

Comrade Krylenko's Speech for the Prosecution

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The Industrial Party is Destroyed — But the Danger of Intervention Remains.

The Matter now Rests with the Proletariat of the Capitalist Countries.

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union has commuted the death sentences passed upon the counter-revolutionary saboteurs. It has published the following resolution:

"The Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union has considered the request of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union for pardon of the condemned in the matter of the counter-revolutionary organisation known as the "Industrial Party", and decided:

"1. Whereas the condemned have not only confessed and do repent the crimes committed by them, but by their statements at the preliminary inquiry and examination have disarmed their counter-revolutionary organisation, which was an agency and the executive organ for the directives of the

interventionist military circles of bourgeois France and its appendage, "the Industrial and Commercial Committee";

"2. And whereas the Soviet government cannot entertain feelings of revenge, especially not to those who have been rendered harmless and who have confessed and repent their crimes, the death sentence passed on Ramzin, Charnowsky, Kalinnikow, Laritchev and Eyedotow is commuted into ten years' imprisonment with five years loss of civil rights and confiscation of property.

"The sentence of ten years' imprisonment passed on the accused Otchkin, Sitnin, and Kuprianov is commuted to eight years' imprisonment with confiscation of property and five years loss of civil rights."

The sentence passed by the revolutionary tribunal was dictated by the interests of the defence of the revolution and of its achievements. It was dictated by the will of the proletariat of the whole world to defend with all means of proletarian class warfare the proletarian fatherland against any imperialist intervention from outside and against any counter-revolution from within.

In face of the weight of evidence the Court could not come to any other decision.

In the act of pardon following the sentence there is expressed the strength of the Soviet Power. These saboteurs these agents of imperialist war are rendered harmless thanks to the vigilance of the G. P. U. and of the Bolshevik Party. The damage which their activity has caused to socialist construction has been more than made good again thanks to the working and fighting enthusiasm of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union. This strength of the Soviet Power, this force of the million masses of the working class which rules in the Soviet Union, is demonstrated by the fact that Ramzin and his consorts, who even according to their own confession deserve nothing less than to be shot, have been pardoned.

Ramzin and his consorts are done for. But it is not their personal fate that is the most important thing in this trial. Its tremendous importance lies in the fact this trial was the trial of imperialism, of armed intervention, of preparation of class war against the Soviet Union under the direct leadership of France.

The proceedings and the hearing of the accused and witnesses lasted for 13 days. It brought a tremendous amount of material to light. Facts on facts, far beyond those already contained in the indictment, were piled up and constituted a terrible picture of years of destructive activity by the band of saboteurs. During the cross-examination Krylenko, the Public Prosecutor, caused the accused to remember many things regarding which they had kept silent at the preliminary inquiry. A number of witnesses, who had themselves either directly or indirectly participated in the criminal activity of the accused, reported of things which the accused believed they would be able to conceal, but which they had to confess before the Court.

The many-sided sabotage activity of the counter-revolutionary organisation known as the Industrial Party was astounding. It was as multifarious as the orders of its wirepullers and backers in Paris, who did everything to prepare the ground for the predatory attack on the Soviet Union. It was as multifarious as the competence of the accused and their helpers, who had managed to smuggle themselves into leading positions in various economic and State institutions of the Soviet Union.

They endeavoured above all to perform sabotage work in the sphere of working out economic plans. Their aim was to sabotage the Five-Year Plan as such, and not only its execution. They strove in the first place to retard the pace of industrialisation and collectivisation. For this purpose they attempted to make use of the opportunist attitude of the Right elements in the Party itself. When these intentions were frustrated by the laying down of the general line of the Party and by the fixing of the figures of the Five-Year Plan in accordance with the same, the saboteurs attempted to create a disproportion between different parts of the plan, by forcing the development of whole spheres of economy and slowing down others. They strove to tie up large amounts of capital by the erection of expensive works which would not yield any return for a long time to come.

They attempted to sabotage the foreign trade of the Soviet Union by demanding the importation from abroad of machines which could be made in the Soviet Union itself. In the undertakings in which they worked as engineers they carried on the most cunning technical sabotage.

Already in the Shakhty trial (in the Spring of 1929), the heroes of which were members of the Industrial Party, there was furnished a sample of the methods of this technical sabotage.

The most important, however, were the revelations at the present trial regarding the sabotage activity which directly aimed at undermining the defensive power of the Soviet Union. Here the saboteurs followed the direct instructions of the

French General Staff. Their task was in the first place technically to prepare for the crippling of the works and factories which are of importance for the defence of the outbreak of war. They aimed at carrying out suitable preliminary work for the landing of intervention troops from the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea. Under the pretext of performing important agricultural work, they aimed at draining the swamps on the Western frontier in order to facilitate the invasion of enemy troops. They aimed at erecting at suitable spots huge saw mills, which if necessary could be converted into aerodromes for the enemy. They aimed at securing the enemy with supplies of benzine. They aimed, finally, at forming nests of saboteurs in the Red army itself. In addition to reports on the progress of this work, regular and extensive economic and military espionage reports were delivered to the imperialist States.

The statements which the accused made to the Court regarding this activity were concrete and precise in all their details. They spoke as engineers and professors are used to speak when reporting on their activity to an expert audience: without unnecessary words, sober and exact. Thus war was prepared; not an ordinary imperialist war between rival States who are squabbling over markets, colonial spheres of exploitation and possibilities of capitalist expansion, but a cynical, open class war. The war of the bourgeoisie against the Proletarian State. The war of the Russian bourgeoisie, of the former industrial and financial people driven into emigration, who gathered round the notorious Torgprom in Paris. The war of the international bourgeoisie, of Deterding and Urquardt. The war, the military preparation of which lay in the hands of the statesmen of the big imperialist powers.

But not only capitalist circles were taking part in the preparation of this imperialist class war: all those bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements whose fate is bound up with that of the imperialists also participated in it. In the Soviet Union itself the Industrial Party became the direct agency of the Torgprom and of the French General Staff; it was actively supported by the petty bourgeois „brother organisations“. These were the so-called party of the working peasants, headed by Kondratiev and Yurowsky, who were supported by the kulaks and the Menshevik organisation of Gromann-Suchanov; the Russian emigration, the so-called Republican democratic groups with Milinkov and Kerenisky, and finally, the French social democrats, who promised their support to the armed intervention against the Soviet Union.

But all the trends of this widely ramified undertaking lead to the supreme positions of the French State apparatus. Generals and Colonels of the French General Staff whose names were mentioned at the proceedings had personal connections with the leaders of the Industrial Party; they gave them orders and also money. The French diplomatic post was the channel through which the moneys were conveyed to Moscow and through which espionage reports and reports of activity were sent. The officials of the French Embassy, protected by diplomatic immunity, paid out the money and received documents. French statesmen had the political guidance in their hands. The names of three of them were frequently mentioned at the proceedings: the heavy industrial Loucheur, the most busy among the former French Ministers; the pacifist and creator of Pan-Europe, Briand; before all however the expert in kindling war, the cynical originator of the world war and organiser of the intervention against Soviet Russia in the years 1918-20 Poincaré.

The Moscow trial is at an end. The criminal band of Ramzin and his consorts has been rendered harmless. The damage caused by them will be made good again by the enthusiasm and élan of millions of Russian workers and peasants. The power of the Socialist State will continue proudly to develop.

But the war-danger which threatens the work of construction has not thereby disappeared. On the contrary, the imperialist criminals, defeated on one sector of their front, will all the more feverishly forge plans for new attacks, will prepare war all the more cunningly.

The Trial of Ramzin is at an end. There is now commencing a new trial, the trial of the imperialist war-mongers, the trial of Poincaré. The matter now rests with the proletariat of the capitalist countries.

Verdict

of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union in the Special Investigation into the Case of the Counter-Revolutionary Organisation, "The Industrial Party".

(Full Text.)

Moscow, 8th December 1930.

