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TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER ORLOV

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

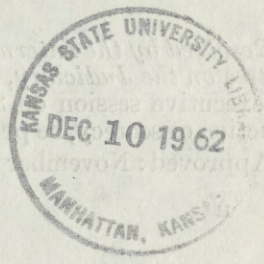
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COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
OPERATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE
EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS



SEPTEMBER 28, 1955

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

RESOLUTION

Resolved by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, That the testimony of Alexander Orlov given in executive session on September 28, 1955, be released from the injunction of secrecy, be printed and made public.

Approved: November 15, 1962.

TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER ORLOV

SEPTEMBER 28, 1955¹

U.S. SENATE,

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:40 p.m., in room 411, Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland (chairman) presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Alva G. Carpenter, associate counsel; and Benjamin Mandel, director of research.

Chairman EASTLAND. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ORLOV. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you give the reporter your name?

TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER ORLOV; ACCOMPANIED BY MRS. MARIA ORLOV

Mr. ORLOV. Alexander Orlov.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where do you live, Mr. Orlov?

Mr. ORLOV. In New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your address in New York?

Mr. ORLOV. Care of my lawyer, Mr. Hugo Pollock, 19 West 44th Street.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your business or profession?

Mr. ORLOV. I am a writer now; a former Soviet diplomat and counterintelligence chief.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you employed at one time by NKVD?

Mr. ORLOV. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. In what capacity?

Mr. ORLOV. I occupied a number of high posts in the NKVD, among them deputy chief of the economic department of the NKVD, commander of the frontier troops of the Transcaucasian frontier; chief of the economic department, in which capacity I exercised control of the foreign trade of the Soviet Union with other countries. My last post was as adviser to the Republican Government of Spain during the civil war.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you at the present time a Communist?

¹ EDITOR'S NOTE.—Contemporaneous publication withheld because at the time of this hearing and for a long period thereafter, one of the personalities involved was under surveillance by Federal intelligence agencies.

Mr. ORLOV. No, I am not. I broke with communism before I entered the United States. My entry was in August 1938.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, at one time, have an acquaintance with an NKVD official named Alexeev?

Mr. ORLOV. Yes, I knew Alexeev well.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where was that and what was his position?

Mr. ORLOV. I first met Alexeev in 1933 in Vienna where he worked under the command of a close friend of his. Later I met him at the beginning of 1937 in France in the French Embassy a number of times when I used to come from Spain on business to Paris.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was his position then?

Mr. ORLOV. He was an officer of the NKVD department—or they call it residence office in France—under the resident director, Nikolai Smirnov.

Mr. SOURWINE. What were his duties, if you know?

Mr. ORLOV. Yes, I know. His duties were to meet contacts and get from them secret information for the service.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have an occasion to meet, see, and know something about a man known to you as Etienne?

Mr. ORLOV. Yes. While being in France, I learned that a man by the name of Mark, his first name—I didn't know his last name then, but found out now that his name is Zborowsky—who was a secret agent of the NKVD in France and was planted and insinuated into close friendship with Trotsky's son, Lev Sedov.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was in Paris?

Mr. ORLOV. This was in Paris.

Mr. SOURWINE. In Paris.

Mr. ORLOV. I would like to add—if you will allow me, I will give it in chronological order, then the whole picture will become clear.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go right ahead, all right.

Mr. ORLOV. I was sent by the Politburo to Spain in September 1936. Before that I should say approximately in August during the famous Moscow trial of Zinoviev and Kamenev that there was a highly secret agent and highly valued agent in France, who was planted to the Trotskyites and became the closest friend of Trotsky's son, Lev Sedov.

He was so highly valued that even Stalin knew about him. His value, as I understood then, was that he would become the organizer of the assassination of Trotsky or Trotsky's son any time, because in view of the great trust Trotsky and Trotsky's son had in him, that Mark could always recommend secretaries to Trotsky, guards to Trotsky, and in that way could help to infiltrate an assassin into Trotsky's household in Mexico.

When I heard about that, in Moscow, I didn't inquire about the name of that man, neither his first name nor his last name, because immediately in my mind occurred a decision that the next opportunity I have to go abroad I will notify Trotsky against that spy and I didn't ask his name because if that man is later exposed, a thorough investigation will ensue and only a few people knew about him, so it would be easy to pinpoint the several people who knew and might have exposed him but I made a decision that I would use every effort while in Spain and in France, because I used to visit France very often, to find out who that man was.

I thought it would not be difficult for me because the resident director of the NKVD in France was a very close friend of mine.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was Alexeev?

Mr. ORLOV. That was Smirnov whom I mentioned.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. ORLOV. Working in Spain I used to visit France on business very often. I met all of the officers there and I met Alexeev, I met that Alexeev, there.

This Alexeev was a junior officer whom I previously met in 1933 where he worked under a close friend of mine with whom we fought in the civil war on the western front. Being a junior officer, Alexeev, as is the custom in the service, tried to ingratiate himself with me to show his usefulness because I was the man who could promote him, arrange a transfer to my office, and things like that.

Once when I came out of the Embassy together with Alexeev, he told me, "I have a man who was planted on Trotsky's son and became his shadow and if that man falls through, through any negligence of mine, he said my head would be cut off."

Well, I became very interested. I put a couple of questions and learned that his first name was Mark, but I didn't inquire about his last name. He worked in the Institute of Boris Nikolayevsky.

