was arrested twice and early in 1935 left the country for England and then Turkey. There he worked as an adviser to the ministry of economy and then as a professor. In 1946 he returned to West Berlin, where as a socialist candidate he was elected mayor in June 1947 and played an important role during the Soviet blockade of Berlin in 1948-49. He died in September 1953.

Révai, József. Born in 1898 into a Hungarian Jewish family; in college he studied economics and during World War I worked as a bank employee in Budapest. He joined the Hungarian Communist Party when it was founded and in 1919, during the period of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, was a staff member of the party organ, *Vörös Újság* (Red Gazette). When the regime collapsed he fled with other communist leaders to Austria and later went to Germany. At that time he began to write for the Viennese review *Kommunismus*, and for *Imprekorr*.

In 1925 he participated in the first congress-in-exile of the Hungarian Communist Party, held in Vienna, and at the second congress, held in 1930, he presented a report on the peasant question. At the close of the year he returned to Hungary under the name Eugen Sommer; he was arrested in Budapest and in September 1931 was tried and sentenced to three years in prison. After being freed in 1934 he went to Prague and then to Moscow, where in the central apparatus of the Comintern he worked under Béla Kun and then under Dmitri Manuilsky. At the beginning of 1936, during the Stalinist purges (when most of the Hungarian communist leaders perished), he was in charge of the Hungarian Communist Party at the Central European Secretariat of the Comintern. He then became an important leader of the party, staying in both Moscow and Prague. He later took part in the work of the Comintern until its dissolution in 1943 and was head of Radio Kossuth in the Soviet Union. He returned to Hungary with the Red Army and took charge of the communist party organ, *Scabod Nép* (Free People). Later he became minister of culture in the Hungarian government and also a member of the party politburo, a post confirmed by the second congress of the party in February 1951. He was a Hungarian Communist Party delegate to the founding conference of the Cominform in September 1947 and to its third conference in November 1949.

After Stalin's death in 1953 he lost his position in the government and his membership in the politburo. When Rákosi was eliminated from the party secretariat in July 1956 Révai returned to the politburo but during the Hungarian revolution of October 1956 he took refuge in the U.S.S.R., as did Rákosi

and Gerő. He returned to Hungary at the beginning of 1957 and in March, in an article published in the official party organ, *Népszabadság* (People's Freedom), he sharply attacked Imre Nagy, whom he called "the precursor and real political chief of the October counter-revolution." He died in 1959.

Révész, Géza. Born in 1902, the son of a handicraftsman. He joined the Hungarian Communist Party at its founding in November 1918. He was a partisan of the Hungarian Soviet Republic but held no important office in it and so remained in the country after its failure. He continued his underground communist militancy but was arrested eventually and sentenced in 1923 to several years in prison. After his release he went to Soviet Russia, where he underwent political indoctrination at the Leninist School of the Comintern; he probably also studied at a Soviet military academy. In 1944 he and Sándor Nógrádi were parachuted into an area bordering Hungary and Czechoslovakia to organize an anti-German guerilla movement. After the war, from 1945 to 1947 he was charged with organizing the military branch of the political police in Hungary. He then went to Warsaw as Hungarian ambassador to Poland but in a year he returned to Budapest to head the Hungarian army's counter-espionage section. In 1954 he left the espionage service and was named deputy chief of the government planning board. In February 1957 he became minister of national defense, with the rank of general. At the same time he was seated on the central committee of the Hungarian Communist Party. From May 1960 to February 1963 he was Hungarian ambassador to Moscow. He then returned to domestic political life and until April 1967 was a member of parliament. At the end of the 1960s he was still president of the Hungarian-Soviet Association in Budapest.

Revo, L. Born Otto Machl in Vienna in 1898. During World War I he joined the socialist youth movement. Converted to communism he took part in the founding congress of the Austrian Communist Party in November 1918 and in the congress of February 1919, at which he was elected a member of the party tribunal (later the control commission). In 1920 he began to publish articles in *Kommunismus*, *L'Humanité*, and other communist papers under the name L. Revo. He became the German correspondent for *L'Humanité* and in January 1921 went to Berlin, where he was a liaison between KPD leaders and other European communist parties during the March Action. From the autumn of 1921 he worked for the newly published *Imprekorr* as an economics journalist. At the conference of the three Internationals, held in Berlin in April 1922, he was an interpreter for the Comintern delegation. In July 1923 he went to Moscow as a translator at Comintern headquarters and later as a professor at the KUTV. In June and July 1924 he took part in the Fifth Congress of the Comintern.

In the next few years, however, he drew closer to the opposition within

the German and French parties. When the Comintern sent him to Brussels in 1927 to head the foreign affairs section of *Drapeau Rouge* (the official organ of the Belgian Communist Party) he broke off with the Comintern and settled in Paris. From then on he used the pen name Lucien Laurat and for the next 30 years published works dealing with the Soviet economy and Marxism.

Rheiland, E. As a socialist militant, he embraced communism and was in favor of the adherence of the Luxembourg socialist party to the Third International. In August 1920 he presented a written report on Luxembourg to the Second Congress of the Comintern, which he attended despite the fact that his name was not on the official list of delegates. On September 11 he met with Lenin to discuss the founding congress of the projected Communist Party of Luxembourg.

Returning to his country he organized the party's founding congress, held in January 1921. He became the party's leader and its only liaison with the Comintern. In March 1921 he was among the foreign delegates invited to Berlin as observers during the March Action. In June he was in Moscow again to attend the meetings of the ECCI and the Third Congress of the Comintern. Later, however, he was involved in a suspicious matter concerning Comintern funds and in September 1921 was forced to explain himself at the headquarters of the PCF; on December 25, 1921 the ECCI handled the matter. From then on Rheiland ceased to play any role in the party or the Comintern.

Riazanov, David B. Born David Goldendach in 1870. In the 1890s he was militant in the Russian socialist movement and became known as a trade-union organizer and a specialist in Marxism; after several arrests by tsarist authorities he took refuge in Western Europe. During World War I he lived in Paris, where he collaborated on the Russian socialist newspapers *Golos* (Voice) and *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word), both of which propounded pacifist and internationalist views. After the revolution of February 1917 he returned to Russia and joined the Mezhrainitsy group (a faction standing halfway between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks), with which he was admitted to the Bolshevik party at its sixth congress in July 1917. At the time of the October Revolution he played an important role in the trade-union movement. Nevertheless, he continually opposed Lenin's views on such diverse subjects as a coalition government with other socialist parties (1917), the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918), and the trade-union question (1920-21); he eventually was eliminated from trade-union work.

In 1920 he attended the Second Congress of the Comintern as a member of the Bolshevik delegation. In 1921 he was named director of the Marx-Engels Institute. In 1924 he submitted a report to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern concerning the publication of the complete works of Marx and Engels. At the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in March and April 1925, he

reported on the activities of the Marx-Engels Institute. After Stalin's victory he lost his position at the Institute and in February 1931 was excluded from the RCP(B) "for helping Menshevik counter-revolutionary activity." He then was arrested and deported. He died during the Stalinist purges in 1938.

Rios, Fernando De Los. Born in Spain in 1879. He became a professor at the University of Granada and an influential member of the Spanish Socialist Party; in June 1920, at the close of the party's second congress, he was chosen as one of two delegates to visit Soviet Russia to examine the question of joining the Comintern. Arriving after the Second Congress of the Comintern, he met with Lenin and other leaders in the autumn of 1920. After his return to Spain he advised against party adherence to the Comintern and remained in the party when the pro-communists broke from it at the extraordinary congress of April 1921. Later, as a representative of the socialists, he became minister of justice in the first republican government of Spain. When the civil war began in July 1936 he became a representative of the Republic in Paris and at the end of the year was named ambassador to Washington, D.C. With Franco's victory he lost his position and settled in New York, where he taught for a time at the New School for Social Research. He died in 1949.

Roca, Blas. Born Francisco Calderio in Cuba in 1910; he was a shoemaker in his youth. He joined the Cuban Communist Party in the early 1930s and at its second congress, held in 1934, was elected secretary-general, a position he held for many years. Soon after the congress he went to Moscow, where he participated in the debates on the Popular Front tactics in Latin America. He also attended the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. He loyally followed Comintern policy in Cuba by first denouncing Batista's coup d'état in 1936 and then collaborating with Batista in 1938. In January 1939 the third congress of the Cuban Communist Party approved the tactical reversal and confirmed Roca as secretary-general. At the 1939 elections for the constituent assembly he was elected deputy and then participated in drawing up President Batista's constitution.

When the communist party changed its name to Popular Socialist Party Roca remained secretary-general and in that capacity addressed the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B) in October 1952. From 1953 to 1958 he lived in exile in Mexico from where he often traveled to communist countries, as in February 1956 when he attended the twentieth congress of the CPSU. After Fidel Castro's victory he returned to Cuba and in March 1959, at the plenum of the Cuban Communist Party central committee, he explained the communist policy of support for Castro. In 1962 he headed the communist journal *Hoy*. In October 1965, when Castro created a single revolutionary organization from the July 26 movement and the Cuban Communist Party, Roca joined its central committee and secretariat, posts he still occupied in 1969.

Rochet, Waldeck. Born in France in 1905, son of a poor handicraftsman; he became a truck farmer. In 1923 he joined the communist youth and the PCF; after completing his army service he performed his first important party functions and soon became a permanent member of the party apparatus. The party sent him to Moscow from 1930 to 1932 to study at the Leninist School of the Comintern, from which he graduated as the top French student, and when he returned to France he was named PCF secretary for the Lyon region. In 1934 he was called to party headquarters in Paris to direct communist activity among the peasants and in 1935 he addressed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern as a PCF delegate; from 1935 on he sat continuously on the PCF central committee. In 1936 he was elected a communist deputy. At the end of 1939, after the Hitler-Stalin pact and the outlawing of the PCF, he was arrested, sentenced by the Paris military tribunal to five years in prison, and interned in Algeria.

He was freed after the Allied invasion and in November 1943 was sent to London by the PCF to replace Fernand Grenier as communist representative on the French National Liberation Committee. In August 1944 he returned to Paris and sat in the Consultative Assembly beginning in November as a delegate of the General Confederation of Peasant Workers; at the same time he resumed party work among the peasants and edited the paper *La Terre*. In 1945 he became an alternate member of the politburo and in 1946 was elected to the National Assembly. Promoted to membership in the politburo he became a PCF secretary at the fifteenth congress in 1959. At the sixteenth congress in May 1961 he was nominated deputy secretary-general of the party and at the seventeenth congress, held in May 1964, Maurice Thorez became chairman of the PCF and Rochet became secretary-general (a post he still held at this writing). Thereafter he made regular trips to the Soviet Union either for official congresses or vacations, during which he always met with Kremlin leaders. In 1961 he accompanied Thorez to the twenty-second congress of the CPSU, in March 1966 he addressed the twenty-third congress, and in November 1967 he headed the French delegation and spoke for the PCF in Moscow at the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the October Revolution.

In 1969 his health deteriorated and he underwent surgery twice, first in Moscow in June and then in Paris in November. In February 1970, at the close of the nineteenth congress of the PCF, he was reelected in absentia the secretary-general of the party though he never assumed that function.

Roland-Hoist, Henriette. Born in Holland in 1869; she became a poet and political writer. Beginning in 1896 she was militant in the Dutch socialist movement and then in the European socialist movement in general; she belonged to the left wing of the Dutch Social Democratic Workers' Party. In 1907 she helped publish the journal *De Tribune* and in 1909 was among the founders of the Left Social Democratic Party in Holland. During World War I she took a

pacifist and internationalist stand and in 1915 participated in the Zimmerwald conference. In 1916 she rallied to the Zimmerwald left (to which Lenin belonged) and helped publish its review, *Vorbote*.

She was militant in the Dutch Communist Party from its founding in 1918. When the Comintern created an Amsterdam bureau in November 1919 she sat on its first executive committee. In February 1920 she took part in the communist conference held in Amsterdam and also spoke in favor of the Comintern at the SFIO congress held at Strasbourg. In 1921 she addressed the Third Congress of the Comintern; however, beginning in 1923, she expressed growing reservations about Moscow's policies and in November 1927, after Stalin had crushed the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition, she left the Dutch Communist Party. In the following years she remained a pacifist and an opponent of colonialism and continued to write. In 1947 she received an honorary doctorate from the University of Amsterdam. She died in 1952.

Rosenberg, Arthur. Born in Germany in 1889; he received a Ph.D. in ancient history and archeology. He joined the KPD in 1919 and during 1923 became an important theorist for the party leftists in their conflict with the Brandler-Thalheimer leadership. In April 1924, when the left took over the KPD leadership at the Frankfurt am Main congress, he was elected a member of the central committee and at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, held later that year, was elected a member of the ECCI. When factionalism struck the left he followed the ultra-left tendency, which was criticized by an ECCI resolution in June 1925. In February and March 1926 he took part in the debates of the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. Although he was not among the leftist leaders expelled by Moscow in 1927 he left the KPD in April. He later wrote a history of Bolshevism and a history of the Weimar Republic. After Hitler's rise to power he left Germany and died in the United States in 1943.

Rosmer, Alfred. Born Alfred Griot in 1877 to French immigrants living in New York; when his parents returned to France he worked as a civil servant in Paris and then as a proofreader. He joined the group editing *La Vie Ouvrière*, a revolutionary syndicalist newspaper. A pacifist and internationalist during World War I he took part in the Committee for the Resumption of International Relations, which had Zimmerwald leanings. In Paris he was close to Trotsky, who with Martov was editing the Russian paper *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word). He was a partisan of the October Revolution from its beginning. At the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 he represented the French Committee for the Third International and was elected a member of the ECCI and its Presidium. He remained in Russia for 17 months, participating in the Baku Congress of Eastern Peoples, the founding congress of the Profintern, and the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921.

After a brief return to France he attended the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1922; in April he went to Berlin with a Moscow delegation to confer with the two socialist Internationals; and in November he participated in the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, which appointed him a leftist representative in the new directing committee of the PCF. In June 1923 he took part in the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI, at the Lyon congress of the PCF in January 1924 he was elected to the directing committee and the politburo, and in June he attended the Fifth Congress of the Comintern.

In November 1924, however, he and Pierre Monatte published an open letter expressing their disagreement with the official party line and with Moscow. This provoked Rosmer's expulsion from the PCF in December. In the years following he remained loyal to his friend Trotsky and to the revolutionary syndicalist group publishing the Paris review *La Révolution prolétarienne* and belonged to the international secretariat of the leftist communist opposition until 1930, when he resigned. In 1939 he joined Trotsky in Mexico but during World War II lived in the United States. He returned to France in 1947 and in 1953 published his memoirs, *Moscou sous Lénine*, with a preface by Albert Camus. He died in 1964.

Rothstein, Andrew. Born in England in 1898, the son of Feodor Rothstein. At the end of World War I he and his father became communists and when Feodor went to Soviet Russia in 1920 Andrew remained active in the British Communist Party under the name C. M. Roebuck. In 1923 he joined the central committee of the party and became a member of the politburo at its congress in May 1924; at the 1925 congress he was reelected to the politburo and joined the orgburo; and at the ninth party congress in October 1927 he presented the central committee's political report.

In 1928 he was sent with the British delegation to attend the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, at which he spoke in the public debates, was elected a member of the congress' secretariat, and sat on the commission for Negro affairs. At the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1929 the Comintern reorganized the British leadership and in August Rothstein was removed from the politburo and secretariat; at the eleventh party congress in November he was removed from the central committee. Nevertheless, he remained in the service of the party throughout and after the Stalin regime. In April 1957 he spoke at the twenty-fifth congress of the British Communist Party and during the 1960s remained a party member and was a vice-president of the U.S.S.R.-Great Britain Friendship Association.

In 1935 in Moscow he edited a volume entitled *The Working Class Against Fascism*. After World War II he published two books in London—*Peaceful Coexistence* (1955) and *The Munich Conspiracy* (1958). He also helped edit the history of the Comintern published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow in 1969.

Rothstein, Feodor A. Born in 1871 into a Jewish family in tsarist Russia. At an early age he became militant in the socialist movement; in 1890 he was forced to emigrate and settled in Great Britain, where he lived for 30 years. He was a member of the British Social Democratic Federation and the RSDLP, and wrote for the socialist press in both English and Russian; he also was interested in Near Eastern problems. During World War I he took a pacifist and internationalist stand. With Lenin's victory at Petrograd in November 1917 he changed from a centrist to a Bolshevik position. Writing under the name John Bryan in the British Socialist Party press he urged the party to affiliate itself with communism and the Third International. In 1919 and early 1920 he was the Comintern's confidential emissary in Great Britain and played a role in the formation of the British Communist Party. Since he was not a British subject he was expelled from the country in 1920.

In Moscow in 1921 he was nominated Soviet ambassador to Teheran and in 1922 was recalled to Moscow to assume a high position in the commissariat of foreign affairs. In 1925 he was press director for the commissariat and also wrote for the Comintern press under the name Iranski. In 1930 he left the diplomatic corps to head the World Economic and Political Institute. He was spared during the purges and in 1939 was named a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. He died in 1953.

Roussos, Petros. Born in 1906 to Greek parents living in Asia Minor; in 1922 the family returned to Greece, where Roussos finished his university studies and took up communist activity. In 1929 he joined the central committee of the communist youth, of which he was a member until late 1933 when the party sent him to Moscow. There he went to the Leninist School of the Comintern, married Chryssa Hadzivassiliu (a militant Greek communist), and in 1935 attended the sixth congress of the KIM.

He then returned to Greece, where he joined the central committee of the Greek Communist Party and directed the communist newspaper *Rizospastis* (Radical). In 1936, after the Metaxas coup, he was arrested and deported until 1941 when Greece was occupied by the Germans. When the communist party began to organize resistance he helped found the National Liberation Front, joined its central committee, and took over the underground publication of *Rizospastis*. In August 1943 he went to Cairo to confer with British representatives and the Greek government, which was headquartered there. He spoke for the communist party at the May 1944 conference in Lebanon, which aimed at the unification of Greek political forces and resistance movements.

When the communists resumed insurrectional activity against the government in liberated Athens, Roussos joined the forces of General Markos. In April 1948, after Markos had been eliminated as head of the provisional communist government, Roussos became minister of foreign affairs in that government and in that capacity traveled to Eastern Europe, where he settled after the

communists' defeat. He became involved in factional struggles among the exiled Greek communists and following Stalin's death was dropped from party leadership. In February 1957 he was again a member of the politburo at the plenary session of the Greek Communist Party meeting in Prague but at the eighth congress of the party, held in August 1961, his name disappeared from the lists of both current and purged members of the politburo.

Rovio, Gustav. Born in Finland in 1887; he was a lathe operator. He became active in the social democratic movement in tsarist Russia and in 1905 joined the Bolshevik faction. Toward the end of 1910 he settled in Finland, where he continued his activity in the Finnish Social Democratic Party, and from 1913 to 1915 was secretary of the central committee of the Finnish Social Democratic Youth. In July 1917 the Russian provisional government issued a warrant for Lenin's arrest and during August and September Lenin hid in Rovio's apartment. During the Finnish revolution in early 1918 Rovio was chief of the Helsinki militia. In that same year, along with other prominent Finnish communists, he took refuge in Soviet Russia, where he became a leader in the Finnish Communist Party when it was founded in August and as such joined the Finnish delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920. In Petrograd he was the head of the local branch of the KUNMZ from 1927 to July 1929.

In 1929 he was named secretary of the Finnish Communist Party regional committee for Karelia, a post he held until August 1935, when he was dismissed for "nationalist deviation." He then was recalled to Moscow, where he remained until his arrest in July 1937. He was shot in 1938 during the Stalinist purges, and was rehabilitated posthumously after the twentieth congress of the CPSU in February 1956.

Roy, Manabendra N. Born in 1887 to moderately wealthy parents in Bengal. While a student of mathematics he joined in nationalist protests against the British and in 1915 left India to seek help from Germany. In 1916 he traveled across Asia to the United States, where he used the name Father Martin. In 1917 he settled in Mexico, where in 1919 he met Mikhail Borodin, the first Comintern emissary in North America. He participated in the founding of the Mexican Communist Party. By way of Berlin he and his wife went to Soviet Russia for the Second Congress of the Comintern, where he was active as a delegate of the Mexican Communist Party. He was admitted to the congress with a consultative voice only but Lenin promptly enlisted his aid in writing the theses on the national and colonial questions. Later Roy left for Tashkent with Grigori Sokolnikov and Georgi Safarov to head the Far Eastern bureau of the Comintern. He returned to Moscow to take part in the Third Congress of the Comintern, which opened on June 22, 1921. At both the Third and Fourth Congresses he was elected a member of the ECCI,

and at the Fifth Congress in 1924 he was an alternate member. At the fifth through the eighth plenums of the ECCI (1925-27) he was elected to both the ECCI and its Presidium. During the eighth plenum in May 1927 he was in China, where he replaced Borodin as head of the Comintern delegation.

After his return to Soviet Russia, however, he was criticized—especially in August 1928 at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, where he neither spoke nor retained his posts in the ECCI. Accused of "rightist deviation" he was expelled from the Comintern in November 1929. He then settled in Berlin to head a small group of Indian exiles and to collaborate with the Brandler-Thalheimer group. In December 1930 he secretly returned to India, where in July 1931 he was arrested and sentenced to six years in jail. Freed in 1936, he joined the Congress Party and in 1940 founded the Radical Democratic Party. Its first periodical was *The Independent India*, followed by *The Radical Humanist*, which Roy edited until his death in 1954.

During his life he published a work on the Russian revolution and another on the revolution and counter-revolution in China. His memoirs, first appearing in *The Radical Humanist*, were edited and published as a book after his death under the title *M.N. Roy's Memoirs* (Bombay, 1964).

Rudas, László. Born in Hungary in 1885. While a university student he became a member of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party and in 1905 joined its left wing. After the Bolshevik victory in Russia he rallied to communism and was one of the founders of the Hungarian Communist Party and a member of its first central committee, formed in November 1918. As editor-in-chief of *Vörös Újság* (Red Gazette), the party's official organ, he was sent to attend the founding congress of the Comintern but reached Moscow in April 1919, a month late; nevertheless, he stayed in Soviet Russia for several months and attended meetings of the ECCI. He then left for Germany and Austria, where he took part in the factional struggles of the exiled Hungarian Communist Party.

In March 1922 he was recalled to Moscow to attend the meetings of the ECCI and the Presidium devoted to the situation in the Hungarian Communist Party. By a Moscow decision he was relieved of all his party positions and placed at the disposal of the ECCI. He remained in Moscow to teach at the Institute of Red Professors, then at the Leninist School of the Comintern, and then at the KUNMZ. In the 1930s he worked in the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute and during that same period (mainly from 1928 to 1933) wrote for the theoretical and philosophical review *Unter dem Banner des Marxismus*.

He was arrested for a time in 1937 but survived the Stalinist purges and returned to Hungary after World War II. He became director of the central school of the Hungarian Communist Party and then rector of the University of Economics, as well as a member of the Academy of Sciences, but no longer

held executive posts in the party or in the government. He died in 1950.

Rudnyánszky, Endre. Born in Hungary in 1885; he became a lawyer. During World War I he was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army as a cavalry officer and was taken prisoner on the eastern front. In 1917 he embraced Bolshevism and joined Lenin's party. He took part in the formation of the Hungarian communist group in Russia and in the Federation of Foreign Communist Groups supporting the Bolsheviks. When Béla Kun left for Hungary in the autumn of 1918 Rudnyánszky succeeded him as chairman of the federation. He also signed the call for a congress to create the Third International published on January 24, 1919. In March 1919 he was the only Hungarian to take part in the founding congress of the Comintern. With the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic that month he became its representative in Moscow. At the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 he was elected a member of the ECCI and its five-member Presidium. He remained in those positions through April 1921 but did not appear at the Third Congress of the Comintern, which opened on June 22, having disappeared from Soviet Russia with a large amount of Comintern funds; since then there has been no trace of him. In a volume of Béla Kun's articles, entitled *The Hungarian Soviet Republic* (published in French in Budapest in 1962), it is said in a biographical notice on Rudnyánszky: "In the same year, 1921, he was expelled from the party because of an attitude unworthy of a communist."

Rühle, Otto. Born in 1874; he became a pedagogue, man of letters, and publicist. He was elected an SPD deputy in 1912. During World War I he was a pacifist and internationalist and was the second German socialist deputy (after Karl Liebknecht) to vote against war credits in March 1915. In 1919 he became a militant in the KPD and soon a leader of its extreme left wing. When the party split in October 1919 he helped found the KAPD. Just before the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 he headed his party's delegation to Moscow for negotiations with the Comintern but in 1921 he quarreled with the KAPD leadership and left the party; thereafter he devoted most of his time to writing. He published many works, among them a biography of Karl Marx (1928). After Hitler's rise to power he went into exile and eventually settled in Mexico, where he died in 1943.

Rust, William. Born in England; while a workingman he joined the Communist Party of Great Britain and was militant in the Young Communist League in London. At its first national conference in 1922 he was elected a member of its executive committee. In 1923 he became a member of the executive committee of the British Communist Party as its youth representative. At the seventh congress of the British Communist Party in 1925 he was elected

a member of the politburo. In October, however, he and several other leaders of the party were arrested and he was sentenced to a year in prison.

In 1928 he participated in the fifth congress of the KIM and was elected a member of the executive committee; then as a KIM delegate he took part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and was elected to the ECCI and its Presidium. He completed several missions for the Comintern, among them a trip to the United States as a KIM representative. In 1929, when Moscow was favoring new young leaders in the foreign parties, Rust led the attack against British Communist Party leaders at the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in July.

In 1930 he was named editor of the new communist paper *The Daily Worker* but resigned from that post when he went to Moscow in April 1931 to attend the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI. He remained in the Soviet capital for over a year as a representative of the British Communist Party in the Anglo-American Department of the Comintern Secretariat. At the end of 1932 he returned to Great Britain and was a leader of the party in Manchester. He remained a member of the party politburo and in 1941 resumed editorship of *The Daily Worker*; he held both posts until his sudden death following a heart attack in 1949.

Rutgers, Sebald Justius. Born in Holland in 1879; he became an engineer and worked in Indonesia. Prior to 1914 he joined the Dutch Social Democratic Workers' Party and during World War I settled in the United States, where he became a left-wing socialist. After Lenin's victory he embraced the communist cause and in 1918 joined the Bolshevik bureau in the United States. He arrived in Russia early in 1919 and was the only Dutchman to attend the founding congress of the Comintern, held in March. In the autumn Lenin entrusted him with organizing the Comintern bureau in Amsterdam; when it began to operate in November Rutgers was on its executive committee. He also helped organize the International Communist Conference held in Amsterdam in February 1920. Later in the year, however, Moscow decided to close the Amsterdam bureau and Rutgers retired from political activity and resumed his profession. He returned to Soviet Russia, where from 1921 to 1926 he was organizer of the autonomous industrial colony (AIK) for reconstruction of the coal and chemical industry of Kuzbass. After that he was employed in different posts dealing with the Soviet economy and scientific research. He finally left the U.S.S.R. in 1938 and returned to Holland. He died in 1961.

Ruthenberg, Charles E. Born in Cleveland, Ohio in 1882 to German immigrants; he went to work at age 16 and held various jobs, particularly in book business. In 1909 he joined the American Socialist Party and then became editor-in-chief of the paper *Cleveland Socialist*. In 1913 he became secretary

of the Cleveland socialist organization. During World War I he took a pacifist and internationalist position, for which he received a ten-month prison term in 1918.

When the Communist Party of America was founded in September 1919 he was elected its national secretary. In 1920 he was imprisoned for a year and a half and did not resume his post as party secretary until the spring of 1922. Since 1920 he had used the name David Damon and under that name was elected in absentia as an alternate member of the ECCI at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held in November 1922. At the Fifth Congress in 1924 he was elected a full member of the ECCI and an alternate member of its Presidium. In March 1925, using the name Sanborn, he represented the Workers Party of America at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. In August, at the close of the fourth national convention of the Workers Party of America, he was reelected secretary-general.

At the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in February and March 1926, he was once again on the ECCI Presidium and spoke under the name Sanborn; during the seventh enlarged plenum in November 1926 he became a full member of the ECCI Presidium. In 1927 he died during an operation in Chicago; his ashes were placed in the Kremlin wall.

Rykov, Aleksei. Born in 1881 into a poor Russian family; he was converted to socialism while in secondary school. He enrolled as a law student in Kazan' and in 1900 became militant in the social democratic movement, for which he was arrested in March 1901. When the party split at the London congress of 1903 he became a Bolshevik; at the London congress of 1905 he was elected a member of the central committee. He then went to St. Petersburg to head the Bolshevik committee and sit in the soviet during the 1905 revolution, after which he spent nine months in prison. Afterward he went abroad and took part in the factional struggles of the RSDLP. In the summer of 1909 he returned to Russia but was arrested again in September in Moscow.

After his release he joined Lenin in Paris but in August 1911 returned to Russia and again was arrested; until the revolution of February 1917 he was often in jail. He then returned to Moscow to participate in the April 1917 conference and although he did not agree with Lenin's April Theses, he was reelected a member of the Bolshevik party's central committee. With the Bolshevik victory of November 7, 1917, he became a member of the first council of people's commissars. At the beginning of 1922 he joined the RCP(B) politburo. When Lenin died in January 1924 Rykov succeeded him as chairman of the council of people's commissars.

Like many Bolshevik leaders, Rykov participated in Comintern affairs. In 1920 he was part of the Bolshevik delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern and in 1921 was in the Russian delegation at the Third Congress.

At the Fifth Congress in 1924, after Lenin's death, he reported on the Russian economic situation and was elected a member of the ECCI and an alternate member of its Presidium. In November and December 1926 he participated in the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, at which Zinoviev was eliminated. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was reelected a member of the ECCI.

In 1929, however, when Stalin settled his account with the party's right wing, of which Rykov was a chief, he lost his positions in the government, the Comintern, and the central committee of the RCP(B). After offering a self-criticism, he was given the post of minister of communications. At the party congress held in January 1934 he was reelected as alternate member of the central committee. However, at the time of the second public trial held in 1937 (against Piatakov, Radek, and others) he was expelled from the RCP(B) and then arrested. He appeared as a defendant at the third public trial in 1938, together with Bukharin, and was sentenced to death and executed.

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Sadoul, Jacques. Born in 1881. He became a lawyer, joined the SFIO, and took a pro-Entente position during World War I. An infantry captain, he was sent to the French military mission in Russia in August 1917. After Lenin's victory he gravitated toward communism and by August 1918 had entered the Red Army and helped found a French communist group in Russia. In March 1919 he took part in the founding congress of the Comintern and during the following months was seated periodically on the ECCI. Later in the year he was sent to Kiev to help establish the Southern Bureau of the Comintern. In November 1919 while he was a socialist candidate in the Paris legislative elections he was condemned to death in absentia by a French court. In 1920 he took part in the Second Congress of the Comintern, after which he worked for a time in Berlin with Stanislaw Lapiński at the Bureau of Economic Studies, linked to the Soviet embassy. In May and June 1922 he attended meetings of the ECCI and its Presidium concerned with the French affairs. Upon returning to France in 1924 he was arrested but eventually acquitted after a new trial. He remained a member of the PCF until his death in 1956. Although he did not exercise any responsible position within the French party he was always very close to the Soviet embassy in Paris. He was the author of several books on the October Revolution and Soviet Russia—*The Socialist Soviet Republic of Russia; its Rise and Organization* (London, 1918); *Notes sur la révolution bolchevique* (Paris, 1919); and *Naissance de L'U.R.S.S.* (Paris 1946).

Safarov, Georgi. Born in Russia in 1891. He joined the RSDLP in 1908 while a student in St. Petersburg and soon became militant in the Bolshevik faction. Arrested in 1910 he went abroad but returned in 1912 and sat on the St. Petersburg Bolshevik committee until the end of the year, when he was again arrested. After his release he left for Switzerland and then for France, where he worked in the shipyards of St. Nazaire for a time. In January 1916 he returned to Switzerland, and in March 1917 left with Lenin through imperial Germany for Russia, where he rejoined the Petrograd Bolshevik committee. With the Bolshevik victory of November 7, 1917, he assumed various responsible positions in the party and state. In July 1920 he attended the Second Congress of the Comintern as a member of the Bolshevik delegation and he, G. Sokolnikov and M.N. Roy were named to the Comintern's Far Eastern Bureau in Tashkent.

At the tenth congress of the RCP(B) in March 1921 he was elected an alternate member of the central committee. In November the Presidium of the ECCI placed him in charge of organizing the Comintern section for the Middle East and the Far East; consequently he took part in the meetings of the ECCI and its Presidium. At the Congress of the Revolutionary Peoples and Organizations of the Far East, held in Moscow and Petrograd in January and February 1922, he and Zinoviev were the main speakers for the Comintern and at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November he was a member of the colonial commission and officially elected a member of the ECCI. In June 1923 he participated in the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI but in 1924 he relinquished the Middle and Far Eastern section to Grigori Voitinsky and entered the RCP(B) leadership in Leningrad, where he headed the *Leningradskaya Pravda*. He became an influential member of the Zinoviev opposition in 1925 and as such was dropped from the central committee after the fourteenth congress of the party, held in December 1925; in December 1927, at the fifteenth congress, he was expelled from the RCP(B). After presenting a self-criticism he was readmitted to the party in 1928. In 1929-30 he again worked for the Comintern in the Far Eastern section, which he represented at the December 1930 ECCI Presidium conference dedicated to Chinese affairs. He wrote for the Comintern press until 1934, when he was again expelled from the RCP(B) and then arrested and deported. He died in 1942.

Salih, Hacioglu. Born in Turkey in 1880; he graduated from a military veterinarian school in 1903. He joined the Turkish army and by 1920, when he first came in contact with Russian and Turkish communists, he was a major. He was arrested in January 1921, tried in April, and sentenced to 15 years at hard labor but by September he was pardoned. He then went to Moscow as Turkish representative to the ECCI with a consultative vote.

At the first congress of the Turkish Communist Party in August 1922 he was confirmed as a representative to Moscow and in November 1922 attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, at which he sat on the Eastern commission.