In the name of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics the Special Investigation of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. composed as follows: President comrade A. J. Vishinski, and judges comrades W. P. Antonov-Saratovski and M. Lvov, the secretaries comrades A. F. Yakovlev, G. I. Ivanenko and P. I. Sharutin in the presence of the State Prosecutor, the Public Prosecutor of the R. S. F. S. R. comrade N. W. Krylenko and the Vice-Public Prosecutor of the R. S. F. S. R. comrade V. I. Friedberg, and the members of the Moscow District Collegium of Advocates, the defending lawyers comrades I. D. Braude and M. A. Ozev, which sat in public and in closed sessions in the time from the 25th November to the 7th December 1930 to investigate the case No. 38 of the counterrevolutionary organisation known as "The Association of Engineers Organisations" ("Industrial Party") with the following accused:

1. **Leonid Konstantinovich Ramzin**, 43 years old, a citizen of the Soviet Union, former Professor of the Moscow Academy for Mechanical Engineering and former Director of the Thermal-Technical Institute;

2. **Ivan Andreyevitch Kalinnikov**, 56 years old, a citizen of the Soviet Union, former Vice-Chairman of the productive sector of the State Planning Commission and former Professor of the Military Air Academy and other Academies;

3. **Victor Alexeyevitch Laritchev**, 43 years old, a citizen of the Soviet Union, former Chairman of the Fuel Section and a former member of the Presidium of the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Union;

4. **Nikolai Franzevitch Charnovsky**, 62 years old, a citizen of the Soviet Union, former Vice-Chairman of the Scientific and Technical Council of the Engineering Industry in the Engineering Department of the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Union and former Professor of various Academies;

5. **Alexander Alexandrovitch Fyedotov**, 66 years old, a citizen of the Soviet Union, former Chairman of the Collegium of the Scientific Investigation Institute for the Textile Industry, and former Professor of various Technical Academies;

6. **Sergius Viktorovitch Kuprianov**, 59 years old, a citizen of the Soviet Union, former Technical Director of the Textile Organisation of the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Union;

All charged with offences under Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 4 and 6 of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R.; and:

7. **Vladimir Ivanovitch Otchkin**, 39 years old, a citizen of the Soviet Union, former Scientific Secretary of the Thermal-Technical Institute, and former Chairman of the Scientific Investigation Department of the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Union;

- Charged with offences under Article 58, Paragraphs 3 and 6 of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R.; and:

8. **Xenophon Vassilievitch Sitnin**, 52 years old, a citizen of the Soviet Union, and former Engineer of the All-Russia Textile Syndicate;

Charged with offences under Article 58, Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R. X

has come to the following conclusions:

The final destruction of the armies of the white-guardist Generals, which were organised and led by the imperialist States and which tried to overthrow the Soviet power and restore the power of the landowners and capitalists, by the Red Army in the year 1920 opened up the path to the peaceful

economic constructive work of the toilers of the Soviet Union on a socialist basis. In alliance with the decisive masses of the peasantry, the working class of the Soviet Union liquidated with great efforts during the course of the following years the worst results of the imperialist and the civil wars, overcame numerous difficulties during the reconstruction period which was concluded in these years, and proceeded under new circumstances to a widespread socialist offensive along the whole front.

During the course of the whole reconstruction period, the struggle of the working class for the speediest possible regulation of the economic life of the Soviet Union and for the success of the socialist constructive work, met with violent and unrelenting resistance on the part of those capitalist elements which had remained in our country, and on the part of those sections of the bourgeois intelligentsia which had made common cause with them. These elements worked with all methods: sabotage, direct destruction of State property and even the destruction of whole undertakings, to disorganise, hold up and prevent the victorious advance of the proletariat on the way to the economic reconstruction of the proletarian State and the consolidation of its socialist constructive work.

The successes of this constructive work on the one hand and the energetic struggle of the proletariat against all attempts to prevent this work on the other hand, paralysed these efforts of the capitalist elements and accelerated the process of differentiation in the ranks of the bourgeois intelligentsia as a result of which anti-soviet and anti-proletarian feelings became the common property of the leading section of this intelligentsia, which in the past was closely connected with capitalist circles and enjoyed a privileged position under capitalism. The most irreconcilable and venomous organisers of and participants in every form of counter-revolutionary conspiracy directed against the soviet economic system, for the destruction of soviet industry, of socialist transport, traffic and agriculture, and for the preparation of the overthrow of the Soviet power with armed force, came from this environment of the leading section of the specialists who were permeated with a bourgeois-capitalist ideology and were convinced opponents of the October Revolution and the work of socialist construction.

The development from the period of reconstruction into the period of construction, the growing progress of the whole economic system of the Soviet Union and the tremendous successes of the socialist constructive work on the one hand and the increasing crisis in the capitalist countries on the other caused bitter resistance on the part of the capitalist elements and those sections of the technical intelligentsia bound up with them in the Soviet Union and over the whole world. In face of the ever strengthening and increasing economic, political and military power of the Soviet Union, all the forces of the old world formed a united front for a "crusade" against the proletarian State, the Fatherland of the world proletariat and of all toilers, and proceeded to mobilise all the methods of overt and covert attack.

This was the situation in which the counter-revolutionary organisation, "The Association of Engineer Organisations" (Industrial Party) came into being, began its activity and united all those sabotage groups which were at work in the various branches of industry into a uniform organisation.

The trial of the so-called Industrial Party revealed the fact that the crystallisation of these various groups in the Industrial Party was furthered to a certain extent by the fact that the chief group of its participants consisted of the members of the counter-revolutionary organisation known as the "Engineers' Central Committee", which was formed in 1925 and which was led by the engineer Paltchinski who was executed in 1930 for

sabotage in the gold and platinum industry, the former capitalist and mineowner Rabinovitch who was sentenced in the Schakhty trial and the engineer Fyedorovitch. The "Engineers Central Committee" itself developed out of two counter-revolutionary organisations which existed still earlier in the form of the so-called Club of "Mine Managers" and the All-Russia Engineers Association which had as their members the most reactionary and most anti-soviet elements of the old engineering circles. This section of the old engineers worked chiefly in the mining industry and in the transport industry and consisted for the most part of former owners and shareholders of capitalist undertakings. The "Industrial Party" which consisted of persons out of the narrow stratum of the bourgeois intelligentsia, had no touch of any kind with the broad masses of the people and no support of any kind from these masses, so that it was condemned to maintain a narrow caste spirit.

The accused (Ramzin, Laritchev and the others) were compelled to admit that the Industrial Party was unable to reckon with the sympathy of the masses, even in words, and still further, that it was unable to reckon with the sympathy of the broad masses of the peasantry. The fact that the Industrial Party could reckon on no sympathy or support of any kind from the toiling masses explains why its leaders placed their hopes for the realisation of their criminal plans not on internal but external forces.

The Special Investigation recorded the fact that in its efforts to recruit members from amongst the ranks of the engineers, technicians, Professors, the lecturers at the various institutions and undertakings, scientific investigation institutions and academies, the Central Committee of the Industrial Party adopted most varied methods beginning with propaganda and the payment of monies as a reward for carrying out the instructions of the Industrial Party, and ending with threats of damaging the careers, the economic situation and the social position of those who hesitated or refused to join the Industrial Party. The activity of the Industrial Party was conducted on a strictly conspirative basis, and the connections between the members were only permitted within the framework of the branch organisations, so that the members of different branch organisations did not know each other. The judicial investigation revealed the fact that the Industrial Party was led by a Central Committee which had developed from the main group of the old Engineers Central Committee whose chief leaders were Paltchinski, Rabinovitch, Fyedorovitch, Kremnikov and Krassovski and later Ramzin, Laritchev, Kalinnikov, Scharnovsky, Fyedorov, Ossaditchi, Schein and others, whereby after the arrest of Paltchinski and Kremnikov the leading position in the Industrial Party was taken by Ramzin. In the Engineers Central Committee and later in the Central Committee of the Industrial Party, the leadership of the counter-revolutionary work was also divided amongst the members according to the principle of "branches". Accordingly Paltchinski directed the counter-revolutionary work in the mining industry, in the gold mining industry, in the platinum industry and in the Biological Committee; Rabinovitch directed the work in the mining industry with Paltchinski; Kremnikov and Charnovsky directed the work in the heavy metallurgical industry; Fyedorov in the textile industry; Laritchev in the fuel supply industry and above all in the oil industry; Krassovski in the transport industry; Kalinnikov in the "Economic Group"; and Ramzin, apart from the general control of all the work, in the fuel supply and the power supply industries.