Another time when I was in the French Embassy, Alexeev told me he was going to see that man. "Would you like to see that man?" It was his pride and he tried to ingratiate himself. We got into the car and drove to the railroad station called Gare D'Austerlitz. There we got out of the car and separated. He went into a large park. I don't remember the name of that park, adjacent to that railway station. And I followed him at a distance. Soon I saw him meet a short man of about, I should say—it is very difficult for me to judge—but I should say about 35 years old, about 5 foot 5, swarthy, wearing dark-rimmed glasses, that means the rims are dark, not the glasses. They sat down on a bench.

I strolled a little bit and took a seat, a distant seat on another bench. I saw some papers pass and it took probably not more than 3 or 4 or 5 minutes and they parted.

That man Mark went his way to the other end of the park and Alexeev walked out from the opposite direction.

I followed Alexeev and then I joined him. I got a little bit more information at that time. Excuse me.

I would like to stress that I took pains to try to remember his features, to know his description, in order to notify Trotsky, but I didn't know his last name and I didn't ask about it.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was in the summer of 1937?

Mr. ORLOV. That was in 1937, sometime in the summer. He told me, Alexeev told me, that Mark was married to a young girl and that they had a baby. Another thing he said, and now I found out the reason why they met at that park, that that man Mark lived at the edge of that park, in one of those bystreets. So you will be able to find out when you question him where he lived and you will find out exactly that he lived near that park, which is close to the railway station.

I also learned that that man, Mark, wrote in Trotsky's bulletin of the opposition. This is the name of Trotsky's journal which was pub-

lished in France in Russian. That man Mark wrote there under the pen name of Etienne. So I had something to go upon already if I wanted to warn Trotsky about it.

I maybe would like to pinpoint more closely the time when that happened. I think that happened sometime probably in August 1937, sometime in August. Not in the early summer but in the late summer of 1937.

Later I learned that sometime in November, I think it was 1936 or 1937, Mark stole Trotsky's archive from the Institute of Boris Nikolayevsky.

He was after Trotsky and after all his writings and tried to steal everything he could, so Trotsky divided his archives into three parts and one part of the archive was concealed in Boris Nikolayevsky's Institute.

I learned exactly how it was done.

The whole world learned that one night somebody broke in during the night, burned out a hole in the door and stole that archive. Actually that was engineered by Mark, by that man Mark, but in order that suspicion does not fall upon Mark at the time of the theft Mark was not physically present at the theft.

On the contrary, a careful alibi was arranged for him. That very night he was in the apartment of Trotsky's son with other comrades drinking and honoring the October revolution. It was the anniversary of the October revolution, November 7. He gave to the NKVD agents, who broke into the institute, the plan and the exact location of where Trotsky's papers were concealed.

I broke with the Soviet Government on July 12, 1938. A month later I entered the United States. On December 27, 1938, I sent from Philadelphia a registered letter to Trotsky addressed to Mexico, to Coyoacán, Mexico, where Trotsky lived.

I sent a copy of that letter also to Trotsky's wife, because she bore the name of Sedov and I thought that if the Soviet agents, spies, steal my letter from the mails in Mexico—because the address is a notorious one bearing the name of Trotsky—they might miss the letter addressed to Trotsky's wife.

Luckily I have a carbon copy of that letter which I sent some 18 years ago.

Knowing very well that Trotsky might be surrounded by spies, and Stalin would learn about my whereabouts if I wrote that letter in my own name, I decided, I evolved a way of writing that letter so that the contents, the message which I wanted to give to Trotsky would be there, but that those who intercept that letter, or the spies who are surrounding Trotsky and might have learned even from Trotsky himself about the contents of that letter, would not be able to know that that letter came from me.

How that letter was written can be seen from the photocopy of the carbon copy.

If you have time I can tell you how I evolved the way of notifying him and at the same time concealing my identity.

In the summer of, I think, 1938, a big Russian NKVD chief by the name of General Lushkov, who was chief of the far eastern maritime provinces of Russia, seeing how Stalin was exterminating all his comrades, decided to make a break and—maybe you remember there was a big story in the newspapers—he fled to Japan.

He succeeded in doing it only because the frontier troops were under his command, so he could lay open a way for himself. His picture and the picture of correspondents in Japan were all over the newspapers. It happened that that man was one of the two top men who arranged the first Moscow trial against the old Bolsheviks in August 1936, so I informed Trotsky about the following.

I represented myself as a Russian, a former Socialist who emigrated to America a long time ago but who happened to be the uncle of General Lushkov who escaped to Japan. Then I wrote to him that I received a frantic letter from my nephew, General Lushkov, asking me to come to Japan and to help him. Then I told Trotsky in that letter that General Lushkov is afraid of being extradited, turned over by the Japanese authorities to Stalin, but is perfectly willing to expose a lot of things concerning the trials, in which he unfortunately took such a part and that I learned from him that close to Trotsky's son Sedov there was a dangerous spy by the name of Mark, in Paris.

Here are some excerpts from that letter:

I decided to write to you what I learned about an important and dangerous agent provocateur who had for a long time been the assistant of your son Sedov in Paris. The name of this provocateur is Mark.

Those are just sporadic excerpts.

He was literally the shadow of Leon Sedov. This provocateur worked until 1938 in the archives institute of the well-known Menshevik Nikolayevsky in Paris and maybe works there now. It was this Mark who stole a part of your archives from the Nikolayevsky Institute. This agent provocateur is about 32-35 years old. He is a Jew. Originates from the Russian part of Poland. Speaks good Russian. He wears glasses. He is married and has a child, a baby. This provocateur has no revolutionary past whatsoever. In spite of the fact that he is a Jew, he was about 4 years ago a member of the Society for the Repatriation to Russia.

This is a society of former Paris officers.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you say 4 years ago you mean 4 years before this date?