Shortly afterward he returned to Turkey, in March 1923 was arrested as a leader of the Turkish Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party (a front for communist activities), and in 1927 was arrested again. He later returned to Soviet Russia, where he eventually was expelled from the communist party, and disappeared during Stalin's purges in the years 1936-38.

Sano, Manabu. Born in Japan in 1892. He graduated in law from the University of Tokyo in 1916 and in 1918 founded a Marxist group. In 1920 he was named lecturer in economics at Waseda University. In 1922 he helped found the Japanese Communist Party, in 1923 became a member of its central committee, and in 1924 was a member of the Japanese delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. After his return (by way of Shanghai) he founded and edited *Musansha Shimbun* (Proletarian News).

In 1926 he was arrested and sentenced to ten months at hard labor; after his release he was reelected to the party central committee and in 1927 became one of the Moscow-appointed party leaders. He then went (again via Shanghai) to Soviet Russia to take part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and, using the name Kato, was elected to membership in both the ECCI and its Presidium. After the congress he carried out Comintern missions in Europe and India before going to Shanghai, where in March 1929 he joined the Comintern bureau for the Far East, but in June the Chinese police arrested him and turned him over to Japanese authorities. In 1931-32 he and other leaders of the Japanese Communist Party were brought to court in a long trial and he received a life sentence. In 1933 he denounced the communist movement from his prison cell but was not freed until 1943.

In 1946 he founded and became chairman of the Workers' and Peasants' Avant-Garde Party. At the same time he returned to teaching at Waseda University and established an institute for political studies. He died in 1953.

Schalke, Cornelius J. P. Born in The Hague in 1890; a teacher by profession. He joined the Dutch Communist Party, became one of its leaders, and in 1932-33 was Dutch representative to the Comintern in Moscow and as such addressed both the twelfth and thirteenth enlarged plenums of the ECCI. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he again spoke for the Dutch Communist Party and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI.

He presented a report to the congress of the Dutch party in December 1935 and was reelected to a leading party position. In 1937 his name appeared in the Comintern press. After the German attack on Russia in June 1941 he became active in a Netherlands underground movement linked with a secret organization directed by Ernst Wollweber (in the service of the Comintern) and with the espionage network Rote Kapelle (in the service of the Soviet government). He died in May 1958.

Scheffo, Olav. Born in Norway in 1883. He became militant in the Norwegian socialist movement before World War I, during the war moved toward the left wing, and in 1918 became editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Social Democrat*, central organ of the Norwegian Workers' Party. He then headed the campaign for the party to join the Comintern, which it did in 1919, and in 1920 was a member of the party delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern. In November 1921 he headed a Norwegian delegation to Moscow and subsequently his name appeared on manifestoes of the ECCI. In November 1922 he was a presiding official at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, and was confirmed as a member of the ECCI.

In November 1923 the majority of the Norwegian Workers' Party decided to break with the Comintern but Scheffo remained among the leaders of the faction loyal to Moscow; at the same time he became editor of the newly founded *Norges Kommunistblad* (Communist Newspaper of Norway). Meanwhile he was elected to the Norwegian parliament. In 1924 he was given a two-month jail sentence for anti-militarist propaganda. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern he was reelected to the ECCI and elected a member of its Presidium. Beginning in 1925, however, he was criticized by the Comintern for "rightist-opportunist deviation" and finally broke with the communist party and the Comintern in January 1928. He then rejoined the left wing of the Social Democratic Workers' Party.

Schlecht, Paul. Born in Germany in 1882; he was a tool and die worker. He became militant in the KPD in 1920 and later joined its left wing; when the leftists took over the party in 1924 he became one of their representatives in the central committee and in the politburo. In June and July 1924 he took part in the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, at which he was elected a member of the ECCI and an alternate member of its Presidium. At the KPD congress, held in July 1925 in Berlin, he was reelected a member of the central committee and the politburo. In 1926, however, he expressed disagreement with certain Comintern decisions; in August, for example, he and Hugo Urbahns were the only members of the central committee to vote against the expulsion of Ruth Fischer and Arkadi Maslow from the party. At the March 1927 KPD congress, held in Essen, he spoke for the leftist opposition and was one of three who signed its declaration. He remained hostile to the decisions of that congress and on April 1 was expelled from the party. He then briefly joined a left-communist opposition movement called the Leninbund but abandoned all political activity and opened a restaurant. He probably died in 1950.

Schneller, Ernst. Born in Germany in 1890, the son of a railroad employee. He became a teacher and during World War I fought as a German officer on the eastern front. After the war he returned to teaching, joined the SPD, and then in 1920 the KPD. In April 1921 he was elected communist deputy

to the parliament of Saxony and in 1924 to the Reichstag, in which he remained until 1933.

During the German October of 1923 he presided over the permanent military council of Saxony formed by the KPD and at the party congress in April 1924 was elected a member of the central committee; later he became a central committee secretary. At the congress of July 1925 he presented the central committee report, and then was reelected to that body and placed in charge of its information section. He also wrote for *Inprekorr* and took part in a Moscow conference between the KPD delegates and the Comintern leaders. He endorsed the "Open Letter to the Members of the Party" signed on September 1, 1925, by the ECCI and aforementioned KPD delegation; the gist of the letter was a condemnation of the KPD left wing and especially of Arkadi Maslow.

At the KPD congress in Essen in March 1927 he reported on the party's tasks and was reelected to the central committee. In August 1928 he went to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern with the German delegation, delivered a speech, and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. In September he presided over the central committee meeting at which Ernst Thälmann was unanimously condemned in connection with the "Wittorf affair" (for details of that affair see the biography of Ottomar Geschke). When Stalin came to Thälmann's defense the central committee members were forced to reverse their decision and then to relinquish their posts. Consequently Schneller was not reelected to the central committee. In October 1932, however, he was elected head of the KPD agitprop section. After the Reichstag fire of February 28, 1933, he was arrested by Hitler's police and sentenced to six years at the Sonnenburg concentration camp; later he was transferred to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he was shot in October 1944.

Scholem, Werner. Born in 1895 into a German middle-class family. By the time World War I began he was militant among German socialist youth; then he was drafted. A pacifist, he joined the USPD and after the war became militant in the party's left wing, which favored joining the Comintern. He also edited a newspaper in Halle. After unification of the left wing of the USPD and the KPD he was elected communist deputy to the Prussian parliament. A gifted newspaperman and speaker, he stood out among the leftist leaders of the party. In September and October 1923 he visited Comintern headquarters in Moscow and in January 1924 took part in the ECCI Presidium deliberations on the failure of the German October.

At the ninth congress of the KPD in April 1924 the left took over the leadership and Scholem was elected a member of the central committee and the politburo. He was reelected to those positions in July 1925, at the tenth congress, and also became a member of the orgburo; the Comintern, however, denounced the extreme left element in the party. At the national conference of the KPD held on October 31, 1925, Scholem was a co-reporter for the

opposition but for that he was criticized and eliminated from the central committee. In February and March 1926 he visited Moscow for the last time to take part in the debates of the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. In October 1926 he and Hugo Urbahn were expelled from the KPD and he then headed a dissident communist group until 1933, when he was arrested by Hitler's police. He was sent from one prison camp to another and finally was killed at Buchenwald in 1940.

Schubert, Hermann. Born in 1896; a miner by occupation. He became militant in the KPD and in 1929 was elected an alternate member of the central committee at the close of the twelfth congress of the party. He was a secretary in the important Hamburg organization; in 1932 he became a member of the KPD politburo and was still seated at the time of Hitler's rise to power in January 1933. After Ernst Thälmann's arrest in 1933 Schubert remained in Germany to work for the underground communist organization; he also took part in factional struggles within the new leadership. In the summer he went to Prague and then Moscow, where in December he took part in the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI; under the name Richter he was elected to the presidium of the plenum and was one of the KPD spokesmen in the debates.

During 1934 he traveled to Prague and Saarbrücken. In January 1935 he took part in the plenary meeting of the KPD central committee in Moscow. Although he was chosen a member of the German delegation to help prepare for the Seventh Congress of the Comintern he fell victim to the party purge and was dismissed from the central committee in October 1935 at the so-called Brussels conference (which in fact met near Moscow). He remained in Moscow, where he was arrested and liquidated in 1938 during the Stalinist purges.

Schüller, Richard. Born in Austria in 1901, the son of a lawyer. In 1918 in Vienna he headed an organization of socialist high-school students; he then moved toward communism and soon became secretary of the Austrian communist youth movement. In November 1919 he represented the movement at the founding congress of the KIM in Berlin. At the beginning of the 1920s he also headed the KIM subsecretariat in Vienna for Central Europe and the Balkans. He attended the second congress of the KIM held in July 1921 in Moscow and joined its executive committee. Also during the 1920s he fulfilled Comintern missions in England, Ireland, and the Scandinavian countries.

From December 1921 to January 1922 he attended ECCI meetings in Moscow. He reported on youth problems at the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1922 and again in November at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, when he also was elected to the ECCI as a KIM representative. In December he opened and presided over the third congress of the KIM, at which his membership on its executive committee was confirmed.

In June 1923 he attended the third plenum of the ECCI, which elected

him a member of its Presidium, and at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he delivered a report and was reelected to the ECCI; immediately afterward, at the fourth congress of the KIM he was reelected to its executive committee. At the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in November and December 1926 he returned to the Presidium as an alternate member and spoke on the French question at the ninth enlarged plenum in February 1928. Later in the year he was sent to France as a Comintern emissary. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, also held in 1928, he submitted a report on the activities of the KIM but after the 1928 KIM congress he left the KIM to work exclusively for the Comintern.

In 1929 he returned to Austria and joined the editorial staff of the party organ, *Rote Fahne*. In June 1931 he offered a report at the eleventh congress of the Austrian Communist Party. After the civil war of February 1934 he fled to Prague where he was arrested, spent five months in jail, and then was banished from Czechoslovakia. From 1935 to 1945 he lived in Soviet Russia but was not associated with the Comintern. He worked first for the Soviet press and then, from 1942 on, prepared broadcasts to Austria. In 1945 he returned to Vienna and was an editor in the communist daily *Volksstimme*. At the fourteenth congress of the Austrian Communist Party in 1948 he was elected a member of the central committee. He died in June 1957.

Schütz, Josef. Born in Bohemia in 1910, the son of a German glovemaker who was militant in the Czechoslovak Communist Party from the time of its founding in 1921. Young Schütz followed his father's trade and at age 14 joined the communist youth movement. In 1931 he was sent to Moscow for political indoctrination at the Leninist School of the Comintern. After returning to Czechoslovakia in 1932 he was jailed for desertion; released in 1933 he worked as a glovemaker and then for the party apparatus. He remained a militant communist in Czechoslovakia until 1939, when he left for Soviet Russia; there he worked for three years in various metal industries. In 1943 the Soviet military parachuted him into Czechoslovakia, where he later took part in the insurrection at Banská Bystrica.

In 1946 he left Czechoslovakia for East Germany, where he took a leading position in the newly founded police force. From 1949 to 1955 he was again in the Soviet Union as a consul and counsellor in the East German embassy in Moscow and after returning to East Germany he became a department head in the foreign affairs ministry. Later he was transferred to the national defense ministry with the rank of colonel.

Schwab, Alexander. Born in Germany in 1887; he became a printer. He joined the SPD in 1907 and took an internationalist stand during World War I. A militant of the Spartacus League he entered the KPD when it was founded in December 1918 and belonged to its left wing. When leadership

and leftist elements of the KPD clashed he took an active part in the founding of the KAPD in Berlin in April 1920 and was part of the five-member KAPD delegation attending the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921. Using the pseudonym Sachs, he participated in the discussion following the report on Comintern tactics presented by Radek, and in the one on RCP(B) tactics delivered by Lenin. At a meeting of the KAPD central committee on July 31 he presented a report on the debates and decisions of the Third Comintern Congress. Shortly after the September 1921 congress of the KAPD Schwab left the party and later joined the SPD. He died in 1943.

Schwab, Sepp. Born in Munich in 1897. In 1913 he was militant in the socialist youth movement and late in 1918 he took part in the founding of the soldiers' and workers' soviets in Munich. He joined the KPD when it was founded and in April 1919 was active in the short-lived Bavarian Soviet Republic; he was arrested after its downfall.

During the 1920s he worked for the communist press and in 1927 became head of the press department in the party's central committee. From 1930 to 1936 he lived in Moscow, where he was in charge of KPD affairs in the secretariat of the Comintern. In February 1933 he went secretly as a Comintern emissary to Germany, where he barely escaped arrest.

From 1938 to 1945 he worked for Radio Moscow as a script editor for German-language programs. In 1945 he returned to East Germany and joined the editorial staff of *Neues Deutschland*, the SED's daily newspaper; later he was named director for DEFA, the state movie industry. He then entered the diplomatic corps; from 1954 to 1956 he was ambassador to Hungary and since 1956 assistant minister of foreign affairs.

Scoccimarro, Mauro. Born in 1895. He studied law and economics at the University of Venice and in 1917 joined the Italian Socialist Party. During World War I he was decorated for valor. In 1919 he became secretary of the Socialist Federation of Udine. Active in the Italian Communist Party (ICP) from its founding in 1921 he became a member of its central committee and in November 1922 went with the Italian delegation to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed in the name of the party majority. In 1923 he was named a secretary of the ICP central committee and for two years undertook various missions in Italy and abroad, using such pseudonyms as Silvestri, Negri, and Marco. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, held in June and July 1924, he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. He then was named Italian representative to the Comintern and during 1924-25 remained in Moscow for several months, where he participated in such meetings as the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in March and April 1925. On a secret mission to Italy in 1926 (under the name Morelli) he was arrested and sentenced to a long prison term and was not freed until August 1943,

when he reentered the ICP leadership and joined the succeeding coalition governments of Bonomi, Parri, and de Gasperi as a communist representative. His final governmental post was that of minister of finance (which he held until January 1947). In 1946 he was elected a communist deputy and in 1948 became a senator. Within the party he was a member of the directorate (later politburo) and president of the control commission.

In February 1956 he was a member of the ICP delegation to the twentieth congress of the CPSU and at the close of the ICP congress in January 1966 he still was president of the control commission. At the twelfth congress, held in February 1969, he was reelected to the central committee.

Secchia, Pietro. Born in northern Italy in 1903. He joined the young socialists in 1919 and became a member of the Italian Communist Party (ICP) at its founding in 1921. Meanwhile he became a factory clerk and a leader in the local communist federation. In 1923 he joined the leadership of the communist youth movement and was arrested with several of his colleagues by the Fascist authorities. In 1924 he left for Paris and then for Moscow, where he attended the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and the fourth congress of the KIM. He returned to Italy and was secretly active in the party under the name Botte; at the end of 1927 he was among the very few ICP leaders still free in Italy. In 1928 he attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the fifth congress of the KIM, at which, again under the name Botte, he was elected a member of its executive committee. In 1929 he was in Moscow again for the plenary meeting of the executive committee of the KIM. He then went to France and secretly returned to Italy, where the ICP placed him in charge of preparing its fourth congress (to take place in Cologne, Germany), which involved consulting with local militants. While in Italy he was named a member of the ICP politburo but in April 1931 was arrested and sentenced to 17 years in prison; he was freed in August 1943 after the fall of Mussolini. He then worked for the communist resistance in northern Italy. After the liberation he was responsible for ICP reorganization and in 1946 was named deputy secretary-general of the party and elected a communist deputy to parliament. In June 1948 he and Palmiro Togliatti represented the ICP at the Cominform meeting which excommunicated Tito. In January 1955, however, at the fourth national conference of the party, he was relieved of his position as deputy secretary-general and relegated to the post of secretary of the party organization in the Lombardy region. At the twelfth congress of the ICP in February 1969, he was reelected a member of the central committee.

Sellier, Louis. Born in 1885. He worked for the French postal service and in 1909 became a militant in the SFIO. In June 1914 he was elected a socialist municipal councillor for the eighteenth district of Paris, replacing Marcel Cachin, who had been elected deputy for the same area. When the

majority of the SFIO rallied to communism at the Tours congress in December 1920 he was elected in absentia to the PCF directing committee and to the administrative council of *L'Humanité*, the party organ. At the Marseilles congress, held in December 1921, he was not reelected to the directing committee but in February 1922 was a member of the PCF delegation to the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in Moscow. In the debates he spoke for the centrist position and with Boris Souvarine was elected to the ECCI Presidium. He remained in Moscow for several months to participate in the meetings of the ECCI and its Presidium and in the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in June 1922. At the end of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November a new directing committee was chosen for the PCF, on which Sellier represented the centrist group.

In January 1923, after the resignation of Louis-Oscar Frossard, Sellier became secretary-general of the PCF, and at the Lyon party congress in January 1924 he was reelected secretary-general and became a member of the politburo. In June and July he attended the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, took part in the debates, and became a member of the ECCI. In August Pierre Sémard replaced Sellier as secretary-general of the PCF and in January 1925, at the Clichy congress of the party, Sellier was reelected to the central committee and politburo; at the Lille congress in June 1926 these positions were confirmed. He remained in these governing bodies until 1929, when he came in conflict with the party and was expelled from the PCF in November. Afterward he became militant in a dissident communist movement and at the parliamentary elections of May 1932 defeated the PCF candidate, Marcel Cachin, in the eighteenth district of Paris. In May 1935 he was reelected a municipal councillor, again defeating the PCF candidate, Georges Cogniot, and in May 1936 maintained his parliamentary seat. After the French defeat in June 1940 he voted in favor of full powers for Marshal Pétain but withdrew permanently from political activity. He was still living in 1970.

Sémard, Pierre. Born in 1887 into a French working-class family; he began work in his early years as a butcher's helper. In 1906 he joined the anarcho-syndicalist youth and in 1910 went to work for the railroads and was militant in the railwaymen's union. In 1916 he joined the union executive committee and also became a member of the SFIO. After World War I he gravitated toward communism and was active in the railwaymen's strike in the spring of 1920. He joined the PCF when it was founded at the Tours congress in 1920. In 1921 he became secretary of the railwaymen's union and later joined the leadership of the CGTU. At the end of 1922 he made his first trip to Moscow.

In 1923 he was arrested during the protests against the occupation of the Ruhr but was freed later in the year. At the Lyon congress of the PCF in January 1924 he was elected a member of its directing committee and in August

became secretary-general of the party, a post he held until April 1929. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, held in June and July 1924, he was elected a member of both the ECCI and its Presidium and also was elected one of three vice-chairmen of the Comintern. In March and April 1925 he gave a report at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and remained on the ECCI and its Presidium at the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth plenums and at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 but was not elected to the ECCI at the eleventh plenum in 1931. He continued to work in the PCF and the CGTU. At both the seventh and eighth party congresses (March 1932 and January 1936) he was reelected a member of the central committee. In October 1939, during proceedings against communist leaders, he was arrested and sentenced to three years in prison and was shot by the Germans in March 1942.

Semaun. Born in Surabaya in 1890, the son of an employee of the Dutch railroad company in Indonesia. In his early youth he worked for the company, joined the trade union, and began his political life. He joined the nationalist Sarekat Islam and spoke for the socialist faction at its first congress in 1916. He then became a member of the Indonesian Social Democratic Association (ISDV). After the Bolshevik victory in Russia he gravitated toward communism and when the ISDV took the name Indonesian Communist Party in May 1920 he was elected its president. He spent the period from October 1921 to May 1922 in Soviet Russia, where he was a delegate to the Congress of the Revolutionary Peoples and Organizations of the Far East, held in January and February 1922.

Returning to Indonesia he resumed party leadership but was arrested in 1923 and after his release in September left for Holland. In 1924 he returned to Soviet Russia to take part in the third congress of the Profintern and the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, at which he was elected a member of the ECCI. In March 1925 he was again in Moscow to participate in the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and was seated on the trade union, agrarian, Dutch, and colonial commissions. He attended the sixth enlarged plenum in February 1926 and was elected to the Presidium of the ECCI at the seventh enlarged plenum in November and December. At the following two enlarged plenums (May 1927 and February 1928) he was reelected to the Presidium of the ECCI. Although present at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was not elected to its leading bodies. Throughout the Stalin and post-Stalin periods he remained in Soviet Russia. In December 1956 he returned to Indonesia and cooperated with Sukarno, who in July 1959 made him a member of the national planning council. In the mid-1960s he was still living in Indonesia.

Serge, Victor. Born Viktor Kibalchich in Brussels in 1890, the son of Russian exiles. In his youth he was militant in various socialist and revolutionary groups in Belgium and then moved to Paris, where in 1910 he edited the newspaper

Anarchie. In 1913 he was tried with "Bonnet's gang" of anarchists and sentenced to five years in prison. After his release in 1917 he went to Spain, where he worked as a typesetter in Barcelona and joined the anarcho-syndicalist CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo). He also worked for the newspaper *Tierra y Libertad*. He left for Russia after the Bolshevik revolution and although delayed by arrest in Paris finally reached his destination. In 1919 he became a member of the RCP(B) and after the founding of the Comintern in March 1919 he joined Zinoviev's team at the Petrograd Smol'nyi Institute, where he took charge of publishing the official review, *Communist International*. In 1920-21 he took part in the Second and Third Congresses of the Comintern and soon after was sent to Berlin to take charge of the French edition of *Inprekorr*, using the name Victor Klein. After the failure of the German October in 1923 he was transferred with the entire *Inprekorr* headquarters to Vienna.

In 1925 he returned to Soviet Russia. In 1928 he was expelled from the RCP(B) because of his opposition activities and later in the year was arrested and then released; in 1933 he was arrested again and deported to Orenburg. In 1936 he left Soviet Russia for France, where he lived until 1940. Later he went to Martinique and finally settled in Mexico, where he died in 1947. He published numerous political and literary works, among them his *Mémoires d'un révolutionnaire, 1901-1941* (Paris, 1951).

Serrati, Giacinto Menotti. Born in 1874. In his youth he became militant in the Italian Socialist Party and later belonged to its "maximalist" left wing. In 1915 he was named director of *Avanti*, the official party paper. During World War I he took an internationalist position and participated in the conferences at Zimmerwald in 1915 and Kienthal in 1916 but did not support the Zimmerwald left. In 1917 he was arrested for antimilitarist and pacifist activity. An adversary of the Second International he argued for adherence of the Italian Socialist Party to the Third International, a decision to which the party agreed in 1919. In the summer of 1920 he led the Italian delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern, where he was a member of the congress presidium. He was active in the debates and forthright in expressing his disagreement with many points of Lenin's doctrine and tactics; nevertheless he was elected a member of the ECCI. However, when the Italian Communist Party was formed at the Italian Socialist Party congress in Leghorn in January 1921, he remained head of the Socialist Party; in the summer an Italian Socialist Party delegation went to Moscow to negotiate (inconclusively) reentry into the Comintern. Refusing to join either the Second or Second-and-a-Half International, he represented his party at the conference of the three Internationals, held in April 1922 in Berlin. In November he participated in the Fourth Congress of the Comintern but it was not until 1924 that he and his group finally joined the Italian Communist Party; he then became a member of the central committee and was militant in the party until his death in 1926.

Shablin, N. Born Ivan Neidelkov in Bulgaria. Prior to World War I he was militant in the Bulgarian Tesniak (Narrow) Socialist Party; when it became the Bulgarian Communist Party in April 1919 he assumed a position in the central committee. In 1920 he went to Soviet Russia as a party delegate to the Second Congress of the Comintern; before the opening of the congress, Lenin showed him the draft of his Theses on the National and Colonial Questions, on which Shablin offered critical remarks. During the congress he took part in the debates, became a member of the agrarian commission, and at the close was elected a member of the ECCI. He remained in Moscow and in September 1920 accompanied the Comintern delegation to the Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East. In October he went with Zinoviev to the USPD congress at Halle and then returned to Bulgaria for further party work. After the coup d'état of June 1923 he joined the editorial board of the party's newspaper, *Rabotnicheskoto Delo* (Workers' Deed). In September 1923 the communist insurrection in Bulgaria failed and during the anti-communist repression which followed Shablin was assassinated by the police early in 1925.

Sharkey, Lawrence. Born in Australia in 1898, the son of a farmer of Irish origin; in 1912-13 he worked on the railroad and later became a farmhand. Beginning in 1918 he was militant in the Sydney labor unions and at the beginning of 1922 became a member of the Sydney labor union council. In 1924 he joined the Australian Communist Party and in 1928 entered the party's central committee. In 1930 he became a member of the politburo and was named party chairman, a post he held without interruption until 1948. During the 1930s he was editor-in-chief of the *Workers' Weekly* and the *Tribune*, both official party papers. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI and in 1948 became secretary-general of the party. (In the same year he attended the second congress of the Indian Communist Party and the South-East Asian Youth Conference, both held in India.) However, in October 1949 he was arrested and sentenced to a year and a half in prison for his communist activity. He later became editor-in-chief of *Communist Review*, the party's theoretical journal. In October 1952 he gave a greeting speech to the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B) and in November 1957 led his party's delegation to the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. In November 1960 he attended the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, at which the Australian Communist Party took a pro-Chinese stand. In October 1961 he accompanied the Australian delegation to the twenty-second congress of the CPSU. In June 1965 he left his post as secretary-general of the party to become its vice-chairman. He died in May 1967.

Shatskin, Lazar Abramovich. Born in Russia in 1902; in his early youth he became militant in the revolutionary movement. In May 1917 he joined the Bolshevik party and soon became a Komsomol (Young Communists) leader in

Moscow. In 1918 he joined the Komsomol central committee and from October 1919 to April 1922 was its first secretary. Meanwhile, in November 1919, at the founding congress of the KIM in Berlin, he and Willi Münzenberg presided over the debates. He later became the KIM secretary and at the close of the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 was elected a member of the ECCI as a KIM representative.

In the years that followed he was a leader in both the KIM and the Comintern. In June 1922 he participated in the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI. At the close of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held in November and December 1922, he was reelected to the ECCI and became a member of its Presidium. In December he directed the third congress of the KIM and presented the report on behalf of the executive committee of the KIM. At the seventh enlarged plenum, held in November and December 1926, he was again elected to the ECCI Presidium as KIM representative.

At the end of 1927 he spoke to the KIM presidium against the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition and at the ninth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1928 he again sat on the Presidium. At the eighth congress of the Komsomol (Young Communists), also held that year, he was given an honorary membership, since he had ended his youth activities. At the fifteenth congress of the RCP(B) in December 1927 he had been elected a member of the central control commission and at the next congress in 1930 was reelected to that position; in 1931, however, he was accused of belonging to the opposition group led by Vissarion (Besso) Lominadze, was expelled from the central control commission, and was excluded from all political activity. He then worked in Soviet trade unions and in education. In 1935, however, he was expelled from the RCP(B) for "anti-party and anti-Soviet activity" and was arrested. He died during the purges in 1938, an apparent suicide; after the twentieth congress of the CPSU he was rehabilitated posthumously. He published numerous brochures as well as a book of collected articles entitled *Pervye gody Kommunisticheskogo Internatsionala Molodezhi: sbornik statей i dokladov* (The First Years of the KIM), Moscow, 1926.

Shehu, Mehmet. Born in Albania in 1913, the son of a Moslem ecclesiastic. In 1932 he graduated from the American vocational school in Tirana and in 1935 went to Naples with a scholarship to study at the military academy but later was expelled. During the Spanish civil war he joined the Twelfth International Brigade and the Spanish Communist Party and early in 1939 was interned with other brigade members in France. In 1942 he returned via Italy to Albania. In March 1943 he was elected an alternate member of the Albanian Communist Party central committee and later in the year became commander-in-chief of the partisans' first brigade. He then became commander of the first division and in 1944 was promoted to the rank of general.

In 1945-46 he attended the military academy in Moscow and after he returned home he became chief of the Albanian army general headquarters; however,

in February 1948 he was dismissed from this position and from the party central committee and named minister of communications (post office, telephone, and telegraph). He profited from the Stalin-Tito split in June 1948—in October he became minister of the interior and then a member of the party politburo and central committee secretariat; he became deputy prime minister of the government and in July 1954 prime minister, a position he still held in 1969.

Shkiriátov, Matvei. Born in Russia in 1883, the son of a farmer; he became a tailor. He joined the RSDLP in 1906 and was militant in Bolshevik groups in Moscow, Rostov-on-Don, and other areas. In 1909 he was arrested for the first of several times and in 1911 was deported to the Volga region for three years. In 1914 he returned to Moscow secretly but was arrested again and was drafted in 1915. At the time of the October 1917 revolution he was a member of the military revolutionary committee of Tula. By 1918 he headed the Russian clothing manufacturing trade union. In 1922 he was elected a member of the RCP(B) control commission and as its representative attended meetings of both the politburo and orgburo of the central committee.

At the close of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was elected a member of the ICC. Through all of Stalin's purges he kept his post on the RCP(B) control commission and in March 1939, at the eighteenth party congress, was elected a member of the central committee. At the nineteenth congress in October 1952 he was reelected to the central committee, became a member of its presidium (politburo), and was elected president of the control commission. In March 1953, after Stalin's death, he left the politburo. He died in 1954.

Shliapnikov, Aleksandr Gavrilovich. Born in Russia in 1884; he became a metalworker. In 1901 he joined the RSDLP and opted in favor of the Bolshevik faction after the 1903 split. He then led revolutionary activities among St. Petersburg workers and participated in the revolution of 1905, after which he was sentenced to two years in prison. In 1908 he emigrated to Western Europe and lived for many years in France, where he was active among Russian socialists in exile and in the French labor movement. After World War I began Lenin sent him to St. Petersburg to organize the Russian bureau of the Bolshevik party and under the pseudonym Belemín he was actual head of the party in Russia from 1914 until the revolution of February 1917. Later he was elected a member of the Petrograd committee of the Bolshevik party, which he represented on the executive committee of the Petrograd soviet and also was elected chairman of the Petrograd metalworkers' trade union.

On the day of the Bolshevik victory—November 7, 1917—he was named people's commissar for labor in Lenin's first government, at the RCP(B) congress in 1918 he was elected an alternate member of the central committee, and in 1920 he was with the Bolshevik delegation to the Second Congress of the

Comintern. In the latter half of the year, however, he disagreed with Lenin and became one of the founders of a group called Workers' Opposition; nevertheless, at the RCP(B) congress of 1921 he was elected a member of the central committee. In February 1922 he and Alexandra Kollontai pleaded the opposition's cause before the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI. He was later removed from the party's directing organs and in 1924 was sent to Paris as a functionary of the Soviet embassy. At the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1926 he was criticized in a resolution on the Russian question; later in the year he broke with the anti-Stalin opposition but in 1933 was expelled from the party. He died in 1937, a victim of the Stalinist purges, and was not rehabilitated.

Shumiatsky, Boris Zakharovich. Born in Siberia in 1886. In 1905 he worked in Krasnoyarsk and was militant in its social-democratic organization. In January 1906 he was arrested but later managed to escape. He then went to Tomsk and other Siberian cities and eventually to Latin America. After his return he became a militant Bolshevik and in 1913 was arrested again. He was released in 1915, was drafted, and was serving in the army at the time of the February 1917 revolution. During the Russian civil war he worked for the Bolsheviks in various ways in Siberia. In 1920-21 he played an important role in organizing the Comintern Secretariat for the Far East in Irkutsk and in the summer of 1921 went to Moscow as a representative of that secretariat to attend the Third Congress of the Comintern, at which he was one of 15 members of the congress secretariat. In January 1922 he was a secretary at the Congress of Revolutionary Organizations and Peoples of the Far East, held in Moscow, and then was Soviet ambassador to Teheran for three years. After his return to Moscow in 1926 he became head of the KUTV and editor-in-chief of the review *Revolutsionnyi Vostok* (The Revolutionary East). In 1927-28 he was still head of the KUTV.

Shumsky, Aleksandr. Born in 1890 into a Ukrainian peasant family; he was drafted during World War I and became an officer. He became militant in the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Party and was a leader in its left wing (Borotbist) during the February 1917 revolution; after the party split in 1918 he and the other leftists favored the Bolsheviks. He then joined the Ukrainian Communist Party and during the civil war helped organize the Soviet regime in the Ukraine. In 1920-21 he was a member of the Ukrainian military revolutionary committee. Following the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921 he was named temporary Ukrainian representative to the ECCI and as such signed appeals and manifestoes in July 1921 but in the following month was replaced by Christian Rakovsky.

In 1922 he was in Warsaw as Ukrainian ambassador to the Polish government. After his return to the Ukraine in 1924 he was named people's commissar of education, an office he held until 1926, when the central committee of the

RCP(B) accused him of "nationalist deviation." In 1927 he completely disappeared, most probably a victim of political police.

Sillen, Hugo. Born in 1892. He became militant in the Swedish socialist movement during World War I, joined the Left Social Democratic Party when it was founded in May 1917, and in the next few years became a leader of its youth movement. When the party was transformed into the Swedish Communist Party (SCP) in March 1921 he became a secretary of the communist youth organization, a member of the party's central committee, and headed the party newspaper *Kommunistisk Tidskrift* (Communist Journal). At the sixth party congress in May 1924 he was elected an alternate member of the politburo, and when Karl Höglund broke with the Comintern in November Sillen became a full member of the politburo and a leader of the pro-Soviet faction.

In April 1925 he represented the SCP at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI; at the seventh enlarged plenum, held in November and December 1926, he became a member of the ECCI Presidium, to which he was reelected at the eighth enlarged plenum, held in May 1927. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. When another split occurred within the SCP in 1929 he remained faithful to Moscow and headed the party's new central committee. At the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in April 1931 he was again SCP spokesman and was reelected to the ECCI Presidium. From 1931 to 1934 he edited the communist daily newspaper *Ny Dag* (New Day). In 1933 he presided over the congress of the SCP and in 1934 was elected communist councilman in a Stockholm suburb. At the 1939 congress of the SCP he was reelected to the central committee but no longer served on that body after 1944.