In this way the reorganisation of the "Engineers Central Committee" into the "Industrial Party" was completed towards the end of 1927. The trial revealed the fact that one of the factors accelerating this development was the desire of the "Engineers Central Committee" to mobilise all the counter-revolutionary elements of the technical intelligentsia in a struggle for power. Other very important factors in this process were the influence of such foreign counter-revolutionary organisations as the Trade and Industrial Committee (Torgprom), the association of former Russian capitalists under the leadership of Denisov, Riabushinsky, Tretyakov, Konovlov, Gukassov, Nobel, Mantachov and others with its seat in Paris, and further, the influence of the most aggressive imperialist circles in France.

The Industrial Party based its criminal sabotage activity on a programme whose chief aim was the destruction of the Soviet power and the restoration of the power of the capitalists and landowners by the establishment of a military dictatorship. The military dictator was to have been the white-guardist General Lukomski or the leader of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party Paltchinski. The economic part of the programme

of the Industrial Party provided for the return of the factories etc., to their former owner, or where, such undertakings had been reconstructed, the compensation of the former owners by the issue to them of shares. In this way the action of the Industrial Party would have more than compensated the former owners by giving them the increased values created by the heroic efforts of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union in the refitted, reconstructed and newly-built undertakings. On the field of agriculture the programme of the Industrial Party was the restoration of the large landowning system and the consolidation of the rich peasant undertakings, the return of the land to its former owners, or otherwise the compensation of the former owners from a special fund formed by the transformation of the soviet industrial undertakings into joint-stock companies. The methods used to carry this programme into operation were different at different periods of the criminal activity of the Engineers Central Committee and of the Industrial Party. In the original period of its criminal activity, for instance at the time of the introduction of the New Economic Policy, the Industrial Party (Engineers Central Committee) concentrated its efforts to secure a capitalist degeneration of the Soviet power. A number of the accused spoke of this attitude of the Industrial Party (Engineers Central Committee) in their statements in the preliminary examination and during the trial. The accused Laritchev, for instance, declared during the proceedings: "The New Economic Policy was to lead to the degeneration of the Soviet power". The accused Kalinnikov declared: "When the N.E.P. was introduced in 1921, the engineers began to co-operate gladly with the Soviet power for the reconstruction of the economic system, because they were convinced that the reconstruction of industry would inevitably lead to the restoration of the bourgeoisie, because they could not conceive of a reconstruction of industry with any but capitalist methods." The accused Ramzin said the same and declared: "The N.E.P. was regarded by me and the overwhelming majority of the old engineers as the beginning of the degeneration of the Soviet power."

It was however, not long before the Industrial Party was compelled, in view of the successful development of the socialist constructive work in town and country, to recognise that its hopes for the degeneration of the Soviet power were baseless. The accused Kalinnikov declared: "In 1926 the reconstruction period in industry, and transport was practically at an end... The technical intelligentsia, convinced that the result of the N.E.P. with the conclusion of the reconstruction period must see a transformation to a bourgeois basis for the policy of the Soviet power, observed the beginning of the new constructive period on a socialist basis in a very hostile fashion. Their hopes that the N.E.P. would be continued in the new period of construction were not confirmed." This explains the search for new ways and means of the struggle against the Soviet power, and the gradual development to the preparations for an armed overthrow of the Soviet power with the forces of the internal and external counter-revolution. Completely isolated from the masses of the toilers and without any support from these masses, the Industrial Party was soon compelled to realise that its hopes of a coup d'Etat with the exclusive means of the counter-revolutionary elements within the Soviet Union were baseless. From this moment on the Industrial Party concentrated on the preparations for a military intervention against the Soviet Union and to this end took up organisational connections with the interventionist organisations both inside and outside the Soviet Union (the Social-Revolutionaries, the Constitutional Democrats, the Rich Peasant Group Kondratyev-Tchayanov, the Menshevik group Suchanov-Gromom inside the Soviet Union, and abroad the Torgprom, the Millukov group and the French interventionists, etc.).

In the first period of the existence of the Engineers Central Committee, the contact between this organisation and the representatives of the Trade and Industrial Committee in Paris took the form of individual relations between the individual members of the first named organisation and the former owners of the factories. For instance, Paltchinski maintained connections with Meshtcherski; Fyedorov with Morosov, Konovlov and Riabushinski; Charnovsky with Denisov and Meshtcherski; Rabinovitch with Dvorschantchik, Laritchev with Bardygin; Strichev with Nobel, Gussakov and Mantachov, etc. But from 1927/28 on these relations became more organised and systematic, whereby the Industrial Party completely subordinated itself to the leaders of the Torgprom and finally became the paid agents of this organisation and of the foreign interventionist powers. It was in this period that Ramzin's

first meeting took place with Riabushinski at the instructions of Paltchinski and the Engineers Central Committee.

At this meeting (in the second half of 1927) not only such questions as the turning of the soviet undertakings into joint-stock companies, and the form of their future administration were discussed, but also the negotiations being conducted between the Torgprom and the governing circles of France for the organisation of an armed intervention against the Soviet Union to take place in 1928. At this meeting Riabushinski conveyed through Ramzin the demand of the Torgprom and of French capitalist circles that the Industrial Party should increase its work for the internal preparations for an intervention.

Considerable progress in this direction was made in 1928 when a number of members of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party (Ramzin, Laritchev, Fyedorov, Sitnin and others) visited the leaders of the white guardist organisation in Paris. As a result of this visit a concrete and detailed plan for the methods of the intervention preparations was worked out, with the tasks of the Torgprom, the aggressive militarist circles in France and the Central Committee of the Industrial Party specialised. The negotiations between Ramzin and Laritchev in October 1928 in Paris with the leaders of the Torgprom—Denisov, Riabushinski, Nobel, Gukassov, Konovalov, Starinkevitch and Mantachov were of especial importance in this respect, as also were the discussions between Ramzin and General Lukomski, Colonel Joinville and Colonel Richard. As revealed during the cross examination of the accused Ramzin and Laritchev, the conferences with the Torgprom paid special attention to those events which had interfered with the activity of the Industrial Party, such as the discovery of the sabotage organisation in the Don Basin, the Schakhty trial, and the discovery of the sabotage organisation in the transport industry. The Torgprom (Denisov and Riabushinski) was greatly interested in these questions because they complicated the sabotage work of the Industrial Party. Denisov exercised pressure in order to secure from that time on more attention for the metallurgical industry in order to bring about acute disproportions and to diminish the usefulness of the capital being invested. Nobel and Gukassov put questions concerning the oil industry and the firmness of the sabotage organisation there, concerning the carrying out of sabotage to prevent the installation of new equipment, and to throttle export. They pointed out that they had given the general instructions for the sabotage activity in the oil industry to Strichov (a member of the Industrial Party) during his stay in Paris. With regard to the general situation of the Torgprom and the Industrial Party, Denisov pointed out that the work must be continued at all costs despite the discovery of individual sabotage organisations. Denisov also stressed in particular the fact that although the date of the intervention had been postponed from 1928 to 1930, there was no question of it being abandoned; on the contrary, that intensive preparations were being conducted abroad for the organisation of the intervention and in consequence the sabotage activity of the Industrial Party in the Soviet Union was of the greatest importance. At this conference the chairman of the Torgprom, Denisov, announced that French governing circles had decided on the organisation of an armed intervention against the Soviet Union. Denisov also announced during the discussion of the intervention preparations, that a special military commission had been formed under the chairmanship of General Jeannin, the former French military representative with the Staff of Koltchak, and that this commission was already at work.