Mr. ORLOV. It means 4 years before 1938.

He was already a Bolshevik provocateur then. Now the assassination of Trotsky is on the agenda and they will try to plant an assassin through that agent provocateur or through provocateurs from Spain under the guise of Spanish Trotskyites. This provocateur meets Soviet agents from the Soviet Embassy regularly. The main thing: Be on your guard. Don't trust any person, man or woman, who may come to you with recommendations from this provocateur. Ask your trusted men to check on this man and find out whom he meets. There is no doubt that they will see him with an officer of the Soviet Embassy.

I signed that letter by the name of Stein and I asked Trotsky to place an ad in his Trotskyite newspaper in New York, called Socialist Appeal and notify me whether he had received that letter.

And soon enough, indeed, there appeared a frantic call to me—to "Stein":

I insist that you go immediately to the editorial officers of the Socialist Appeal and talk about it to Comrade Martin.

I surely didn't go there, because that man Martin might also have been a Soviet provocateur or something like that. I don't know. I didn't go there. That was all.

Later I tried to reach Trotsky by phone. I called him up and there is a witness to that effect—a person who was then at Trotsky's household in Mexico. Trotsky didn't come to the phone because he had to cross a street or something like that. It was already evening and it was probably out of caution he couldn't come.

Now, I didn't know what happened to that Mark. I was living in hiding in the United States for about 15 years with the knowledge of the American authorities. I lived under an assumed name, hiding from Soviet assassins. In April 1953 I published my articles in *Life* magazine, exposing the Kremlin dictatorship. In this way I came out of my hiding. After that I met a number of writers and once I met one of them who lived in Paris, a Russian Socialist leader, an honest man.

I asked him whether he knew a man by the name of Mark who worked in Nikolayevsky's Institute. He said he knew. Then I told him that man was a spy, he was an agent provocateur.

Later on July 6, 1954, I received a letter from David Dallin, the writer. Here is the letter in which he writes that he wanted to see me because he wanted to write a review about my book and because he is writing a new book about Russia, he would like to have my advice.

I met him on July 6, 1954, and I arranged that meeting very cautiously because I knew that Dallin's wife was herself a Trotskyite and an intimate member of that circle of Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov and of Mark, at that time in Paris. Because they were close friends, I was afraid that if Mark learns from them that—excuse me I must say something else.

When I told a couple of writers here about Mark, that that agent provocateur might be flourishing now in Europe and so on, they talked among themselves about that man and Mark learned that General Orlov, the former high official of the NKVD, was exposing him. That is why I arranged that meeting with Dallin very secretly because if Mark learned from Dallin's wife that Orlov was coming to see them, well, nobody knows what might have happened.

I met Dallin without his wife, because I knew his wife was a very close friend of that Mark. So I was cautious. There was quite an interesting and strange conversation between me and Dallin. I asked Dallin about that agent provocateur, whether he knew him. He said yes, surely he knew Mark. He asked me: "Do you know his last name?"

I said "No." Does the name of Zborowsky mean anything to you? I said "No." Have you ever seen that man and here I said no, because I was afraid that through blabbering and so on that Mark might find out that I was able to identify him. I asked Dallin where might that man be now. He answered: "I don't know." Then I ventured: "Mark is probably now in Poland, a big chief of the NKVD, because that was the region where he grew up."

Dallin shrugged his shoulder and said "maybe." Then my wife said—she was present—"maybe Mark got stranded in France during the war." Then Dallin answered "No, he departed from France." You will understand why that sounded strange to me from what I have to say later.

On December 25, 1954, I had a second appointment with David Dallin. He asked me, he wanted to see me, and again, get advice on the book he was writing. I asked him where we should meet.

He said: Well, if you could come to my apartment. I said, I would. "You probably won't like to have my wife present." A strange remark from a husband. I said, on the contrary I will take my wife and I will be glad to meet Mrs. Dallin too. We went to their apartment. And then Mrs. Dallin during the conversation about Mark suddenly remarked, "You know, Dallin and I were instrumental in bringing Mark into the United States." I said: "What? Is he in the United States?" "Yes, indeed. He came here in 1941. He is already an American citizen." And she said she met him at the pier. That was a big surprise to me because had Mr. Dallin told me that Mark was here in this country, I would immediately have exposed him. I wish to emphasize here that as soon as I came into the open, while talking with the FBI officials and naming a number of spies and talking about the NKVD work, I mentioned to them Mark, but I didn't know his name was Zborowsky and they probably put it in the index under the name of Mark.

They asked me where he might be. I said if he was alive, he must be somewhere in Poland. But when I learned that from Dallin's wife, I immediately took steps—that was the 25th of December, that was Christmas. Two days later I went to the U.S. attorney's office at Foley Square to one of the assistants whom I knew and told him immediately about the story that Mark Zborowsky, an agent-provocateur, is now a naturalized citizen and is now here in the United States.

Now returning to that visit to Dallin's apartment: Mrs. Dallin told me "You know your letter that you wrote to Trotsky arrived there when I was in Trotsky's household in Mexico. When I learned later that you were the author of that letter and what you were telling about Mark Zborowsky, I told them this is not true."

Surely I was nettled. How come? Why should I, immediately after I received word about myself from Stalin's assistant and came to America, write a letter to Trotsky in Mexico and warn him against them? I gave the facts where he lived, that he had a baby, that he was recently married, that he worked at Nikolayevsky's Institute, that he wrote under the name of Etienne in the Trotsky's Bulletin.