Silone, Ignazio. Born Secondino Tranquilli in Italy in 1900 into a peasant family living in an Abruzzi village. At age 17 he became secretary of the Abruzzi farm laborers' union and soon after was tried for organizing antiwar demonstrations. In 1918 he joined the Italian Socialist Party and within a year was a national leader in the Socialist Youth Federation and a staff member of the weekly paper *L'Avanguardia Socialista*. At the founding of the KIM in Berlin in November 1919 he was elected an alternate member of its executive committee and at the Leghorn congress in January 1921 was in the large majority of socialist youth who favored the creation of an Italian Communist Party (ICP). Later in the year he was a member of the ICP delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern and the second congress of the KIM. At both meetings, like the other Italian delegates, he sided with the leftists, as expressed in his speech after Trotsky's report to the KIM congress. Returning to Italy, he became editor of the communist weekly *L'Avanguardia* in Rome and later directed the communist daily paper *Il Lavoratore* in Trieste. After the Fascist victory he remained a militant in his country but made frequent political trips abroad.

In 1924 he was arrested in France and expelled and later was arrested in Spain as a Comintern emissary. When Fascist laws forced the ICP to move its leadership abroad in 1926 he remained in Italy to lead the party's "internal center."

In May 1927 he went with the Italian delegation to the eighth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. He returned in June but shortly afterward was forced to leave the country and join the party's "external center." As an ICP leader he lived in France, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland from 1928 to 1930, when he left the party. He remained in Switzerland and in 1930 published his first book, *Fontamara*; this was followed by *Storia del Fascismo* (1934), *Un Viaggio a Parigi* (1935), *Pane e Vino* (1937), *La Scuola dei Dittatori* (1938), and others.

After ten years he returned to political activity in 1940, when he joined the Italian Socialist Party. He later led its foreign center (in Switzerland) and wrote its political program. In 1942 he was interned for political activity contrary to Swiss neutrality and did not return to Italy until 1944.

At the first congress of the Italian Socialist Party in 1946 he was elected a member of the national leadership and also became editor of the socialist daily newspaper *L'Avanti*. Following the split between Pietro Nenni and Giuseppe Saragat, Silone founded the Unified Socialist Party but when this party joined forces with Saragat's Social Democratic Party Silone retired from political activity.

Siqueros, David Alfaro. Born in Chihuahua, Mexico, in 1896. At age 16 he took part in a protest movement at the San Carlos art academy. After World War I he went to Spain and in 1921 published a Barcelona manifesto in favor of "progressive art." He then moved to Paris but in 1923 returned to Mexico, where he founded *El Machete*, one of the country's first communist publications. In 1924 he became a member of the Mexican Communist Party and in 1927 went to Soviet Russia for the tenth anniversary celebration of the October 1917 revolution. At the close of the fourth congress of the Profintern in 1928 he was one of the Latin American representatives appointed to the executive bureau. During the Spanish civil war he became a colonel in the Republican army.

After his return to Mexico he was involved in the abortive May 1940 attempt against Trotsky's life. In the next 20 years he remained in the communist movement and also became world renowned as a painter. At the thirteenth congress of the Mexican Communist Party in 1960 he was elected to the politburo, following a party upheaval in which the former central committee had been eliminated. Later in the year the Mexican government arrested him with several other communist leaders and in America and Europe a campaign was launched to procure his freedom. After his release he continued to follow the Moscow line, which in 1967 brought him a Lenin prize "for the consolidation of peace between peoples." In August 1968 he published a declaration justifying the

Soviet intervention against Czechoslovakia, contrary to the stand taken by the presidium of the Mexican Communist Party.

Široký, Viliam. Born in Bratislava in 1902, the son of a Slovak workingman of Hungarian origin. After four years of secondary education he went to work at age 15 for the railroad where his father was employed and shortly afterward joined the railroad workers' trade union and the Slovak Social Democratic Party. Like the party majority he favored the left and in 1921 joined the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia at its founding. As a militant he was arrested for the first time in 1922. Later he became a permanent member of the party apparatus and worked at the regional secretariat in Prague and then in Bratislava. As secretary of the Slovak Communist Party in Bratislava he was a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, held in Moscow in 1928. When Klement Gottwald assumed party leadership in 1929, Široký became a member of the central committee, in 1931 he joined the politburo, and in 1935 he was elected secretary of the central committee. He addressed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and was nominated an alternate member of the ECCI; also in 1935 he was elected communist deputy to parliament. He spent the spring of 1936 in Moscow as the Czechoslovak representative to the ECCI and its Presidium.

After the Munich pact in the autumn of 1938 he left Czechoslovakia for Paris and in March 1940 went to Moscow. In 1941 he secretly returned to Slovakia to reorganize the party but in July 1941 was arrested and sentenced to 14 years in prison. In February 1945 he managed to escape and with the help of armed partisans near the town of Nitra passed through the front lines and reached Soviet territory. He immediately took part in the political negotiations which led to the formation of the first Czechoslovak government, formed in April 1945 at Košice, and became deputy prime minister. In August he became chairman of the Slovak Communist Party. In June 1948 he and Rudolf Slanský represented the Czechoslovak Communist Party at the Cominform meeting at which Tito was excommunicated. In February 1950 Široký succeeded Vladimír Clementis as minister of foreign affairs and at the same time remained deputy prime minister. He was Czechoslovakia's prime minister from March 1953 until September 1963, when he also lost his post in the party politburo. At the time of "Prague's Spring" in 1968 he was suspended from the party for his participation in the political trials and the repression during the Stalinist period but was reintegrated at the party congress held in May 1971. He died in October 1971.

Sirola, Yrjö E. Born in 1876, the son of a Finnish pastor. He finished his university studies in 1896, became militant in the Finnish Social Democratic Party in 1903 and its secretary in 1905 when he also played an important role in the general strike. From 1907 to 1909 he was a socialist deputy; in 1917 he was reelected and then became vice-president of parliament. When

the Soviet revolutionary government was formed in Finland early in 1918 he became its commissar of foreign affairs.

After the fall of the soviets Sirola took refuge in Soviet Russia, where he helped found the Finnish Communist Party in August 1918. In January 1919 he was party signatory of the Bolshevik appeal to convene the founding congress of the Comintern and in March was a delegate and a speaker at that congress; later he also represented his party at the first meetings of the ECCI. Although he was not a delegate to the Second Congress of the Comintern he did attend the Third Congress in 1921 and joined the ECCI and then the ICC; in June 1922 he took part in the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI. Later in 1925 he went to the United States as Comintern emissary under the name Frank Miller and until 1927 supervised the activities of the Workers (Communist) Party of America. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was reelected to the ICC; in 1930, however, he left the Comintern apparatus to become commissar of public education for the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Karelia. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, held in 1935, he was reelected to the ICC. In 1936, at the beginning of Stalin's purges, he died a natural death.

Skrypnik, Nikolai. Born in 1872, the son of a Ukrainian laborer. He, too, became a laborer and in 1897 was active in the socialist movement. Later he joined the organization built around *Iskra* (Spark), the socialist newspaper. After the 1903 split in the RSDLP he joined the Bolsheviks and as a professional revolutionary was active in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Riga, Odessa, Saratov, and other Russian cities; on several occasions he was sentenced to prison or hard labor. He arrived in Petrograd in June 1917 and was a member of its military revolutionary committee at the time of the Bolshevik seizure of power.

Later he joined the Bolshevik leadership in the Ukraine and in 1920 became commissar, in succession, of the interior, of justice, and of public education in the Ukrainian government. In 1925 he became an alternate member of the RCP(B) central committee and in 1927 and 1930 was elected a full member. Meanwhile, he represented from time to time the Ukrainian party at Comintern meetings—at its founding congress in March 1919 he delivered a report on the Ukrainian situation and at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, in March and April 1925, he was a member of the political commission. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was elected a member of the ECCI and subsequently took part in its debates, as for example at the tenth plenum in 1929. He was a member of both the Ukrainian Communist Party politburo and the RCP(B) central committee when he committed suicide in July 1933.

Slansky, Rudolf. Born in 1901 into a Jewish Czech middle-class family. After World War I and while a university student he was a member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and joined the Czechoslovak Communist Party at its found-

ing in 1921. In 1923 he worked in the party apparatus in Prague and in 1924 became editor of the communist daily paper, *Rudé Právo* (Red Right). Later he became secretary of the party's regional committee in Moravia Ostrava. In 1928 he was a member of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern; in 1929, under Klement Gottwald, he joined the party central committee and politburo; and in 1930 he became secretary of the central committee. In the summer of 1935 he was a member of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed, and also in that year was elected a communist deputy to the parliament in Prague.

In December 1938, after the Munich pact, he sought refuge in Moscow, where he was active among Czechoslovak communist emigrants and in the central apparatus of the Comintern. In 1944 he was sent to partisan headquarters in Kiev to facilitate his return to Czechoslovakia. When his country was liberated in 1945 he became secretary-general of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. He headed his party's delegation to the 1947 founding conference of the Cominform, to the 1948 conference at which Tito was excommunicated, and to the final conference in November 1949. When purges began in the Soviet-dominated European countries, Slansky was released as party secretary-general and in September 1951 became deputy prime minister of the Czechoslovak government; however, he was later arrested and accused of being a "traitor, saboteur, spy, and Zionist." He was tried in November 1952, declared guilty, and hanged shortly afterward. Some time after the 1956 "de-Stalinizing" congress of the CPSU, he was rehabilitated posthumously.

Šmeral, Bohumír. Born in 1880, the son of a Czech teacher. He studied law at the University of Prague and in 1897 joined the Czech Social Democratic Party. In 1899 he became an editor of the party's newspaper, *Právo Lidu* (Right of the People), and in 1904 joined the party's central committee. In 1911 he was elected socialist deputy to the parliament in Vienna. During World War I he took a socialist patriotic stand in favor of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy but at the end of the war began to move toward the left. At the twelfth congress of the Social Democratic Party in December 1918 he attacked the policy of collaboration with the bourgeois parties and in 1919 was among the leaders of the Marxist left. In March and April 1920 he made his first trip to Soviet Russia, where he held talks with Lenin. He then became a communist-faction leader in the Social Democratic Party and in 1921 became chief of the newly founded Czechoslovak Communist Party.

In 1922 he attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, was elected a member of the ECCI and its Presidium, and at the Fifth Congress in 1924 was reelected to both offices. In February and March 1926 he took part in the sixth plenum of the ECCI, joined the Comintern's Orgburo, and then settled in Moscow for several years. Through all the factional struggles in the Kremlin and Comintern he followed Stalin faithfully and worked for the Orgburo both

in Moscow and abroad. He attended the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh enlarged plenums (1926-1931) and at each was reelected to the ECCI Presidium. Meanwhile he fulfilled Comintern missions in France, Germany, and the Balkans. In late 1934 he and Vasil Kolarov went to Outer Mongolia as Comintern advisers and delegates to the central committee of the Mongolian Communist Party. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was dropped from the ECCI and its Presidium but was elected to the ICC. In the autumn of 1935 he returned to Czechoslovakia, where he was elected communist senator. In 1936 he joined the central committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party for the first time since 1929. In November 1938, after the Munich pact, he returned to Soviet Russia to work in the MOPR executive committee and in the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in Moscow, where he died in May 1941. After World War II his ashes were transferred to the National Pantheon in Prague.

Smirnov, Aleksandr. Born in Russia in 1877; he became a laborer. By 1896 he already was militant in the Russian revolutionary movement and joined the RSDLP at its founding in 1898. During the next 20 years he was intensely active in various localities in tsarist Russia (among them Tver and Petrograd). A professional revolutionary he represented the Bolshevik faction in 1907 at the London congress of the RSDLP and became an alternate member of the central committee. After the revolution of October 1917, he was first a member of the collegium of the commissariat for internal affairs, and then deputy commissar for internal affairs. In the spring of 1919 he became a member of the collegium of the commissariat for food production, then deputy commissar of agriculture (March 1923), and then commissar for agriculture (July 1923). From 1927 to 1929 he was deputy chairman of the council of people's commissars for the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Along with these governmental activities he rose to important party and Comintern posts—at the eleventh congress of the RCP(B) in 1922 he was elected to the central committee; in 1923 he was commissioned by Moscow to organize the Krestintern and in October 1923 took part in its first international conference, at which he became Krestintern secretary-general and a member of its presidium, a position that put him in constant liaison with Comintern headquarters. In 1928, however, he was accused of "rightist deviation" and removed from the position of Krestintern secretary-general; in 1932 he was again attacked for his "rightist activities" (that is, opposition to Stalin). He was arrested at the beginning of Stalin's purges and executed in 1938.

Smoliansky, G. Early in the twentieth century he was a militant in the socialist movement in tsarist Russia. Prior to the Bolshevik victory of November 1917 he had been a member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party; after 1917 he joined the RCP(B) and in 1923 or 1924 began to work for the central

apparatus of the Comintern. He first belonged to its Agitprop, which he represented on the trade-union commission during the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in 1925. Later he worked for the trade-union section, and at the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in November and December 1926, he was the technical secretary for the trade-union commission. During that period he also wrote articles concerning trade-union matters for the Comintern press.

With the purging of Zinoviev, Bukharin, and their collaborators from the Comintern Smoliansky assumed positions of greater importance. In August 1930 he spoke at the fifth Profintern congress. At the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in 1929 he was a spokesman for the Comintern trade-union section, and at the twelfth enlarged plenum, held in August and September 1932, he gave a report to the commission dealing with economic problems and the struggles of the working class. Shortly afterward he joined the Comintern Secretariat for Central Europe (comprising Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Austria). As assistant to the chief of that Secretariat (Wilhelm Knorin) Smoliansky represented the Comintern at the 1935 "Brussels conference" of the KPD (which actually took place in Moscow). In September 1936 he was a member of the Soviet delegation to the peace congress organized in Brussels by the communist front organization *Rassemblement Universel de la Paix*. When Knorin disappeared early in 1937 Palmiro Togliatti became chief of the Central European Secretariat and Smoliansky continued as his assistant but in the latter half of the year fell victim to Stalin's purges.

Sneevliet, Hendricus. Born in Rotterdam in 1883. In 1900 he went to work for the Dutch railroads, became militant in the railroad workers' union, and in 1902 joined the Dutch Social Democratic Party. In 1913 he went to the Dutch colony of Java, where in 1914 he founded the Social Democratic Union. During World War I he moved toward the extreme left and sympathized with the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. After his expulsion from Java in 1918, his friends in the Social Democratic Union founded the Indonesian Communist Party in 1920. In that same year he went to Soviet Russia; under the name Maring he took part in the Second Congress of the Comintern and was elected a member of the ECCI as Java's representative. Early in 1921 he became the official Comintern emissary to China, where he lived for two years; there he assisted at the founding congress of the Chinese Communist Party (held in July 1921), transmitted Comintern directives to the party central committee, and established contact with Sun Yat-sen. During that period he used the pseudonyms Maring, Martin, Philips, and Sentot. In January 1923 after a stay in Moscow, the Comintern sent him to Vladivostok to work for its Far Eastern office and in the middle of the year he again visited China.

Early in 1924 he was in Moscow, from where he returned to Holland in April; there he was active in the Dutch Communist Party and headed a revolution-

ary trade-union organization. However, he found himself more and more in sympathy with the Trotskyite opposition and in 1927 left the Dutch Communist Party. In 1929 he founded a Trotskyite organization, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, of which he was sole parliamentary deputy from 1933 until the onset of World War II, but in 1938, refused to join Trotsky's Fourth International. During the German occupation he took part in the resistance and edited a clandestine newspaper, *Spartakus*. Arrested by the Germans he was sentenced to death and executed in April 1942.

Sochacki, Jerzy. Born in 1892 into a Polish middle-class family; during his career he was known under the names Jerzy Czeszejko, Konrad, and J. Bratkowski. After secondary school he entered law school in St. Petersburg. Militant within the Polish Socialist Party he became a leader of its left wing after the establishment of Polish independence. When the extreme left faction of his party decided to join the communists in 1921 he became its representative on the Polish Communist Party (PCP) central committee and that position was confirmed at the third national conference of the PCP, held in April 1922; at the same time he became a member of the party secretariat. At the second congress of the PCP in 1923 he was reelected to the central committee and also in that year was elected communist deputy to the Polish parliament. At the third congress of the PCP in 1925 he did not serve on the central committee but at the fourth congress in 1927 was elected to alternate membership. At the fifth congress in 1930 he was reelected to the central committee and promoted to the politburo. Late in 1930 he became the PCP representative to the Comintern and under the name Bratkowski took part in the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in April 1931, at which he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium and of the Secretariat of the Comintern. In 1932 he took part in the twelfth enlarged plenum and was reelected to both positions but on August 15, 1933, he was arrested by Soviet police, accused of spying for Poland, and on September 4 he was shot. He was rehabilitated posthumously, however, by Gomułka's regime.

Sokolnikov, Grigori. Born in 1888, the son of a Russian physician. In 1905 he entered the Bolshevik organization and in 1906 became a Bolshevik leader in Moscow. In 1907 he was arrested and sentenced to permanent deportation but escaped in 1909 and went to France to finish law studies. In the factional struggles among Bolshevik exiles he did not always follow Lenin's guidelines; in 1910 he headed the conciliatory Bolshevik faction and in 1914 collaborated on the newspaper *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word) whose political position was criticized by Lenin. After the revolution of February 1917 he again became a Bolshevik leader in Moscow and at the sixth congress of the Bolshevik party, held in July and August 1917, he was elected a member of the central committee, an office he held until 1927. Immediately before and after the Bolshevik seizure of power he

exercised important party and state functions—in October 1917, two weeks before the Bolshevik coup in Petrograd, he became a member of the first Bolshevik party politburo; shortly after the party victory he joined the Soviet delegation sent to Brest-Litovsk to negotiate an armistice with Germany; after his return he drafted the decree on the nationalization of banks and was entrusted with its application; in 1922 he was nominated commissar of finance in Lenin's government.

From time to time he also took part in the work of the Comintern. In 1920 he was a Bolshevik delegate to the Second Congress and in August of that year was sent to Turkestan in a triple capacity—as chairman of the Turkestan Commission of the Central Executive Committee of the Congress of Soviets, as the supreme commander on the Turkestan front, and as head of the Central Asiatic Bureau of the Comintern (with G. Safarov and M. N. Roy as his principal aides). In January 1921 he presented a report on the Comintern's Asian activities to the ECCI and in February 1922, at the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI, he presented a report on the New Economic Policy (NEP). After the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he became an alternate member of the ECCI and at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in March and April 1925, he sat on the Italian commission. Also that year he began to sympathize with the anti-Stalin faction. From 1927 to 1933 he was in London as Soviet ambassador. Later he became assistant commissar of foreign affairs. In 1936, however, he was expelled from the RCP(B) and arrested, and in January 1937 was prosecuted during the second public trial in Moscow and sentenced to ten years in prison. He died in 1939.

Solts, Aaron. Born in Russia in 1872. By 1895 he was militant in the revolutionary movement and joined the RSDLP at its founding in 1898. In 1899 he was expelled from college for revolutionary activity; later he was arrested and in 1902 was exiled to Siberia but escaped and returned to Russia. During the next 15 years he participated in the activities of the Bolshevik party in such places as Ekaterinoslav, Petrograd, Moscow, and Baku and was arrested often. After the revolution of February 1917 he helped edit *Sotsial-Demokrat*, a Bolshevik newspaper published in Moscow; later he worked with Stalin and Molotov on the editorial staff of *Pravda* in Petrograd.

After the Bolshevik victory Solts pursued a career in both the RCP(B) and the Comintern. In November 1920 he was one of three members of the newly established RCP(B) control commission and in March 1921, when the tenth congress of the party elected a new control commission composed of seven members, he became its de facto chairman. He held that office without interruption until 1934, and during his tenure many political purges were carried out within the RCP(B) by the control commission. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was elected a member of the ICC, to which he was reelected at the Sixth Congress in 1928. He also became a member of

the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and later worked as a public prosecutor. He died in 1940.

Souchy, Augustin. Born in Germany in 1892; he became a publicist. He was militant in the German anarchist trade-union movement and at the end of World War I was an important anarchist spokesman. From April to October 1920 he was in Soviet Russia and represented the German revolutionary syndicalism at the Second Congress of the Comintern. After returning to Germany he published a book, *Wie lebt der Arbeiter und Bauer in Russland*, in Berlin. Later he refused to join the Comintern or Profintern. In 1922 he was a member of the bureau and then of the secretariat of the Anarcho-Syndicalist International, headquartered in Berlin. From 1922 to 1927 he was editor-in-chief of the official German anarcho-syndicalist newspaper, *Der Syndikalist*. In 1933 he left for France to live in political exile. At the outbreak of World War II he was interned (as were many of his compatriots) by French authorities as a citizen of a country at war with France but after the 1940 armistice obtained a visa for Mexico and settled there until the war ended. Later he returned to Munich, where he still lived in the mid-1960s.

Souvarine, Boris. Born in Kiev in 1895 into a family of handicraftsmen which later moved to Paris, where he became a draftsman's apprentice. He was drafted when World War I began and after his discharge in 1916 became a journalist for the socialist press supporting the internationalist position; by the end of the war he had moved to the extreme left and in 1919 became the international affairs secretary of the Committee for the Third International. Arrested in early May 1920, he maintained contact with his political friends from his prison cell. He also continued to write for the communist press, using the pseudonym Varine, drafted the resolution for the SFIO adherence to the Comintern, which was accepted by the majority of delegates at the Tours congress in December 1920, and was elected in absentia a member of the directing committee. After his release from prison in 1921 he joined the French delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern, held in Moscow in June and July; at its close he was elected a member of the ECCI, of its Presidium, and later of its Secretariat. Until late 1924 he continued to live primarily in Moscow.

At the Marseilles congress of the PCF in December 1921 he was dropped from the directing committee but continued to receive the support of both the Comintern and the left wing of the party, for which he was a spokesman in Moscow. He participated in the first, second, and third enlarged plenums of the ECCI and the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and at all those meetings retained his membership on the ECCI and its Presidium. At the PCF congress held in Lyon in January 1924, he became a member of the politburo but he defended Trotsky before the French party and at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in June 1924 the matter was considered by a special commission;

he was then stripped of his positions and expelled from the Comintern and the PCF.

In 1925 he returned to Paris and helped found a communist opposition group after which the Comintern again condemned him at the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in November and December 1926. In Paris he continued to edit *Bulletin communiste* (which he had founded in 1920) and later another review, *La Critique sociale*. During the first half of 1929 he engaged in an epistolary controversy with Trotsky, which led to his breaking with Trotskyism; he then abandoned political activity. In 1935 he published *Stalin. Aperçu historique du bolchevisme*. Until the outbreak of World War II he commented on Soviet Russian affairs for the Parisian daily *Le Figaro*, and during the war took refuge in the United States. In 1947 he returned to France, where in 1949 he began writing for *Est-Ouest* (a bulletin on communist affairs) and then edited the review *Le Contrat social*, which appeared until the end of 1968.

Spector, Maurice. Born in Canada in 1898. He became militant in socialist circles in Toronto during World War I and after the founding of the Comintern gravitated toward communism. When the Canadian Communist Party was founded in 1921 he was elected to its executive committee and headed its underground newspaper, *The Communist*. When the party became legal in 1922 he went to Russia as a delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern but did not speak at its public meetings. Late in 1923 he spent considerable time in Germany and in 1924 again visited Comintern headquarters before returning to Canada. In that year he was elected chairman of the Canadian Communist Party and edited the newspaper *The Worker*. In August 1928 he took part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, at which he was a member of the program commission and one of the speakers at the public sessions; at the close of the congress he was elected to the ECCI. With James Cannon of the CPUSA he published Trotsky's *Criticism of the Projected Comintern Program*, which they brought from Moscow. In October 1928 he declared himself in favor of Trotsky's theories and in November was expelled from both the ECCI and the Canadian Communist Party. Until 1936 he remained active in various Canadian Trotskyite groups but then he moved to the United States and shortly after his arrival abandoned his Trotskyite activities. He died in New York in August 1968.

Spratt, Philip. Born in Great Britain in 1902; he studied at Cambridge University. He met the Comintern representative to England, D. Petrovski (who was using the pseudonym Bennet), and after graduation went to India as a communist emissary. He arrived in Bombay in December 1926 and, using the name Desmond, established many contacts with communist circles, Indian trade-union movements, the Workers' and Peasants' Party, and the Indian National Congress. During 1927-28 he was planning and supervising the activities

leading to the founding congress of the Indian Communist Party. In March 1929 he was arrested and tried in the Meerut conspiracy case, which was not concluded until January 1933; he was sentenced to 12 years in prison but was released in September 1934 and subsequently broke away from communism. He remained in India as a journalist and in 1955 published a book about his Comintern work, *Blowing Up India: Reminiscences and Reflections of a Former Comintern emissary*.

Stalmer, Richard. Born in Munich in 1907, the son of a left-wing SPD militant who later became a KPD functionary. A tile-setter by trade he joined the communist youth movement in 1924, later worked in the KPD apparatus, and in 1930 headed the communist-dominated woodworkers' trade union. In 1931 the party sent him to the Leninist School of the Comintern and he also attended special courses for members of the KPD military and subversive apparatus. After returning to Germany he became chief of the military organization of the Red Front for Northern Bavaria but Hitler's rise to power forced him to return to Soviet Russia, where he became a student at the KUNMZ. In 1936 the Comintern sent him to Spain, where he served with the Eleventh International Brigade under the name General Hoffmann. In 1939 he retreated with the brigade to France and then escaped to Switzerland, where he was arrested for communist activity and imprisoned at St. Gallen until 1945.

After World War II he went to Berlin, where he joined the newly formed communist police and in May 1946 became police chief for the Brandenburg district. In September 1949 he returned to Moscow to take a six-month course for military and police cadres of the East German government and in October 1950 became police chief in Leipzig. In January 1952 he became assistant director for railroads and from May 1953 to December 1954 was assistant minister for transportation. After seven years of marriage he divorced Lore Pieck (the daughter of Wilhelm Pieck); she then was sent to Yugoslavia as East German ambassador while he became the first secretary of a paramilitary organization called Sport und Technik; he held that position until the early 1960s.

Stalin, Josef. Born Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili in Georgia, Caucasus, in 1879, the son of a shoemaker. In 1893 he entered the Russian Orthodox seminary at Tiflis, in 1897 became a Marxist socialist, and in 1898 joined the RSDLP and was expelled from the seminary. He then became a professional revolutionary using the names David, Koba, Ivanovich, and especially Stalin. After the party split at the London congress in 1903 he rallied to the Bolshevik faction; in 1905 he represented the Georgian Bolsheviks at the Tammersfors conference and met Lenin for the first time. As a Georgian delegate he attended the RSDLP congresses in 1906 (Stockholm) and 1907 (London). His militancy in Tiflis, Baku, and other areas led to arrests in 1908, 1910, and 1911.

In 1912, after the Prague conference of the Bolshevik party, he was co-opted into the central committee; later in the year he joined Lenin in Cracow and wrote his first pamphlet, *Marxism and the National Question*. In the spring of 1913 he was arrested again, exiled from St. Petersburg, and did not return until after the revolution of February 1917. In April he participated in the Bolshevik conference there and from then on took a leading role in the central committee and then the politburo of the party. After the Bolshevik victory of November 7, 1917, he joined Lenin's government as people's commissar for nationalities affairs. During the civil war he was sent to various fronts as a member of the military revolutionary council. From 1922 to 1952 he was secretary-general of the RCP(B) and from May 1941 until his death in March 1953 was also chairman of the Soviet government.

Stalin's activity in the Comintern may be divided into three distinct periods. During the first (or Leninist) phase he occasionally took part in the work of the Comintern's leading bodies. In January 1918, before the founding of the Comintern, he represented the Bolshevik party at a meeting with some socialist internationalists in Petrograd. In March 1919 he was with the RCP(B) delegation at the founding congress of the Comintern and although not listed among the Bolshevik delegates to the Second Congress in July 1920 he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI; he was not in the RCP(B) delegation to the Third Congress, held in June 1921. At the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1922 he represented the Russian party on the Hungarian commission and was a member of the Russian delegation at the second plenum, held in June. He first took part regularly in the work of the ECCI Presidium when it met in September and October 1923 to plan the German October.

The second phase of Stalin's Comintern activity began with Lenin's death in 1924. During the subsequent period of conflict with Trotsky, Zinoviev, and then Bukharin (in 1929) he frequently took part in activities of the Comintern. At its Fifth Congress, held in June and July 1924, he was immediately elected to the congress presidium, was chairman of the Polish commission, and was a member of several other commissions; at the close of the congress he was elected to the ECCI and its Presidium. At the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in March and April 1925, he was seated on the ECCI Presidium with Zinoviev and Bukharin, took part in the work of the political commission, and addressed the Yugoslav commission. At the sixth enlarged plenum, held in February and March 1926, he spoke before the German commission and was reelected to the ECCI Presidium. He reported on the RCP(B) at the seventh plenum held in November and December (when Zinoviev was removed from the presidency of the ECCI); at that meeting he was seated on the political commission and was reelected to the ECCI Presidium. In May 1927 he attended the eighth plenum, at which the decision was made to remove Trotsky from the ECCI, and at the ninth plenum, held in February 1928, was again reelected to the ECCI Presidium. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in August

1928 he sat on the congress presidium and was a member of the political commission, and although he did not speak in the public debates he did take the floor at a closed conference of the presidents of important foreign communist delegations. In December 1928 he spoke before the ECCI Presidium about "dangers from the right," and in May 1929 addressed the American commission of the Comintern.

In 1929, Bukharin's elimination brought about the third phase of Stalin's activity in the Comintern, over which he then took absolute control, with the aid of such henchmen as Molotov and Mamulsky, and although he no longer participated personally in meetings of its leading bodies he maintained his place in the Comintern hierarchy. At both the tenth (July 1929) and the eleventh (April 1931) enlarged plenums of the ECCI he was reelected to the ECCI Presidium. He was a presiding official at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 and was elected to the ECCI and its Presidium but made no speeches. Theoretically, he remained a member of these organs until the dissolution of the Comintern, at his order, in May 1943; the decision for the RCP(B), however, was signed by Zhdanov and Mamulsky.

Stalin died on March 5, 1953; in February 1956, at the twentieth congress of the CPSU, Nikita Khrushchev denounced Stalin's "personality cult" in a secret report. At the time of Stalin's death, 13 volumes of his works covering the period to 1934 had been published; in 1967, the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University published a series of three volumes of Stalin's works consisting of his writings, speeches, and letters from early 1934 until his death in 1953.

Stange, Emil. A militant in the Norwegian Workers' Party he took a pacifist and internationalist position during World War I and after the Bolshevik victory in Russia joined the party's left wing, which in 1918 favored adherence to the Comintern. He then became a member of the new left-wing party leadership and in 1919 went to Soviet Russia, where he was the only Norwegian to attend the founding congress of the Comintern, at which he was a member of the commission for verification of mandates and gave a report on his country and party.

In 1923, however, the majority of the Norwegian Workers' Party voted to break away from the Comintern, so with the minority Stange helped found the Norwegian Communist Party, in which he was active until January 1928, when the first socialist government was formed in Norway. Although the Comintern refused to support it Stange welcomed the new government and therefore broke with both the party and the Comintern.

Stasova, Elena. Born in St. Petersburg in 1873 into a jurist's family. After finishing secondary school she became a militant socialist in St. Petersburg and joined the RSDLP when it was founded in 1898. She was active in the

organization built around the newspaper *Iskra* (Spark), and when the party split at its 1903 congress she supported the Bolshevik faction. For the next two years she participated in Bolshevik actions in St. Petersburg, Orel, Moscow, and other cities. Using the name Absolu she worked as party secretary for St. Petersburg, secretary of the northern bureau of the Bolshevik central committee, and in various other leading positions.

From August 1905 to January 1906 she lived in Geneva but returned to Russia to direct Bolshevik work in Tiflis. After the Bolshevik conference held in Prague in January 1912 she was elected an alternate member of the party's central committee. In 1913 she was arrested and exiled to Siberia, where she remained until 1916. When the Bolshevik party resumed its full activities in February 1917 she became one of its leaders and shortly thereafter was promoted to a secretary of the central committee, an office she held until March 1920. Meanwhile, she was elected an alternate member of the central committee at the party's sixth congress in 1917 and a full member at the seventh congress (March 1918) and the eighth congress (March 1919); however, at the ninth congress (March 1920) she was dropped from both the central committee and the secretariat. She then worked in the Petrograd apparatus of the party and later in Baku, where she helped prepare the Congress of the Peoples of the East held in September 1920. In May 1921 she was appointed Comintern representative to the KPD and as such worked within the orgburo of the central committee of the German party and also headed Die Rote Hilfe (the German section of the MOPR), using the pseudonym Hertha. She returned to Soviet Russia in February 1926 and from 1927 to 1938 was the president of the MOPR. While still living in Germany she occasionally returned to Moscow to participate in such conferences as the meetings of the ECCI Presidium in March 1922, the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 (as secretary of the women's commission), and the enlarged plenum of the ECCI held in February 1926. After that meeting she remained in Russia to join the information bureau of the RCP(B) central committee. From 1930 to 1934 she also was a member of the central control commission of the RCP(B) and at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 became a member of the ICC. At the fifth congress of the Profintern, held in 1930, she gave a speech in the name of the MOPR. In August 1932 she was a member of the Soviet delegation to the communist-sponsored International Congress Against the War held in Amsterdam. In 1934 she took part in the establishment of the World Committee of Women Against War and Fascism. From 1938 to 1946 she worked with the editorial staff of the review *International Literature*. She died on December 31, 1966, at the age of 94.

Stefanov, Boris. A Bulgarian from the region of Dobruja, he became militant in the Rumanian socialist movement when the territory was annexed to Rumania and by the end of World War I had become a leader in the Rumanian Socialist Party and favored joining the Comintern. He played an important role in the

general strike of 1920. At the second congress of the Rumanian Communist Party in October 1922 he was elected a member of the central committee; in that year he also was elected communist deputy for southern Dobruja. In party struggles he supported the left wing. When he was arrested in 1926 the Balkan Communist Federation led an international campaign on his behalf but in January 1928 he was court-martialed in Bucharest and sentenced to eight years at hard labor; in 1932 he managed to escape and fled to Moscow. During the fifth congress of the Rumanian Communist Party, held abroad, he was reelected a member of the central committee; later he joined the politburo. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he became a member of the ECCI. He also became secretary-general of the Rumanian Communist Party, a position he assumed while in Moscow. He was spared during the Stalinist purges. From time to time he wrote articles on behalf of the Rumanian Communist Party for the Comintern press. When Soviet troops entered the Balkans he settled in Bulgaria, where he was still living in the early 1960s.