The Paris conference in October 1928 was of decisive importance because:

1. the main lines of the work of the sabotage organisations, of the Torgprom and of the French interventionists were laid down and agreed upon;

2. the forms of the connections between the Torgprom and these circles were laid down in detail and the tasks for the preparation of the intervention were distributed. At the same time the form in which the sabotage activity of the Industrial Party was to be financed by these circles and by the Torgprom were laid down.

The proceedings at the trial revealed the fact that during his stay in Paris in 1927 and 1928, the accused Ramzin was put into touch with agents of the French service in Moscow, known as Mr. K. and Mr. R. The connection between the Industrial Party in the persons of Ramzin, and then Laritchev, Kalinnikov and Otekhin with the agents of the French Service mentioned continued right throughout the following period and

up to the time of the arrest of the accused in the present case in the summer of 1930. This connection was used for the transmission of various instructions in connection with the preparations of the Industrial Party for intervention, and also for the transmission of espionage material collected by the Industrial Party to be sent abroad.

The Special Investigation of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union which examined this side of the criminal activity of the accused in closed session and revealed facts concerning Mr. K. and Mr. R. which completely confirmed the statements made by the accused, has decided to place this matter before the Soviet government.

In accordance with the agreement concluded with the Torgprom at the conference in Paris in October 1928, the Industrial Party began from this moment to force its work to bring about an "artificial deterioration of the economic life of the country", whereby it adopted sabotage methods on a wide and systematised scale. The systematic sabotage work was carried out chiefly with the assistance of the following methods:

1. the method of the drawing up of minimal plans, with which was connected the question of the diminution of the tempo of the industrialisation and of the growth of the whole economic system. As the accused Fyedorov declared before the court, the Industrial Party operated with these methods with the support of the ideas of the right-wing deviation. He declared: "These ideas proved useful and seemed to offer such high hopes of a development of the N. E. P. and the development of ideas of a basically bourgeois character that the support of these ideas was necessary and desirable." This method was connected with the struggle for a minimal Five-Year Plan.

2. The method of bringing about disproportions between the individual branches of the economic system, and between individual parts of the same branches of economy.

3. The method of "freezing up" capital investments by causing them to be made in unnecessary undertakings, or by an irrational utilisation of the invested capital, with the aim of diminishing the tempo of the industrialisation, lowering the use value of the industrialisation and diminishing the successes of the socialist constructive work.

Ramzin declared before the court: "These three methods were applied as the fundamental methods for the systematic sabotage work."

The facts revealed by the Special Investigation of the Supreme Court concerning the sabotage offered a complete picture of this side of the criminal activity of the Industrial Party which was thus able to damage our socialist economic system, but was quite unable to destroy our Five-Year Plan or prevent our continued advance. The sabotage activity of the Industrial Party was effectively countered by the tremendous labour impulse of the working masses, their great labour enthusiasm and their persistent struggle to carry out the industrial and finance plans and even to exceed them. The shock group movement and the socialist competitive scheme which took on a mass character, the increase of the class watchfulness of the proletariat and the counter-plans of the masses in industry and finance guaranteed the success of the work of socialist construction to such an extent that the minimal Five-Year Plan set up by the Industrial Party proved to be inadequate and was exceeded in the first two years.

In its development to systematic sabotage the Industrial Party concentrated its criminal activities on the most important branches of industry and transport. It delivered its blows against the metallurgical industry, the fuel supply, the power supply, the chemical and textile industries and transport with a view to producing losses in production, disproportions and a crisis.

With regard to the fuel supply, the Industrial Party reckoned on producing a crisis by guiding the development of this branch of our economic system in a direction intended to facilitate as far as possible the task of the intervention. With this end in view the Industrial Party did everything possible in order to prevent the exploitation of local fuel resources, in particular the coal and peat resources of the Moscow district, and the coal resources of the Kuznets Basin. The Industrial Party also prepared the conditions under which such districts as the central industrial district, the north-west district and great centres like Moscow and Leningrad would come into a precarious situation. This was to be done by delivering the main blow against the railway communications connecting these districts with the Don Basin and thus cutting off the supply of fuel from the Don Basin. At the same time the

Industrial Party carried on a struggle against all forms of rational productive methods in the fuel supply industry, and in particular it tried to prevent the use of special cutting-machines for the production of peat fuel. It also tried to prevent the cheapening and the rational usage of peat fuel.

The Special Investigation of the Supreme Court revealed the fact that the Industrial Party not only conducted its sabotage activity through the practical work of its members who held various official positions in the various branches of the economic system, but also that it misused the activity of scientific institutions such as the Thermal-Technical Institute under Ramzin's leadership, and the Peat Fuel Institute under the leadership of W. Kirpitschnikov, who was also a member of the Industrial Party. The chief methods of sabotage in the fuel supply industry were the drawing up of plans:

1. containing deliberately low co-efficients and tempi far below the real potentialities;
2. containing discrepancies between the carrying out of the preparatory work and the operative plans of production;
3. giving the production of less valuable products preference over the production of more valuable products.

The saboteurs paid particular attention to such important fuel supply districts as the Don Basin, the Kuznetz Basin, the Kisel Basin and others and directed their main blow against the supply of these districts with electric current. In order to sabotage the power supply, the Industrial Party worked through its branches and individual members to adopt measures for the slowing down of the building or extension of electric power stations (Tver, Bobrikov, Shter, Suyevo and others) and for the supply of these stations with unsuitable equipment.

With regard to the power supply, the Industrial Party directed its sabotage activity to bringing about a critical situation at the most important power generating points, arranging that the crisis should make itself particularly felt in the year 1930, i. e. in the year fixed for the intervention.

Ramzin summed up the results of this criminal activity of the Industrial Party with regard to the power supply as follows in his statement before the court:

"The current was interrupted in the Don Basin, in the Moscow district, in the Leningrad district, in the Kuznetz Basin and in the Kisel Basin, and a critical situation brought about, so that at the beginning of military operations a catastrophe would take place."

It must be pointed out however, that here also the efforts of the Industrial Party suffered a complete lack of success.

With regard to the **supply of metals** the Industrial Party worked for the increase of the deficit by the creation of disproportions between the production and consumption of metals. This was done by deliberately holding down the plan proposals and the economic co-efficients with regard to the possibilities of production (for instance, 7 million tons instead of 17 million tons); by a wrong utilisation of the metals produced in the Soviet Union (in particular with regard to boiler-making); by the creation of disproportions between the metallurgical and the foundry industries (disproportions between the various departments); and by a deliberate slowing down of the development of the engineering industry, etc.

With regard to **transport** the saboteurs aimed at reducing the rolling material in the waggon parks, and in particular the number of locomotives by disorganising the fuel supply of the carriage and locomotive building works etc.

The Special Investigation of the Supreme Court revealed the fact through the examination of the accused Ramzin, the statements of the witness Krassovski and the material in the protocol, that the sabotage in this respect was conducted in one fundamental direction whose main aim was:

1. to weaken the capacity of the repair works and to reduce the efficiency of the railway service;
2. to put forward false figures for the mobilisation plans with criminal motives;
3. to secure a criminal reduction of the credits for the railways in the front line network;
4. to apply "the method of the low co-efficient", in other words to place the co-efficients or index figures too low with the result that in the building of apparatuses for the railway service, figures would be set which were not in accord with the real demands with regard to quantity and nomenclature, whereby a "freezing up" of capital would be obtained.

The aim of all these criminal acts was to disorganise transport by causing a critical situation at a moment of a military attack on the Soviet Union, particularly on the western frontiers, and further, to cut off communications with the Donetz Basin and isolate this district from the centre.

With regard to the **chemical industry**, the sabotage work was chiefly expressed in an attempt to instigate a series of great undertakings at deliberately unfavourable points, and in an attempt to hold back apparatuses needed for the chemical industry.

With regard to the **textile industry**, the sabotage work aimed at securing an irrational utilisation of the invested capital by means of deliberately miscalculating the height of the storeys in the newly built factories so that they should not be in accordance with the needs, by a deliberate failure to utilise considerable floor space in the factory buildings, by preventing the import of the newest American textile machinery, by wrong management of the cotton supply and a deliberately false utilisation of the cotton supply by wrong distribution of the yield etc., and by a deliberately wrong distribution of the various sorts of textile products.