She said, that was also strange to me. There were two Etiennes writing. I became incensed. It is a little magazine and there was only one Etienne. I said: no, there was only one Etienne. She wanted to contradict, but David Dallin motioned to her to become calm and said there was one Etienne.

I thought why should she try to cover him up. Must friendship go so far as to really try to shield a man? I couldn't understand that. But still she said: It is untrue. Then I mobilized my memory because I want to add that since the time I saw Mark with Alexeev, I used to read some of his reports and I said, "Well: you were a close friend of Mark, and what if I give you data here which will knock you down?" She said, "What, for instance?" I said, "Well, was there such an occurrence or not?"

Chairman EASTLAND. What was that?

Mr. ORLOV. Was there such an occurrence or not?

Chairman EASTLAND. I don't understand.

Mr. ORLOV. I told her, "here is one case in point. On the day in August 1938, during the first Moscow trial, Trotsky's son Lev Sedov was walking in the streets of Paris with Mark and suddenly Sedov's

son caught sight of a newspaper on the stand: 'All the 16 leaders of the revolution shot.' And he started crying without shame, walking and crying without covering his face, loudly. People looked at him and Mark wrote that in his report."

I said, "Did you hear about that?" She said, "Yes, indeed. I remember he told me about it."

Mark told her about it.

The effect was overwhelming. "Now," I told her, "Was it true or not true that Sedov from Paris wrote to his father Leon Trotsky in Mexico that he met a Russian, a man who came from Russia, probably a Bolshevik who told him that in Moscow, in the Kremlin, they consider Sedov no less important and able than Trotsky himself?"

And that was written in one of the reports of Mark. She said, "Yes, that is true."

Now, I saw one of the reports, written by Mark, that Trotsky's son Sedov, in spite of all the friendship, sometimes fell under the spell of mistrust toward Mark. And such a spell used to last for about 5 or 6 days and then the friendship was set again. She said "That is also true, Mark told me."

"Now do you believe?" "Yes," she said, "Now I believe."

Now, what I learned from Mrs. Dallin was—excuse me. After that visit, as I mentioned, to Dallin's apartment, I went to the U.S. attorney and told the whole story. The U.S. attorney called in two men, from the FBI. They were already on that case on the basis of the information I gave long ago about a Mark, about a man called Mark. And Mrs. Dallin told me that the FBI agent came to inquire about Mark to one of his closest friends, a lady whose name I know now as Mrs. Bernaut. This is an assumed name.

She is the widow of the famous NKVD man who was assassinated in Switzerland by Stalin's agents. His name is Ignace Reiss. And Mrs. Dallin told me that Mrs. Bernaut told something to the FBI agent about her which was not true and when she learned about it she—that means Mrs. Dallin—insisted that Mrs. Bernaut call up the FBI and change her story.

Now Mrs. Dallin told me that Mrs. Bernaut ostensibly—but maybe Mrs. Dallin herself—warned Mark that General Orlov was exposing him to the authorities.

And so Mark already knew that I was the one who was exposing him.

Now, as we know, Mark Zborowsky came here in 1941. His services in France were no longer needed. Trotsky's son was either assassinated or died under mysterious circumstances. Trotsky was killed. So with my standing—with the NKVD having sent to America one of their most valuable agents, it occurred to me that he was sent to corner me.

It is my firm belief that that man Zborowsky, all through those years has been here in the United States an agent of the NKVD conducting espionage on a large scale. A man like Chambers and a woman like Elizabeth Bentley, with their exposed rings were just little people in the intricate machine of the NKVD. They were not even members of the Soviet Communist Party. They were never in Moscow and never worked for the NKVD.

Have you seen what trust was given to them and how many people they knew? Surely the NKVD trusted a man like Mark thousands

of times more—a man who had more experience than Elizabeth Bentley or Chambers. There could be a supposition: Maybe, Mark Zborowsky broke also with the Soviet Government and came to America. This is very unlikely because the NKVD had reports from Zborowsky in his own handwriting and they would never let him go free.

They would make him work. Another thing: he was a professional spy for the service. Why should he suddenly break? He worked for money. He never had any ideals of any kind. He posed as a Trotskyite, as a Socialist. He never was. He thought it is good business. I learned from Mrs. Dallin that Zborowsky lived under false paper while in France and he told her he bought those papers.

I know how those papers are bought. They are just manufactured in Moscow. Now as you see, that man Mark Zborowsky was forewarned, before the FBI came to talk to him that General Orlov was exposing him. It is just my conjecture that he immediately contacted his Soviet espionage chiefs for advice and I don't know what that advice would be but probably, when I turn back to the old times when I worked in the NKVD, the best solution would be to tell him: well confess to that part of which General Orlov says about you. But don't expose any other things. Say that you have broken. You were a spy, you were planted with Sedov's son and so on, but since you came to America you did nothing.

And he has probably behind him the best lawyers who can advise him.

So, he will appear tomorrow, or I don't know what day, before you, and it won't be an easy job. Maybe he will probably admit what I told here, let's say that he didn't work or do any more. But if very experienced men in the FBI talked with him and bargained with him, they might have won him over from the Russians.

Chairman EASTLAND. You don't know whether he has talked with the Bureau?

Mr. ORLOV. I am under an impression that they did.

I told the FBI man who used to come to me for information that I am afraid that the Russians might kill me as a witness against Mark, because if I were eliminated, or Chambers were eliminated in time, Hiss would still be there. If Elizabeth Bentley were eliminated, many others would not be exposed. I am a witness and the Russians know how valuable it would be to close a witness. The FBI told me: don't be afraid of that Mark Zborowsky. I understood that he was something like talking or cooperating but it was not said in so many words, that was my impression.