Stefanović, Lazar. Born in Serbia in 1885. He became a carpenter and at the beginning of the century was militant in the Serbian trade-union movement. After 1903 he was active in the Serbian Social Democratic Party and by 1912 had become a member of its central leadership. He joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) at its founding and in 1920 was elected a member of both its central and executive committees; in that year he also became a communist deputy. However, in 1921 the CPY was outlawed and he was arrested and sentenced to two years in prison. After his release he went abroad and in 1924 represented his party's right wing at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. At the third congress of the CPY, held in 1926, he was elected to its politburo. At the fourth congress of the Profintern, held in Moscow in 1928, he was elected to its central council. Working under the pseudonyms Božić and Lazić, he remained in Moscow from 1928 on as Yugoslav representative to the Profintern. From 1930 to 1936 he was secretary of the wood-workers' section of the Profintern. He survived Stalin's purges and in late 1944 returned to Yugoslavia, where he was elected vice-president of the trade unions, deputy to parliament, and member of the Serbian Communist Party central committee. He died in 1950.

Steinhardt, Karl. Born in Austria in 1875, the son of a railroad worker. In Vienna he worked as a printer's apprentice and while still very young joined the trade-union movement and the socialist youth organization. After becoming accomplished at his trade he traveled for many years on large ocean liners as a ship's printer but in 1909 he stayed in London. Later he worked as a printer in Hamburg, where he was militant in the socialist left. Because of his political activity he was expelled from Germany. Before World War I he returned to Vienna, where he worked at his trade and continued to be active

in the socialist left. He was arrested and sentenced for high treason but later was granted amnesty. In November 1918 he helped found the Austrian Communist Party, and early in February 1919 he was elected a member of the party leadership. By invitation he attended the founding congress of the Comintern in March 1919, using the name Gruber. There he made a passionate speech supporting the Russian decision to establish the Third International immediately. En route back to Austria he was arrested in Rumania but released. In July and August 1920 he participated in the Second Congress of the Comintern, at which he was elected a member of the ECCI. In September he was with the Comintern delegation to the Congress of the Peoples of the East held at Baku and also in the autumn represented the Austrian Communist Party at the ECCI. At the beginning of 1921 he joined the Comintern delegation sent to Turkestan and then returned to Moscow to attend the Third Comintern Congress in June and July. At the end of the year he went to Germany where he worked for the communist press, first in Bremen and then in Hamburg. In 1925 he returned to Austria and remained a member of the Austrian Communist Party but did not play an important role in it.

He survived the war and with the arrival of Soviet troops in Austria and the reappearance of the communist party in 1945 he regained a position of leadership—he became vice-mayor of Vienna and in 1945 was elected to the central committee of the party. When the communists were eliminated from the government he too lost his posts in Vienna. Because of his age he resigned from the central committee but remained a party member until his death in 1963.

Stern, Viktor. Born in 1885 in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; he studied law. In 1904 he joined the Austrian Social Democratic Party and during World War I, while living in Germany, joined the USPD. When the party merged with the communists in 1920 he became a member of the new unified KPD. He was active in the German revolutionary movement from 1920 until the failure of the German October in 1923. He then settled in Czechoslovakia, where he immediately became a member of the party politburo and from 1924 to 1928 served on the central committee secretariat. He represented the Czechoslovak Communist Party at the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in November and December 1926 and returned to Moscow with the Czechoslovak delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, at which he sat on the commission charged with preparing the theses on the danger of an imperialist war. He also addressed the congress as a representative of the faction of B. Jilek, the president of the Czechoslovak Communist Party at that time. A few months later when Jilek was dismissed from party leadership and a team headed by Klement Gottwald took over the party Stern was dropped from the politburo but followed the new party direction. He was also a communist deputy from 1925 until 1934, when he was deprived of his mandate by a court

order. He then went to Soviet Russia to teach at Comintern and RCP(B) schools; there he survived Stalin's purges and after World War II returned to East Germany. He then taught at the SED superior school in East Berlin where he died in 1958.

Stewart, Robert. Born in 1877, the son of a Scottish laborer. At age 13 he worked in a burlap factory but left there at age 19 to work as a carpenter's apprentice. He had joined the trade-union movement when he was 18 and remained active in it until the turn of the century, when he left to work in South Africa. After returning to Great Britain he presented his first lectures and wrote his first articles as a militant in the Socialist Prohibition Fellowship. During World War I he took a pacifist stand, which brought him several arrests and four appearances in a military court, and prison at the end of the war. After his release in 1919 he joined the communists and at the founding congress of the British Communist Party (BCP), held in July and August 1920, he was elected one of eight members of the provisional executive committee. In 1921 he was the first of his party to run for parliament, though unsuccessfully. In 1923 he represented the BCP at the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI. He then became his party's representative to the Comintern and as such was seated on the Presidium of the ECCI. He also represented the BCP at Lenin's funeral and later in 1924 was a presiding official at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern; at the close of the congress he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI.

In October 1925 the British government arrested 12 leaders of the BCP and Stewart, who had just returned from Moscow, was then made acting secretary-general, an office he held during the general strike of May 1926. In the following years he headed the international section of the party, which entailed traveling abroad. He remained with the BCP through all its changes and in 1967, at the age of 90, published his memoirs, *Breaking the Fetters*.

Stoecker, Walter. Born in Cologne in 1891 into a German family of the lower middle class; in his youth he became a sales clerk. In 1907 he joined a trade union and in 1908 the SPD. Later he took courses in history and political economy at the University of Cologne and was a leader in the socialist students' association. He served in the German army from 1915 to 1918. He then joined the USPD and became known as a spokesman for the left, which favored joining the Comintern; at the USPD congress of 1919 he pleaded his cause and in 1920 went with the party delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern, at which he worked devotedly for adherence to the Comintern. He was a spokesman for the pro-Comintern left at the Halle congress of the USPD in October 1920, and when the USPD and the KPD were united at the congress in December he was elected a member of the central committee.

Also in 1920 he was elected a deputy and from 1924 to 1931 he was chairman of the communist group in the Reichstag.

After the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held in November 1922, he joined the Secretariat of the ECCI; at the eighth congress of the KPD in 1923 he was reelected to the central committee. When the left took over party leadership in 1924-25 he was dropped from the central committee but at the ninth congress of the KPD in 1927 regained his position. At the twelfth congress of the party, held in June 1929 in Berlin, he presented a report for the mandate verification commission. On the night of the Reichstag fire (February 27, 1933) he was arrested and sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp, where he died in March 1939.

Strasser, Joseph. Born in 1871; he became militant in the Austrian Social Democratic Party. A journalist by profession he edited, in succession, the socialist papers *Freigeist* and *Vorwärts*. He belonged to the left wing of the party and during World War I took an internationalist position similar to that of the Zimmerwald movement. At the end of the war he became a spokesman for the "Linksradike," a leftist group which favored communism. Although he did not take part in the founding congress of the Austrian Communist Party in November 1918 he joined it shortly afterward; at the third party congress in December 1919 he delivered a report on party tactics, was elected a member of the directing committee (Parteivorstand), and was named editor of the party organ, *Die Rote Fahne*. At the fourth party congress in January 1921 he was reelected to Parteivorstand. Although at the beginning of that year he sympathized with Paul Levi's stand he did not leave the party or the Comintern when Levi was expelled.

In July 1921 the ECCI invited him to Moscow but in March 1922, at the fifth congress of the Austrian Communist Party, he was dropped from party leadership. Later that year he became a member of the Comintern program commission for the Fourth Congress and following the congress was one of three secretaries of the editorial staff of *Communist International*; at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was again on the program commission. From 1924 to 1926 he taught at a Comintern school in Moscow but when Stalin removed Trotsky, Zinoviev, and others from leadership in the RCP(B) and the Comintern, Strasser voiced disagreement and around 1930 left the communist party. He died in 1933.

Stringos, Leonidas. Born in Cyprus in 1900; he worked as an accountant. In his youth he became active in the anti-British and pro-communist movement in Cyprus and joined the Greek Communist Party in 1925. From 1926 to 1932 he worked in Athens as a staff member of *Rizospastis* (Radical), the communist newspaper; then he spent 1932 and 1933 in Moscow as a student at the KUTV.

After his return to Greece he became editor of *Rizospastis*, regional secretary of the Greek Communist Party for Thessalia and Larissa, and a deputy in parliament. Later he was arrested by the Metaxas government and exiled to the island of Gävhdos but escaped in 1941 and became a member of the party central committee and its representative for Thessalia. He was arrested in 1942 but escaped again and took part in the communist resistance.

After World War II, at the seventh party congress held in October 1945, he was reelected a member of the central committee and promoted to alternate member of the politburo. In July 1946 he was imprisoned by the Greek government and exiled to Gävhdos again but escaped in June 1947. In the rebel government formed by Markos Vafiadis he was minister of supplies and economy as well as a political commissar in the communist armed forces; after the failure of the insurrection in 1949 he fled to Eastern Europe. He was sent back to Greece to reorganize the party in June 1950 but was arrested en route in Belgium and expelled to Poland.

During the 1950s he lived mostly in Soviet Russia, where for a time he was in charge of the Greek communist organization in Tashkent. At the eighth party congress in August 1961 he was elected a member of the seven-man politburo and in February 1968, when the split occurred in this governing body between "Stalinist" and "reformist" members, he rallied to the Stalinists, who were supported by Moscow. In February 1970 he was party representative at the nineteenth congress of the PCP and attended the conference of the eighteen communist parties of capitalist Europe, held in Paris in May.

Ström, Frederick. Born in Sweden in 1880. A well-known journalist and militant in the Swedish Social Democratic Party he became one of its leaders and from 1911 to 1916 was party secretary. In 1912 he was named municipal councillor in Stockholm, an office he was to hold until 1942. During World War I he took an internationalist stand close to that of the Zimmerwald movement and favored its left wing. In April 1917 he signed, with eleven other European socialists, a declaration approving passage for Lenin and his group across imperial Germany and greeted Lenin in Stockholm when the Bolshevik leader was returning to Petrograd. He helped lead his party's left wing into joining the Third International and when it became the Swedish Communist Party in March 1921 he was elected party secretary, a post he held until 1924. In 1919-20 he had been associated with the Comintern as head of a Stockholm liaison center between Moscow and Western Europe and also as a Soviet consul.

In June 1923 he represented the Swedish Communist Party at the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI. When the Comintern launched the policy of Bolshevization of its sections in 1924, however, the Swedish Communist Party chief, Karl Zeth Höglund, was one of the first foreign communist leaders to

publicly voice his disagreement, which led to his break with Moscow and then expulsion from the party. In solidarity with Höglund, Ström resigned from the party and in 1926 rejoined the Social Democratic Party. He was a deputy in parliament from 1930 to 1948, the year he died.

Stuchka, Peter. Born in 1865, the son of a prosperous Latvian farmer. He completed his secondary education at the German lyceum in Riga and then studied law at the University of St. Petersburg. After his return to Latvia he became militant in the social democratic movement but in 1897 was arrested and sentenced to five years in exile; in 1902 he went to Byelorussia, settled in Vitebsk, and became politically active again. When the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks split in 1903 he opted for the Bolsheviks. In 1904 he was among the organizers of the first congress of the Latvian Social Democratic Party, which met clandestinely in Riga, and was elected a member of its central committee. In 1907 he represented the Latvian Social Democratic Party at the international socialist congress held in Stuttgart. In the following years he pursued his revolutionary activities under the pseudonyms Paragraph and Veteran. He attended the fourth congress of the Latvian party which met in Brussels at the beginning of 1914 (in the presence of Lenin) and in July took part in a consultative conference of Latvian social democrats of Bolshevik persuasion in Berlin.

Following the revolution of February 1917 he was a member of the Petrograd Bolshevik committee. After the Bolshevik victory in November he was nominated people's commissar of justice in Lenin's government; when the Red Army advanced in the direction of Latvia he was placed in charge of political affairs in his native country and became head of the Latvian Soviet government when it was proclaimed in 1918. After the collapse of the Latvian communist regime he retreated permanently to Soviet Russia, where in 1921 he became assistant commissar of justice for the Federal Republic of Russia and in 1923 president of its supreme court. Meanwhile he remained in the leadership of the Latvian Communist Party.

For many years Stuchka also held responsible positions in the central apparatus of the Comintern. Early in 1920 he took part in the work of the ECCI, was elected an alternate member when the Second Congress of the Comintern convened in August, and after the Third Congress in 1921 was reelected to the ECCI. Thereafter he regularly represented the Latvian party at such meetings as the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in June 1922, and the third plenum, held in June 1923. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was elected a member of the ICC and between the Fifth and Sixth Congresses was its acting president. Meanwhile, he continued to participate in the ECCI's enlarged plenums. In 1926 he addressed the seventh plenum and at the Sixth

Congress of the Comintern in 1928 presented a report for the ECCI, of which he remained a member until his death in 1932. He wrote several books on juridical questions associated with the Soviet regime.

Šturm, Václav. Born in 1858 in Bohemia (then part of the Habsburg monarchy) into a laborer's family in the mining region of Kladno. In his early youth he was militant in the Czech trade-union and social democratic movements. Later he became a well-known socialist journalist. When an independent Czechoslovak state was founded he moved toward the socialist left and edited the newspaper *Communist*. In September 1921 various extreme left groups joined to found the Czechoslovak Communist Party, with Šturm as its chairman. In February 1922 he was a presiding official at the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI as the sole Czechoslovak representative, but at the party's national conference held in the spring he came into conflict with Bohumír Šmeral and Karel Krebích and was dismissed from office and expelled from the party. The Comintern did not support the decision and invited Šturm to its Fourth Congress (November 1922), where he debated as a spokesman for the opposition. He also was received by Lenin and reintegrated into the Czechoslovak Communist Party, although he remained suspended from his previous positions. In 1925 he was elected a communist senator but when factional struggles became more intense and a new team headed by Klement Gottwald took over the party leadership he was again expelled from the party in 1929. In 1932 he rejoined the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party. He died in 1936.

Su Chao-cheng. Born in 1885 in the province of Kwangtung, China; he was a sailor for nearly 20 years. In the early 1920s he joined the revolutionary movement, in 1922 led the first big sailors' strike in Hong Kong, and in 1924 joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). He became chairman of the sailors' trade union and during the strikes of 1925 presided over the strike committees of Hong Kong and Canton. He was elected president of the Chinese Trade Union Federation at its third congress in May 1926. At the fifth congress of the CCP, held in April and May 1927, he was elected a member of the central committee and an alternate member of the politburo. Meanwhile he was minister of labor in the government of Wuhan (a coalition between the Left Kuomintang and the CCP).

In August 1927 he took part in the emergency conference of the party central committee at which Chen Tu-hsiu, a founder of the CCP, was removed from leadership. At that meeting he became a full member of the politburo and in December, at the time of the Canton commune, he was nominated chairman of the revolutionary committee (before he could assume that function, Chang Tai-wei acted in his behalf).

In 1928 he went to Soviet Russia to take part in both the sixth congress of the CCP and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern; he sat on the presidium

of the Comintern congress and at its close became a member of the ECCI. In March and April 1928 he addressed the fourth congress of the Profintern, was elected a member of the executive bureau, and also helped found the Profintern trade-union secretariat for the Pacific area. He died of appendicitis in Shanghai in 1929.

Subhi, Mustafa. Born in 1886, the son of a Turkish civil servant. He began studies at a Turkish university and then spent two years in Paris, where he attended law school and became interested in Marxist socialism; after his return to Turkey he taught political economy at a Constantinople business school. Because of his political beliefs he was forced to leave Turkey and arrived in Russia shortly after the revolution of February 1917, where he was treated as a prisoner-of-war and sent first to Siberia and then to Kirghizia. After the victory of the Bolsheviks he placed himself at their disposal. In April 1918 in Moscow he launched a Turkish-language newspaper *Yeni Dünya* (New World) and in July presided over the first conference of Turkish socialists, who rallied to communism. In March 1919 he was the only Turkish representative at the founding congress of the Comintern. When Soviet troops occupied the Crimea, the Comintern sent him there. He became a member of the regional committee of the Bolshevik party and was active in Turkish circles. He then went to Turkestan with the intention of returning to Turkey by way of Iran; however, he remained in Turkestan until the spring of 1920 and then settled in Baku, where he took part in the Congress of the Peoples of the East, held there in September 1920; later in the month, also in Baku, he led the Congress of Turkish Organizations and was elected president of that movement. When he reentered Turkey in January 1921 he and 14 companions, all members of the Turkish Communist Party, were assassinated.

Sultan-Zade, A. Born in Persia in 1889. He settled in tsarist Russia and in 1907 became a member of the Social Democratic Party in the Caucasus. In 1912 he joined the Bolshevik party, for which he worked in the Caucasus and then in Central Asia. After the Bolshevik victory and the founding of the Comintern he played an important political role in the Near East. In the summer of 1920 in Enzeli (today Pahlevi, an Iranian port on the Caspian sea) he organized and directed the founding congress of the Persian Communist Party and became its head as well as its spokesman at the Comintern. He attended the Second Congress of the Comintern and was a member of the commission on national and colonial questions; at the close of the congress he was elected to the ECCI. In September 1920 he was in Baku for the Congress of the Peoples of the East and was named to the Council of Action and Propaganda of the Peoples of the East. At the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921 he retained his membership in the ECCI. In 1922 he took part in the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in June, and in the Fourth Congress of

the Comintern, held in November; at the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1923 he again represented the Persian Communist Party.

In 1923 he left his positions of leadership in the Comintern and the Persian Communist Party to work for the Soviet government, with which he remained until 1927, when he rejoined the central committee of the Persian Communist Party. In 1928 he took part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, expressing disagreement with certain official positions and later was accused of "leftist deviation." In 1932 he lost his membership in the Persian party's central committee and subsequently was expelled from the party itself; he then returned to his career in Soviet administration. He was arrested during Stalin's purges and died in 1938.

Sunitza, L. B. Born in Russia in 1887. In 1905 he joined the RSDLP and during the following years was active politically in Chernigov, Moscow, and other Russian cities. He left Russia in 1913 and until late 1918 lived in Germany and Austria and during that period maintained contact with Russian socialist militants and also with the Austrian and German social democratic left. In November 1918 he represented the RCP(B) at the founding congress of the Austrian Communist Party in Vienna and then returned to Russia, where in March 1919 he took part in the eighth congress of the RCP(B). During the civil war he was a political commissar for the First Army and later for the Fifth Army. In later years he worked first within the RCP(B) apparatus and then in the field of Soviet education.

Šverma, Jan. Born in 1901. While a law student at the University of Prague he joined the Czechoslovak Communist Party at its founding in 1921 and then became well-known as a militant in the communist youth movement; he also was active in the Marxist Association in Prague. In 1924 he edited the evening edition of the party's newspaper, *Rudé Právo* (Red Right), and in 1925 was an instructor at one of the party's regional schools. In the autumn of 1926 the party sent him to the Leninist School of the Comintern, which had just been founded in Moscow; there he took part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and at the end of 1928 returned to Prague. At the fifth congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1929 he was elected a member of the central committee and became a member of the politburo, in charge of trade-union activity.

In August 1930 he addressed the fifth Profintern congress and was elected a member of its executive bureau. He also represented the Czechoslovak party at the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in August and September 1932. In 1935 he was a member of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. Also in that year he became a deputy to the Czechoslovak parliament but after

the Munich pact was forced to leave his country. In 1939, after a brief secret stay in Yugoslavia, he went to the Soviet Union by way of Bulgaria. Shortly thereafter he was sent to Paris as a party central committee representative. After the fall of France in 1940 he went to London but returned to Moscow following the German attack against the Soviet Union in June 1941. In August he and Walter Ulbricht presented a report to the ECCI Secretariat on the problem of political work among prisoners of war and in May 1943 he attended the final meetings of the ECCI. He also represented Czechoslovakia on the Pan-Slav committee in Moscow. In 1944 he was sent to Slovakia to take part in the partisans' movement but was already ill and died a short while later.

His widow, Maria Švermova, was a member of the Czechoslovak party's central committee and its secretariat from just after World War II until early 1951, when she was arrested during the purges and lost her positions.

Szamuely, Tibor. Born in Hungary in 1890, the son of a Jewish merchant; before World War I he worked as a journalist. He was drafted in 1914 and in 1915 was taken prisoner by the Russians. He rallied to the Bolshevik revolution in 1917. He joined the Bolshevik party, became a leader of the Hungarian section of the Russian communist party, and later a political commissar of the First Internationalist Battalion, which was formed in Moscow in 1918. Although he was not in Hungary in November 1918 when Béla Kun and his followers founded the Hungarian Communist Party he returned to Budapest in January 1919 and when the party's central committee was being reorganized in February he became its chairman. During the Hungarian Soviet Republic he became deputy people's commissar of war and then people's commissar of public instruction; the government also placed him in charge of suppressing counterrevolutionary activities in the country. In May 1919 he went by plane to Soviet Russia to meet Lenin; it was the first personal contact between the Bolshevik leader and a top Hungarian communist since the founding of the Comintern in March 1919. After the collapse of the Soviet regime in Hungary Szamuely tried to flee to Austria but was captured on August 2, 1919. According to some sources he committed suicide but according to others was assassinated by the Hungarian authorities.

Szántó, Béla. Born in Hungary in 1881. He became an office clerk and then a socialist journalist and was militant in the left wing of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. At the end of World War I he took part in the antimilitarist movement and helped found the soldiers' council under the government of Count Mihály Károlyi. At the founding congress of the Hungarian Communist Party in November 1918 he was elected a member of the central committee and a party secretary. In 1919 at the time of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, he helped organize the Red Army and became the people's commissar of war.

When the regime collapsed he escaped to Vienna and in 1920 published a pamphlet about the Hungarian Soviet Republic with an introduction by Karl Radek.

He then went to Moscow, where he served for many years in the central apparatus of the Comintern; he also worked as a leader in the exiled Hungarian Communist Party. When the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI convened in November and December 1926 he represented the Hungarian Communist Party in the trade-union commission debates. In July 1929 he addressed the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and at that time also worked in the Profintern. He survived Stalin's purges and after 1942 was a member of the Comintern commission for prisoners-of-war. When he returned to Hungary at the end of the war he worked on the formulation of agrarian policies and the collectivization of the country. Later he became ambassador to Warsaw. He died in 1951.

T

Tagore, Sauntyendranath. A grandnephew of the famous Hindu poet Rabindranath Tagore, he joined the Indian Marxist-Leninist movement after finishing college. In 1926 he was active in the Swaraj [Labour] Party in Calcutta, in accordance with the Comintern directive of the mid-1920s that the communists should work within that party. In 1927 he became the leader of the Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party; in that year he also went to Moscow and in August 1928 took part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. Using the name Narayan he participated in discussions of the Comintern program and the colonial revolutionary movement but in the following years detached himself from Stalinist and founded a dissident communist movement in Bengal. In 1944 he published a book entitled *Historical Development of the Communist Movement in India*.

Tan Ping-shan. While a student in Peking in 1919 he met several young Chinese destined to play important roles in the communist movement, including Chang Kuo-tao and Mao Tse-tung. He later settled in Canton, where he became the secretary of a communist group that existed before the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was founded in July 1921. He was not present at the founding congress or the second congress in 1922 but did attend the third congress, held in Canton in June 1923. Shortly after the first CCP contact with the Kuomintang was established he was appointed to direct party work within the Kuomintang. At the first Kuomintang congress in January 1924 he was elected a member of the executive central committee and placed in charge of the orgburo; at the second congress in January 1926 he joined the nine-member central standing

committee. In 1926 he went to Moscow to attend the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in November and December, at which he reported on the Chinese issue and took part in the work of the political and agrarian commissions; at the close of the plenum he was made a member of the ECCI Presidium.

At the fifth congress of the CCP in April 1927 he was elected to the politburo and a month later, at the eighth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, was reelected to the Presidium. During the conflict between the Kuomintang and the CCP he was closely associated with the work of two of the major Comintern emissaries, Borodin and Roy. When the leftist faction of the Kuomintang and the CCP formed a government in Wuhan he became its minister of agriculture. When that government failed on July 15, 1927, he presided over the revolutionary committee for the Nanchang insurrection, which erupted on August 1. After the failure of the insurrection his disagreements with official CCP policy became more marked. At the August 7, 1927, emergency conference of the party he was not reelected to the politburo; moreover, an open letter issued by the conference to CCP members criticized Tan for his views on agrarian policy. In November of that year a resolution of the CCP's enlarged politburo accused him of having tried to form a third party between the Kuomintang and the CCP and of having refused to follow an order to go to Moscow to explain his behavior; in conclusion the resolution stated that "for these acts of disobedience, he should be expelled from the party." In February 1928 the ninth enlarged plenum of the ECCI approved these criticisms, and the manifesto of the sixth congress of the CCP, issued on September 20, stated that the "Chinese Revolutionary Party of Tan Ping-shan is just another tool of the imperialists and the reactionary bourgeoisie"; from that moment his exclusion from the CCP was definitive.

In 1930-31 Chen Tu-hsiu and several other founders of the CCP tried to form a dissident communist movement but Tan Ping-shan was not involved in these endeavors although he continued to seek a third path, between the Kuomintang and the CCP. During World War II he retreated to Chungking, the seat of Chiang Kai-shek's government, and in 1945 met with Mao Tse-tung during his visit to Chungking. Leading a group called the Three People's Principles Comrades Association Tan was still searching for a solution to the Chinese civil war when Mao's troops defeated Chiang Kai-shek. After the communist victory Tan collaborated with the new regime as a member of the Kuomintang's revolutionary committee, to which he belonged until his death in the early 1960s.

Tanaka, Seigen. Born in Japan in 1906. In 1927 he registered at the University of Tokyo but then left to enter construction work at Asano. In the autumn he joined the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) and was active in the Kanagawa area. In 1928 he represented the JCP at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and delivered a speech. He returned to Japan in 1929, headed communist activity

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in the Tokyo region, and at a secret meeting of communist militants in January 1930 was elected head of a new central committee of the JCP. In July he was arrested by Japanese police and in 1934 was sentenced to 11 years at hard labor; he broke away from the party in that year but remained in prison until 1941. (In 1935 another Tanaka took part in the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and wrote for the Comintern press.) After his release he devoted himself to business—in 1943 he directed an aviation company in Sakura, in 1946 was president of a construction company, and in 1949 was president of a petroleum company and several other commercial enterprises which he still headed in the late 1960s.

Tanev, Vasil. Born in Bulgaria in 1897. He was militant in the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) from its founding in 1919. In September 1923 he participated in the communist insurrection and after its failure took refuge in Yugoslavia. He joined the apparatus of the BCP and later the Comintern, and undertook various missions for both, including secret trips to Bulgaria; from 1926 to 1929 he was in Soviet Russia completing his indoctrination. He then returned to Bulgaria and joined the party's central apparatus but in 1932 he again went to Russia, from where he was sent to Germany to work for the West European Bureau of the Comintern, headed by Georgi Dimitrov. After Hitler's rise to power he and Dimitrov were arrested on March 9, 1933, and tried in Leipzig for complicity in setting the Reichstag fire. They were freed, however, and Tanev returned to Soviet Russia, where he was greeted as a hero. Nevertheless, in December 1935 and again in June 1936 he was forced to make self-criticisms in the Comintern press, and the central committee of the BCP then decided that he no longer could occupy any leading party position.

Like most Bulgarian communists living in Soviet Russia Tanev escaped liquidation during Stalin's purges but was deported to Kolyma. In 1941 he was chosen by the foreign bureau of the BCP for a mission to Bulgaria; a Soviet airplane parachuted him there. Later in the year he was killed by Bulgarian authorities.

Tanner, Jack. Born in Great Britain in 1889; he became a metalworker. He was active in the British trade-union movement and during World War I was a leader of the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees. In 1920 he went to Soviet Russia and attended the Second Congress of the Comintern as a spokesman for the British trade unions. In January 1921 he presided at the opening of the British Communist Party congress held in Leeds and at the same time continued his trade-union activity. In 1924 he was among the first group of leaders of the national minority movement sponsored by the British Communist Party; in 1929 he was still seated on its executive bureau.

He moved away from communism later, especially from 1939 to 1954, when he presided over the Amalgamated Engineering Union. From 1943 to

1954 he was seated on the general council of British trade unions and then resigned from all trade-union activities.

Taratuta, V. K. Born in Russia in 1881. (During his political career he used the names Viktor, Sergeev and V. Keimerer.) In 1898 he joined the RSDLP, at the time the party split in 1903, joined Lenin's faction, and in 1904-05 was active politically in the Transcaucasian area. He then went to Moscow, where he was involved in the inheritance affairs of the rich industrialist Pavel Morozov (a sympathizer and financial helper of Russian socialists). When Morozov died in 1905 his fortune went to his nephew, Nikolai Schmidt, the son of a wealthy furniture merchant; in 1906 Schmidt bequeathed that fortune to the RSDLP but since the party was outlawed he was arrested and died in prison. His two sisters were his legal heirs so a fictitious marriage to Taratuta was arranged for the younger one and he transferred his part of the inheritance to the treasury of the Bolshevik faction; in recognition, Lenin elevated him in the party hierarchy. As secretary of the Moscow Bolshevik committee he participated in the fourth congress of the RSDLP held in Stockholm in April 1906, and in the fifth congress held in London in May 1907, at which he was elected an alternate member of the central committee. In August 1908 he was named one of four members of the Bolshevik economic-financial committee (Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya, was also a member of that committee), which managed the party's funds. Arrested briefly by tsarist police he was freed and went abroad to join Lenin in Paris in 1909, where during World War I he had contact with the French socialist centrists connected with the daily newspaper *Populaire*.

In 1919 he returned to Soviet Russia, where at Lenin's request he specialized in the Comintern's French affairs, a function which Trotsky took over after the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921. Taratuta also collaborated on the Comintern review *Communist International*. He was a member of the Bolshevik delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 and also to the Third Comintern Congress, though only with a consultative voice. His special function at that meeting was to watch the PCF delegation to the congress, which brought him into conflict with Boris Souvarine, the first representative of the PCF at Moscow. A commission of inquiry was established to settle the incident, which cleared Souvarine and justified the request for the withdrawal of Taratuta as representative of the RCP(B) with the French delegation. Subsequently Taratuta gave up his Comintern activities and worked for the Soviet government as chairman of the foreign commerce bank, a position he held until his death in 1926.

Tasca, Angelo. Born in Moretta, Italy, in 1892, the son of a railroad worker. In his youth he joined the socialists, in 1908-09 helped found the socialist youth movement in Turin (where he received a Ph.D. degree at the university).

and from 1915 to 1919 served in the army. Later he helped found *L'Ordine Nuovo*, the first Italian weekly supporting the Comintern. He belonged to the left wing of the Italian Socialist Party and when the party split at the Leghorn congress in January 1921 joined the new Italian Communist Party (ICP). In 1921-22 he was involved in trade-union and cooperative activities—he was secretary of the Turin labor bureau, a delegate to every congress of the General Labor Federation, a secretary of cooperative alliance, a city councilman of Turin, and an administrator of the bank for cooperatives.

In November 1922 he went for the first time to Soviet Russia, where he was a delegate and speaker at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and the second congress of the Profintern. As a representative of the right wing of the ICP he addressed the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1923 and also was Italian representative on the cooperative commission. Later in the year he returned to Italy secretly and was active under the pseudonyms Valle and Rienzi. In 1924 he attended the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and using the name Rienzi, was elected an alternate member of the ECCI and its Presidium. He returned to Italy and worked in the party secretariat until December 1926, when he was sent to France (where the leadership of the ICP was then located).

Under the pseudonym Serra, he was a presiding official at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 and was elected a member of the ECCI, the ECCI Presidium, and the Secretariat; however, in November and December of that year he came into conflict with official Comintern policy and then with Stalin personally. In January 1929 he left Soviet Russia and later that year was expelled from both the ICP and the Comintern; he settled in Paris and collaborated on Henri Barbusse's weekly, *Monde*. In 1934 he became foreign policy editor for the French Socialist Party's daily, *Populaire*, for which he wrote articles under the name André Leroux. From 1937 to 1940 he directed Italian programs that were broadcast on the French radio. Having become a French citizen in 1936 he refused to leave the country after its defeat in 1940 and devoted his time to working as a historian. He published a book *The Birth of Fascism*, under the name A. Rossi in 1938 and after the war wrote several additional works, all concerned with the policies of French and Soviet communists during World War II. He died in Paris in March 1960.

Teng Hsiao-ping. Born in Szechwan in 1904. In 1919 he went to France with a group of Chinese students and later joined the communist group they formed; in 1924 he became a member of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which sent him to Russia for indoctrination at a Comintern school. He returned to China early in 1927 and acted as an underground militant in Shanghai until 1929; later he was active in organizing the military branch of the CCP. In 1930 he went to the sovietized area of Kiangsi, where he continued to work on military policy until the time of the Long March (1934-35), in which he

participated. When the Republic of Yanan was founded he became a political commissar in various military divisions during its wars against Japan and Chiang Kai-shek.

At the seventh congress of the CCP in 1945 he was elected a member of the central committee. From February 1950 to August 1952 he was the first secretary of the party's southwest bureau and also political commissar of the southwest military region. He became vice-chairman of the government in August 1952 and finance minister in September 1953; in 1954 he resigned both offices and in May was elected secretary-general of the CCP. In April 1955 he became a member of the politburo. In February 1956 he was with the Chinese delegation to the twentieth congress of the CPSU. At the eighth congress of the CCP in September 1956 he was confirmed as secretary-general of the party and joined the standing committee of its politburo. In November 1957 he went to Moscow with Mao Tse-tung and attended the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties; from then on he took an active part in meetings with the foreign communist delegations to Peking. In November 1960 he was with the CCP delegation to the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow and in July 1963 he returned to Moscow as head of the Chinese delegation to the Sino-Soviet bilateral meeting. He was acting prime minister in late 1963 and early 1964, replacing Chou En-lai during Chou's tour of Asian and African countries. When the cultural revolution began in 1966 he appeared at the first huge meetings of the Red Guard in Peking but then was accused of being a "bourgeois revisionist and capitalist." He disappeared in 1967 and was not reelected at the ninth congress of the CCP in April 1969.