In this connection the sabotage work is worthy of note which aimed at slowing down the development of the linen and hemp industries in order to damage the defensive capacities of the Soviet Union.

The proceedings at the trial also revealed the fact that parallel with the attempts to bring about an economic crisis for the spring of 1930, the Industrial Party also conducted criminal activity for the preparation of acts of sabotage which would facilitate as far as possible the military action of the intervention against the Soviet Union.

The Judicial investigation revealed the fact that the first instructions for the carrying out of sabotage was received by the Industrial Party from the Torgprom and from Mr. K. in 1928. The chief instruction in this connection was to avoid fundamental damage in carrying out the sabotage in order not to worsen the situation of the intervention and the future counter-revolutionary government. Therefore it was planned to cut off the electric supply of those power stations which supplied particular groups of factories with the aim of causing them to close down for shorter or longer periods.

The sabotage activity was to be carried out according to the plan of the Industrial Party not only on the field of the power supply, but also on other fields (war industries, transport).

The plan for the sabotage activity in the **war industries** was worked out by the Central Committee of the Industrial Party with the direct co-operation of the previously mentioned persons of the French Service in Moscow. The chief attention was paid to those factories which produce war materials and ammunition.

With a view to carrying out the sabotage acts successfully, special sabotage groups were formed in a number of factories and institutions (for instance, the Thermal-Technical Institute, the "Elektrotok", the Moscow electricity works etc.). The task of these groups was to cause the closing down of the most important factories.

The sabotage in the **transport industry** was to be carried out according to the plan drawn up by the accused Laritchev by congestions, the disorganisation of transport, and the direct destruction of bridges etc.

The proceedings revealed the fact that the nearer the date fixed for the intervention approached, the year 1930, the more decisively was the Industrial Party urged to take up the question of **forming special military groups**. This task was put forward by the foreign military interventionists in Paris.

During the meeting of Ramzin with Mr. K. which took place in the rooms of Laritchev in the autumn of 1928 according to the results of the judicial investigation, Mr. K. demanded more energy from the Industrial Party because its work for the internal preparation of the intervention was unsatisfactory and the internal crisis expected by the interventionists did not materialise.

The judicial investigation revealed the fact that those members of the Industrial Party who were enabled, thanks to their positions in the service of the Soviet State, to take part in various works in the frontier districts, exploited their positions in order to direct and organise this work in the direction of their criminal and treasonable plans.

Exploiting their participation in such work as drainage, the laying down of foundations for industrial undertakings,

etc., they attempted to create the most favourable conditions possible for the military operations of the interventionist troops against the Soviet Union. They attempted to prepare traversable ways for the troops of intervention, to lay out landing places for the aeroplanes of the intervention, areas of operation for the deployment of the interventionist armies, dumps for fuel supply, for the supply of the interventionist troops with oil etc.

The work of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party to supply the interventionists with espionage material was directly connected with its treasonable sabotage and its interventionist activity. The judicial investigation revealed the fact that the Industrial Party received instructions from the Torgprom as early as 1928 to organise a systematic supply of quarterly reports to the counter-revolutionary centres abroad concerning the situation of the Soviet economic system drawn up from the angles of interest to these circles. The Central Committee of the Industrial Party gave Laritchev and Kalinnikov the task of drawing up these reports, and the latter systematically carried out this work. These reports were sent abroad through the medium of M. K. who received apart from these reports, other reports having a direct bearing on the defence of the Soviet Union.

The trial also showed that the accused Ramzin and Otchkin maintained connections with Messrs. R. and K. and gave these persons both in writing and by word of mouth the information they demanded.

This was the widespread sabotage work being conducted under the direction of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party on all fields for the preparation of the intervention in the year 1930.

Three chief forces were active in these preparations: the capitalist and militarist circles in France, the Torgprom and the Industrial Party.

The relative importance of these three factors in the preparations for intervention was not equal. The leading role in these preparations was played by the capitalist and militarist circles of France, as irrefutably established by the trial. The influence of these circles is shown in such questions as the working out of the plans and methods for the carrying out of the intervention and the fixing of the date of the intervention.

The strategic plan of the intervention was to deliver a combined drive at Moscow and Leningrad with the united forces of the foreign expeditionary corps with the assistance of the remnants of the Wrangel army and the Krasnov Cossacks.

According to this plan the southern army was to operate in the Ukraine to the right of the Don and supported on the right bank of the Dniepr and move towards Moscow. The northern group of the intervention army was to operate against Leningrad with the support of an air and naval fleet.

The exploitation of some frontier conflict or the other was a part of the intervention plan in order to give the pretext for the intervention. In the course of the development of the conflict the armies of Poland and Rumania which are allied with France, and the armies of the Baltic States were then to be used. According to the aims of the interventionists the successful carrying out of the military operations was to lead to the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, the wrenching off of important areas and the concession of important financial and economic rights to the foreign participants in the intervention. In other words, the enslavement of the toilers of the Soviet Union. According to the intervention plans imperialist France was to be paid the Czarist debts and in addition to receive important concessions for the exploitation of the iron-ore and other natural resources of the Soviet Union. The judicial investigation showed that these concessions were planned in such a way that they would have been practically a direct confiscation.

Imperialist circles in Great Britain were to receive the oil-wells in Caucasia.

Imperialist circles in Poland and Rumania insisted on territorial annexations (the Ukraine to the right of the Don, Kiev, Odessa).

The interventionists were compelled to shift the date of the intervention, which was first fixed for 1928, to 1930 and then to 1931. The reason for these postponements was not only that the capitalist States participating in the intervention were not prepared for it as a result of their own disagree-

ments, but still more so the fact that the preliminary conditions for the intervention were not present in the Soviet Union itself.

Despite the widespread sabotage work carried on by various counter-revolutionary organisations, including the Industrial Party, which aimed at causing various serious disturbances in the economic life of the Soviet Union, and at causing discontent on the part of the masses with the Soviet government, on the basis of economic and food difficulties, these efforts showed no results, and this proves that all the calculations of the interventionists based on dissatisfaction of the working masses with the Soviet power are without foundation.

A further important reason for the postponement of the intervention was, as revealed by the judicial investigation, the fact that the interventionists circles in France were unable to ignore the lessons of the Chinese Eastern Railway conflict which proved the power and defensive capacities of the Soviet Union and the united will of the working masses to defend the frontiers of the Soviet Union and to fight for the Soviet power and the building up of socialism.

On the basis of the facts set forth above and with consideration to Articles 319 and 320 of the Penal Code of the R.S.F.S.R. the Special Investigation of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union records the following:

1. **Leonid Konstantinovich Ramzin**, who joined the counter-revolutionary organisation "Association of Engineers Organisations" (RIO) or the "Engineers Central Committee" in the first half of the year 1927, took an active part in the organisation of a counter-revolutionary party under the name of the "Industrial Party". After the arrest of the leaders of this party, Paltchinski and Krennikov, he was the head of the Central Committee of this party whose aim it was to overthrow the Soviet power with the assistance of foreign military intervention, and to restore the capitalist regime in the Soviet Union.

With these aims and also with the aim of directly preparing the way for an intervention Ramzin:

a) took up connections in the name of the Industrial Party with the white guardist centre of the former owners in Paris (Torgprom);

b) took up connections with interventionist circles in France and established a permanent connection with them through persons of the French Service in Moscow, Messrs R. and K.;

c) worked to secure the systematic financing of the Industrial Party by the Torgprom and through the persons mentioned in point b);

d) took part together with the Torgprom and the above mentioned circles in the working out of a concrete plan of intervention against the Soviet Union, and declared his agreement in the name of the Industrial Party to the repayment of the Czarist debts and to the annexation of considerable soviet territories;

e) was the organiser and leader of a systematic sabotage work on various fields of the Soviet economic system with the same aims in view;

f) is proved guilty of having organised sabotage acts for which he created the necessary sabotage groups, and of having drawn up a plan of sabotage in the power supply;

g) maintained permanent connections with persons of the French Service in Moscow, Messrs K. and R. and gave them both by word of mouth and in writing information of an espionage character;

h) is proved guilty of having organised and carried out the distribution of monies arriving from abroad to finance the criminal activity of the Industrial Party. In short, he has committed crimes under Article 58 Paragraphs 3, 4, 6 and 11 of the Penal Code of the RSFSR.