There is no reason for you to expect anything from him. Maybe he wanted to put my wife at ease because she was always afraid of assassination.

The FBI brought to me photographs of various people and asked me if I could identify Mark. I saw Mark another time when he would be at a certain cafe, and went there and studied his features. From about 20 photographs I was able to identify that man Mark.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you seen him in the United States?

Mr. ORLOV. I have seen him only once I think. When I got out of the office of my lawyer I saw a man reading a newspaper and I saw half of his face looking at me carefully and I have an impression that that was that man.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you had any contact with Mark in this country?

Mr. ORLOV. No. I never had any contact with him.

Mr. SOURWINE. If I understand correctly you said that before you talked to Mr. Dallin about this, Mark had learned that you were exposing him, is that correct?

Mr. ORLOV. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How have you learned that?

Mr. ORLOV. Yes?

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you know that he had learned that?

Mr. ORLOV. Mrs. Dallin told me. Here is how it was. I met once a venerable old Socialist by the name of—he is about 78 now—by the name of Raphael Abramovitz. He is a former leader of the Socialist Party who lived in exile in France and knew Nikolayevsky and everybody. I asked him if he knew a man named Mark who worked with Nikolayevsy, that that man is a dangerous man, maybe betraying people.

Later at the apartment of Dallin, Mrs. Dallin told me: "Mr. Abramovitz told me you were exposing Mark. I told him it was untrue and you were the author of the letter and it was absolutely untrue." This is how it happened. According to her, she told about it to Bernaut, to the wife of the assassinated KKVD man who was close friend of Mark, and she forewarned Mark.

I don't know but maybe Mrs. Dallin blabbered it out herself. That is how I learned from Mrs. Dallin herself that Mark knew that the FBI was after him on the basis of the accusations made by Alexander Orlov.

Mr. SOURWINE. You said in 1937 when you first learned about Mark you reached a decision to warn Trotsky?

Mr. ORLOV. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you at that time—

Mr. ORLOV. I made a decision when I was in Moscow that if I succeed in learning his name and so on I will do it.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was in 1937.

Mr. ORLOV. In Moscow it was in the fall of 1936. Then I came to Spain and during 1937 I learned the particulars about it, about Mark.

Mr. SOURWINE. In 1936 and 1937 you were an official of the NKVD? You were a Soviet official?

Mr. ORLOV. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did this decision of yours to warn Trotsky amount to treason to Soviet Russia?

Mr. ORLOV. Absolutely.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you at that time already made up your mind to break with communism?

Mr. ORLOV. You see I was preparing to break with communism for several years.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what I wanted to bring out. You were not a Trotskyite?

Chairman EASTLAND. Let him answer the question.

Mr. ORLOV. My mother and the mother of my wife were in Moscow, and if I broke they would be liquidated. As a matter of fact, we finally, when finally I made my break, because a trap was set for me, I received a cable in July 1938, I received a cable from Moscow when

I was in Spain to go to Antwerp and to board a Soviet ship by the name of *Svir* where an important representative of the party, of the Politburo and probably of the NKVD, would have a conference with me.

I understand that was a trap. And before that several traps were set for me on the territory of Spain.

Chairman EASTLAND. Why?

Mr. ORLOV. In order to liquidate me. At that time, if you remember, all the big officials, all the big shots, were liquidated one by one and especially every chief of the NKVD, because they knew too much. Because I knew the scripts of the trials, how they were made, because I knew personally the people who interrogated them, the inquisitors who tortured them. Stalin wanted that myth to stick in history that those were traitors, Hitler's spies, and only he alone was the savior of the revolution and of communism.

In March 1937, as early as in March 1937, my first cousin, who was a member of the central committee of the party and the head of the NKVD in Ukraine, was liquidated, and they tried to liquidate me in Spain.

Once I received a cable, that was in 1937, I received a cable after most of my colleagues were assassinated and liquidated in Moscow.

I received a cable warning me that the general staff of General Franco and of Germany, according to intercepted documents, the general staff of Franco and of Germany had a plan to entrap me on the territory of the Republic of Spain and to force me to yield the information of the military help which Russia is giving to the Loyalist government, how many planes and things like that.

That is why the chief of the Russian intelligence service informed me that they are going to send me 12 men as a guard who would accompany me in all my travels.

I understood that those men would be those who would liquidate me. So I immediately answered that I don't need any guards, because my offices are guarded by the Spanish guards day and night, and in all my travels I am accompanied by agents, by agents of the Spanish secret police.

The guards were not sent to me. But immediately after that I sent my assistant, a man whom Khokhlov mentioned here in your hearings as General Kotov, who was my assistant in Spain. That was his name in Spain, and his real name was Etingon. That man Etingon was liquidated. How he survived so many years I don't know. I sent that man to the front, to the German international brigade with an order to pick out 10 guards who would be my personal body-guard.

He picked out 10 German Communists. Some of them were wounded in the past, with good records, and they lived in my offices with me, and they accompanied me with tommyguns in their hands and hand grenades in their belts when I went to the front.

If an emissary from Stalin came from Moscow and told him he must liquidate Orlov, they would think he was the traitor or the spy. They would get him, not me. Only Stalin personally would have to tell them. Otherwise they would not believe him. Then it occurred to me that the Russians might send a mobile brigade and kidnap my 14-year-old daughter who lived with my wife some 14 miles from Bar-

celona and then force me to return to Russia. When that thought occurred to me at 12 o'clock in the night, I drove to the villa and woke them up. I took them to France and hired a villa for them and left with them an agent from the Spanish secret police who knew France because in the olden times he used to be a taxi driver in Paris and who became their chauffeur at the same time. And when all those tricks didn't produce any results, finally I received a cable to go to Antwerp and to go aboard the Soviet ship *Swir*, which left on the 9th of July and would be in Antwerp on the 14th and that I should appear there for a conference with an important man "whom you know personally."