Teodorovich, Ivan. Born in 1875 of Polish parents but raised and educated in Russia, where from 1895 on he took part in revolutionary activity. In 1898 he joined the RSDLP and when the party split in 1903 he sided with the Bolsheviks. He then became a professional revolutionary and at the London congress of the party in 1907 was elected a member of the central committee; during the next decade he was arrested and deported from Russia several times. After the Bolshevik victory of November 7, 1917, he was named people's commissar for food supply in Lenin's government but on November 17 he and four other members resigned in protest against a purely Bolshevik cabinet instead of a socialist government composed of all parties favoring the system of soviets. During the Russian civil war he fought against Kolchak's White forces.

In November 1922 he reported on agrarian problems at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and in October 1923 was Bolshevik delegate and spokesman at the first Krestintern conference. After 1920 he worked for the agricultural commissariat and in 1925 was named director of the International Agrarian Institute in Moscow. In February 1928 he became secretary-general of the Krestin-

tern and in July 1929 was a delegate and speaker at the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. In 1930, however, he was accused of "right-wing opportunist deviation" and removed from his Krestintern office. He then became director of publications of the Association of Political Deportees (from tsarism) and editor-in-chief of the review *Katorga i ssylka* (Hard Labor and Deportation). He died in 1940, probably a victim of Stalin's purges.

Terracini, Umberto. Born in 1895 into a Jewish family living in Genoa. He joined a socialist youth group in 1911 and the Italian Socialist Party in 1916. While a law student at the University of Turin he was sentenced to four months in prison for distributing antiwar propaganda, after which he was drafted and remained in uniform until early 1919. After the October Revolution in Russia he was converted to communism and later was a leading editor (with Tasca, Gramsci, and Togliatti) of the weekly *L'Ordine Nuovo*, founded in Turin in 1919. In 1920 he was elected to the leadership of the Italian Socialist Party, which was already affiliated with the Third International, and when the party split at Leghorn in January 1921 he became a member of the central committee of the new Italian Communist Party (ICP).

Later in the year he went to Soviet Russia for the first time to participate in the Third Congress of the Comintern as a spokesman for the "theory of the offensive." He was elected to the ECCI and returned to Moscow in February 1922 to take part in the debates of its first enlarged plenum, at which he criticized the united-front tactics the Comintern had adopted. He was elected to the ECCI Presidium, and was again in Moscow in June 1923 to attend its third enlarged plenum, using the name Urbani. At the same occasion he was reelected to the ECCI Presidium and became a member of the Comintern's Organburo. He returned to Italy briefly and then spent several months in Moscow where, at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924, he was elected to the mandate verification commission but was no longer a member of the ECCI. He returned to Italy and edited *L'Unità* in Milan until his arrest in August 1926, when he was accused of plotting against the state and sentenced by a special court to 22 years and 9 months in prison. In 1937 he benefited from an amnesty but instead of being freed from prison was immediately deported, first to the island of Ponza and then to the island of Ventotene. He was liberated in August 1943 after the fall of the Fascist government and took refuge in Novara and then in Switzerland. He returned to Italy to resume ICP activity in 1944 and at the fifth congress of the party in January 1946 was elected to the central committee and the directorate (the equivalent of politburo). In 1947, however, the party publicly reprimanded him for his belief that European countries could adapt to the Marshall Plan and he was forced to make apology. Not until the national conference of the ICP in January 1955 was he again elected to the directorate. His position was confirmed at the ninth ICP congress early in 1960 but at the eleventh congress in January 1966 the directorate was replaced

by the politburo, consisting of only nine members and Terracini was not among them.

After the war he was elected a deputy to the Italian parliament and became its vice-president in June 1946 and its president in February 1947. In 1948 he was elected a senator and was reelected in 1953, 1958, and 1963, presiding over the communist group in the Senate.

After Stalin's death he made several trips to Soviet Russia; he attended the twenty-second congress of the CPSU in October 1961 and participated in the international conference of war veterans, held in Moscow in May 1965. From 1948 to 1953 he was a member of the World Council of Peace. At the twelfth congress of the ICP, held in February 1969, he was reelected a member of the central committee. At the same time he was vice-chairman of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and vice-chairman of the International Federation of Resistance Movements.

Thalheimer, August. Born in 1884 into a middle-class merchant family in Württemberg. He studied at the universities of Berlin and Strasbourg (where he received his doctorate) and at Oxford; he then joined the SPD and wrote for its press. In 1909 he made the acquaintance of Karl Radek and became militant in the party's left wing. At the beginning of World War I he was drafted, but he was wounded at the front and released shortly thereafter. He then took a pacifist and internationalist position and joined the Luxemburg-Liebknicht group, which later became the Spartacus League. From 1914 to 1916 he was editor-in-chief of the socialist newspaper *Volksfreund*; from 1916 until the war's end he helped edit the clandestine publication *Spartakusbriefe*; and belonged to the USPD after its formation in 1917. At the founding congress of the KPD in December 1918, he was elected a member of the party's national committee (*Zentrale*), to which he was reelected at following congresses, including the eighth, held in Leipzig in January 1923; however, he was not reelected at the ninth KPD congress, held in April 1924. He also became editor-in-chief of the central organ of the party, *Rote Fahne*, and sat on the KPD politburo from its establishment in 1920.

Early in 1921 Thalheimer helped formulate the "theory of the offensive" which justified the March Action and caused the final expulsion of Paul Levi, former chairman of the KPD. The party then was taken over by Heinrich Brandler as political leader and Thalheimer as ideological leader. In June and July 1921 Thalheimer led the KPD delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern and at the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1922 was a spokesman for his party and reported on the German situation. While in Moscow he also took part in the February and March meetings of the ECCI Presidium. In November 1922 he returned to Moscow to participate in the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, at which he was one of three reporters on the Comintern program.

Moscow blamed Radek, Brandler, and Thalheimer when the German October of 1923 failed; dropped from party leadership, Brandler and Thalheimer were recalled to Moscow, where Thalheimer worked at the central apparatus of the Comintern and also at the Marx-Engels Institute from 1924 to 1928. He became a member of the RCP(B). At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he and Bukharin reported on the Comintern program. However, Brandler and Thalheimer were criticized at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in March and April 1925, and again at the sixth enlarged plenum held in November and December 1926. Thalheimer managed to return to Germany in May 1928 but on December 19 the Comintern sent an open letter against the right wing of the KPD and as a result Brandler and Thalheimer were expelled from the party. On December 30 a national conference of the partisans of Brandler and Thalheimer met in Berlin to form a dissident group, the KPD Opposition, which remained active until Hitler's rise to power in 1933; Thalheimer then fled to France. After the defeat of France in 1940 he went to Cuba, where he died in September 1948.

Thälmann, Ernst. Born in Hamburg in 1886; in his youth he worked in transportation. He joined the SPD in 1903 and the trade-union movement in 1904. He was drafted during World War I but in 1918 returned to Hamburg and became militant in the USPD. He supported the left wing and was present at the party congress which met in Halle in October 1920 and the December congress unifying the USPD's left wing with the KPD. He then was elected a member of the party's enlarged central committee (Zentralausschuss) but not of its directing body (Zentrale). He remained with the left wing of the KPD and defended the "theory of the offensive" in 1921, when he visited Russia for the first time to attend the Third Congress of the Comintern. In May 1923 the left wing was allowed four seats within the KPD central committee and he became a committee member. During the German October of 1923 he took part in the abortive Hamburg insurrection. In January 1924 he attended the ECCI Presidium deliberations over the failure of the German October. In June and July 1924 he participated in the third congress of the Profintern and the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, was elected an alternate member of the ECCI and also one of three vice-chairmen of the Comintern. Despite the purge of leftist leaders Ruth Fischer and Arkadi Maslow, and Thälmann's colleague from Hamburg Hugo Urbahns, Thälmann maintained his position and became chairman of the KPD in October 1925.

He was elected a deputy to the Reichstag in May 1924 and became the KPD candidate for president of the Republic in 1925, in which year, at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, he was elected a member of the ECCI Presidium, a position confirmed at the plenums of 1926 and 1927; at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was reelected to the ECCI and its

Presidium. He attended the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in July 1929 and the eleventh in April 1931, at which meeting he was reelected to the ECCI Presidium and became a member of the political Secretariat of the Comintern. During the rise of Nazism he faithfully followed all the turns of Stalin's policies with respect to Soviet domestic affairs, the Comintern, and Germany. In 1932 he again stood as the KPD candidate in the German presidential elections and went to Moscow to attend the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. After Hitler's accession to power Thälmann went underground but on March 3, 1933, he was arrested and later held in the Moabit, Hanover, and Bautzen prisons. Despite his absence he was elected a member of the ECCI at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 and was reelected to the central committee of the KPD at the "Brussels conference" in October (which actually took place in the Soviet Union). Later he was transferred to the Buchenwald concentration camp and was executed there in August 1944.

Thøgersen, Thøger. He was militant in the Danish communist movement even before the merging of its differing currents. At the congress of unification held in October 1922 he was elected a member of the central committee of the Danish Communist Party and was reelected at the following congresses (February 1923 and March 1924). He attended the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 as the Danish delegate and sat on the trade-union commission. In July and August 1925 he was head of the communist organization in Copenhagen which was in conflict with the central committee of the Danish party; the conflict was submitted for arbitration to the Scandinavian Secretariat of the Comintern. A compromise solution was adopted whereby Thøgersen became editor-in-chief of the party newspaper *Arbejderbladet* under the condition that he respect the discipline of the party and the decisions of its politburo. After that the relationship of forces within the party evolved in Thøgersen's favor and at the next two party congresses (January 1926 and August 1927) he captured the party leadership and became its head; as such he attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, held in August 1928, and was the only spokesman for the Danish party. He was a member of the Comintern's program commission and at the close of the congress was elected an alternate member of the ECCI.

In the early 1930s he again became involved in factional struggles within the party—in August 1931 a letter issued by the Secretariat of the ECCI criticized him as a "right-wing deviationist" (although in 1925 he had led the factional struggles as a "left-wing deviationist") and at the end of the year he was expelled from the Danish party for pursuing "factional activities." However, he appealed to the ICC in Moscow, which decided to readmit him to the party under three conditions—that he make a public self-criticism, that he accept a public censure from the ICC, and that he resign from all leadership positions

within the Danish party. He complied with these terms and at Comintern request went to Moscow, where he remained for two years, and never again played a leading role in the Danish Communist Party.

Thorez, Maurice. Born in 1900 into a French miner's family; in his youth he worked in the mines, as a farm laborer, and as a construction worker. In 1919 he rallied to the SFIO and in March 1920 was drafted. He joined the PCF after his demobilization and became a party militant in the Pas-de-Calais Federation, of which he was elected secretary in 1923. From then on he was a full-time employee of the party. At the Lyon congress in January 1924 he was elected an alternate member of the party central committee; he remained in that governing body until his death. When the public attacks against Trotsky began in Moscow later in the year he wrote to Boris Souvarine (a Trotsky sympathizer within the PCF) to express his solidarity with Trotsky and to approve Souvarine's attitude on the "Russian question"; soon, however, Thorez changed his mind and joined Trotsky's detractors. He first visited Moscow in February 1925 as a member of the French delegation to the Comintern conference on organizational matters and the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI; after his return to France he joined the party politburo in July. During the Moroccan war he headed the party committee for antiwar activity. In 1928 he traveled twice to Comintern headquarters—in February when he debated on French matters at the ninth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and in August, when he addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and was elected a member of the ECCI.

In 1929 he was elected a communist deputy to the French parliament for the first time and at the sixth congress of the PCF, held in St-Denis in April he became one of four members of the party secretariat. In June, however, at a secret meeting of the PCF's central committee held in Achères (a communist-administered municipality within the Parisian region) he was arrested by the police, whereas the other wanted central committee members dispersed. He was released in April 1930 but during his imprisonment wrote for the communist press under the pseudonym *Germinal*. In July he spoke in Moscow at the sixteenth congress of the RCP(B) and became sole secretary of the central committee of the PCF. At the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI in April 1931 he was elected a member of the ECCI Presidium and remained a member until the Comintern dissolution. He attended the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in August and September 1932 and the thirteenth in December 1933. He went to Comintern headquarters again in April 1934. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he headed the French delegation, was seated on the rostrum at Stalin's right on opening day, and was reelected to the ECCI and its Presidium. At the eighth congress of the PCF in January 1936 he was confirmed as its secretary-general.

Despite the fact that he was a deputy Thorez was placed on active duty in the army on September 3, 1939. In October he deserted his unit and was

sentenced in absentia to five years in prison and deprived of French citizenship. He and his wife, Jeannette Vermeersch, left for Soviet Russia, where he took the pseudonym *Ivanov*. In May 1943 he was signatory to the act which dissolved the Comintern. After a grant of amnesty in October 1944 he returned to France on November 27, resumed leadership of the PCF, and became a minister in General de Gaulle's government until de Gaulle's resignation in January 1946. Thorez then served as vice-president in the governments of Felix Gouin, Georges Bidault, and Paul Ramadier until May 1947, when the communist ministers were removed. In October 1950 Thorez became seriously ill and was transferred to Soviet Russia for treatment; while there he made a short speech at the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B) in October 1952. He returned to France after Stalin's death and in June 1953 headed the plenum of the PCF's central committee. At the party congresses of 1954, 1956, 1959, and 1961 he was confirmed as secretary-general. Meanwhile he returned to Soviet Russia frequently, for summer vacations and to attend such Moscow meetings as the twentieth congress of the CPSU (February 1956), the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties (November 1960), and the twenty-second congress of the CPSU (October 1961). At the seventeenth congress of the PCF in May 1964 he was elected party chairman. He died in July 1964 while vacationing in the U.S.S.R.

Tkachenko, Pavel. Born in Moldavia in 1901, the son of a railroad employee. After secondary school he went to Petrograd in 1917 to register at law school and joined the revolutionary movement; late in 1917 he went to Bessarabia as a communist militant. In October 1919 in Kishinev he was elected secretary of the communist party committee and in 1920 became secretary of the regional communist party committee for Bessarabia. In June and July 1920 he was in Soviet Russia, after which he resumed communist activity in Rumania. He was arrested in 1920 and 1923 but managed to escape both times; after a third arrest he was exiled and went to Vienna, where he worked for the secret apparatus of the Comintern. At the third congress of the Rumanian Communist Party in September 1924 he was elected a member of the central committee and in March and April 1925 represented his party at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI; using the name *Ursu* he was seated on the political, trade-union, peasant, Yugoslav, and Czechoslovak commissions. He returned to Rumania secretly but was arrested in August 1926 and executed the following month.

Togliatti, Palmiro. Born in Genoa in 1893, the son of a minor state functionary; he graduated in law from the University of Turin and in 1914 joined the Italian Socialist Party. When Italy entered World War I he was drafted but later received a medical discharge and returned to Turin. In 1918 he joined the editorial staff of the socialist newspaper *Avanti* and in 1919 became its editor-in-chief and also helped found *L'Ordine Nuovo*, a communist weekly

which supported the Third International. He was not present at the Italian Socialist Party split at the Leghorn congress in 1921 but at the Rome congress in May 1922 was elected a member of the central committee of the new Italian Communist Party (ICP) and joined its executive committee in 1923. In 1922 he became editor-in-chief of *Il Comunista*, organ of the Rome Communist Party, and held that position in 1923-24, during Mussolini's rise, using the pseudonym Paolo Palmi within the party.

In 1924 he went to Soviet Russia for the first time to take part in the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and under the name Ercoli was elected to the ECCI and its Presidium. After his return to Italy he was arrested on April 2, 1925, but was released about four months later. He then went abroad and in January 1926 played an important role in the third congress of the ICP in Lyon. Later in 1926 he went as his party's representative to the sixth and seventh plenums of the ECCI and was reelected to the ECCI Presidium and became a member of the Comintern's Orgburo and Secretariat. At both of these plenums he distinguished himself for his attacks against Amadeo Bordiga, head of the ICP since its foundation, and against Zinoviev, president of the Comintern, both of whom lost their leadership functions during 1926.

In May 1927 Togliatti was present at the eighth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, at which Trotsky's fate was determined. He then returned to Western Europe as secretary-general of the ICP and subsequently headed the party from France and Switzerland. In 1928 he returned to Moscow, where he attended the ninth enlarged plenum, in February, at which he was reelected to the ECCI Presidium, and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in August, at which he reported on the revolutionary movement in colonial countries. He was reelected to the Comintern's leading bodies and although considered close to Bukharin escaped the purges at the time of Bukharin's downfall. In July 1929 he addressed the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI; in 1931 he headed the fourth congress of the ICP, held in Cologne, and at the eleventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI was again elected to the Presidium and the Secretariat; in 1932 he addressed the twelfth plenum, and in 1933 the thirteenth plenum. In 1934 he took part in the conclusion of the pact for unity of action between the ICP and the Italian Socialist Party and at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 reported on the Comintern's tasks and was reelected to the ECCI, its Presidium, and its Secretariat.

When Stalin's Comintern purges began in 1936 Togliatti was in Moscow and replaced Wilhelm Knorin as head of the secretariat for Central Europe. In July 1937 he was sent as a Comintern representative to the Spanish Communist Party's central committee; during the civil war he remained in Spain, working under the name Alfred. In March 1939 he left for Paris, where he resumed leadership of the ICP. He was arrested in September but was released in February 1940. He then went to Belgium and on to Moscow, where at the beginning of the Russo-German war he took charge of Italian-language radio propaganda, speaking under the name M. Correnti. He remained with the Comintern leadership and in May 1943 was signatory to the act which dissolved the organization.

In April 1944 he returned to Naples and that same month became a minister in the government of Marshal Badoglio. Later he became deputy prime minister of the Bonomi government and also held a seat in the de Gasperi government but by 1947 was no longer a minister and his party went into opposition. He was regularly reelected secretary-general of the party and in June 1944 became head of its official organ, *Rinascita*. In June 1948 he represented the ICP at the Cominform meeting at which Tito was denounced and in July there was an attempt upon Togliatti's life. In October 1949 he delivered a report at the third and final meeting of the Cominform. He headed the Italian delegation to both the twentieth congress of the CPSU in February 1956 and the Moscow World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1957. In October 1961 he again led the Italian delegation to the twenty-second congress of the CPSU. He died in August 1964 while vacationing in the Soviet Union.

Tokuda, Kyuichi. Born in 1894 into a poor family in an Okinawa village. After finishing secondary school he worked as a primary-school substitute teacher and later as an administrative employee; in 1918 he began to take night classes in law at the University of Tokyo, from which he graduated in 1921. He was converted to socialism early and gravitated toward communism. When the Moscow emissary Chang Tai-wei visited Japan he convinced Tokuda to go to Moscow and Petrograd to take part in the Congress of Revolutionary Organizations and Peoples of the Far East, which opened on January 21, 1922. After his return to Japan Tokuda joined the Japanese Communist Party (founded in July 1922) and was elected a member of its central committee. In 1923 he was arrested for the first time but soon released.

In January 1925 he was in Shanghai at a restricted meeting with two Moscow emissaries to discuss the activities of the Japanese Communist Party. Late in the year he left Japan for Moscow, where in February and March 1926 he took part in the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. He was again in Moscow in July 1927, when the Comintern in the presence of Bukharin elaborated certain theses on the activities of the Japanese Communist Party.

In February 1928 he was the candidate of the Workers' and Farmers' Party in the parliamentary elections. In March he was arrested, and after trial was sentenced to ten years at hard labor but was not released until October 1945. At the fourth congress of the Japanese Communist Party in December of that year he was elected its secretary-general. He was elected communist deputy to parliament in three consecutive elections (April 1946, April 1947, and April 1949). When anti-communist measures were taken early in June 1950, he went underground. He escaped the police and settled in communist China, where he died in October 1953. In 1967 his widow was accused of siding with Mao Tse-tung's policies and excluded from the Japanese Communist Party.

Toman, Karl. Born in 1887 in Austria of Czech descent. He worked as a goldsmith and was militant in the Austrian trade-union movement. During

World War I he was drafted and later was taken prisoner on the Russian front. After the revolution of October 1917 he rallied to the communist cause and in April 1918 in Moscow he was elected chairman of the revolutionary committee of prisoners-of-war won over to Bolshevism. Returning to Austria, he took part in the founding congress of the Austrian Communist Party in November 1918, joined its leadership, and took charge of its trade-union section. In 1920 he went to the Second Congress of the Comintern with the Austrian delegation and in February 1922 spoke for his party at the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI. He was reelected a member of the leadership of the Austrian Communist Party at both its fifth congress (March 1922) and its sixth congress (March 1923); during that time he was also editor-in-chief of the party's paper, *Die Rote Fahne*. He became so heavily involved in factional struggles within the party that in 1924 he was dismissed from all his positions but pleaded his case successfully in January 1925 before an Austrian commission in Moscow. After returning to Vienna he regained his leading position in the party's trade-union affairs and was elected an alternate member of the central committee at the ninth party congress in June 1927 and at the tenth congress in February 1929 reported on the trade-union question.

However, he again became involved in factional struggles and was summoned to appear before the Comintern, which then appointed him director of a sailors' club in Leningrad. Early in 1931 his name still appeared on the roster of the Profintern's official newspaper, *Red Trade Union International*, but later in the year he left Soviet Russia, announced his separation from the communists, and joined the Austrian Social-Democratic Party. After the civil war of February 1934, however, he resigned from that party. Under the Nazi regime he became mayor of a town in Lower Austria. When Soviet troops arrived in Austria in April 1945 he was arrested and shot.

Tommasi, Joseph. Born in Paris in 1886; a mechanic by trade. He was militant in the French socialist and trade-union movements and by 1905 was a member of the SFIO. In 1919 he became secretary of the CGT for the Department of the Seine. Within the SFIO he belonged to the centrist faction, which formed a committee for the reconstruction of the Socialist International; later he moved toward communism. In December 1920 he was a delegate to the founding congress of the PCF, held in Tours. In 1921 he was a member of the French delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed. In July 1921 he attended the founding congress of the Profintern. At the Marseilles congress of the PCF, held in December 1921, he was elected a member of the party's directing committee and also became secretary of its trade-union commission. In November 1922 he attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and also became a member of the new directing committee of the PCF, chosen in Moscow.

In 1924, however, the French counter-espionage service began to suspect him of having passed information to the Soviets which he had obtained as secretary of the automotive and aircraft trade unions. Tommasi suddenly left France

for Moscow, where he took part in the Fifth Congress of the Comintern as a member of the Italian, Japanese, and youth commissions. Two years later, in May 1926, he died in Moscow under suspicious circumstances. Trotsky delivered a eulogy for him.

Tomsky, Mikhail. Born in Russia in 1880. He became a laborer, joined the RSDLP in 1904, and during its factional struggles rallied to the Bolshevik side. During the 1905 revolution he was chairman of the soviet of Reval (Tallin, Estonia). In 1906 he was arrested but managed to escape to the West. In May 1907 he took part in the London congress of the RSDLP and in January 1909 attended the Paris party conference. Later in the year he returned to Russia, where he was arrested and sentenced to five years at hard labor.

After April 1917 he was a member of the executive commission of the Bolshevik organization in Petrograd and in June he represented Petrograd at the third all-Russian conference of trade unions. After the Bolshevik victory he was chosen to head the trade-union movement in Moscow and in 1919 became chairman of the central council of Soviet trade unions, a position he held until 1929. At the eighth congress of the RCP(B) in March 1919 he became a member of the central committee and at the close of the eleventh congress in 1922 became a member of the politburo.

During the same period he was associated with the work in the Comintern. At the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 he was elected a member of the ECCI and helped prepare the founding of the Profintern; although he was not a member of the Bolshevik delegation to the Third Congress in 1921 he reappeared as a Russian delegate to the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1922. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November he was a member of the American commission. In 1924 he delivered a report at the third Profintern congress. At the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in March and April 1925, he was a member of the trade-union commission and at the sixth plenum, held in February and March 1926, he spoke on trade-union problems. He also attended the seventh enlarged plenum, held in November and December. In 1928 he addressed the fourth congress of the Profintern and was elected to its executive committee. In 1928 Stalin accused Tomsky, Bukharin, and Rykov of heading the rightist faction of the RCP(B); a short time later Tomsky was deprived of all his leading positions within the party and forced to make a self-criticism. At the close of the seventeenth congress of the RCP(B), held in January and February 1934, he was elected an alternate member of the central committee. During Stalin's purges he was threatened at the first public trial of Zinoviev and Kamenev; he committed suicide on August 22, 1936.

Trachtenberg, Alexander. Born in Odessa in 1884. During the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05 he was a soldier in the tsarist army and in 1905 joined the RSDLP. Later in the year he was arrested in Russia for revolutionary activity and after his release from prison in 1906 emigrated to the United States. He studied at Yale and at New York University and was secretary of the Russian

Unified Social Democratic Party (consisting of both Mensheviks and Bolsheviks) in New York City. In 1909 he founded the Socialist Student Association.

During World War I he taught at the Socialist party's school in New York; in addition he was a member of the New York Socialist party committee and founded International Publishers, a company specializing in Marxist literature. Beginning in 1919 he strongly favored adherence of the American Socialist Party to the Comintern. From its founding in May 1921 he belonged to the Communist Party of America and when the Workers Party of America was established in December of that year he became a member of its first central executive committee. In November 1922 he was a member of the American delegation to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern; he remained in Russia and in June 1923 took part in the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI. He then returned to the United States, where he remained in the CPUSA until his death. In 1953 and again in 1956 he was arrested for communist activity. He died in December 1966.

Tranmael, Martin. Born in 1879; he became a laborer. He joined the Norwegian trade-union movement at an early age and in 1906 was a spokesman for its left wing. He was also militant in the Norwegian Workers' Party and became editor-in-chief of its official organ, *Arbeiderbladet* (Workers' Newspaper), and a deputy in parliament. During World War I he took a pacifist and internationalist stand. By 1918 he headed the left wing of the Norwegian Workers' Party, which favored the October Revolution and, later, adherence to the Comintern; in 1918 he was elected secretary of the party, for which he headed the newspaper *Ny Tid* (New Times), published in Drontheim, and in 1919 was instrumental in getting the party to join the Comintern. In the autumn of 1920 he met Zinoviev at the USPD congress at Halle and in November 1921 was a member of the Norwegian Workers' Party delegation which took part in discussions with Comintern leaders in Moscow.

When disagreements between the Comintern and the Norwegian Workers' Party arose Tranmael was invited to Moscow on three occasions and in June 1923 participated in the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI. Despite these visits and summit talks, he led the Norwegian Workers' Party out of the Comintern in November 1923, supported by an overwhelming majority of the party, and for that reason resolutions against him were introduced at the sixth and seventh enlarged plenums of the ECCI in 1926. In January 1927 the Norwegian Workers' Party, headed by Tranmael, reunited with the Norwegian Social Democratic Party. He continued to edit *Arbeiderbladet* during the years prior to World War II.

Treint, Albert. Born in France in 1889. He became a teacher and joined the SFIO in 1912. He was drafted during World War I, wounded, and discharged as a captain in 1918. In 1919 he joined the Committee for the Third International and also became assistant secretary of the national teachers' trade union. In

December 1920 he was a delegate to the Tours congress, where he was elected to the directing committee of the PCF, and at the following congress, held in Marseilles in December 1921, he was elected an alternate member of the directing committee. In February 1922 he went to Moscow for the first time as a spokesman for the left wing of the PCF at the enlarged plenum of the ECCI. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November 1922 both he and Louis-Oscar Frossard became secretaries-general of the PCF by Moscow decision. When Frossard resigned in January 1923 Louis Sellier replaced him and then Sellier and Treint shared the PCF secretaryship; also in January Treint was elected to the politburo of the party. Later in the month he was arrested by the French authorities at the time of the Ruhr occupation and spent some months in prison; however, he continued to write for the communist press under the pseudonym Bertheint. At the Lyon congress of the PCF in January 1924 Sellier was reelected as sole party secretary and Treint lost his positions in the secretariat and the politburo of the party but reentered the politburo a few months later, after the elimination of Boris Souvarine.

In June and July 1924 Treint was in Moscow as head of the PCF delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, at which he served as a presiding official, and became a member of the ECCI, an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium, and a member of the Secretariat of the Comintern. In March and April 1925 he took part in the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and became a member of the Comintern Orgburo. At the sixth enlarged plenum, held in February and March 1926, he was reelected to the ECCI Presidium. At the PCF's Lille congress in June he was dropped from the party politburo but remained a member of the central committee.

He then went to Moscow, where he remained for several months at Comintern headquarters. At the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in November and December 1926, Zinoviev was removed from the Comintern's presidency and attacks were launched against Treint. After returning to France he declared himself against Stalin's policies and in support of the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition. At a plenary session of the PCF's central committee in August 1927 he strongly criticized Stalin and Bukharin, especially regarding the failures of the Comintern's China policy, and as a consequence was expelled from the PCF's central committee and then at the party's national conference in January 1928 from membership in the PCF. He then became active in various dissident communist groups, later met with Trotsky at Prinkipo, and then joined the leftist opposition within the SFIO. In 1936 he resumed his teaching position, from which the government had removed him in 1921. In 1937 he belonged to a trade-union circle called Class Struggle. He subsequently drifted away from political activity and died in Paris in October 1971.

Tresso, Pietro. Born in 1893 into a poor Italian family. He went to work at an early age and became active in the socialist youth movement. When Italy entered World War I he was drafted and nearly three years later was

given a medical discharge for serious illness. He became militant in the leftist faction of the Italian Socialist Party and joined the Italian Communist Party (ICP) at its founding in January 1921. In November 1922, as a member of the Italian delegation, he attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern (where he was seated on the Czechoslovak commission) and also attended the second congress of the Profintern (where he was elected the Italian representative to the executive committee). After the Fascist victory he remained a militant communist, using the pseudonyms Lanzi and Blaseo. Later he became a leader of the ICP underground organization.

In 1924 he went to Moscow to participate in the third congress of the Profintern (and probably the Fifth Congress of the Comintern). Then he attended the ICP congress held in Lyon in 1926, at which he was elected a member of the party's central committee, and returned to Italy. When underground communist militants were being arrested he escaped to Switzerland and then to France, where he joined the politburo of the ICP. He later became a Trotskyite and was militant in that movement until World War II. After the defeat of France in 1940 he went to Marseilles, where he was arrested in 1942. In October 1943 the PCF organized an escape of 80 political prisoners, including Tresso. He died shortly afterward under suspicious circumstances.

Trilisser, M. A. Before World War I he was militant in the RSDLP, for which he was sentenced to several years at hard labor. During the war he lived in Finland. After the Bolshevik victory he began a long career in the Soviet political police and also participated in Comintern activities involving secret and police matters—in 1921 he became a member of the OMS under Piatnitsky; then he was appointed to reorganize the Turkish Communist Party and to present a plan for organizing the Comintern's Far Eastern Bureau; and at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November 1922 he and Piatnitsky were members of the mandate verification commission. He served on the verification commission at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 and at the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in March and April 1925.

During this period Trilisser also advanced in the State Political Administration (GPU, the Soviet political police)—he became chief of its foreign department and in 1928 he and G. G. Yagoda became assistants to V. R. Menzhinsky, chief of Soviet police. Subsequently Stalin suspected Trilisser of right-wing sympathies and he was removed as Menzhinsky's assistant; later, however, he resumed his police work. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he succeeded Piatnitsky (eliminated by Stalin) as head of the OMS. Under the name Moskvin he became a member of the Presidium of the ECCI and an alternate member of the Secretariat of the Comintern. Shortly thereafter he fell victim to Stalin's purges and disappeared in 1937-38.

Trilla, Gabriel León. In the early 1920s he was militant in the Spanish Communist Party, and in 1924 began directing the agitprop section when his brother-in-law, José Bullejos, became secretary-general of the party. In 1926-27

he was a member of the party politburo and Spanish representative to the ECCI in Moscow; in January 1931 he was still a member of the ECCI and later in the year was reelected to the party politburo. He and Bullejos took part in the twelfth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in August and September 1932 but in October the Presidium of the ECCI and the ICC made a public statement expelling Trilla and Bullejos from the Comintern and the Spanish Communist Party. Trilla remained in Spain throughout the civil war and World War II. He was assassinated by a group of communist terrorists in September 1945.

Trotsky, Leon. Born Leon Davidovich Bronstein in 1879, the son of an independent farmer living in the Ukraine; he finished secondary school in Nikolaev. At first sympathetic to the Narodniks he was rapidly converted to Marxism and in 1897 took part in the founding of a socialist group called the South Russian Workers' Union. He was arrested and held in several jails before being exiled to Siberia; he escaped and in 1902, using false identification papers with the name Trotsky, crossed the Austrian border, visited Vienna, and then went to London to join the editorial staff of *Iskra* (Spark), official newspaper of the RSDLP. At the second party congress, held in 1903 in Brussels and then in London, he favored the Menshevik faction; he later left that faction but did not actually join the Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, with whom he engaged in numerous controversies.

During the 1905 revolution Trotsky returned to St. Petersburg, where he was elected vice-chairman and then chairman of the local soviet. After the failure of the revolution he was tried and deported but escaped again and resumed political activity among Russian socialist emigrants. In Vienna he headed the newspaper *Pravda* and organized a socialist unification conference (without the Bolsheviks) held in August 1912. At the beginning of World War I he went to Paris, where he wrote for the newspaper *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word). An opponent of the war and of socialist participation in the governments of national defense he adopted a pacifist and internationalist stand but was in disagreement with Lenin's defeatist position. He took an active part in the Zimmerwald international socialist conference in September 1915 and drafted its manifesto.