2. Ivan Andreyevitch Kalinnikov:

a) through his participation in the same organisations and as a member of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party guided the sabotage and espionage activities of the Industrial Party directed towards the overthrow of the Soviet power by a foreign military intervention, and towards the restoration of the capitalist regime in the Soviet Union. Further, in his capacity as the Vice-Chairman of the Industrial Section of the State Planning Commission, he misused his

position to organise sabotage and to attempt to destroy the Five-Year Plan.

b) together with the accused Charnovsky he laid a plan for sabotage acts in the metallurgical industry before the Central Committee of the Industrial Party which accepted this plan;

c) he took up connections with persons of the French Service in Moscow, Messrs K. and R. and collected and tabulated material of an espionage character and sent the same abroad;

d) he divided the monies which came from abroad amongst the members of the Industrial Party who belonged to the chain organisation of the field under his control. In short, he has committed crimes under Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 4, 6 and 11 of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R.

3. **Victor Alexiyevitch Laritchev**, took part as a member of the counter-revolutionary organisation "Engineers Central Committee" since 1926, in the organisation of the Industrial Party. As a member of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party he directed sabotage and espionage work with the aims mentioned above. Further,

a) in the name of the Industrial Party he took up direct connections with the Torgprom and with interventionist circles in Paris;

b) he took up connections with the above mentioned persons of the French Service in Moscow, Messrs. K. and R.;

c) he distributed monies received from abroad amongst the members of that branch of the sabotage organisation which was under his direction;

d) he exploited his position as Chairman of the Fuel Supply section of the State Planning Commission in order to organise sabotage work for counter-revolutionary aims in the planning work for the fuel supply, and in particular in the oil industry. Further, he took a direct part in the leadership of the sabotage work in the transport industry;

e) by delivering the necessary material to the above mentioned persons of the French Service in Moscow, he carried out espionage. In short, he has committed crimes under Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 4, 6 and 11 of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R.

4. **Nikolai Franzevitch Charnovsky**, carried out active sabotage and espionage work after his entry into the same counter-revolutionary organisation in 1927. He took an active part in the leadership of the counter-revolutionary organisation the "Industrial Party" and was a member of its Central Committee. Further:

a) he directed the sabotage work of the Industrial Party in the metallurgical industry;

b) carried out sabotage work in connection with the drawing up of projects in the Scientific-Technical Council of which he was the Chairman. As a result of his sabotage work a number of factory building undertakings, including several engineering factories, were held up, disproportions created in the factory departments, irrational capital investments made and in general the development of the metallurgical industry hampered;

c) together with the accused Kalinnikov he worked out a plan for sabotage acts with regard to the supply of military authorities with equipment;

d) he distributed monies received from abroad amongst the members of that branch of the sabotage organisation under his leadership;

e) together with the accused Kalinnikov he drew up reports of an espionage character and sent them abroad. In short, he has committed crimes under Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 4, 6 and 11 of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R.

5. **Alexander Alexandrovitch Fyedotov** joined the sabotage group in the textile industry in 1925 which he later led. He joined the Industrial Party and became a member of its Central Committee. He took part in the leadership of the espionage and sabotage activities of the Industrial Party. Further,

a) he directed the sabotage work in the sabotage branch in the textile industry. He carried out sabotage in his activity for the drawing up of the Five-Year Plan and worked to slow down the development of the textile production and hinder the building of new factories. He deliberately created difficulties in order to prevent the supply of the textile industry with raw material and imported machinery of a high quality. He also undermined the development of those branches of the textile

industry which would have been most necessary for the Soviet Union in case of an open armed intervention.

b) he distributed monies received from the sources mentioned above. In short, he has committed crimes under Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 4, 6 and 11 of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R.

6. **Serjei Viktorovitch Kuprianov**, was a member of the counter-revolutionary Industrial Party and had the same aims.

a) he maintained connections with the representatives of the Torgprom with a view to carrying out the sabotage and intervention preparations of the Industrial Party;

b) he carried out the instructions of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party to draw up plans for sabotage in the textile industry by causing the production of commodities not in accord with the need of the market, by holding up the manufacture of textile machinery, by deliberately failing to supply on time and in the required quantities etc., the various districts with textile goods;

c) he distributed monies received from abroad amongst the members of the textile section of the sabotage organisation;

d) he accepted the instructions of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party to organise military groups of former white-guardist officers;

e) he accepted instructions of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party to obtain secret information concerning the mobilisation work in the textile industry. In short, he has committed crimes under Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 4, 6 and 11 of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R.

7. **Vladimir Ivanovitch Otchkin**, accepted and carried out as a member of the Industrial Party, instructions of the Central Committee of that party through the accused Ramzin, to establish connections with persons of the French Service in Moscow, Messrs K. and R. Further, he was a member of the sabotage group in the Thermal-Technical Institute. In short, he has committed crimes under Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 6 and 11 of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R.

8. **Xenophon Vassilyevitch Sitin**, was a member of the counter-revolutionary Industrial Party and was well acquainted with the aims of this party. He undertook to carry out sabotage, and further, he took up connections with the representatives of the Torgprom, informing the latter of the activities of the Industrial Party and forwarding the instructions of the Torgprom to the Industrial Party. In short, he has committed crimes under Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 4 and 11 of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R.

On the basis of Article 326 Paragraph 3 of the Law of Criminal Procedure of the R. S. F. S. R. the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union in special investigation has sentenced the accused as follows:

1. **Sergei Viktorovitch Kuprianov** on the basis of Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 4, 6 and 11 of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R. to ten years imprisonment and to the loss of all civil rights in accordance with Article 31, Points a, b, c, d, and f, of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R. for a period of five years. Further, the Supreme Court orders the confiscation of all his property.

2. **Xenophon Vassilyevitch Sitin** on the basis of Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 4 and 11 of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R. to ten years imprisonment, and to the loss of all civil rights in accordance with Article 31, Points a, b, c, d, and f, of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R. for a period of five years. Further, the Supreme Court orders the confiscation of all his property.

3. **Vladimir Ivanovitch Otchkin** on the basis of Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 6 and 11 of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R. to ten years imprisonment, and to the loss of all civil rights in accordance with Article 31, Points a, b, c, d, and f, of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R. for a period of five years. Further, the Supreme Court orders the confiscation of all his property.

4. **Ivan Andreyevitch Kalinnikov** on the basis of Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 4, 6 and 11 of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R. to the extreme measure of social defence; execution. Further, the Supreme Court orders the confiscation of all his property.

5. **Nikolai Franzevitch Charnovsky** on the basis of Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 4, 6 and 11 of the Penal Code of the R. S. F. S. R. to the extreme measures of social defence, execution. Further, the Supreme Court orders the confiscation of all his property.

6. **Victor Alexeyevitch Laritchev** on the basis of Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 4, 6 and 11 of the Penal Code of the R.S.F.S.R. to the extreme measure of social defence, execution. Further, the Supreme Court orders the confiscation of all his property.

7. **Alexander Alexandrovitch Fyedotov** on the basis of Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 4, 6 and 11 of the Penal Code of the R.S.F.S.R. to the extreme measures of social defence, execution. Further, the Supreme Court orders the confiscation of all his property.

8. **Leonid Konstantinovich Ramzin** on the basis of Article 58, Paragraphs 3, 4, 6 and 11 of the Penal Code of the R.S.F.S.R. to the extreme measure of social defence, execution. Further, the Supreme Court orders the confiscation of all his property.

The time spent by the convicted Kuprianov, Sitnin and Otchkin in prison awaiting trial shall be deducted from their sentences.