They said, "whom you know personally." They didn't give a nickname or anything else. I understood immediately and my close assistant and that man Kotov whom I showed the telegram understood that that was a trap. But every one of them believed that I was going into that trap.

When I left my office in Barcelona, my officers came out of the mansion which we occupied and they were gloomy and they felt that I was going into a trap. Instead, I called up my wife and made an appointment with them at a certain hotel in Perpignan and fled. That was on July 12. I arrived in Paris on July 13; that was the eve of Bastille Day, in 1938; I called up the American Ambassador William Bullitt, but surely on the eve of Bastille Day he probably went to the southern coast of France or somewhere. He was not there.

So on the advice of my wife I went to the Canadian Embassy and luckily their office was not closed and I got a letter of recommendation from the Ambassador. I didn't tell him I broke. I went to Canada and when I arrived in Canada I went to the American Ambassador and, without telling him about my break with the Soviet Union, I asked for permission to go to America for a short time. They gave me a visa for 1 year. When I arrived in America I found a lawyer and went immediately to Washington where I immediately made a declaration about the break with the Soviet Government.

It was then a secret because I did not want Stalin to know where I was. I arrived in the United States on August 13, 1938.

Here is the letter about which I told you. Here is the carbon copy which could be age tested. It is not necessary because the answer of Trotsky is in the newspaper. It is written in Russian on a Latin typewriter, so we used foreign characters for transmitting. I had no Russian typewriter. Mrs. Dallin said that she was then in Mexico when this letter was received.

(Discussion off the record.)

Chairman EASTLAND. Mark had nothing to do with Trotsky's assassination?

Mr. ORLOV. I don't think he had. I have no information about that. I have no information about that. But he might have had something to do. Maybe. This is only a supposition of mine. With the mysterious death of Trotsky's son who was operated for appendicitis—everything was well and suddenly that man died—there was great suspicion.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did that happen before Mark left Paris?

Mr. ORLOV. Yes, that happened before Mark left Paris.

Mr. SOURWINE. We had a statement from Mr. Dallin which we thought you might have wanted to have read to the witness for his possible comments.

Chairman EASTLAND. Read it to him.

Mr. MANDEL. Will you interrupt me at any point where you wish to add to it. This is a statement by David Dallin.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. MANDEL. I will read parts of it that are relevant:

Mrs. Dallin was an acquaintance of Zborowsky since 1935. I met him a few years later in Paris. Our acquaintanceship continued also during Zborowsky's stay in this country until 1953.

Lately Zborowsky himself stopped denying his work for the NKVD. He now admits certain acts. Also he tries to conceal whatever in his view cannot be revealed and proved.

As far as we know from Zborowsky himself, he was born in 1907 in Uman, Russia, later Soviet Ukraine; he was taken by his parents to Lodz, Poland, when they escaped from Soviet Russia during the revolution. Zborowsky became a Communist in Lodz; was arrested in 1930 and after a period in jail was freed on bail. He jumped bail and went to France.

It seems that his services for GPU-NKVD date from about this time; the Soviet police supplied him with perfect false documents (never questioned by the French police) whereas Zborowsky, an ardent Stalinite, agreed according to Orlov, to carry out specific assignments. According to Zborowsky, the first place in France where he lived was Grenoble; and he worked as a waiter and studied at the university.

This part of his study is not substantiated. Orlov says that Zborowsky's first assignment was to serve as secretary of the so-called, Union of Returners in Paris. The union was a Soviet-sponsored and Soviet-financed emigree group founded to find anti-Soviet emigree parties and to make propaganda for the return of emigrees to Russia.

The union also served as a reservoir for Soviet GPU agents for all possible tasks including certain cases of kidnaping and murder.

Do you want to comment at this point, because your name was mentioned?

Mr. ORLOV. Yes, I would like to comment. That although I said that Mark Zborowsky was a member of that group of Returners, and acted there as an agent provocateur, I didn't say it was his first assignment. I don't know, maybe there were many assignments before that.

Another thing I would like to say is I think that the assertion of Dallin that Mark Zborowsky was arrested in Poland and had to flee must be substantiated because I even don't believe that.

From what I knew, Zborowsky never engaged in any revolutionary activities anywhere, he was just a spy for money.

Mr. MANDEL. Is that all?

Mr. ORLOV. Then, I hope that Mr. Dallin will explain that moment about the arrival of Zborowsky in the United States. If Mr. Dallin knew that Mr. Zborowsky lived on false documents in France why then did he sponsor his arrival in the United States?

Mr. MANDEL (reading):

The next assignment brought Zborowsky in touch with the Trotskyites groups in France, and this was his task from 1933 to 1934 at least until the war.

Zborowsky's penetration of the Trotskyites and his ascendancy in this group developed gradually; he obviously was instructed on every step by experienced NKVD men.

There existed in Paris two Trotskyite groups—a French one and a small Russian group. The latter, headed by Leon Trotsky's son, Lev Sedov, was of greater importance in the eyes of the NKVD.

The road to Sedov led through the French group which, more numerous, opened its doors widely and gladly accepted every newcomer. He became very active among the French followers of Trotsky; and then after a certain time he was brought in touch with Sedov; he quit the French organization and devoted all his time and attention to Sedov and the Fourth International.

Any comment?

Mr. ORLOV. No.