In September 1916, however, *Nashe Slovo* was banned and Trotsky was expelled from France. He went by way of Spain to New York, where he arrived in January 1917; there he helped edit a weekly published by Russian socialist internationalists, *Novyi Mir* (New World), on which Bukharin also collaborated. After the revolution of February 1917 he returned to Russia, arriving in Petrograd on May 4. He agreed with Lenin's April Theses and officially joined the Bolshevik party in July; at the end of the month he was arrested but was elected a member of the Bolshevik central committee in absentia at the sixth party congress held in Petrograd in August. He was released on September 4 and then was elected chairman of the Petrograd soviet. He also became chief of the revolutionary military committee and in that capacity directed the coup of November 7, 1917. After the Bolshevik victory he became people's commissar for foreign affairs.

but resigned at the time of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. From March 1918 until January 1925 he was commissar for war and organized the Red Army, which he led to victory over the counter-revolutionary forces. In addition he was a member of the RCP(B) politburo from its establishment until late 1926.

During the first two years of the Comintern Trotsky was too busy with the civil war to participate more than occasionally in its work. In January 1919 he and Lenin signed the appeal for the founding congress of the Comintern, in March he addressed the congress and wrote its manifesto; at the Second Congress, held in July and August 1920, he again wrote the manifesto and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI; at the Third Congress, held in 1921, he was more active—he took charge of French communist affairs, presented the first report (on the world-wide economic crisis and the Comintern's tasks), and was elected a full member of the ECCI.

At both the first (February 1922) and the second (June 1922) enlarged plenums of the ECCI he reported on the communist movement in France. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November 1922 he and Lenin presented the initial report on the five-year results of the October Revolution and the perspectives of world revolution; he also reported on the French situation and at the close was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. He was a presiding official at the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1923 and a member of the political and Italian commissions. In September and October 1923 he was involved in preparations for the German October but at that time his rift with the "troika" (Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev) was becoming more and more serious.

At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he sat on the congress presidium and on the political and program commissions, wrote the manifesto, and remained an alternate member of the ECCI. When the conflict between Stalin and Zinoviev erupted in 1925 Trotsky at first remained neutral but in April 1926 he concluded an alliance with his former adversaries Zinoviev and Kamenev called the Bloc of the Unified Opposition. Consequently, at the following two enlarged plenums of the ECCI (the seventh in November and December 1926 and the eighth in May 1927) he defended his position and strongly criticized the Comintern policies of Stalin and Bukharin and at the eighth plenum was removed from the ECCI. He was expelled from the RCP(B) in November 1927 and exiled to Alma-Ata in January 1928. Prior to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern (held in August 1928) he wrote a "Criticism of the Projected Comintern Program." In February 1929 he was expelled from Soviet Russia and lived in various European countries before settling in Mexico in January 1937. In September 1938 he founded the Fourth International. During that period he wrote numerous books and pamphlets in opposition to Stalin's Comintern policies, beginning with his 1930 work, *The Comintern After Lenin*. He was

assassinated in Mexico in August 1940, the victim of a plot organized by agents of Stalin.

Tsiporovich, Grigori. Born in Russia in 1871. In his youth he became active in the Russian socialist movement but did not join the RCP(B) until 1919. An economist by profession he took part in the trade-union movement and wrote for different reviews. At the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 he was a member of the Russian delegation and was seated on the trade-union commission; at the close of the congress he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. In June 1921 he attended the Third Congress with the Bolshevik delegation from Petrograd and was nominated a member of the provisional bureau of the Profintern; at the same time he worked for the Petrograd economic council. In May 1921 he and Tomsy prepared theses on the role of trade unions for presentation at the fourth All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions. In October Trotsky, Bogdanov, and Tsiperovich were chosen by Lenin to prepare regulations governing concessions to be made to foreign capitalists in Soviet Russia; later he worked at the foreign affairs commissariat. During the last years of his life he was rector of the Industrial Academy in Leningrad and a member of the presidium of the Leningrad economic council. He died in 1932.

Tskhakaia, Mikhail. Born in Georgia, Caucasus in 1865. He was still in secondary school when he took part in the revolutionary movement in 1880. He joined the RSDLP when it was founded in 1898 and under the name Barsov was a professional revolutionary in the Caucasus, Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, and other places in tsarist Russia; his activities brought him several arrests and deportations. In the party split of 1903 he joined the Bolshevik faction; in 1905 he was the Caucasus delegate to the third congress of the party in London and later in the year took part in the revolution.

In 1907 he emigrated to Geneva and remained in Switzerland until 1917, when he returned to Russia with Lenin. After the Bolshevik victory he assumed high offices within the party and in the administration of Georgia, where he was a member of the Tiflis Bolshevik committee, chairman of the central executive committee of the Republic of Georgia, and a member of the Georgian Communist Party central committee.

He was active in affairs of the Comintern from its Second Congress in 1920 until its last in 1935—at the Second Congress he was elected Georgian representative to the ECCI, at the Third Congress in 1921 he spoke as Georgian delegate and was reelected to the ECCI, and at the Fifth Congress in 1924 he gave a report on the Georgian Communist Party. During the next few years he continued to participate in the enlarged plenums of the ECCI and at the Sixth Con-

gress of the Comintern in 1928 was elected a member of the ICC. He attended both the twelfth (August and September 1932) and the thirteenth (December 1933) enlarged plenums of the ECCI and at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 was reelected to the ICC. He died in 1950.

Tung Pi-wu. Born in 1886 into a prosperous peasant family in the province of Hupei. After secondary school he went to Japan three times and received a degree at a Japanese university. He became a partisan of Sun Yat-sen, a supporter of the 1911 revolution, and at the close of World War I moved toward Marxism; in 1920 he helped found the first Marxist group in Wuhan. In July 1921 he was one of two Hupei representatives to the founding congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP); after returning to Hupei he organized the regional committee of the CCP and in the following years fought there for the communist cause. When the Kuomintang army arrived in 1926 he became a regional leader in the Kuomintang and in the communist party but when the Kuomintang and the CCP severed relations he fled to Japan and then to Soviet Russia, where he attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. He remained in Russia from 1928 to 1932, studying at the Comintern's Sun Yat-sen University and at the Leninist School; after returning to China he went to the Soviet Republic of Kiangsi. At the second congress of Chinese soviets in February 1934 he was elected a member of the executive central committee and also named president of the supreme court.

In 1934-35 he took part in the Long March. After the Red Army settled in Yenan he was named director of the CCP school there. During the war against Japan and the second alliance with the Kuomintang he represented the CCP in Chungking (the Nationalist capital). He took part in the 1945-46 negotiations and was communist representative in the Chinese delegation to the United Nations conference, held in San Francisco in 1945. At the seventh congress of the CCP in 1945 he was elected to both the central committee and the politburo. During the Chinese civil war in 1948 he was named chairman of the North China People's Government. After the communist victory he held various governmental positions of importance—from 1954 to 1959 he was president of the supreme people's court and in April 1959 became one of two vice-presidents of the Republic (under Liu Shao-chi as president), a position confirmed in December 1964. At the eighth congress of the party in September 1956 he was reelected to the central committee and the politburo. During the cultural revolution, which began in 1966, he managed to retain his positions within the government and the party. In April 1969, at the close of the ninth CCP congress, he remained a member of the politburo.

Tuominen, Arvo. Born in Finland. During his youth, in the early 1920s, he was militant in the Socialist Labor Party, a legal front for the outlawed Communist Party of Finland. In June and July 1921 he was in the Finnish Communist Party delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern. He was

arrested in Finland in January 1922, and later made several trips to Soviet Russia to visit the foreign headquarters of the Finnish Communist Party. He became a member of the party's central committee; in 1933 he attended classes at the Leninist School of the Comintern in Moscow, at which he lectured in 1934; shortly afterward he became secretary-general of the Finnish Communist Party. He did not return to Finland, however, and at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 was elected a member of the ECCI and an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium, and retained these offices throughout Stalin's purges. In November 1939, while in Stockholm, he was summoned to Moscow to be named chairman of the Finnish government of Terioki, an office which he refused, and an immediate break with the Comintern followed. Later he joined the Finnish Social Democratic Party. After World War II he edited the social-democratic *Kansan Lehti* (People's Newspaper) in Tampere, where he had begun his political career; he also published three semi-autobiographical books on communism.

Tywerousky, Oscar. Born in tsarist Russia. He emigrated to the United States and during World War I was militant in the American socialist movement, especially among Russian immigrants. At the founding congress of the Communist Party of America in September 1919 he was elected to the fifteen-member central executive committee, representing the Russian federation. At the Third Congress of the Comintern, held in June and July 1921 in Moscow, he was a member of the American party's delegation and was received by Lenin. In July he was appointed American representative to the ECCI, seated under the name Baldwin. His signature appeared on various appeals and manifestoes in July and August 1921 but in September he was replaced on the ECCI by Ballister (the pseudonym of Robert Minor).

U

Ulanfu. Born Yung Tse in 1903 in the province of Suiyuan, Inner Mongolia; also known under the name Wu Lang-fu. He received his secondary education at the Tibeto-Mongolian school in Peking, where he joined the Chinese communist youth movement in 1925; later in that year the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) sent him to Moscow, where he spent five years at the Sun Yat-sen University, and after his return to China was assigned to work in Inner Mongolia. At the time of the Japanese invasion of China in 1937 he fought in a military unit defeated by the Japanese and was forced to retreat to the Soviet Republic of Yenan where, from 1939 on, he taught at the "Resist Japan University" and headed the Institute of Nationalities.

At the seventh congress of the CCP in 1945 he was elected an alternate member of the central committee and in that year returned to Inner Mongolia. In May 1947 he became chairman of the government there, first-secretary of the party, and commander-in-chief and political commissar of the armed forces for Inner Mongolia; he retained these offices after the communist victory in China and also became vice-chairman of the national people's congress as well as the state council.

He was a member of various delegations sent abroad—in 1951 he was in Vienna for the meeting of the World Council of Peace, of which he had been a member since its founding in Warsaw in 1950; he took part in meetings in Budapest (1953) and Stockholm (1959); and he headed various delegations at Ulan Bator. In May 1961 he was appointed to head the CCP's delegation to the sixteenth congress of the PCF but was not granted a visa; however, as a CCP delegate he visited various European communist countries, including Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

At the eighth congress of the CCP in September 1956 he became an alternate member of the politburo. In September 1966, after the cultural revolution began, he was accused of "dividing different nationalities and speculating on the founding of an independent realm in Mongolia." At the close of the ninth congress of the CCP in April 1969, he was no longer a member of any of the leading bodies of the party.

Ulanowski, Władysław. Born in 1893. From 1912 to 1914 he was militant in the Polish Socialist Party; later he joined the SDPPPL and became one of its leaders. In December 1918 he took part in the founding congress of the Polish Communist Party. During the Soviet-Polish war he went to Soviet Russia and in September 1920 represented the Polish Communist Party at the ninth national conference of the RCP(B), where he reported on the Polish political situation. After returning to Poland he held important party positions on the committee for Upper Silesia and on the Cracow regional committee but was not a member of the party's central committee. Fearing the repressions of 1925 he sought refuge in Soviet Russia; there he joined the Polish section at Comintern headquarters and later was entrusted with important functions in Soviet economic administration. He disappeared in 1937 during Stalin's purges.

Ulbricht, Walter. Born in Leipzig in 1893, the son of a tailor. In his youth he trained as a carpenter and in 1908 became a member of the young socialists' organization. In 1910 he joined the trade-union movement and in 1912 the SPD. During World War I he took an internationalist stand, joined the Spartacus League, and became a member of the KPD when it was founded in December 1918. He worked for the party apparatus and held various lower-level positions—such as district secretary in Saxony and local leadership member

in Halle-Merseburg and later in Leipzig. In November 1922 he went to Moscow for the first time, with the German delegation to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern.

At the KPD congress in 1923 he was elected a member of the central committee and also in that year was elected a communist deputy to the Saxony Landtag, in which he was seated until 1928. When the leftists took over the KPD in 1924 he was dropped from the central committee and sent to Moscow to represent the party at the Comintern Secretariat for Central Europe. He then joined the Comintern apparatus and took part in a conference on organizational matters summoned by Iosif Piatnitsky in Moscow in February 1926. During the years of Bolshevization of the KPD he was entrusted, in particular, with implanting communist cells within the enterprises, which earned him in those days the nickname "Zelle." After returning to Germany he resumed his party work and in 1927 was reelected to the central committee, of which he remained a member permanently. In 1928 he was elected deputy to the Reichstag and also took part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, at which he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. In May 1929 he became chief of the KPD's Berlin organization, in July he attended the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, and in August and September 1932 he was present at the twelfth enlarged plenum.

After Hitler's rise to power in January 1933 Ulbricht continued to head the clandestine communist movement in Berlin until he left for Prague in October; he then joined the KPD leadership stationed in Paris. He addressed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 under the name Walter and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. In 1936-37 he was in Spain during the civil war. In January 1938 he settled in Moscow, where he worked at the Comintern during Stalin's purges and headed the KPD with Wilhelm Pieck; he followed Stalin's policies faithfully, including the non-aggression pact with Hitler. In 1943 he helped found the Free Germany central committee and also took charge of the political reeducation of German officers. On April 29, 1945, he returned to Berlin, where he oversaw the reinstatement of the German Communist Party. At the founding of the SED in April 1946 he became its vice-chairman and a member of its politburo and secretariat. From July 1950 to July 1953 he was secretary-general of the party and then became first-secretary. When the East German government was formed in October 1949 he became its vice-chairman. In September 1960 he resigned in order to become chairman of the Council of State—i.e., head of the East German Republic—after the death of Wilhelm Pieck.

After Stalin's death Ulbricht led the SED delegations to all important Moscow conferences, including the twentieth congress of the CPSU in February 1956, the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1957, the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties in November

1960, the twenty-second congress of the CPSU in October 1961, and the twenty-third congress in March 1966. In the beginning of May 1971 he resigned as first-secretary of the SED and was replaced by Erich Honecker.

Unger, Otto. Born in Germany in 1893. In his youth he worked in socialist bookshops and before World War I became a member of the SPD. An opponent of the war he joined the Spartacus League and at the end of the war was militant in its youth section. A member of the KPD since its founding he was elected to the central committee of the communist youth movement. He went to Moscow in 1921 for the Third Congress of the Comintern and also the second congress of the KIM, at which he became a secretary and member of its executive committee; in 1922 he participated in the third KIM congress and was reelected German representative to the executive committee. He returned to Russia in 1924 to attend the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in June and July and presented the report on youth. After taking part in the fourth KIM congress, held in July 1924, he returned to Germany, abandoned youth activities, and thereafter worked for the KPD apparatus. In 1926 he was a member of the German delegation to an ECCI meeting dealing with German problems. In 1928, however, after factional struggles within the KPD, he was removed from all responsible positions. Later he settled in Soviet Russia, where he worked at the state-run foreign publishing house in Moscow. In 1937 he was arrested during Stalin's purges and disappeared.

Unszlicht, Józef. Born in Poland in 1879; he finished secondary school and attended a technical school in Warsaw. He became politically active in 1896 and joined the SDPPL in 1900; shortly afterwards he became a professional revolutionary under the names Technician and Yurovski. He then served on the Warsaw regional committee of the party and between 1907 and 1911 was a member of the party leadership; as such he represented the SDPPL at the fifth congress of the RSDLP, held in London in 1907. Later he was involved in factional struggles within both parties. He belonged to the faction headed by Jakób Hanecki, Karl Radek, and A. M. Malecki, who sided with Lenin's views and thus came into open conflict with the veterans of the socialist-marxist movement in Poland—Leo Jogiches, Rosa Luxemburg, Julian Marchlewski, and Adolf Waraki. In 1913 he was arrested and in 1916 sentenced to Siberian exile.

In April 1917 he went to Petrograd to take part in the seventh national conference of the Bolshevik party and during October was a member of the revolutionary military committee. In March 1919 he was elected a member of the central committee of the Bolshevik Party of Lithuania and Byelorussia and also defense commissar there; also in March he was the only representative of the Polish Communist Party to the founding congress of the Comintern.

When the Soviet troops advanced towards Warsaw in the summer of 1920 he was made a member of the Polish revolutionary committee.

In April 1921 he became deputy director of the State Political Administration (GPU, the Soviet political police) and in that capacity took part in the meetings of the ECCI Presidium, where preparations were made for the German October of 1923. He also presided over the commission investigating the case of Arkadi Maslow, the KPD leader. In 1924 he was a member of the RCP(B) delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and was seated as an alternate member on the Polish commission. Late in 1923 he was named a member of the revolutionary military council, of which he became a vice-president in February 1925, and at that time became a deputy people's commissar for naval military affairs. He also was one of the directors of Osoaviakhim (Society for Assistance to the Defense, Aviation and Chemical Construction of the U.S.S.R.). In June 1930 he was named vice-president of the superior council of national economy and from 1933 to 1935 he was director of civil aeronautics.

During the same period he also occupied high posts in the hierarchy of the RCP(B)—at the thirteenth party congress, held in May 1924, he was elected a member of the party's control commission, and at the fourteenth (December 1925), fifteenth (December 1927), and seventeenth (January-February 1934) congresses he was elected an alternate member of the central committee. He was arrested and executed during Stalin's purges; one source gives the date as 1937 and another as 1938.

Urbahns, Hugo. Born in Germany in 1890. He became a teacher, was active in the SPD, and during World War I took a pacifist and internationalist stand, which led him to join the USPD after its founding in 1917; he supported its left wing, which favored adherence to the Comintern. In December 1920 he entered the KPD with the leftist faction of the USPD; he then became active in the communist organization of Hamburg and in 1922 was elected its secretary. Like his colleague Ernst Thälmann he favored the left wing of the KPD, which he represented in 1922 at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, at which he also took part in the debates. After the failure of the Hamburg insurrection in October 1923 he was arrested (in 1924) and sentenced to a short prison term. At the tenth congress of the KPD in July 1925 he was elected a member of the central committee. In September the Comintern sent an open letter to the KPD criticizing its leftist faction; consequently, at the sixth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in February and March 1926, Urbahns and other leftist leaders spoke in both self-criticism and self-defense. Nevertheless he was expelled from the KPD, a decision confirmed at the seventh enlarged plenum, held in November and December.

Urbahns then became head of the communist left opposition, a group which took part in the parliamentary elections of 1928, and in March he founded

the Leninbund, a dissident communist movement at first sympathetic to Trotsky but by 1929 in conflict with Trotskyism. Trotsky criticized Urbahn's in his pamphlet *The U.S.S.R.'s Defense and the Left Opposition*. When Hitler came to power in January 1933 Urbahn's went to Czechoslovakia and then to Sweden, where he died in November 1946.

Urbany, Dominique. Born in Luxemburg in 1903 into a working-class family; he became a schoolteacher. He joined the socialist youth movement in 1920 and entered the communist party at its founding in 1921—in 1929 he was elected a member of the party's central committee, in 1930 of the politburo, in 1935 he became political secretary, and immediately afterward secretary-general of the party. During the 1930s he and his brother-in-law, Jean Kill (a central committee member since 1928 and also a politburo member) were liaison agents between the party and the Comintern and made several trips to Comintern headquarters in Moscow. Urbany represented his party at the Seventh Comintern Congress in 1935. During the German occupation of Luxemburg (following Hitler's attack on Soviet Russia) he went underground to lead the communist resistance.

In 1944 he was elected a communist deputy and presided over the communist group in parliament. From June 1946 to February 1947 he was minister of public health, social security, and sports. From then on the party was in the opposition but he was reelected to parliament regularly. He made several trips to Moscow—in 1952 he addressed the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B), in February 1956 he attended the twentieth congress of the CPSU, in November 1960 he headed his party's delegation to the Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties, and in 1966 he was present at the twenty-third congress of the CPSU. Meanwhile he had given up the secretary-generalship of his party to become its chairman. In 1967 he returned to Moscow to attend the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the November 7 revolution and in March 1969 was invited to the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Comintern.

Uribe, Vicente. Born in 1902 son of a Spanish laborer. He joined the Spanish Communist Party in 1927 and was active in its underground apparatus. When the Comintern removed José Ballejos, G. León Trilla, and F. Vega from party leadership in 1932 Uribe became a member of the central committee and politburo in charge of ideology and propaganda. In February 1936 he became a communist deputy, and was named minister of agriculture when the Largo Caballero government was founded in September, after the outbreak of the civil war. In that position he was one of two communist representatives in the government and remained through Juan Negrin's first and second governments, until the defeat of Republican Spain in March 1939. He then took refuge in Mexico, where he headed the communist organization among Spanish

émigrés. When a Spanish government-in-exile was formed in 1947 he was its communist representative in charge of economic affairs. Later he settled in Prague and was reelected to the politburo at the fifth congress of the Spanish Communist Party held in November 1954, but at the sixth congress, held in January 1960, he lost his politburo membership.

Usmani, Shaikat. After finishing his studies in India he went on a Moslem pilgrimage but was arrested at the Soviet border in 1920 and taken to Tashkent, there he was converted to communism and early in 1921 took part in the meeting at which the founding of the Communist Party of India was announced. He attended the Third Congress of the Comintern in June 1921 with M. N. Roy, and in 1922 was sent to India to secretly organize the first communist cells. He was arrested in May 1923 in the Cawnpore conspiracy case, and tried in April 1924, sentenced to prison, but was released in August 1927. Using the name Sikander Sur he attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, spoke during the debates, presented a report on the colonial revolutionary movement, and was seated on the congress presidium and the commission for Negro affairs.

After his return to India he was arrested with many other communist leaders in March 1929 and in May the British Communist Party, to show its solidarity, presented him in absentia as its candidate in the legislative elections against Sir John Simon, but of 40,000 votes cast Usmani received only 240. During the Meerut conspiracy trial in January 1933 he was sentenced to ten years in prison but was released near the end of the year. He later abandoned communism and in 1953 published his memoirs under the title *I met Stalin Twice*.

V

Vaillant-Couturier, Paul. Born in Paris in 1892, the son of an artist. He majored in history, obtained his doctorate in law, and joined the Paris bar association. In 1914 he was drafted. In 1916 he joined the SFIO and in 1919 was elected a deputy for Paris. He favored joining the Third International and when the PCF was founded at Tours in 1920 he was elected a member of the party's directing committee, a post he held for virtually the rest of his life. In 1921 he was a member of the French delegation to the Third Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed. In 1924 he was reelected a deputy for Paris and in 1926 became editor-in-chief of *L'Humanité*. He often visited Soviet Russia and in 1931-32 worked at Comintern headquarters in Moscow. In 1933, ostensibly for newspaper work, he visited the Far East and in Shanghai met Ho Chi Minh and other members of the Comintern's Far Eastern apparatus.

He lost the 1928 and 1932 parliamentary elections but was elected a deputy again at the time of the Popular Front in 1936. As a communist journalist he made trips to China and Spain before his death in 1937.

Vajtauer, Emmanuel. Born in 1892 in the Czechoslovak part of Austro-Hungary. After receiving a Ph.D. degree he became an anarchist, then a communist. In 1921 he wrote for the communist press. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November 1922 he spoke for the ultra-left opposition within the Czechoslovak Communist Party, which position brought attacks from Zinoviev, Bukharin, and Radek.

In the following years he continued to write for the communist press. When the leftist opposition rose against Bohumil Jilek's leadership in the latter half of 1928 Vajtauer defended Jilek and attacked the opposition in his pamphlet *Facts Against Words*, and in 1929, after Klement Gottwald's victory, he was expelled from the party; he then wrote for *Česke Slovo* (Czech Word) the newspaper of the Popular Socialist Party. He later moved towards Fascism and during the German occupation in 1941 became editor-in-chief of a collaborationist daily. He fled from Czechoslovakia early in 1945.

Vaněk, Miloš. Born in Brno in 1897. By the end of World War I he was militant in the Czech social-democratic movement and belonged to its left wing. He favored joining the Comintern and in 1920 went with a delegation of the social-democratic left to the Second Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed. After the founding of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in September 1921 he returned to Moscow and until January 1922 worked for the Comintern and signed various Comintern declarations in his party's name. In the following years he often wrote for the communist press, favoring the party's right wing and taking part in its activities. In 1926, during factional struggles in the Comintern and the Kremlin, he broke away from the communists completely and rejoined the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party; he edited its official organ, *Pravo Lidu* (Right of the People), until World War II.

After the war he opposed the socialist party merger with the Czechoslovak Communist Party and following the Prague coup of February 1948 fled to West Germany. In 1951 he became the specialist on economic problems at the newly created Radio Free Europe in Munich and held that position until his retirement. He died in January 1967.

Varga, Jenő (Eugen). Born in Hungary in 1879; he obtained his doctorate from the University of Budapest in 1906 and then joined the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. In the following years he wrote for the socialist press, taught in college, and became a professor of political economy at the University of Budapest in 1918. He rallied to the left wing of the Social Democratic Party and in February 1919 joined the Hungarian Communist Party. When the Hungarian Soviet Republic was established a month later he was named

people's commissar for finance and later chairman of the supreme economic council; when the republic collapsed he took refuge in Austria with other commissars. After internment he was allowed to go to Soviet Russia, where he arrived for the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920. He then joined the RCP(B) and worked for the Comintern for many years, living continuously in Soviet Russia, except for a stay in Berlin on a Soviet economic mission.

He addressed the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921, gave a report on agrarian matters at the Fourth Congress in 1922, and reported on the international economic situation at the Fifth Congress in 1924. In 1925 and 1926 he took part in the debates of the enlarged plenums of the ECCI and in 1927 was criticized for theoretical deviation on agrarian matters. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he delivered one of two reports on Soviet state and party problems and at its close was elected an alternate member of the ECCI. In 1929 and 1933 he was again a delegate to the enlarged plenums of the ECCI. He addressed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, held in July and August 1935, and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI.

During all those years Varga worked as an economist and after 1927 headed the Institute of World Economy and Politics. In 1939 he was elected to the Soviet Academy of Sciences. In 1947, however, he was criticized for views expressed in his book *Changes in Capitalist Economy Due to World War II* and was subsequently dropped from the editorship of the review *World Economy and World Politics* and from the leadership of the Institute of World Economy and Politics. In 1949 he offered a self-criticism and after Stalin's death was rehabilitated, decorated in 1954 with the Order of Lenin and the Stalin Prize, and in 1956 reinstated in the Institute. During the twentieth congress of the CPSU in February 1956 he published an article in *Pravda* rehabilitating Béla Kun. He died in 1964.

He wrote many works on economic problems of capitalism and socialism and in 1923 published two books on the problems of Germany under the pseudonym E. Pawlowski.

Vassart, Albert. Born in France in 1898; he was a metalworker in his youth. He became a revolutionary syndicalist in the French trade-union movement and in 1921 joined the PCF. In 1924 he was in the first graduating class of the party's central school in Bobigny; he then worked for both the PCF and the CGTU, for which he was secretary of the metalworkers' trade union. At the Lille congress of the PCF in 1926 he was elected a member of the central committee. In 1928 he was a party delegate to the ninth enlarged plenum of the ECCI and the fourth congress of the Profintern, at which he delivered a report for the commission on workers' education, and in 1929 he became a member of the PCF politburo. In December he returned to Moscow to work at the Profintern headquarters there.

In 1932 Vassart became one of four secretaries of the PCF's central committee

and attended an ECCI Presidium meeting dealing with French affairs in May 1933. From April 1934 to April 1935 he represented the PCF at the ECCI, during which time the tactics of the Popular Front were developed. In 1935 he was elected communist mayor of Maisons-Alfort and general councillor for the Seine Department and at the same time presided over the Union of Communist Municipalities. In 1939 he opposed the Hitler-Stalin pact but nevertheless was arrested by French authorities and sentenced to five years in prison. He was freed in September 1941 and resumed his mayorship of Maisons-Alfort. The PCF then branded him a traitor and an attempt was made upon his life. After the liberation he became an active anti-communist and remained one until his death in 1958.

Verčik, Julius. Born in Slovakia in 1894. He joined the Czechoslovak Communist Party when it was founded in 1921 and was a member of its central committee until 1925. In November 1922 he attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern with the Czechoslovak delegation and took part in the debates. He became an alternate member of the ECCI at the Fifth Congress in 1924. In 1925 he was elected communist deputy to the Czechoslovak national assembly. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in August 1928 he was reelected to the ECCI but when Klement Gottwald took over leadership of the party Verčik's position was weakened. He later was accused of "opportunist and nationalist deviation" and was expelled from the party in November 1930. He died in 1959.

Veselinov, Jovan. Born in Vojvodina (then part of Austro-Hungary) in 1906; he became a metalworker. He joined the Yugoslav trade union movement in 1922 and entered the outlawed Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) in 1925. From 1926 to 1930 he was in Moscow as a student, first at the KUNMZ and then at the Leninist School of the Comintern. After returning to Yugoslavia he was active under the name Žarko as a leader of the communist youth organization and then as secretary of the Vojvodina regional committee of the CPY.

He was arrested in 1931 and remained imprisoned until 1941, when he escaped and joined Tito's partisans. During the war he resumed his position as secretary of the Vojvodina regional committee. In 1946 he became a member of the government of the Serbian Republic; from 1953 to 1957 was president of its executive council, and then was elected chairman of the people's assembly of Serbia. At the fifth congress of the CPY in 1948 he was elected a member of its central committee and later became secretary of the executive committee (politburo) of the Serbian Communist Party. At the same time he was seated on the executive committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and in 1967 was a member of the presidium of that committee until the ninth congress of the league, held in March 1969, when he was not reelected.

Vidali, Vittorio. Born in Italy in 1900; he became a bookkeeper. He joined the Italian socialist youth movement in 1917 and was a member of the Italian Communist Party from its founding in 1921. He attended the Italian communist youth congress in 1922 and then represented Italy at the international youth congress held in Leipzig. After Mussolini's rise to power he left Italy and eventually went to the United States, where he headed the Italian bureau of the American Communist Party and founded the communist newspaper *Il Lavoratore* in Chicago. When the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America came under communist control in 1926 he became its secretary, using the name Enea Sormenti, but shortly afterward was forced to leave the United States and went to Mexico, where—using the name Arturo Sormenti—he acted as Comintern representative to the Mexican Communist Party and directed the League Against Imperialism. In 1928 he attended the Sixth Congress of the Comintern under the name Carlos Contreras and spoke on behalf of the Mexican Communist Party. At the close of the fourth congress of the Profintern in 1928 he was elected (as Latin American representative) an alternate member of the executive bureau.

In 1930 he returned to Soviet Russia, probably for political indoctrination, and from there was sent to Spain as a Comintern emissary. Again using the name Carlos Contreras (or "Commandant Carlos") he was a central figure in the founding of the Fifth Regiment in July 1936, which became the core of the International Brigades. In 1938 he was wounded and in 1939 he took refuge in France and then in Mexico, where he lived until 1947, remaining active in the Latin American communist movement and in the Italian colony.

In February 1947 he returned to Trieste, where he became secretary-general of the local autonomous communist party. In 1955 he criticized Moscow's reconciliation with Tito; nevertheless, he went to Moscow in 1956 as his party's delegate to the twentieth congress of the CPSU. At the eighth congress of the Italian Communist Party in December he announced the immediate integration of the communist party of Trieste into the Italian Communist Party, of which he had become a central committee member and in January 1960 he addressed the congress of the Italian Communist Party. At the twelfth congress, held in February 1969, he was reelected to the central committee.

Visser, Louis de. Born in 1878 into a poor Dutch family. At an early age he worked as a window washer; he joined the trade-union movement and was elected chairman of the National Association of Window Washers. He also became militant in the Dutch Social Democratic Workers' Party but after the party split joined the Left Social Democratic Party at its founding in 1909 and was elected to its central committee when it became the Dutch Communist Party in 1918. He was a member of the Dutch delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 and took part in the debates. In 1926 he was elected

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a member of the MOPR general council and in November and December was seated on the trade-union commission at the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI and took part in its meetings, among them the eleventh enlarged plenum, held in April 1931; at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was elected a full member of the ECCI. During the German occupation of Holland he belonged to the underground leadership of the Dutch Communist Party and was arrested by the Gestapo and deported to Germany. He died near Hamburg in 1942 during an Allied air raid.

Vittorio, Giuseppe Di. Born in Italy in 1892; he was forced to leave secondary school to work as a farm laborer. In his youth he became involved in politics and in 1910 was elected secretary of a local socialist youth federation. By 1912 he held a responsible position in the Bari trade-union movement and in 1913 participated in the central committee of the Italian syndical union. He was in the army from 1915 until late 1918, then resumed his trade-union position, and in February 1921 was elected deputy to the Italian parliament.

In 1924 he joined the Italian Communist Party (ICP) and headed its agrarian section; also in that year he founded and became secretary of the National Association of Peasants. In September 1925, however, he was arrested in Rome and when he jumped bail and fled to France he was sentenced in absentia to 12 years in prison. The leadership of the ICP, located in France, sent him to Moscow in 1928 as its Profintern representative, a position he held until 1930; at that time he also worked for the Comintern and took part in the debates of the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in July 1929.

In 1930 he returned to France, where he joined the central committee and politburo of the ICP. After the outbreak of the Spanish civil war in 1936 he became political commissar for the First International Brigade, under the name Mario Nicoletti; later he was political commissar of the Eleventh Brigade and finally of the Garibaldi Brigade. In 1937 he returned to France, where he founded and directed an Italian daily newspaper, *La Voce degli Italiani*; when World War II began he was forced to hide from French authorities but early in 1941 was arrested in Paris and subsequently imprisoned in various parts of France and Italy. In 1943 he was freed from Ventotene prison after the downfall of Mussolini and shortly afterward became commissar for the National Federation of Agriculture and joined the ICP leadership.

As the first postwar congress of Italian trade unions in 1945 in Naples, he was made secretary of the General Confederation of Labor and in September was elected vice-president of the World Trade Union Federation. Early in 1946, at the fifth congress of the ICP, he was elected a member of the directorate and the central committee, on which he remained until his death. He was elected president of the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1953 and 1957. He died in November 1957.

Vlahović, Veljko. Born in Montenegro in 1914. He finished secondary school in Belgrade and entered the technical department at the university there. In 1933 he joined the underground organization of the Yugoslav communist youth and in 1935 was admitted to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). He remained a communist leader at the University of Belgrade until he left for Prague in 1936. When the Spanish Civil War began he volunteered for the International Brigades and became assistant chief for the cadres section of the Balkan Brigade; later he was wounded at the front in Jarama.