The Verdict and Sentences are final and are not subject to appeal.

Signed: The President of the Special Investigation
of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union,
A. Vishinski.

The members of the Special Investigation
of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union,
Antonov-Saratovski and W. Lvov.

Moscow, the 7th December at 11.35 p.m.

POLITICS

Fascist Dictatorship with the Help of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

For the second time the social democracy has saved the Brüning government from the passing of the Communist vote of no-confidence; for the second time it has voted against the Communist motion for the immediate withdrawal of the dictatorial decree. The government majority—on the vote of no-confidence 291 against 256—depended wholly and entirely upon the attitude of the social democracy, which came down definitely on the side of the Brüning dictatorship government.

This decision on the part of the social democratic party means: support of the campaign against wages and salaries, of the serious attacks on the unemployed and sick; approval of fresh burdens of taxation running to millions, of the agrarian political measures which mean increased starvation of the masses, of the limitation of tenants' protection and increased terror against the working class. But in addition, this vote of the social democratic party means approval of the system of fascist dictatorship which the Chancellor Brüning has set up on the orders of German finance capital.

The Reichs-Chancellor did not render it particularly easy for his social democratic lackeys to give him their votes. In face of their motions (brought in to deceive the masses) in which they demanded certain alterations of the dictatorial decree, he declared that his decree was "unalterable" and that it would be impossible to think of any alterations until "normal conditions" have been restored in economy and in the State. In addition, he specially emphasised that the new dictatorial decree was only the first, the commencement of further measures of the government, that is to say, only a prelude to further plundering and suppression of the working masses.

The vote given by the social democratic party of Germany for the dictatorship government will arouse a storm of indignation among the broadest masses of the social democratic workers. Foreseeing this about 23 "Left" members of the social democratic Reichstag fraction had originally decided either to vote against the government or to abstain from voting. But when the Party executive demanded fractional discipline of them, their "heroism" melted away like butter in the sun; and when on Saturday evening it came to the actual vote, only 9 of these "heroes" quietly slunk out of the hall and avoided voting altogether.

The leaders of the social democracy are again endeavouring to deceive the masses of the workers regarding the true meaning of the vote of 6th December. They allege that the social democratic party was able to vote for the new dictatorial decree because they had rendered more or less harmless the old dictatorship decree. But this swindle will not deceive anybody. For the workers are learning to their cost what a serious effect the dictatorial decree is having on them. The social democracy also say that, faced with the question, either a Brüning government or a Hitler government, they have to choose the lesser evil; that they supported the Brüning government in order to avoid the dictatorship of fascism.

The "Vorwärts" wasted the whole of the first page of its Sunday edition 7th December in trying to "prove" that "what has happened in Germany since last Summer has nothing to do with fascism". It reminds its readers that Parliament still exists in Germany; it asserts that "freedom of the press" and "freedom of meetings and demonstrations" still exist in Germany; it points out that the Communist Party is not yet suppressed, and calls upon the Communists "to learn from their Italian comrades what fascism is really like".

It is true, Parliament and all the outward trappings of democracy still exist in Germany; but they have nothing more to say and are nothing but an outer cover of the system of the dictatorship. The democratic Weimar Constitution has not yet been declared null and void, but in practice it is no longer in force, with the exception of article 48, the dictatorship article. It is true the dictatorship has not yet ventured to suppress the whole Communist press, but it has already sent 60 communist editors to prison and is daily confiscating and prohibiting individual newspapers. It is true the dictatorship has not yet risked prohibiting all meetings and demonstrations of the working class, but it has given full power to the police to break up any meeting and any demonstration at any time and to shoot down workers. And if the Communist Party is not yet prohibited it is only because the government realises that this prohibition would be ineffective and only give a greater impetus to the Party's revolutionary work. If Brüning's fascist dictatorship has not yet assumed the form of Mussolini's bloody regime, it must be remembered that Italian fascism seized government power after the defeat of the proletariat, whilst Brüning's dictatorship is faced with a still unvanquished proletariat, the defeat of which it is now seeking to achieve with the support of social fascism and especially of the social democratic police ministers and police presidents and the trade union bureaucrats.

The bourgeoisie speaks quite openly of the fascist character of the Brüning government. The Berlin "Börsenzeitung" declares that the vote of 6th December and the present form of the Brüning dictatorship were rendered dependent on international relations: "For it is no longer a secret that Parliament's approval of the Emergency Decree was considered desirable from the standpoint of the credit policy of Germany by the powers that be. 'The powers that be' are Dr. Luther, the President of the German Reichsbank, and the leaders of German finance capital. The "Börsenzeitung" concludes by saying that it is high time that Brüning removed all obstacles to the further development of the Right. The former Reichswehr Minister Gessler spoke still more openly at a meeting of leading economic and political personalities, at which the Reichs-President Hindenburg and Reichs-Chancellor Brüning were present. Gessler stated: "In particular it is the task of the Constitution to lead the State to the goal, the 'Third Reich', as our young people call it... The State crisis is here, namely the German crisis as a special case of the crisis of the democracy of the whole world". What can this mean except an open summons to Hindenburg and Brüning to set up an undisguised dictatorship of fascism.

While the Brüning dictatorship is the beginning of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, the characteristic feature of the present situation is that the German proletariat, far from being defeated, is engaged in a strong revolutionary movement. More and more the fight for wages and bread is being connected in the mind of the simple worker with the fight against the fascist dictatorship; strikes are assuming an increasingly clear political character. The strikers and also the unemployed no longer retreat in face of the police weapons as formerly; the carbines of the civil war police no longer terrify the workers. The economic crisis is becoming increasingly aggravated every week, driving ever fresh masses even of the petty bourgeois middle classes and small pea-

sants into open fight against the dictatorship government and on to the side of the fighting proletariat. The Communist Party of Germany, the leader of the revolutionary advance-guard of the German working class, no longer confines itself to propagating and mobilising for the fight against fascism, but is formulating its new tasks: to organise the revolutionary fighting front of the proletariat and of the impoverished middle classes, to organise the people's revolution against the fascist dictatorship of Brüning and its social fascist henchmen.

Tardieu's Overthrow.

A Victim of the Capitalist Crisis.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

On November 28th the Tardieu Ministry, which had lost three of its members who were all too obviously involved in the recent financial scandals, obtained a narrow majority of 14 votes in the Chamber. On December 4, on the occasion of an interpellation in the Senate regarding its general policy, it was defeated by 147 votes against 139.

Tardieu had been Prime Minister for 13 months. From the day on which the collapse of the financier Oustric, and with him the whole Paris Bourse, made plain even to the blindest the venality of Tardieu's most important colleagues, and that the finally was nothing else but an adventurer, he was discredited in the eyes of the whole of the democratic petty bourgeoisie, among whom the feeling for political "integrity" is keen. Had he remained at the head of the government, it would have only increased the rapidly growing aversion to Parliament and the parliamentary regime. He "compromised the Republican institution"; even a part of his faithful followers agreed that, in the interest of the regime, he must be replaced by a more "upright" man.

But the Oustric case is only a consequence of the general condition of French economy. In actual fact the Ministry was overthrown because its credit had been destroyed by the development of the crisis in France.

In his first declaration 13 months ago, Tardieu shamelessly announced:

"We intend shortly to carry out a policy of prosperity in France. A people in a state of well-being is a people which witnesses the parallel growth of production, of the profits of the employers and the wages of the workers."

On every point Tardieu's balance is on the debit side. Since June there has been a decline of production in all branches of industry, while unemployment is growing. Hundreds of thousands of workers are working only 30 to 35 hours a week, and the number of workers completely unemployed is increasing every day. The position of French commerce on the foreign markets is continually deteriorating, and in October France had to record an adverse trade balance of 1,000 million francs. Bankruptcies are a daily occurrence, and the stock exchange catastrophes have shaken the confidence of the population in the stability of the economic position of the country.