Mr. MANDEL (reading):

Pretending to be a convinced Trotskyite, Zborowsky was let into many important secrets of Trotsky's organization; he read a great part of the letters from and to Trotsky, took part in international conferences, met a large number of Trotskyite leaders from various countries. At the same time, according to Orlov, he regularly and extensively reported orally and in writing on Trotsky, Sedov, their activities and their plans; he intensely hated Trotsky, Orlov says. Zborowsky actually believed Moscow charges about Trotsky's connections with Hitler, etc.

Any comment?

Mr. ORLOV. How did Dallin know that he believed those charges, when Mark Zborowsky himself was a man who was among the falsifiers and knew how those frameups were done? How could he believe?

Mr. MANDEL (reading):

Zborowsky's wife, Regine, although not active, favored his Communist convictions and was aware of Zborowsky's service in the secret Soviet police.

Only a fraction of Zborowsky's exploits of this period is known to me. What is unknown may be much more important than the facts which I am going to relate here:

1. Zborowsky played a certain role in the Ignace Reiss affair. A high NKVD official, Reiss, defected in Holland in June 1937 and was assassinated by the NKVD gang in Switzerland on September 4, 1937. During these 3 months, the NKVD shadowed Reiss and prepared the group of assassins. It seems certain that Zborowsky played a role in the preliminary planning and finding out of Reiss' whereabouts. I have no proof of his direct participation in the act of murder.

Mr. ORLOV. The last sentence. Repeat that.

Mr. MANDEL (reading):

It seems certain that Zborowsky played a role in the preliminary planning and finding out of Reiss' whereabouts.

Mr. ORLOV. The first thing, Mr. Dallin mentions that Zborowsky admitted his service to the NKVD; to whom did he admit it; to Mr. Dallin? And how does Mr. Dallin know that?

Secondly, Mr. Dallin says that Zborowsky's wife knew about Zborowsky's service for the NKVD. How does Mr. Dallin know that?

Did the wife of Zborowsky tell him? Did Zborowsky himself tell him?

As to the role which Zborowsky played in the assassination of Ignace Reiss that sounds to me only like a supposition. Dallin cannot have any information as to such vital and secret matters as that.

I learned, after Ignace Reiss was assassinated, the intricate devices, how it was planned and how it was done, but I never heard the name of Mark Zborowsky in connection with that assassination.

Mr. MANDEL (reading):

On November 7, 1936, a burglary was committed in the International Institute for Social History, 7 Rue Michelet, in Paris, whereby Trotsky's archives were stolen. A prolonged investigation by the French police yielded no results. According to Orlov, the theft was organized by Zborowsky.

Mr. ORLOV. Absolutely true.

Mr. MANDEL (reading):

The NKVD planned to kidnap Sedov and take him to Russia and in these plans Zborowsky was supposed to play an important role.

Mr. ORLOV. How can he know that? I for instance don't know it.

Mr. MANDEL (reading) :

When Sedov fell ill in February 1938, Zborowsky notified the NKVD to which hospital Sedov was taken by ambulance. Sedov died a few days later. There are no proofs, however, of Sedov's unnatural death.

Mr. ORLOV. This may be true, I don't know.

Mr. MANDEL (reading) :

When Walter Krivitsky, another ranking NKVD official, defected in Paris in the fall of 1937, Zborowsky was brought by Sedov in touch with Krivitsky. Zborowsky reported on all Krivitsky's moves. An attempt was made by the NKVD to assassinate Krivitsky at the railway station in Marseilles; it did not succeed.

Mr. ORLOV. That sounds true to me.

Mr. MANDEL (reading) :

One of the Trotskyites in France, secretary to the Fourth International, a former German Communist, Rudolf Klement (Frederick) disappeared and vanished in Paris on July 12, 1938 (he has never been found). Trotsky himself as well as the press accused the NKVD of having kidnapped or assassinated Klement. Although no definite proofs are available, it is likely that Zborowsky played a certain role in this affair.

Mr. ORLOV. I believe it. Excuse me. The date was 16, not the 12th, I think I read in the papers about it. But that can be verified.

Mr. MANDEL (reading) :

In 1938, Alexander Orlov defected and came over to this country. He tried to warn Leon Trotsky about Zborowsky and to this effect wrote him an unsigned letter about the spy's activities. Trotsky considered it a hoax by the NKVD aimed at the destruction of Trotsky's organization. Later Orlov tried to reach Trotsky (who lived in Mexico at that time) on the telephone from California, but the connection was not established.

Mrs. ORLOV. When I was in the kitchen supervising the preparation of the tea she told me about Zborowsky. I told her don't worry, you are not responsible. You cannot know about him. I said you know my husband called Trotsky by phone to warn him he might be killed. She said yes, I was present when the telephone call was established from San Francisco to Mexico.

Chairman EASTLAND. What was she doing with Trotsky in Mexico?

Mrs. ORLOV. She was living there as one of his secretaries. She was a Trotskyite and she was there.

Mr. ORLOV. I want to make one remark. He said that Trotsky considered my letter a hoax. That is not true because Trotsky's frantic appeal to me in the newspaper, "I insist you go to the editorial offices and talk about it to Comrade Martin" shows he was interested.

However, maybe out of political tactics Trotsky had to pretend maybe that he didn't believe it. Because if he said he believed it, all the guards who guarded at the danger of their own life, who guarded Trotsky, might have left him, because if Trotsky believed so easily an anonymous letter about Mark, then tomorrow he will believe about them.

In order to keep up the morale of those Trotskyites who surrounded Trotsky, Trotsky probably told them "I don't believe it", but he did believe it.