In 1939 he became a member of the central committee of the Union of Young Communists of Yugoslavia and went to Moscow as its representative to the KIM. During World War II he became secretary of the KIM (under the name Vlasov) and later its representative to the ECCI Presidium. After the official dissolution of the Comintern he took charge of Radio Free Yugoslavia in Moscow. Late in 1944 he returned to his country, where he joined the central apparatus of the CPY, and at its fifth congress in 1948 was elected a member of the central committee. In 1951 he was nominated assistant minister of foreign affairs and in 1952 headed the Yugoslav delegation to the U.N. In 1953 he left his governmental position to direct the party's daily newspaper *Borba*. In April 1958, at the seventh congress of the CPY (from then on called the League of Communists of Yugoslavia), he was elected a member of the executive committee (politburo); later he became one of three secretaries of the central committee (the other two were Kardelj and Ranković). When the league leadership was reorganized in 1966 he was retained on the presidium of the central committee. At the close of the ninth congress of the league, held in March 1969, he was elected to its top 15-member executive bureau of the presidium.

Voitinsky, Grigori. Born in 1893, the son of a Russian office clerk. After his primary education he was self-taught and in 1913 emigrated to the United States and then to Canada; during that period he was a laborer and student. It does not appear that he was closely associated with socialist activities in tsarist Russia or in North America but in 1918 he returned to Soviet Russia, joined the RCP(B), and became active in the workers' soviet of Krasnoyarsk. He fought against the Kolchak forces in Siberia, especially in Omsk, and in May 1919 was taken prisoner in Vladivostok and exiled to the island of Sakhalin.

Freed in January 1920 he joined the Comintern apparatus and was assigned to work in the Far East; as a Comintern emissary he went to China, where he met the first communist militants in Peking and Shanghai and also conferred with Sun Yat-sen. After his return to Russia he became chief of the Comintern's Far Eastern Secretariat, a position he held until 1924. In 1924-25 he was again in China as the Comintern emissary but returned to Russia to take part in the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in March and April 1925, at which

he represented the Far Eastern section on the colonial commission; at the following plenum, held in February and March 1926, he was secretary of the Far Eastern commission. During these years he also wrote for the Comintern press about Chinese affairs.

He returned to China as the Comintern representative and was there in 1927 during Chiang Kai-shek's break with the Chinese Communist Party; he was then recalled to Moscow but left the Comintern apparatus. In the early 1930s he was active in scientific research and in education. He may have been affected by the Stalinist purges but if so he survived; he died in 1953.

Vorovsky, Vatslav. Born in Moscow in 1871, the son of an engineer; after secondary school he studied at the University of Moscow. In 1895 he became active in the socialist movement, for which he later was arrested and sentenced to three years' exile in Orlov; after his release he became a professional revolutionary, using the names P. Orlovsky, Y. Adamovich, and M. Schwarz. In 1902 he left Russia for Italy, Munich, and Geneva. In 1903 he rallied to the Bolsheviks and early in 1905 was an editor of the Bolshevik weekly *Vpered* (Forward) published in Geneva; later in the year he went to St. Petersburg. He worked as an underground Bolshevik militant, especially in Odessa, from 1907 to 1912, when he was again arrested and deported, but he returned to Petrograd late in 1915 and from there was sent to Stockholm by a business firm. Immediately after the revolution of February 1917 Lenin named him to the foreign bureau of the Bolshevik party, located in Stockholm. After the Bolshevik victory of November 7, 1917, Vorovsky became the Soviet government's diplomatic representative to Scandinavia.

He returned to Russia early in 1919 and in March attended the founding congress of the Comintern with the RCP(B) delegation. He was the party's representative to the ECCI and the Comintern Secretariat in 1919-20, but in July 1920 he resumed work for the diplomatic service and did not take part in the Second Congress of the Comintern. Later in the year he participated in diplomatic negotiations with Poland and from 1921 to 1923 acted as Soviet representative to the Italian government. In 1922 he was a member of the Soviet delegation at the Genoa diplomatic conference and in 1923 attended the Lausanne conference, where he was assassinated by a Russian exile.

Vries, Jo De. Born Alexander Solomon de Leeuw in Amsterdam in 1899 into a middle-class family; he was a lawyer. During the mid-1920s he became militant in the Dutch Communist Party under the name De Vries and in 1928 addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. During that period in Holland he was editor-in-chief of the monthly review *Klassenstrijd* (Class Warfare), editor of the newspaper *Tribune*, and an editor for the communist publications *De Communist* and *Het Communisme*. From 1930 to 1935 he wrote for the Comintern press under the names A. S. de Leeuw and A. De Vries and at

one time during the 1930s represented the Dutch Communist Party at Comintern headquarters in Moscow. In 1935 he addressed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and in 1936 was an editor for *Volkdagblad* (People's Daily) in Holland. Later he worked on the communist review *Politiek en Cultuur* until 1940 and at the same time was a lawyer in Holland for the MOPR. During the German occupation he was arrested and deported to Auschwitz, where he died in 1942.

Vujović, Grgur. Born in Serbia in 1901, the youngest of the three Vujović brothers. He joined the communist movement while a student at the University of Belgrade; in 1924 he registered at the University of Vienna, where he became secretary of the Yugoslav Marxist student club. When he returned to his country in 1925 he was elected a member of the central committee of the Union of Young Communists of Yugoslavia (SKOJ) and later became its organizational secretary, a position to which he was reelected in 1926 at the third congress of the SKOJ. In 1927 his name appeared on a list of replacements for current members of the politburo of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) should they be captured by the police.

He attended the fifth congress of the KIM in September 1928 and under the name Mitrović was elected an alternate member of the executive committee. After a stay in Vienna, where the CPY was headquartered, he returned to Moscow in 1932 as party representative to the Comintern; he also took charge of the Yugoslav section at the Leninist School of the Comintern. In 1935 his name disappeared from the official list of CPY leaders and in July 1937 he was arrested and sentenced to prison. There his record ends, except that in 1956, after the twentieth congress of the CPSU, he was rehabilitated posthumously by a Soviet military collegium.

Vujović, Radomir. Born in 1897, the son of a Serbian blacksmith. He was a younger brother of Voja Vujović and became a socialist while in secondary school. In 1919 he joined his brother in Paris but instead of studying medicine as he had intended he joined the communist movement and was associated with the French Committee for the Third International. In January 1921 he was arrested with many other French and foreign communist militants and three months later was expelled from France.

He settled in Vienna, where from 1921 to 1924 he was in charge of the Balkan secretariat of the KIM and in 1924 went to Moscow to take part in the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and the fourth congress of the KIM. In 1925 he was sent secretly to Yugoslavia as a KIM representative and a Comintern instructor to the communist party. At the third congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1926 he was elected to the central committee under the pseudonym Licht and shortly afterward became organizational secretary of the party. In June 1927 he was arrested and remained in prison until October

1932, during which time he translated Engels' *Anti-Dühring*. While still on probation he fled to Vienna in 1933 and later to Moscow, where he worked in the central apparatus of the Comintern. On the eve of the first of Stalin's purges he suffered a nervous breakdown. In September 1938 he was arrested, sentenced to five years in prison, and disappeared shortly afterward.

Vujović, Voja. Born in Serbia in 1895; he was the older brother of both Radomir and Grgur Vujović, who were militant in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and in the Comintern. Although he never was involved in Yugoslav communist activity he played an important role in the international movement. He studied in France during World War I, became politically active among other Serbian students, and joined the extreme left faction of the French socialist movement. Under the pseudonym Wolf he attended the founding congress of the KIM in November 1919; soon after he became one of its first international agents and liaison between Paris, Switzerland, Vienna, and Berlin, where he worked with Y. S. Reich ("Thomas"), head of the WES. At the same time he worked closely with the Paris Committee for the Third International and with French socialist youth groups sympathetic to communism. For those activities he was arrested in Paris in November 1920 and after his release operated principally from Berlin and Moscow.

At the second congress of the KIM, held in Moscow in 1921, he was elected a member of the executive committee and became one of its two secretaries. From October through December he was the KIM representative to the ECCI and its Presidium. In March 1922 he was again in Moscow, where he was assigned to go with the Comintern delegation to the conference of the three Internationals, held in Berlin in April. In November and December 1922 he attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern (which he addressed for the KIM) and the third congress of the KIM (at which he was reelected a member of the executive committee). When Willi Münzenberg left the KIM, Vujović assumed an increasing share of executive responsibility and eventually became its secretary-general. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was elected (as the KIM representative) to membership in the ECCI and its Presidium and at the fourth congress of the KIM in July 1924 his positions were confirmed. At the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in March 1925 he reported on the KIM's activities but in 1926 was no longer on the Presidium of the ECCI. Meanwhile he became closely involved with the opposition against Stalin and in October 1926 was dismissed as secretary-general of the KIM. He addressed the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in November and December 1926, but at the following plenum, held in May 1927, a proposal was made to remove him and Trotsky from Comintern leadership. In September 1927 he was expelled from the Comintern and in January 1928 was among the first contingent of the Bolshevik opposition to be exiled to Siberia. In 1929, however, he made a self-criticism and upon request was readmitted to the RCP(B).

he then worked for the Balkan Secretariat of the Comintern. After Kirov's assassination on December 1, 1934, he and his Russian-born second wife were arrested; he was exiled to Verkhneural'sk and disappeared.

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Walcher, Jakob. Born in 1887, the son of a German farmer. In his youth he became a metalworker and joined the socialist and trade-union movements. In 1907 he studied for six months at the central school of the SPD, where Rosa Luxemburg taught. A left-wing socialist he took an internationalist stand during World War I and was active in the Gruppe Internationale, which later became the Spartacus League, and was arrested for his antiwar activities. On December 30, 1918, he was elected one of the two chairmen of the founding congress of the KPD but was not elected to the party's national committee (Zentrale). At the three consecutive party congresses, held in 1920, he was elected an alternate member of the Zentrale. In July and August 1920 he was a member of the German delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed. At the KPD congress, held in Jena in August 1921, he reported on the trade-union question and was elected to the Zentrale; at the following congress, held in Leipzig in January 1923, he was reelected to the same post. In June he went with the German delegation to the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI and again delivered a report on the trade-union movement.

After the failure of the German October in 1923 he was summoned to Moscow in January 1924 to represent the right wing of the KPD at the deliberations of the Comintern Presidium. In February 1926 he was in the German delegation to the second conference on organizational matters held by the Comintern in Moscow. In the following years his rightist orientation prevented him from being elected to leading KPD positions and in 1929 he was expelled from the party. From 1930 to 1932 he was militant in a dissident German communist movement.

After Hitler's rise to power he settled in Paris and lived there from 1933 to 1940; during that time he was a leader of the German Socialist Workers' Party (S.A.P.) and kept in touch with dissident German and international communist centers. After the fall of France he went to New York, where he worked in a communist-led committee for a democratic Germany during the later part of the war. He then reconciled himself to the official communist line and in 1946 returned to East Germany, where at first he held subordinate party positions. He was expelled from the SED in 1952; four years later he was readmitted to the party and was still living in East Germany at the end of the 1960s.

Walecki, Henryk. Born Maksymilian Horwitz in Warsaw in 1877 into a middle-class family. In 1898 he graduated in mathematics and physics from the University of Ghent, where he joined the Belgian Labor Party, and after returning to Warsaw became militant in the Polish Socialist Party, in which he soon came into conflict with Joseph Piłsudski. He was arrested in December 1899, was exiled to Siberia two years later, but escaped to Switzerland in 1902, where he resumed his political activity and in 1904 represented the Polish Socialist Party at the sixth congress of the Socialist International, held in Amsterdam. Within the party he became a left-wing leader and a professional revolutionary. In 1905 he returned to Warsaw, where he was arrested; in 1906 he was again exiled to Siberia, from where he again escaped. In 1907 he represented the left wing of his party at the Stuttgart congress of the Socialist International. During World War I he lived in Switzerland, in 1915 took part in the international socialist conference held in Zimmerwald, and in May 1917 became editor-in-chief of the socialist newspaper *Volksrecht* in Zurich, but he was expelled from the country for his activity during the Swiss general strike in 1918.

He returned to Warsaw and helped found the Polish Communist Party but was arrested again in 1919; he was released late in 1920 and then went to Soviet Russia, where with Adolf Warski-Warszawski and Wera Kostrzewa he assumed leadership of the Polish Communist Party (PCP); in February 1921 he and Julian Marchlewski were named PCP representatives to the Comintern. From then until his death Walecki remained in the service of the Comintern, for which he undertook missions in several countries; in June and July 1921 he took part in the Third Congress of the Comintern; in September he and Clara Zetkin represented the Comintern at the Milan congress of Serrati's Socialist Party; in December he was representative of the Comintern at the congress of the PCF, assembled in Marseilles; in February 1922, at the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI, he gave a report on United Front tactics and was elected an alternate member of the ECCI Presidium; in mid-1922 he went to the United States as a Comintern emissary, using the names Brooks and Michelson; and in November he attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. In February 1923 he settled in Berlin, where he headed *Nowy Przegląd* (New Review), the central organ of the PCP and at the second congress of the Polish party, held in September and October 1923, he was reelected a member of the central committee. In 1924, however, the Fifth Comintern Congress, in its resolution on the Polish question, accused Warski-Warszawski, Kostrzewa, and Walecki of being "incapable of applying the line of the Communist International" and of having become "an instrument of the rightist elements, especially those of the Russian Communist Party and the German Communist Party." As a follow-up of these criticisms, the third congress of the PCP, held in January 1925, removed the three from the central committee. Walecki then retired from all activity within the Polish party and worked solely for the Comintern.

In 1924 he was put in charge of observing the Second International's activities. In 1925 he became an editor of the review *Communist International* and also at that time was admitted to the RCP(B). From 1928 to 1935 he was assistant

chief of the Balkan Secretariat of the Comintern under Béla Kun. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 he was elected a member of the ICC and became editor-in-chief of *Communist International*. In June 1937 Stalin's police arrested him and he died later in the year. After Stalin's death Walecki was rehabilitated posthumously in Poland.

Wallenius, Allan. Born in Finland in 1890. He became a militant in the Finnish socialist movement, took part in the Finnish revolution in 1918, and later emigrated to Soviet Russia. In 1921 he attended the Third Congress of the Comintern and was named to the ECCI as representative of Iceland. In 1922 and 1923 he participated in ECCI meetings and also in the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI. He remained in the central apparatus of the Comintern until April 1925, when he took part in the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI. In May, however, the Comintern sent him to the United States, where he became a member of the central committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America. Later he was a Comintern emissary to Scandinavia. In 1930 he returned to Moscow, where he headed the Scandinavian section of the KUNMZ. He died in the Soviet Union in 1942.

Wandel, Paul. Born in Germany in 1905, the son of a laborer. After elementary school he became a mechanic and in 1919 joined the socialist youth. In 1923 he broke away from the SPD and joined the KPD. He was forced to leave Germany in February 1933 and went to Soviet Russia, where he entered the Leninist School of the Comintern; after graduation he remained in Moscow to work for the ECCI's Balkan Secretariat, whose chief then was Wilhelm Pieck. At the Comintern school in Kushnarenkovo in 1942-43 he headed the German section and taught under the name Klassner.

In 1945 he returned to Berlin, where he edited the newspaper *Deutsche Volkszeitung* and in July became head of the education department in the Soviet occupation zone of Germany. When the East German government was formed in 1949 he was named minister of education, an office he held until the summer of 1952 when he took charge of the ideological supervision of education, science, and art in East Germany. In July 1953 he became secretary of the central committee in charge of culture and education but was deprived of that post at the plenum of the central committee of the SED in October 1957. Although he had been a member of the SED central committee since 1946 he was not reelected in July 1958 and in November failed to win reelection as a deputy to parliament. In April 1958 he had become East German ambassador to Peking and remained in that office until February 1961, when he was named assistant minister of foreign affairs.

Wang Chia-hsiang. Born in China in 1907. He attended a missionary school and then went to Shanghai, where he joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP); in 1925 the party sent him to Moscow, where he was among the first group of Chinese communists admitted to Sun Yat-sen University. From July

to September 1928 he assisted at the sixth congress of the CCP, held in Moscow. He returned to China in May 1930 as one of 28 students who came with Pavel Mif to take control of the CCP, and joined the new leadership in 1931 when Chen Shao-yü (known in the communist movement as Wang Ming) became secretary-general.

Also in 1931 he was active in Shanghai and later went to the Soviet Republic of Kiangsi. In the 1934 reshuffling he remained in the CCP politburo. He also headed the political section of the Red Army and took part in the Long March. Because he was wounded he did not attend the January 1935 conference at Tsunyi when Mao Tse-tung assumed party leadership. When communist forces settled in the Republic of Yen-an, Wang went to the Soviet Union.

He returned to China in 1937, where he took over the political section of the communist Eighth Army and briefly headed the school for party cadres. According to some sources he was reelected a member of the politburo at its meeting held in December 1937 at Yen-an; however, at the seventh congress of the CCP, held in 1945, he was elected only an alternate member of the central committee and did not become a full member until March 1949. At that time he headed the propaganda section of the party's northeast bureau.

At the time of the communist victory in China in October 1949, he was named ambassador to Moscow and also assistant minister of foreign affairs. In 1950 he became an alternate member of the CCP politburo. In March 1951 he returned to Peking to assume his office of assistant minister of foreign affairs. In October 1952 he was a member of the CCP delegation to the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B). In April 1954 he accompanied Chou En-lai to the Geneva conference. In February 1956 he was with the Chinese delegation to the twentieth congress of the CPSU. At the eighth congress of the CCP in September he became a secretary of the central committee, appearing third on the list and preceded in importance only by Teng Hsiao-ping and Peng Chen. In January 1957, after the Hungarian uprising, he accompanied Chou En-lai on his tour of Eastern Europe and Soviet Russia; during that time he also headed party delegations to the congresses of British, Polish, and other communist parties but during Khrushchev's visit to China in October 1959 it was made public that Wang was no longer assistant minister of foreign affairs.

In 1961 he was with the delegation to the banquet for the Indonesian, New Zealand, and Australian communist parties, which were meeting in Peking; but after the beginning of the cultural revolution in 1966 he was dropped from the secretariat of the central committee; his elimination from party leadership was confirmed at the close of the eleventh plenum of the central committee in August. At the ninth CCP congress, held in April 1969, his name was missing from the list of leaders.

Wang Jo-fei. Born in China in 1896. He took part in the student movement in 1919 and in October went to France with other Chinese students; there he helped organize the Chinese socialist youth movement and in 1922 took

part in founding the European section of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In 1923 he went to Soviet Russia to study at the KUTV. He returned to China in 1925, where he joined a regional committee of the CCP and later worked at the central committee secretariat. At an enlarged conference of the CCP politburo in November 1927 he was criticized for certain youth and party activities which he had led.

In 1928 he went to Moscow as a delegate to the sixth congress of the CCP and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and remained there until the end of 1930 as a member of the Chinese delegation to the Comintern. After returning to China he was arrested and spent six years in prison, from which he nevertheless continued to head the party organization, and in 1937 was released by Kuomintang authorities. From 1937 to 1945 he headed the party's agitprop section in the Republic of Yen-an. At the CCP's seventh congress in April 1945 he was elected a member of the central committee; he also was part of the Chinese delegation in Chungking during the talks between Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek. In January 1946 he returned to Chungking as one of the seven CCP representatives to the consultative conference there. He died in a plane crash in April 1946 while traveling with a communist delegation from Chungking to Yen-an.

Warski-Warszawski, Adolf. Born in Warsaw in 1868. He helped organize the Union of Polish Workers in 1889 and later was one of the founders and leaders of the SDPPL. In 1906 in Stockholm, at the fourth congress of the RSDLP, he was elected a member of its central committee. During World War I he took an internationalist stand and represented the SDPPL at the international socialist conferences held at Zimmerwald in 1915 and at Kienthal in 1916.

He was arrested by German authorities when he returned to Poland in 1916 and after his release in late 1917 resumed his place in the SDPPL leadership. He sympathized with the Bolshevik revolution and in December 1918 helped found the Polish Communist Party; at the 1923 and 1927 congresses he was elected to the party's central committee. Under the pseudonym Michalek he participated in the debates of the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921 and in the meetings of the ECCI in 1922; in April of that year he was a member of the ECCI delegation to the Berlin conference of the three Internationals. In November 1922 he was a presiding official at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and in January 1924 he took part in the work of the ECCI Presidium; later in the year, however, the Comintern decided to remove Walecki, Kostzewa, and Warski-Warszawski from leadership of the Polish Communist Party. He then retired from all responsible positions in the party until 1926, when he was elected communist deputy to the Polish parliament and headed the communist group there.

In 1929 he took refuge in Soviet Russia, where he worked on the history of the Polish labor movement at the Marx-Engels Institute, and later lived in retirement until August 1937, when he fell victim to Stalin's purges.

Watanabe, Masanosuke. Born in 1899, the son of a farmer living near Tokyo. In his early youth he went to the capital to work as a laborer, took up trade-union activity, and organized a group of extreme leftists. After the group was excluded from the Japanese trade-union movement in 1925 he helped found another trade-union movement of communist persuasion called the Japanese Labor Union Council and at the same time helped lead a communist group attempting to reinstate the Japanese Communist Party after its repression by police.

In 1927 he went to Moscow to represent the Japanese Communist Party at the Comintern and at the eighth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in May, using the name Asano, he delivered a report on the political situation in Japan and the tasks of the communist party. In July he joined a special commission, headed by Bukharin, whose task it was to elaborate the theses on the Japanese Communist Party. In August 1928, still using the name Asano, he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and in September went to Shanghai to work at the Far Eastern Bureau of the Comintern. In October he went to Formosa under an assumed name but the police discovered him in possession of foreign currency and a revolver and in resisting arrest he killed a policeman and was shot and killed in turn.

Wehner, Herbert. Born in Dresden in 1906, the son of a shoemaker. He was militant in the German labor movement in 1923 and joined the KPD in 1927. He became a communist deputy in the Landtag of Saxony and was called to Berlin in 1932 to succeed Leo Flieg as head of the KPD technical secretariat; also in that year he was one of three national instructors of the party. He remained in Germany after Hitler's rise to power and in 1933-34 was militant in the communist underground. As a party leader in Germany he made several trips—to Paris and Prague, for example—to meet with other KPD party leaders abroad. He later settled in the Saar and assumed the task of coordinating party activities within Germany.

In February 1935 he was arrested during a trip to Prague and was expelled from Czechoslovakia; then he went to the Soviet Union, where he lectured at the Leninist School of the Comintern and joined the KPD delegation to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed under the name Kurt Funk. At the so-called Brussels conference of the KPD in 1935 (held near Moscow) he was reelected to the central committee and became an alternate member of the politburo; at the so-called Bern conference in 1939 (held in a suburb of Paris) these positions were confirmed. From 1937 to 1941 he lived in Moscow, where he was in charge of the KPD in the Central European Secretariat of the Comintern.

In 1941 he was sent to Sweden, where he was arrested in 1942 under the name Willy Neumann and imprisoned for two years and five months. During his imprisonment he was excluded from the KPD as a "traitor," and after

his release in 1944 announced his break with communism and joined the SPD. He went to West Germany in 1946 and was elected a socialist deputy there in 1949. In the years following he devoted himself to establishing the apparatus of the SPD; when his party joined the coalition government of December 1966 he became minister of all-German affairs. After the formation of the government headed by Willy Brandt in October 1969 Wehner abandoned his former governmental post and became chief of the SPD group in Bundestag.

Weinstone, William W. Born in Lithuania in 1897 into a Jewish family with the surname Weinstein. While he was still a child the family emigrated to New York, where he changed his name to Weinstone. He became interested in socialism in high school and later joined the American Socialist Party; at the close of World War I he belonged to the party's left wing, which favored communism. From its founding he played an important role in the communist party in New York; in 1921 he was a member of the central executive committee of the Workers Party of America and later joined its politburo. When the secretary-general, Charles Ruthenberg, died in 1927 he was one of the candidates to succeed him; however, he became involved in factional struggles and went to Moscow in May to take part in an ECCI plenum which investigated the matter. In 1928 he addressed the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and was elected a member of the ICC.

In April and May 1929 he was again in Moscow to take part in the ECCI meetings dealing with the CPUSA and became a party secretary when Jay Lovestone was removed from his position as secretary-general. Late in 1929 he returned to Moscow as the CPUSA representative to the ECCI and at the fifth congress of the Profintern in August 1930 he spoke in the name of the North American delegation. In 1931 he returned to the United States, where he headed the party in Detroit and held various other posts. At the thirteenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in December 1933 he spoke for the CPUSA. Both before and after World War II he followed Stalin's line. In March 1969 he represented the CPUSA at the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Comintern in Moscow.

Wetti, Franz. Born in Switzerland in 1879. He studied law, settled in Basel as an attorney, and joined the Swiss Social Democratic Party, of which he was local chairman from 1912 to 1920. During World War I he moved toward the extreme left and in 1918 took part in the general strike; later he favored having his party join the Comintern. At the founding of the Swiss Communist Party in 1921 he was elected its chairman, a post he held for seven years.

He was his party's spokesman and a member of the French commission at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November 1922. In the 1920s he was elected to the cantonal parliament in Basel and later to the federal parliament

in Bern. At the sixth congress of the Swiss Communist Party in 1927 he presented the main report on the political situation and also a report on the struggle against Fascism. Early in 1929 the existing leadership of the Swiss Communist Party was replaced by decision of a Comintern emissary; although he no longer was chairman of the party he remained a member until his death in September 1934.

Wicks, Harry. Born in the United States. He favored the Bolshevik revolution and the Comintern; in September 1919 he took part in the founding congress of the Communist Party of America and was elected a member of the central executive committee. When the legal Workers Party of America was established in December 1921 he was elected a member of the central executive committee and the executive council. He then was accused of being a spy and in 1923 appeared before an inquest commission of the party, which cleared him of the charges. He subsequently reassumed various leading posts in the party. In 1928 he went with the American delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern which he addressed, and remained in Moscow for a year as North American representative to the Profintern; afterward he was sent to Australia and various Far Eastern countries as a Comintern emissary. In 1937, however, he was expelled from the CPUSA and then moved to Chicago, where he worked as a typesetter until his death in 1956.

Wieser, Fritz. Born in the canton of Zurich in 1890; he received a Ph.D. after studying philosophy in Switzerland and Germany. He became editor-in-chief of the socialist newspaper *Basler Vorwärts* and during World War I moved from a pacifist and internationalist position toward communism. In November 1918 he was active in the general strike and in August 1919 was fined and sentenced to three days in prison for making insulting remarks about the Swiss army. From 1920 to 1930 he was a deputy to the parliament of Basel. When the Swiss Communist Party was founded in 1921 he became one of its leaders in the German-speaking part of Switzerland; at the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in June 1923, he represented the Swiss Communist Party and was seated on the Austrian commission. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was elected a member of the ECCI (as the only Swiss representative) and at the same time replaced Franz Welti as the chairman of the Swiss Communist Party. In the early 1930s he resigned from the party and abandoned politics generally. He worked as a freelance journalist and became chairman of the Swiss Tenants' Association; he died in Basel in January 1953.

Wijnkoop, David. Born in Amsterdam in 1876, the son of a rabbi. He studied philosophy and joined the Dutch socialist movement, which he represented at the Stuttgart congress of the Second International in 1907; in October he helped found the newspaper *De Tribune* (an organ of the socialist left)

and became its editor-in-chief. In 1909 he was one of those who brought about a split in the Dutch Social Democratic Workers' Party and later in the same year was among the founders of the Social Democratic Party, which unified the socialist left. During World War I he took an internationalist position and wrote for *Vorbote*, the Zimmerwald leftist review.

He embraced communism after the Bolshevik victory in Petrograd in 1917; when the Social Democratic Party became the Dutch Communist Party in 1918 he became one of its leaders. From 1918 to 1925 he was a communist deputy in parliament. In 1920 he made his first trip to Soviet Russia to take part in the Second Congress of the Comintern and was elected a member of the ECCI; at the Fifth Congress in 1924 he was on the congress presidium and was reelected to the ECCI. In 1925 however, he disagreed with the Comintern line on several points and in 1926 he and his followers were expelled from the Dutch Communist Party. In 1928 he appealed to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern but his plea was rejected. In 1929 he was elected a deputy from a dissident communist group. In 1930 he presented a self-criticism, after which the Comintern reinstated him in the Dutch Communist Party, and in 1935 he was reelected a member of its central committee. He died in 1941.

Willems, Marc. Born in Belgium in 1906; a laborer by trade. He joined the Belgian Communist Party in 1924 and in 1925 was in the first delegation of young Belgian laborers who went to Soviet Russia to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution. In the next few years he returned to Moscow several times as a member of the Belgian delegation to attend either the KIM meetings or the enlarged plenums of the ECCI. At the fifth congress of the KIM in 1928 he was elected to the executive committee. He became a secretary in the Belgian communist youth movement and later joined the politburo and secretariat of the Belgian Communist Party. In 1934 he was called to Comintern headquarters but stayed briefly before going to work in a Ukrainian metal factory, where he was arrested in 1937 and sentenced to ten years of exile in the far north of Soviet Russia. He completed his sentence in 1947 and was sent to live in Siberia, where he worked in the lumber industry. He was rehabilitated and accepted into the CPSU after its twentieth congress in 1956. He became a Soviet citizen and died in the U.S.S.R. in 1968.

"Williams" (Boris Mikhailov?). This mysterious person was a member of the RCP(B) and joined the secret apparatus of the Comintern. His knowledge of foreign languages, foreign politics, and underground methods made him a very important agent; his real name never appeared on public or official communist papers. In 1925 he was the Comintern's emissary to the PCF and in 1927 he was entrusted by the Comintern with a mission in Latin America. In 1928 he was known as a specialist on U.S. communism and was using the pseudonym Williams; he participated in Moscow on various American commissions formed

in 1928 and 1929 and in May 1929 traveled as a Comintern representative to the United States under the name Car Wall.

From 1930 to 1933 the Comintern placed him in charge of the communist movement in India, where he worked secretly in Bombay, Calcutta, and other centers; at other times he stayed at the Hotel Lux in Moscow and wrote occasionally on communist problems in India, signing his articles with the initial W.

He carried out secret missions in Germany and also in Latin American countries like Argentina and Chile. He survived Stalin's purges and reappeared in Paris in 1945, ostensibly as a correspondent for *Izvestia*, using the pseudonym Boris Mikhailovich.

Winzer, Otto. Born in Berlin in 1902, the son of a laborer; he worked as a typographer. He joined the socialist youth in 1919 and the communist youth in 1920; later he was put in charge of KIM publications. In 1925 he joined the KPD and worked for its central apparatus. When Hitler rose to power, Winzer was active in the Berlin communist underground in 1933-34 but early in 1935 was forced to leave Germany. He stayed in Czechoslovakia, France, and Holland and then went to the Soviet Union to work for the Comintern under the name Lorenz. In October 1941 he was evacuated from Moscow to Ufa with other Comintern personnel; when the Comintern was dissolved he headed political work among German prisoners-of-war.

Late in April 1945 he returned to Germany, where he worked first in the apparatus of the KPD and then with SED, of which he was a central committee member since 1947. When the German Democratic Republic was founded in October 1949 he was named chief of the special secretariat for Wilhelm Pieck, president of the republic. In August 1956 he was named deputy minister of foreign affairs; in 1966 he became minister of foreign affairs, a post he still held in 1969.

Witkowski. Real name, Adam Landy. Before World War I he was militant in the Polish socialist movement but after the Bolshevik victory in Russia embraced communism and when the Polish Communist Party was founded in December 1918 became one of its better-known militants. In February 1922 he went with the Polish delegation to the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI and in following years engaged in communist activities in both Poland and Russia. At the fourth conference of the Polish Communist Party, held in Soviet Russia in 1925, he delivered a report on trade unions. He became a Profintern official and at the fourth congress of the Profintern, held in March and April 1928, he presented a report and was elected a member of the executive bureau. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in August 1928 he took part in the debates (in the name of the communist faction of the Profintern) on the methods of struggle against the dangers of an imperialist war; he was named a member of the commission to prepare theses on that subject and also was a member

of the commission to examine and modify the statutes of the Comintern (he sat on that commission as a representative of the Polish Communist Party). He addressed the tenth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in July 1929 and the fifth congress of the Profintern, held in August 1930. He remained with the Profintern until 1933 but then his name disappeared from both the Profintern and the Comintern press.

Wolf, Felix. Born in Germany in 1887; his real name was Krebs. Prior to 1914 he went to Russia, where he worked in a bank, and during World War I was interned as a citizen of an enemy country. He worked in a Siberian factory and in 1916 was in contact with the Bolsheviks. He joined the Bolshevik party in 1917, changed his name to Rakov, and in 1918 was sent by Lenin to work as a revolutionary agitator among German troops. In late 1918 he accompanied Karl Radek on a mission to Germany and at that time took the name Felix Wolf or, at times, Felix. After 1919 he acted as one of the chief liaison men between the KPD and the Comintern and also directed the German party's secret apparatus; in addition, he often took part in the meetings of the party national committee (Zentrale). Although he opposed Béla Kun's initiative for the March Action of 1921 he was threatened with an arrest warrant in 1922 but it did not reach him because he had escaped from Germany. He was designated by the Comintern as a secretary of its delegation to the conference of the three Internationals to be held in Berlin in April 1922 but was unable to attend because of the danger of arrest in Germany. A few months later, under the name Inkov (derived from his wife's name, Inke) he appeared in Vienna where, instead of working for the Comintern, he entered the espionage service of the Red Army (fourth section).

In 1925 he was recalled to Moscow. Later in the year the central committee of the KPD requested the control commission of the RCP(B) to investigate the political attitudes of Karl Radek, Heinrich Brandler, August Thalheimer, and Felix Wolf—all of whom at that time lived in the Soviet Union and were members of the RCP(B)—who were accused by the German party of "factional activities"; as a result of that investigation Wolf was expelled from the RCP(B) in 1927. After presenting a self-criticism he was reinstated and named director of a factory but in April 1933 was officially expelled by a decision of the ICC. He later disappeared during Stalin's purges.

