

# How G.P.U. Hounds Revolutionists

## Old Bolshevik, Tarov, Escapes, Testifies to Inquiry Commission

The author of these lines was born on November 7, 1889, in Shusha in Transcaucasia. The son of a mason, he was a worker, a mechanic by trade. He began his political activity at the age of eighteen, in 1917, when he entered the Bolshevik Communist Party. He took part in the Civil War in the ranks of the Red Army until 1921. After the Civil War, he worked in the party apparatus.

In 1923, the party sent him to the Transcaucasian Communist University. In 1925, he was expelled from the University as a Left Oppositionist for his active struggle against the Rightists and Centrists. He continued to work in the party, occupying rather important posts (as secretary of local party committees, as instructor-organizer of party organizations, as secretary of the press department of the Central Committee, etc. In 1927 he was expelled from the party for oppositionist activities.

### Arrest, Deportation

On September 19, 1928, he was arrested for his opposition work at Erivan, whence he was transferred to Tiflis. After three months in prison, he was deported to Akmolinsk in Siberia. On January 22, 1931, he was again arrested, in exile, for oppositionist work and sentenced to three years imprisonment in a G.P.U. "isolator". He served these three years in the isolator of Verkhne-Uralsk.

### Deportation and Escape

After completing his sentence, in 1934, he was deported to Andijan in Central Asia, whence after five months he escaped abroad to Persia. He was imprisoned by the Persian police. After a month's imprisonment in the Tabriz jail, he was freed, owing to a major flood that overflowed in all the police and prison build-

ings. Soon he was again arrested and deported to Amadan, deep in the interior. It was not until 1937 that he succeeded finally in getting to Europe.

A living witness and a direct participant in the struggle of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition against the Rightists and Centrists, the author of these lines hopes that his testimony will be useful to the Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials.

### The Soviet Worker is Not Free

I cannot refrain from saying of all at least a few words on the fact that the workers are not free in the U.S.S.R. There was a time, when Lenin was alive, when they were free. Now they are not. If the worker does not hold his tongue, no qualification will avail him. He will quickly find himself in the street. In the U.S.S.R. there are many unemployed, although they are not considered as such. They are unemployed, not because there is no work, but because the bureaucracy will not give them work and all industry is in the hands of the State. In recent years, hundreds of thousands of men have been expelled from the party, and the immense majority of them are without work. By such means the bureaucracy keeps the working class shackled. The worker dare not say a single word against the apparatus, against the regime.

But that is not all. The worker is obliged not to keep silent; at meetings he must speak and side with the leadership—with the director, the committee, the union bureaucrat, and naturally the higher leadership; nobody dares "gossip", that is to say, speak of the faults of the institution employing him and of its heads, or express his opinion in the intimate circle of his comrades or at home.

But this also does not suffice. If the worker hears any kind of "gossip" he must report it immediately to his superiors. Otherwise he will be considered an accomplice, a double-dealer, a suspect, traitor terrorist, Trotskyist, etc. Neither his skill nor his work will then any longer avail him. At best, he will be dismissed from his job and will have to travel throughout the country in search of other work. If, after long suffering, he finds some, he will not be able to receive wages corresponding to his skill, for he is on the blacklist as a "disrupter"; the local bureaucracy will consider him suspect from the beginning.

Every shop has its "stool". Generally these stool pigeons are not workers, but students, sons of minor functionaries. The sons of the important functionaries play the role of spy in the institutions of the party and the Soviets, in the trade unions and economic organizations, in the educational institutions and the army. They are attached to these institutions as learners, students, instructors, etc. But obviously there are also stool pigeons who have come from the working class, those who have succeeded in obtaining some share of the secret funds. At present these spies constitute one of the essential props of the Stalin regime. The whole Soviet population is terrorized by a network of such stool pigeons. In the U.S.S.R. a man is not only forbidden to speak, but he dare not even think.

### Why the Opposition Functioned Underground

In the discussion meetings (1926-1927), the members of the apparatus generally occupied the seats around the praesidium. The praesidium was not elected; it was appointed in advance. It was always one of the most important functionaries, the secretary, the

director, the head of the G.P.U., or someone of the sort, who served as the chairman of the praesidium. When in 1927, at a general membership meeting in the city of Erivan, one of the participants, Comrade D., opposed the official reporter, the chairman of the meeting immediately silenced him. How dare he speak against the "authoritative" reporter! After that, all those who had placed their names on the speakers' list refused to take the floor. Two weeks later, Comrade D. was expelled from the party and dismissed from his job.

In 1927, in the same city, one of the nuclei elected the Oppositionist Gazarian to the party congress. The political bureau of the Central Committee at once sent Gazarian into the outlying district, and ordered the nucleus to revoke its decision. A supporter of the C.C. went to the congress as a delegate. This is a minor incident. Similar cases can be cited by the thousands.

Such were the conditions everywhere, for the Opposition, in the struggle inside the party. Expulsion from the party, dismissal, arrest, and exile. It was precisely this situation that compelled the Opposition to go underground.

### How the G.P.U. Extorts Capitulations

The extortion of false testimony under the threats of cruel measures began a long time ago, at least ten years ago. If that is now being done in the cells of the G.P.U. prisons, in 1924-1929 it was in the office of the party committees and control commissions.

In 1927, the Opposition Guloyan, now chairman of the C.E.C. of one of the Soviet Republics, was expelled from the party and dismissed from his job on the charge of having stolen 500 rubles from the treasury of the

local committee, of which he was secretary. Guloyan then declared that he was leaving the Opposition, and betrayed all his comrades. The party leadership revoked its charge of theft, and promoted him first to the rank of chairman of the control commission and then to that of chairman of the C.E.C. of the Republic.

But hundreds and thousands of Oppositionists who did not yield to this kind of "training" had to suffer in prisons and concentration camps; their wives and children were doomed to hunger and death. From among these thousands of men, I should like to mention the following Oppositionists: Krapivsky, Popov, Boltoboy Vanush, the machinist Tatekhsian, the locksmith Goranlov, and thousands of others who had three, four, or five, and sometimes more, small children. Each of these was the sole support of his family. After arresting them, the Stalinist apparatus deprived their wives and children of all civil rights.

There were Oppositionists who, frightened by arrests and repressions, wished to leave the Opposition quietly and abandon politics. But the apparatus did not let them off so easily. It demanded that they capitulate, that they betray their comrades with whom they had worked in the Opposition. Many of the capitulators consented to do so, as did the above-mentioned Guloyan, Radek, and others. For this they were rewarded by the Stalinist apparatus with soft jobs. But there were also capitulators who absolutely refused to become traitors. In the offices of the central committees and control commissions, they were threatened that unless they agreed to betray their comrades they would be accused of crimes that would blacken them in the eyes of the masses, that they would be hand-

(Continued on page 8)

District Attorney F. 1824

### OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY

Warrant and Bond Department

Nº 45

HALL OF JUSTICE

Kearny and Washington Streets

San Francisco, Aug 21 1937

M.

Dear

Kindly call at this office on the

27th day of August

1937, at

o'clock

P. M., relative to a complaint which has been made against you by

on a charge of

It is the direction of the District Attorney that you be given an opportunity to present the facts as you understand them before final action is taken. In this way no injustice will be done to either party.

In the event you do not appear at said time, we shall assume that the facts as stated by complainant are correct.

Assistant Warrant and Bond Deputy

## CLARITY CALLS THE COPS

We reproduce the summons procured by Ward Rodgers, against Glen Trumble on criminal charges. This is the first time in American history that a working class political faction has tried to jail its opponents. Austin Lewis, noted Socialist lawyer of California, will represent the defendants in court.