Mr. MANDEL. "Zborowsky and his family—

Chairman EASTLAND. Wait a minute. Mrs. Orlov?

Mrs. ORLOV. May I have permission to ask a question? If in the newspaper was written that you should go and talk to Mr. Martin,

I believe if Mr. Martin is not dead, he had certain instructions from Trotsky that some man will come and tell you about some danger to my life, please interview him. I believe this Martin is not dead. You may ask him. Listen, had you instructions from Trotsky to speak on behalf of this letter with certain man who reported this, that is a piece of evidence.

Mr. ORLOV. In connection with this I would like to add one thing. I did go to the editorial offices of the Trotsky newspaper, the Socialist Appeal, to take a look who that Martin was. I went there—I didn't tell you so you wouldn't be afraid for my life (to Mrs. Orlov).

Mrs. ORLOV. It was dangerous.

Mr. ORLOV. I asked who is Comrade Martin? Somebody showed me that man. I saw a swarthy fellow who looked to me more like a Hungarian. I just took a look at him and after I saw him I didn't enter his room. I didn't talk to him. I went away.

Mrs. ORLOV. Can you recognize him if he is alive and you can see him?

Mr. ORLOV. I think I would be able to. Maybe you might call in, if you deem it necessary, that man Martin to tell his side of the story.

Mrs. ORLOV. You think he cannot be a Russian spy in this organization—

Mr. ORLOV. Well, what if he is, Mrs. Orlov?

Mrs. ORLOV. Pardon me. Allow me to ask one question, if it is possible without a record?

Chairman EASTLAND. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. MANDEL (reading):

Zborowsky and his family still lived in France when the German Army occupied half of the country. Mrs. Dallin and myself agreed to help the Zborowsky family to escape from France, supplied the necessary affidavits and in December 1941 Zborowsky, his wife and son landed at Philadelphia, Pa.

For Zborowsky's record as a Soviet agent in the United States, no such source of information is available to me as Alexander Orlov. Apart from my general knowledge of the NKVD's attitude toward its old agents, there are only few indications that for a certain time at least, Zborowsky was connected with the NKVD's representative in this country, namely.

Mr. ORLOV. I didn't hear that?

Mr. MANDEL (reading):

For Zborowsky's record as a Soviet agent in the United States, no such source of information is available to me as Alexander Orlov. Apart from my general knowledge of the NKVD's attitude toward its old agents, there are only few indications that for a certain time at least, Zborowsky was connected with the NKVD's representative in this country, namely:

Lately he himself admitted that some time after his arrival he was contacted by NKVD agents in this country. I doubt, however, whether he tells the whole truth.

Mr. ORLOV. How does he know that?

Mr. MANDEL (reading):

In 1943 or 1944 it seems he was assigned to report on Russian emigree groups in New York and to this effect approached various emigree leaders. For instance, he gave \$100 to a Russian Menshevik writer, Aaron Yugov, allegedly to make possible the publication of a certain pro-Soviet statistic material. I doubt whether he paid from his own pocket which was rather empty at this time.

He also tried to approach other Mensheviks.

Any comments.

Mr. ORLOV. I don't have any comments, sir.

Mrs. ORLOV. I have a comment. If Mr. Dallin and Mrs. Dallin helped this man to come to America, knew all these deeds that they describe here, how is it possible that Mr. Dallin in the presence of myself and my husband—in what restaurant was it?

Mr. ORLOV. Longchamps Restaurant.

Mrs. ORLOV. What date?

I ask you to put this date down—said that he does not know where this man is and my husband said “maybe he is in Poland, big chief of NKVD.” He said “maybe.” “Maybe he was in France,” I said, “during the war, killed there.” He said, “No, I know he left France.”

Was it not natural for him to tell Orlov: “you look for a man, the man is here. Maybe you can do something about it.” But he put one very interesting question, “Can you recognize Zborowsky?”

Mr. ORLOV. The question to me?

Mrs. ORLOV. Have you seen this Zborowsky? My husband said “No.” Can you recognize him?

“No.” “Did you know his last name.” My husband said “No.”

Mr. MANDEL (reading):

In addition to his apartment in the Bronx, N.Y., Zborowsky at present possesses a summer house in Connecticut where his family spends the summers. A strong story was told by Zborowsky about how he came to own this house; a lady friend of the Zborowsky family committed suicide and bequeathed the house to his son whom she liked.

In the United States Zborowsky had had many jobs but since he does not make any secret of them, I suppose no report on my part is expected.

In conclusion, I would like to mention that according to Orlov, Zborowsky was no small-sized spy, but an important agent and the NKVD is not likely to let agents of this caliber defect and go astray.

Mr. ORLOV. That is absolutely true. Because the NKVD is in possession of handwritten reports, reports written by Zborowsky himself, they wouldn't let him go.

I know the ways of the NKVD. They would make him work. But I don't think they would have to use strong measures in order to force him to work.

Zborowsky made a good living on that for many years. Why should he discontinue? He worked for money and it is my firm belief that until he learned I was exposing him, he was working regularly with espionage rings here and maybe directing them.

From what I hear from Dallin, I assume that Zborowsky is now following the advice of his Russian masters and admitting things which he cannot deny because I exposed him and because my letter speaks for itself.

But he was advised by the Russian masters to conceal everything else.

Chairman EASTLAND. Any further questions?

Mr. SOURWINE. Nothing further.

Chairman EASTLAND. We will recess until 10 o'clock in the morning.

(Whereupon, at 4:15, the hearing adjourned, to reconvene at 10 a.m. September 29, 1955.)

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