Wolfe, Bertram D. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., in 1896, son of a native American mother and a German father who left Europe and came to the United States at age 13. He studied to teach English literature and composition and received degrees from the College of the City of New York, Columbia University, and the University of Mexico; he later received an honorary LL.D. degree from the University of California, where he taught Russian history. An ardent opponent of war he founded an anti-war paper in 1915 to oppose U.S. entrance into World

War I, he was 21 when the U.S. entered the war and Russia left it. He joined the American Socialist Party because it seemed the most consistent opponent of war; when the party showed signs of war fever he took part in the formation of its left wing. He was attracted to Russia by its proclaimed opposition to war. At the national conference of the left wing of the American Socialist Party in June 1919 he was elected to its nine-member national council; with John Reed and Louis Fraina he drafted its manifesto, which caused the entire council to be indicted under the New York criminal anarchy law. He left for San Francisco, where he founded the San Francisco Labor College, edited the journal *Labor Unity*, and represented California at the Michigan convention of the Communist Party of America; an indictment under Michigan's criminal syndicalist law caused him to move to Boston.

Wolfe next accepted a teaching appointment in Mexico and became a member of the executive committee of the Mexican Communist Party, which he represented in 1924 at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and the third congress of the Profintern. In 1925 he was deported from Mexico and became educational director of the Workers (Communist) Party of America; he was its delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 and its representative on the ECCI in 1929. He opposed Stalin on American affairs and other matters, and with difficulty managed to return to the United States in June 1929, where he was expelled from the party for refusing to campaign for the Comintern's Open Letter to the American party. With Lovestone and other dissenters he formed a dissident communist party. From 1934 on he worked as a freelance writer and historian. In 1948 he published the book *Three Who Made a Revolution*, followed by a succession of books on Russian history and culture. The most recent are *Strange Communists I Have Known* (1965); *Marxism: One Hundred Years in the Life of a Doctrine* (1965); *The Bridge and the Abyss, The Troubled Friendship of Maxim Gorky and V.I. Lenin* (1967); and *An Ideology in Power, Reflections on the Russian Revolution* (1969).

Wolfstein, Rosi. Born in Germany in 1888; she worked as a salesgirl and in 1908 joined the SPD. She was a disciple and friend of Rosa Luxemburg and during World War I became a member of the Spartacus League. In April 1917 she was a delegate and speaker at the founding congress of the USPD in Gotha. In December 1918 she was a delegate to the founding congress of the KPD, where she was both secretary and speaker. In September 1919 she was arrested and imprisoned but in November she and Wilhelm Pieck escaped. At both the fourth and fifth congresses of the KPD, held in 1920, she was elected an alternate member of the central committee, and also was a member of the party delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern, which she addressed. At the KPD congress, held in Jena in August 1921, she was elected a full member of the central committee but was not reelected at the following congress, held in January and February 1923.

With her husband, Paul Frölich, she was expelled from the KPD in 1928, was active in a communist dissident movement, and went into exile when Hitler took power in 1933. From 1935 to 1937 she was a leading member of the Socialist Workers' Party, a German leftist socialist group with headquarters in Paris. Beginning in 1941 she lived in New York and after World War II returned to West Germany with her husband. At the end of the 1960s she was living in Frankfurt.

Wollweber, Ernst. Born in Germany in 1898, the son of a laborer belonging to the SPD. In his early youth he was a dock worker and in 1915 joined the German socialist youth movement. During World War I he was drafted into the navy; he then worked aboard the cruiser *Helgoland* and in November 1918 took part in its mutiny at Kiel.

He joined the KPD shortly after its founding in December 1918. At the party congresses in Jena (August 1921) and in Leipzig (January 1923) he was elected a member of the enlarged central committee (*Zentralausschuss*). He was also in the KPD delegation to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held in November 1922 in Moscow. After returning to Germany he became secretary of the Sailors' and Dock Workers' International, an organization affiliated with the Profintern and Comintern. Later he was elected a deputy to the Prussian Landtag and in 1928 to the German Reichstag; as a deputy he took advantage of parliamentary immunity to direct a Soviet secret-service network.

After Hitler's rise to power Wollweber settled in Copenhagen, where the Comintern's West European Bureau had been relocated. He was entrusted with several missions in the Scandinavian countries and clandestinely visited many towns; among them Oslo, Göteborg, Stockholm, and Luleå. In 1940 he was arrested in Stockholm and sentenced to three years in prison but was freed before his sentence expired through the intervention of the Soviet government, which claimed him as a Soviet citizen. He then returned to Soviet Russia and lived there until the end of 1945.

In 1946 he went to East Germany, where he became a deputy chief of the general directorate of maritime navigation, and became its head in February 1947. In 1949 he assumed the function of state secretary in the Department of Communications and on May 1, 1953, was nominated state secretary for maritime navigation. In July he succeeded Wilhelm Zaisser as state secretary for national security and deputy minister for internal affairs; with the reorganization of that ministry he was named minister for national security in November 1955. In April 1954 he was elected to the central committee of the SED. In November 1957, according to the official statement, he left his ministerial position for "health reasons." In February 1958, together with Karl Schirdewan, a member of the politburo of the SED, Wollweber was accused of "factional activities" directed against Walter Ulbricht; he was removed from the central committee and ceased to play an important political role in East Germany. He died in 1967.

Wompe, Peter. Born in Russia in 1890. Prior to World War I he was militant in the Russian trade-union movement, especially with railroad workers. In 1911 he joined the RSDLP, in which he supported the Menshevik faction. In April 1917 he joined the Bolshevik party. After its victory on November 7, 1917, he commanded a unit of the Red Guard. When the Comintern formed the OMS under Piatnitsky in 1921 Wompe became one of his two assistants. At the close of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held in November and December 1922, he was nominated a member of the Orgburo, where he handled organizational matters until his death in August 1925.

Woog, Edgar. Born in Switzerland in 1898. He studied business in Basel and Hamburg and then returned to Switzerland. He joined the social democratic youth in 1917 and became a member of the Swiss Social Democratic Party in 1919. In 1920 he and his family emigrated to Mexico, where he was militant in the communist movement under the name Stirner and went to Moscow in 1921 to represent the Mexican Communist Party at the Third Congress of the Comintern and the Mexican communist youth at the second congress of the KIM. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held in November and December 1922, he was the only Latin American representative elected to the ECCI, and as a member of that body he took part in the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in June 1923. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was elected a member of the ICC and served as its secretary. He stayed in Moscow until 1927 and then undertook various Comintern missions in foreign countries. In 1928 he worked in Berlin for the West European Bureau of the Comintern. In 1931 he was arrested in Spain and deported to Mexico. He then returned to Moscow. In 1935, after the Seventh congress of the Comintern, he returned to Switzerland and resumed his place in the communist party under his real name.

In 1937 he was arrested and accused of recruiting volunteers for the International Brigades in the Spanish civil war and in March 1938 was sentenced to a year in prison. When the Swiss Communist Party was outlawed in 1940 he was a member of its central committee. In 1941 he was arrested briefly for distributing communist literature, in 1943 was sentenced to three months in prison, and in 1944 to six weeks. Also in 1944 he helped found the Swiss Party of Labor, in which he served as a politburo member and vice-president until 1949, when he became secretary-general at the party congress. From 1947 to 1955 he was also a deputy in the Swiss federal parliament.

As secretary-general of the Swiss party he made a number of trips to the Soviet Union—in October 1952 he represented his party at the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B), in March 1953 he performed the same function at Stalin's funeral, in February 1956 he attended the twentieth congress of the CPSU, in October 1961 he attended the twenty-second congress, and in 1966 he addressed

the twenty-third congress on behalf of his party. He retired as secretary-general of the party in November 1968 because of his age.

Wu Hsiu-chuan. Born in the Chinese province of Hupeh in 1909. He joined the revolutionary movement while in secondary school and in 1927 was sent to Soviet Russia for political and military indoctrination at Comintern schools. He returned to China in 1931 and in 1932 went to the Soviet Republic of Kiangsi. During the Long March he was named, in December 1934, deputy chief of staff for the Third Army, under the command of Peng Te-huai. When the communists settled in Yen-an in 1936 he became director of the international relations division of the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) central committee.

From 1945 to 1949 he held various military positions and eventually became chief of staff for the northeastern military region. After the communist victory in October 1949 he was named chief of the Russian and East European department in the foreign affairs ministry and as such took part in the Moscow negotiations of January and February 1950 preparatory to the Sino-Soviet Friendship Pact.

In November 1950 he went to New York as a Chinese communist representative to the United Nations (Security Council) Conference on China, at which he delivered a 20,000-word speech, attacking mainly "American imperialism." In January 1951 he became assistant minister of foreign affairs, an office he held until April 1955. In March 1953 he was a member of the Chinese delegation to Stalin's funeral. From May 1955 to September 1958 he was the first Chinese ambassador to Yugoslavia.

At the eighth congress of the CCP in September 1956 he was elected a member of the central committee. Early in 1959 he returned to work for the international relations division of the central committee and in that position represented his party at communist congresses in Poland, Rumania, Cuba, North Korea, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia.

He went to Moscow with the Chinese delegation in July 1963 in order to negotiate the renewal of relations between the two communist parties. In November 1964 he accompanied Chou En-lai to Moscow after the fall of Khrushchev. During 1963 and 1964 he continued to represent the CCP in meetings with delegations from Japan, Indonesia, and Rumania but after the cultural revolution of 1966 was exposed to violent attacks and was no longer a member of the central committee after the ninth congress of the CCP, held in April 1969.

Y

Yang Shang-kun. Born in the Chinese province of Szechwan in 1900. He was in the first group of Chinese students sent by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1925 to study in Moscow at Sun Yat-sen University, where he took part in CCP activities and learned the Russian language. In 1927 he finished his studies, returned to China, and joined the communist movement. Somewhat later, when the 28 young Chinese "Bolsheviks" returned to China from Sun Yat-sen University and one of them, Chen Shao-yü (known as Wang Ming), took over the leadership of the CCP in 1931 Yang was given his first responsible party positions; by 1932 he belonged to the circle of party leaders working clandestinely in Shanghai. He left Shanghai in October and settled in the Sovietized region of Kiangsi in Juichin where he took charge of propaganda and headed the political department of the Red Chinese First Army. At the fifth plenum of the CCP's central committee in January 1934 he was elected an alternate member of the new central committee of the party; at the second congress of the Chinese Soviet Republic, held in Juichin in that same month, he was elected a member of the central executive committee. At the beginning of the Long March in October 1934 he was the political commissar of the army, which was under the command of Peng Teh-huai. In January 1935 he attended the Tsunyi conference at which Mao Tse-tung took over the leadership of the CCP.

After the Long March Yang continued to hold important positions in the party and the army. In January 1950, after the communist victory, he became director of the general office of the party's central committee, from September 1955 to February 1956 he was assistant secretary-general of the party and at the eighth congress of the party, held in September 1956, he was a member of the central committee and an alternate member of its secretariat. During the early 1960s he was deeply involved in the changing Peking-Moscow relationship. In November 1960 he was a member of the Chinese delegation to the Moscow Meeting of Eighty-One Communist and Workers' Parties. During the following years he was a member of Chinese delegations to various Peking meetings with foreign communist parties in sympathy with the CCP viewpoint. However, after the cultural revolution of 1966 the Red Guards accused him of having "bugged" Mao Tse-tung's conversations over the previous ten years and having transmitted the information obtained to the Soviet embassy. He was removed from the secretariat at the eleventh plenum of the central committee in August 1966 and after the ninth congress of the CCP, held in April 1969, he was dropped from all leading party positions.

Yeh Chien-ying. Born in 1897, the son of a wealthy Chinese businessman. He lived first in Singapore and then, from 1913 to 1915, in Hanoi; he returned to China and graduated from the military academy of Yunnan in 1919. He supported the Kuomintang and beginning in 1923 cooperated with the commu-

nists; in 1924 he was an instructor at the Whampoa military academy, where he joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). At the time of the split between the Kuomintang and the CCP in 1927 he took part in the abortive communist insurrections at Nanchang and Canton, after which he went to Soviet Russia for political and military training at Sun Yat-sen University, then visited Germany, and in 1931 returned to China; he settled in the Sovietized region of Kiangsi, headed by Mao Tse-tung, and there took charge of the Red military academy.

He participated in the Long March in 1934-35 and settled in the Soviet Republic of Yen-an. After the Sian incident in December 1936 he and Chou En-lai undertook negotiations with the Kuomintang; he remained the liaison man between the Kuomintang government and Mao Tse-tung's republic until 1938 and at that time was appointed chief of the communist military general staff.

At the fifth congress of the CCP in April 1945 he was elected a member of the central committee and in 1945-46 he participated again in negotiations with the Kuomintang. He became a mayor of Peking in January 1949 after the communists took control. From June 1949 to 1954 he was first-secretary of the party bureau of South Central China and in 1954 became vice-chairman of the National Defense Council. In September 1955 he was tenth on the list of the first ten marshals of the Chinese army. At the eighth congress of the CCP in September 1956 he was reelected to the central committee and during the cultural revolution which began in 1966 he became a member of the secretariat of the central committee. At the ninth congress of the CCP in April 1969 he was promoted to membership in the politburo.

Yordanov, Yordan. Born in Bulgaria in 1876; he became a lawyer. He joined the Bulgarian socialist movement and when the party split in 1903 opted for the Tesniak (Narrow) Socialist Party, in which he became a prominent militant; when the party took the name Bulgarian Communist Party and joined the Comintern he continued as one of its leaders and in 1922 the party sent him to Moscow as its representative—in May he took part in the ECCI meetings, and in June he became a member of the ECCI Presidium and attended the second enlarged plenum of the ECCI. He returned to Bulgaria after the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November.

He disassociated himself from the 1923 communist insurrection and left the party after the communist terrorist attempt on the cathedral of Sofia in April 1925; he then joined the National Liberal Party and edited its newspaper. Later he was appointed to a high office in the Bulgarian government. He died in 1942.

Yugov, Anton. Born in Greek Macedonia in 1904, the son of a farmer. After World War I the family settled in Bulgaria and in 1919 he began to work as a laborer in the tobacco industry. In 1920 he became militant in the trade-union movement, in 1922 joined the leftist Macedonian revolutionary

organization led by Protogerov, and in September 1923 took part in the communist-led insurrection. He joined the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1928 and was militant in various subsidiary groups before becoming a member of the Committee for Plovdiv in 1930. In 1934 his party sent him to Moscow, where for 15 months he attended the Leninist School of the Comintern.

In February 1936 he returned to Bulgaria with Traicho Kostov and in 1937 became a member of the party politburo and directed the trade-union section. In 1942 he was arrested and interned in a camp but was sentenced in absentia when he escaped and went underground. After the coup of September 9, 1944, he was appointed minister of the interior. In 1947 he also became deputy prime minister but at the time of the Kostov affair was removed from office and demoted to a position as minister of industry in January 1950. Later he made a self-criticism and, although he lost his position in the politburo, he became minister of heavy industry in September 1951, regained his seat in the politburo, and in August 1952 again became deputy prime minister. At the fourth congress of the party in March 1954 he was reelected to the politburo and in August became first deputy prime minister. He attended the twentieth congress of the CPSU, held in February 1956 in Moscow, and in April succeeded Valko Chervenkov as prime minister. In October 1961 he and T. Zhivkov headed the Bulgarian delegation to the twenty-second congress of the CPSU, but just before the eighth congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in November 1962 he was removed from both his state and party positions.

Z

Zachariades, Nikos. Born in 1903, the son of a Greek laborer living in the Turkish city of Nicomedia (Izmit); he spent his childhood in Constantinople and Adrianople and in 1919 began work as a dock worker and then as a sailor. He joined the Greek communist youth in 1921 and the Greek Communist Party (GCP) in 1923; shortly afterward the party sent him to Moscow to study at the KUTV. He returned to Greece in late 1924, headed the communist youth movement in Athens and then in Salonika, and became a member of the central committee of the Greek communist youth. He gave up communist youth work in 1927 and joined, in succession, the GCP apparatus in Piraeus, in Vólos and in Salonika. In 1929 the party sent him to Moscow again, where for two years he studied at the Leninist School of the Comintern, and in 1931 returned to Greece as a member of the politburo of the GCP. He went to Moscow again in 1934 as the party's representative to the Comintern Balkan Secretariat and in July and August 1935 represented his party at the Seventh Congress of the

Comintern. He already was de facto GCP chief when he was elected secretary-general at the sixth congress of the party in December 1935. He was elected a communist deputy in January 1936 but when the Metaxas dictatorship was established that year Zachariades was arrested and imprisoned.

After the Germans occupied Greece in May 1941 he was transferred to Dachau concentration camp and did not return to Greece until May 1945; by June, at the twelfth central committee plenum, he was again reinstated as head of the party. He remained in Athens until 1947 but did not join the communist insurrectional forces of the Markos government and later took refuge in Eastern Europe. After the failure of the communist insurrection he resumed party leadership and directed the purges among Greek emigrants. In October 1952 he was a spokesman for his party at the nineteenth congress of the RCP(B). After the death of Stalin he continued to lead the GCP and in February 1956 represented the party at the twentieth congress of the CPSU. At the sixth plenum of the GCP in March 1956, held after Khrushchev's attack against Stalin's personality cult, Zachariades was removed from his positions as secretary-general of the party and as a politburo member; at the seventh plenum in February 1957 he counter-attacked but lost, and was excluded from the central committee and then expelled from the party. He then settled in the U.S.S.R.

Zaisser, Wilhelm. Born in Germany in 1893; a teacher, he was drafted during World War I and discharged as an officer late in 1918. He then joined the left wing of the USPD and became a member of the unified KPD in 1920. During the troubled period between 1921 and 1923 he worked for the communist military apparatus in the Ruhr region. He made his first trip to Soviet Russia in November 1922 as a member of the German trade-union delegation to the second congress of the Profintern, which he addressed. In 1924 he was again sent to Moscow, for training in a military school, and then joined the secret service of the Soviet army, for which he fulfilled various missions, one of them in China; in about 1930 he returned to Soviet Russia to enroll in a leading military academy.

After the outbreak of the Spanish civil war in July 1936 he went to Spain under the pseudonym General Gomez and commanded the Thirteenth International Brigade and then the international base at Albacete. After his return to Soviet Russia late in 1938 he managed, unlike many civil war veterans, to escape Stalin's purges and went to work as a translator for Comintern publications.

During the Soviet-German war he headed an anti-fascist school in Krasnogorsk for the reeducation of former Wehrmacht officers. In 1945 he accompanied Soviet troops to East Germany. He then became chief of police in Saxony and later minister of the interior. In February 1950 he became minister of state security for East Germany and was seated in the SED politburo but

in July 1953 was accused of being "anti-party" and subsequently was deprived of all his party and governmental positions. In January 1954 he was expelled from the SED; he died in 1958.

Zápotocký, Antonín. Born in Bohemia in 1884, the son of a socialist militant. In his early youth he worked as a stonemason's apprentice. He joined the Czech Social Democratic Party in 1902 and became the party's regional secretary in Kladno in 1907. During World War I he was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army. After resuming political activity in 1919 he sided with the party's left wing and went with a delegation of the social-democratic left to the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 and prepared the adherence of that left to the Comintern. When the Czechoslovak Communist Party was founded in September 1921 he became a member of its central committee and in 1922 the committee's secretary; in 1925 he was elected communist deputy to parliament.

He attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November and December 1922 and returned to Moscow to take part in the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1923. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 he was elected an alternate member of the ECCI and as such attended the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in March-April 1925, at which he was a presiding official. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 he was one of the spokesmen for his party and was reelected an alternate member of the ECCI. From 1929 to 1939 he was secretary-general of the communist-controlled trade unions in Czechoslovakia. In 1935 he was a member of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which he addressed, and was again reelected to the ECCI.

He was arrested by the Germans in 1939 and deported to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1940, where he remained until his liberation in 1945. After his return to Czechoslovakia he was appointed chairman of the unified trade-union movement; in February 1948 the trade unions and the workers' militia played an important role in the Prague coup and he later became deputy prime minister. He was nominated prime minister when Klement Gottwald became president of the republic in June 1948 and succeeded him as president when Gottwald died in March 1953. He was a member of the Czechoslovak delegation to the twentieth congress of the CPSU in February 1956 and returned to Moscow for Soviet-Czechoslovak bilateral talks in January 1957. He died in office in November 1957.

Zetkin, Clara. Born in Saxony in 1857, the daughter of a German teacher. While studying to become a teacher in Leipzig she met a group of socialist militants, among them her future husband, the Russian Osip Zetkin and in 1878 she, too, became a socialist militant. After the SPD was outlawed she lived from 1880 to 1890 in Switzerland and then in Paris; during those years

she was active in the international socialist movement and helped prepare for the founding congress of the Second International, held in Paris in 1889, at which she presented a report on the women's movement, and subsequently took part in all the congresses of the Socialist International.

After returning to Germany in 1890 she edited the women's newspaper *Gleichheit*, during which time she belonged to the left wing of the SPD and opposed the revisionism of Bernstein; she also was head of the women's secretariat of the Second International. During World War I she took an internationalist stand and in March 1915 she joined the Gruppe Internationale, which later became the Spartacus League. Meanwhile the SPD leadership removed her from the editorial staff of *Gleichheit*. She then went to work for *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. She joined the USPD when it was founded in 1917 and belonged to its left wing. Although she did not take part in the founding congress of the KPD, she broke with the USPD in March 1919. Thereafter she joined the communists and at the second congress of the KPD in October 1919 was elected to the party's national committee (*Zentrale*).

In 1920 she was appointed a member of the German delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern but did not reach Moscow until September, when the work of the congress had ended; nevertheless, she had long talks with Lenin and many of the important Comintern and Soviet leaders. In June and July 1921 she was again in Moscow for the Third Congress of the Comintern and reported on the communist women's movement; at the congress she was in opposition to the official KPD leadership and at that time maintained good relations with the former (and already expelled) president of the KPD, Paul Levi; at the close of the congress the ICC was formed and she was appointed its chairman. In February 1922 she reported on the German communist movement at the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI; in April she was with the Comintern delegation to the conference of the Three Internationals, held in Berlin; in June she attended the second enlarged plenum and from then on was seated on both the ECCI and its Presidium; and in November she participated in the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, which confirmed her membership in the ECCI and its Presidium.

At the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI in June 1923 she reported on the struggle against Fascism; in the autumn she took part in the meetings of the ECCI; and in January 1924, when the Comintern called a special meeting of its Presidium to discuss German affairs, she took part as spokesman for the right wing. Meanwhile the left wing took over the KPD leadership. She was not elected to the central committee at the ninth congress of the party (April 1924) or at the tenth congress (1925). During that time she lived almost continually in Soviet Russia and from 1924 to 1927 was chairman of the MOPR. At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924 she was reelected to the ECCI but not to its Presidium. She took part in the enlarged ECCI plenums of 1925, 1926, and 1927, and after the 1927 congress of the KPD again became a member

of the central committee. At the ninth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1928 she was reelected to both the ECCI and its Presidium. Those positions were confirmed at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in August and at the eleventh ECCI plenum in 1931.

During the 1920s and early 1930s she also played a role in German politics. From 1920 on she was a communist deputy to the Reichstag without interruption. In August 1932 she returned to Berlin from Moscow to preside as the senior member of parliament at the opening session of the new legislature, a few months before Hitler's rise to power; she then returned to Soviet Russia, where she died in a sanatorium in June 1933.

Zhdanov, Andrei. Born in Russia in 1896, the son of a school inspector. While in secondary school in Tver he became politically active and in 1915 joined the Bolshevik party; in 1916 he was a member of the party committee in Tver. Later he was drafted into the tsarist army and after the victory of November 7, 1917, became a militant Bolshevik in the Urals. In 1920 he joined the RCP(B) regional secretariat at Tver and from 1924 to 1934 was secretary of the party regional committee at Nizhni Novgorod. At the fourteenth congress of the RCP(B) in 1925 he was elected an alternate member of the central committee, at the sixteenth congress in 1930 was elected a full member, and at the close of the seventeenth congress in 1934 became one of the secretaries of the central committee. His rise in the party hierarchy was directly related to the growth of Stalin's power. After the assassination of Kirov in December 1934 Zhdanov succeeded him in Leningrad. In 1935 he was named an alternate member of the party's politburo, and at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 was elected a member of the ECCI. During the big purges of 1936-38 he was one of Stalin's closest collaborators. At the eighteenth RCP(B) congress in March 1939 he became a full member of the politburo.

During the Soviet-German war he was in charge of the defense of Leningrad. In May 1943, with Malenkov, he signed in the name of the RCP(B) the act dissolving the Comintern. In 1945 he returned to Moscow from Leningrad and resumed his post at the secretariat of the RCP(B) central committee. In 1946-47 he led the offensive, which remained known as "zhdanovism," against nonconformist writers, artists, and philosophers. In September 1947 he chaired, in Stalin's name, the meeting at which the Cominform was founded and in June 1948 was present at the second official Cominform meeting, at which Tito was excommunicated. He died unexpectedly on August 31, 1948.

Zinoviev, Grigori. Born Grigori Evseevich Radomilsky in 1883 in Russia into a lower middle-class Jewish family; he was educated at home and went to work as a shop clerk. At the turn of the century he belonged to the first socialist groups formed in southern Russia and in 1901 joined the RSDLP. In 1902-03 he traveled to Berlin, Paris, and Bern; he met Lenin while in Switzer-

land in 1903, and after the party split in London that year he joined the Bolsheviks. Late in 1904 he returned to Bern from Russia and registered as a chemistry student at the university. After the revolution of 1905 he returned to Russia and from 1906 to 1908 was a member of the Bolshevik committee in St. Petersburg. At the fifth congress of the RSDLP, held in London in 1907, he represented the St. Petersburg party organization and was elected a member of the central committee. He was arrested in 1908 but was released a few months later. He then went to Geneva, where he joined Lenin on the central committee of the RSDLP (in which the Bolsheviks had a slight majority) and with him headed the Bolshevik newspaper *Proletarii*; later he joined the editorial staff of another newspaper, *Sotsial-Demokrat*, which came under Bolshevik control.

In 1910 he was a member of the RSDLP delegation to the international socialist congress held in Copenhagen. At the Prague conference in 1912, when the Bolsheviks officially formed their separate party, he was elected a member of the central committee. Later he settled in Cracow, where he and Lenin headed the bureau of the Bolshevik central committee. After World War I began he and Lenin returned to Switzerland, where they headed and wrote for the official Bolshevik newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*. They both represented the Bolshevik party at the Zimmerwald conference in 1915 and the Kienthal conference in 1916; Zinoviev was seated on the bureau of the Zimmerwald Left as a representative of the Bolsheviks.

After the revolution of February 1917 he and Lenin left Switzerland and traveled through imperial Germany to Petrograd. He then took part in the April conference of the Bolshevik party, joined the editorial staff of *Pravda*, and worked in the Petrograd soviet. Lenin and Zinoviev went underground when the Kerensky government issued a warrant for their arrest. At the October 10 meeting of the Bolshevik party's central committee, when it was decided to take over the government of Petrograd, Zinoviev and Kamenev voted against the decision and jointly published an expression of their disagreement with Lenin's revolutionary policy in the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn'* (New Life). After the victory of November 7, Zinoviev again disagreed with Lenin over the issue of a coalition government with other socialist parties which Zinoviev favored; nevertheless, he continued as a member of the Bolshevik party's central committee and in December 1917 was appointed chairman of the Petrograd soviet, an office he held until 1926.

In March 1919 he took part in the founding congress of the Comintern and presented two reports—one with Fritz Platten on the communist attitude toward the international social democratic conference in Bern and one on the Russian political situation—and at the close of the meeting was elected chairman of the ECCI, a position he held until 1926. At the eighth congress of the RCP(B) in March 1919 he became a member of the politburo. In July and August 1920 he gave the opening speech at the Second Congress of the Comintern and presented several reports—on ECCI activities, on the role and structure

of communist parties, on the conditions for admission to the Comintern, and on the requirements for the formation of soviets—and became chairman of the Little Bureau (later to become the Presidium of the ECCI) when it was formed at the close of the meeting.

In September 1920 Zinoviev headed the Congress of the Peoples of the East, which met in Baku; in October he was Comintern spokesman at the Halle congress of the USPD. At the Third Congress of the Comintern, held in June and July 1921, he gave the opening speech and presented the report on ECCI activities. In December he explained to the ECCI the new tactics of the United Front. At the first enlarged plenum of the ECCI in February 1922 he delivered the two major reports—one on the ECCI activities and one on the tactics of the United Front; at the following enlarged plenum in June he spoke on the conference of the three Internationals in Berlin and on the trial of the socialist revolutionaries in Moscow. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November he made the opening speech and presented the ECCI activity report, by now traditional functions for him, and also reported on the communist movement in Italy. At the twelfth congress of the RCP(B) in April 1923 he gave the central committee's political report instead of Lenin, who was ill, and in June directed the activity of the third enlarged plenum of the ECCI. In September and October 1923 he was deeply involved in preparing for the German October; he presided over meetings of the Comintern Presidium on the events in Germany and published his book *The Problems of the German Revolution*.

After Lenin's death in January 1924 Zinoviev became part of the "troika" (with Stalin and Kamenev) which headed the RCP(B) and the Comintern; at the thirteenth congress of the RCP(B) in February he presented the central committee's political report for the last time; in June and July he was the dominant figure at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and again presented the report on ECCI activities. At the fifth enlarged plenum of the ECCI in March and April 1925 he reported on the current central problem—the Bolshevization of the various sections of the Comintern. In that year he openly resisted Stalin and formed the New Opposition. In February and March 1926 he presided over the enlarged plenum of the ECCI for the last time and gave the closing speech; in July he was expelled from the RCP(B) politburo. At the seventh enlarged plenum of the ECCI, held in November and December, he gave his last speech before the organization of which theoretically he was still chairman; he was criticized and at the close of the meeting the office of chairman of the Comintern was abolished.

At the eighth plenum of the Comintern, held in May 1927, he was refused entrance to the meeting room; in November he was expelled from the RCP(B). In 1928 he offered a public self-criticism and subsequently was reinstated in the party; for the next four years he worked in the apparatus of the Soviet state but in October 1932 was again expelled from the RCP(B). In 1933 he

was given authorization to rejoin and early in 1934 was a member of the editorial staff of *Bolshevik*, the RCP(B)'s theoretical review, but later in the year he was expelled from the party for the third time. After the assassination of Kirov, Zinoviev was sentenced to ten years in prison in January 1935; he appeared with Kamenev at the first major public trial of the Bolshevik "old guard" in August 1936 and was sentenced to death and executed.

Zinoviev was a prolific writer and published many books (some in collaboration with Lenin) and pamphlets. His collected works (*Sochinenia*) were published by the state publishing house (Moscow-Petrograd) in eight volumes from 1923-26; some of his books and pamphlets have been translated into various foreign languages.

Žurga, Jakob. Born in Slovenia in 1892; he worked on the railroads. At first he was active in the trade-union movement and then joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) when it was founded in 1919. In April 1920 he helped organize the railroad workers' strike in Slovenia. After the CPY was outlawed he continued to work for the communist cause and became a member of the party's regional committee for Slovenia. At the second national conference of the CPY, held in Vienna in May 1923, he was elected to the central committee and was reelected at the third party congress in May 1926, held again in Vienna. During that time he lived mainly abroad. In May 1928 he was one of three members of a provisional bureau appointed by the Comintern and also became the organizational secretary of the CPY. He took part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in August, which he addressed in his party's name, using the pseudonym Rogić. However, he lost all of his positions within the party at the fourth congress of the CPY in November 1928 in Dresden. He returned to Yugoslavia in 1929 but was arrested and in November of the same year sentenced to five years in prison.

Zujović, Sreten. Born in Serbia in 1900. He was in high school in Belgrade at the outbreak of World War I; in 1916 he retreated with the Serbian army and subsequently reached France, where he enrolled as a volunteer in the French army. He returned to Belgrade in 1921, joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), and became a bank employee. He was active in the trade-union and cooperative movements and was elected secretary of the bank and commercial employees' trade union. At the same time he was a minor functionary in the outlawed CPY but by the end of the 1920s was promoted to more responsible party posts. Discovered by the police and arrested, he was sentenced to six months in prison in March 1930 and left Yugoslavia after his release.

Once in the Soviet Union, he enrolled in the Leninist School of the Comintern and resided in Moscow for several years. At the fourth national conference of the CPY in December 1934 he was elected a member of the central committee and in 1935 settled in Vienna, seat of the CPY headquarters at that time.

In 1936 he was promoted to membership in the politburo established in Paris in the meantime. During the second half of 1937, when Milan Gorkić, secretary-general of the CPY, was summoned to Moscow (and subsequently liquidated) and Tito was named provisional secretary of the CPY, Žujović was eliminated from CPY leadership and severely reprimanded. In 1938 he returned to his native country, placed himself at the disposal of the CPY and, using the pseudonym "Crni" [Swarthy], worked for the clandestine apparatus of the party. During 1939-40 he was party instructor in certain regions of Serbia and Macedonia and at the fifth national conference of the CPY in October 1940 was reelected to the central committee.

On July 4, 1941, at the meeting of the CPY politburo where the decision to launch armed resistance was taken, he was named commander-in-chief of partisan armed forces in Serbia. In October he accompanied Tito in his negotiations with Colonel Draža Mihailović, leader of the national resistance movement. At the end of November Žujović was wounded during a German offensive against the territory controlled by communist armed forces; after his recovery he was without interruption a member of the partisans' headquarters headed by Tito. When the national anti-fascist committee (provisional government) was established under Tito's chairmanship in November 1943 Žujović was named minister of communications and promoted to the rank of army general. In March 1945 he became minister of finance in the new Yugoslav government established in Belgrade and the following month was a member of the Yugoslav delegation to the constitutive conference of the U.N. in San Francisco.

He was a member of the government and of the CPY politburo uninterruptedly until the beginning of the open conflict between Tito and Stalin—in April 1948, at a meeting of the central committee of the CPY, he was the only member to openly plead the cause of Stalin and the Cominform. The following month he was stripped of all his functions within the party and the state and was arrested and accused of being "a fractionist, calumniator and enemy of the party and of the country." He was imprisoned for over two years without trial but in November 1950 signed a public declaration in which he made a complete self-criticism and condemned the policies of Stalin and the Cominform. After his release he worked first at an institute of economic studies and then, until his retirement, in the administration of the CPY's daily, *Borba*.