In his recent speeches, and in particular in his speech delivered in the Senate, Tardieu had pointed to the extreme seriousness of the world economic crisis and predicted the approach of great economic changes, as a result of which the struggle between the nations would become fiercer and that the country "is facing a very serious moment in its history". The opponents of the government reproached the government with having employed only insignificant counter-measures against the crisis and with not having done sufficient to meet the requirements of national defence.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France long ago foresaw that the big bourgeoisie, which is confronted by an economic and political crisis, would try to concentrate all those forces which support it in order to overcome the crisis at the cost of the proletariat of the mother country, of the colonies, of the vassal States and of the Soviet Union. In its resolution of October it pointed to the coming concentration of all bourgeois political fractions, which would give the government a firm basis in order to undertake a great offensive

against the wages, cruelly to suppress the colonial revolutions, to increase preparations for war against the rival imperialism and still more against the Soviet Union.

The purpose of Tardieu's overthrow is to clear the path for this Republican concentration which had been attempted already 13 months ago. De Jouvenel reproached Tardieu in the Senate with endeavouring to exclude all fractions of the Republican parties, whilst "we are aiming at welding them together". The bourgeois press writes that the vote in the Senate had only one meaning: that the Tardieu government must be followed by a concentration Ministry.

It will not be easy to solve the government crisis. The Lefts will demand guarantees in regard to the programme and seats in the government, in order to make out to the masses of petty bourgeois, peasants and even workers who follow them that their participation in the government means a victory.

The socialists also want to represent the overthrow of the Tardieu Cabinet as a great victory for the workers, although they had formerly collaborated with Tardieu in order to throttle the strikes of the workers and to increase armaments. Leon Blum is also in favour of a concentration Ministry, assuring it beforehand of the "goodwill" and "sympathy" of the socialists, although he knows perfectly well that this government will pursue the same policy as the former government.

The Communist Party is increasing its propaganda among the masses in order to show them the true countenance of French imperialism, as revealed by the trial in the Soviet Union, as the main instigator of intervention against the Soviet Union. The Party is rallying the masses in a united front for the struggle against misery, against fascism and against war and is showing them the only way out of the crisis: a workers' and peasants' government in France.

The Ender-Schober Government in Austria.

By Oesterreicher (Vienna).

The composition of the Austrian government which was formed on December 3rd is as follows:

The Christian-socialist Ender occupies the position of Federal Chancellor, in addition members of the Christian socialist party occupy the post of Minister for Agriculture, for Trade and Transport, Defence, Education and Social Welfare. Schober will occupy the post of Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister. The post of Minister for the Interior falls to a member of the Land League and that of Minister for Justice to a Pan-German.

All parties which go to form the bourgeois majority are now quite united with regard to the economic measures to be carried out. The government is also certain of the co-operation of the social democrats. Nevertheless, there existed difficulties, differences of opinion which resulted, for example, in the National Council meeting and dispersing again without a government being formed, because no agreement had been reached on the question whether the social democrats, as the strongest fraction, should nominate the President.

These difficulties are an expression of the political crisis of fascism; they are the reflection of the economic difficulties against which the ruling classes in Austria are fighting.

Steidle, in an interview which he recently gave to the Paris "Matin", stated that the Heimwehr had hoped that Vaugin would have postponed the new elections and carried out dictatorially those unpopular measures which are necessary in face of the economic crisis; as for example the introduction of compulsory labour and the reform of the social insurance, which "no Parliament would be capable of carrying out", and then confront the new National Council with the accomplished facts.

We know that the plan to follow this course actually existed. The Styrian Heimwehr leader, General Elissen, had planned an action for 20th October which was to have been only the starting point for a general movement of the Heimwehr, whereby the elections were to be prevented. The Ambassador of a foreign government—England or France—warned the Vaugin government against such plans. The various Heimwehr generals no longer ventured to execute their plans.

That would have been one way out. It would however, at the same time have converted Austria into a vassal State of Italian imperialism somewhat after the pattern of Albania. England and France prevented this, relying thereby upon the support of Schober and his people in the Police headquarters.

The other way to carry out the fascist economic programme is the "Legal" way, which necessitates having recourse to the co-operation of the social democracy. That is the "dangerous turn" which the Ender government now wishes to make and against which the "Reichspost" of 2nd December energetically warned it.

These vacillations in the political policy of the Austrian bourgeoisie only show how difficult it already is for it to manoeuvre further. If the biggest industrial works in Austria, the Donawitz foundry works and the Alpine Montan works in Erzberg, are to be closed down in a few days, if the number of the unemployed has risen to 330 000, then it is no easy task to form a government.

To these difficulties, resulting from the economic catastrophe, there is also to be added the fight of the Franco-British financial groups against the influence of Italian imperialism. This fight has ended with the repulse of Italy, a fact which is expressed for the moment in the replacement of Seipel by Schober at the Foreign Ministry. Since Schober enabled the Creditanstalt, owned by Louis Rothschild, to swallow the fat morsel in the shape of the Bodencredit concern which had collapsed in 1929, he has become the trusted henchman of English capital, whilst Seipel, on the other hand, has never disguised his admiration for Mussolini.

The relations of the Ender government to the social democracy were characterised by the "Stunde" a paper representing the interests of the Czech government, in the following manner: "A Ministry without the Heimatblock has always got a shot in its locker, as in case of necessity it can always associate with Starhemberg or, what is even worse, give a free hand to Vaugoin. The social democracy must constantly honour this invisible concession. The social democracy cannot possibly overthrow the Ender government in order to bring about the renaissance of a Starhemberg-Vaugoin Ministry".

To this statement there should be added that Starhemberg remains a support of the government. But the social democracy, by pointing to the possibility of a return of the Heimatblock into the government, will actually defend before the masses their open co-operation with Ender. That is to say, they will adopt the same attitude which the social democracy of Germany at present maintains to the Brüning government. When the "Arbeiterzeitung", today speaks of fascists, it means only the Heimatblock. All the other parties of Austrian fascism are represented by it to the masses as the true bearers of democracy.

The "Arbeiterzeitung" has also declared that it "would be foolish to believe" that any Parliament would be capable of freeing Austria from the crisis and therefore the social democrats refrain "from demanding" and expecting of a Parliament that which no Parliament within the capitalist order of society is capable of doing". The masses of starving unemployed, the masses of workers in the factories who have to put up with wage-cuts and short time work, must therefore not have too great illusions regarding the results of social democratic work in Parliament. According to the "Arbeiterzeitung", the task of this Parliament is something quite different. It is to adopt the path of economic co-operation which shall provide work for the unemployed, the path of fulfilment of social duties which shall reconcile the working class to the State".

This last sentence contains the whole programme of social fascism: peace in industry and education of the working class in the spirit of class collaboration.

It is exceedingly significant that the Ender Government includes the Pan-German Schürff, the mayor of the town of Mödling near Vienna, who only a few days ago put an end to the collaboration of his fraction in the municipal council with the fascist Economic Council, and in its place entered into a coalition with the social democrats. That will also be the policy of the Ender Government: Strong connection of fascism with social fascism in order thereby to carry out anti-working class measures, the realisation of which Steidle thought would be possible only by excluding Parliament.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The International Importance of the Miners' Struggles.

By Gustav Sobottka (Berlin).

The fight begun by the Scottish miners under the leadership of the Minority Movement and the revolutionary United Mineworkers Union of Scotland against the introduction of the spread-over system and the intended reduction of wages is of great importance not only to the miners of all countries, but also to the whole working class. This fight shows with all clearness that the workers are no longer willing to allow the burden of the capitalist economic crisis to be cast on to their shoulders. What are the causes of the fight in the English mining industry?

In the year 1926 the English miners were robbed of the seven-hour shift. At the same time they were promised that the seven-hour shift would be restored as soon as the crisis in the mining industry had been overcome. By lengthening the working day and by the wage reduction which was carried out at that time, the costs of production were to be so reduced that the English mining capitalists would be able to increase their sales abroad, i. e. to increase their competitive fight, especially against German, Polish and Dutch coal.

The German and the Polish mining capitalists replied to these measures with similar action against the miners of their countries. In particular they intensified rationalisation and thus greatly increased the exploitation of the miners. They too did all this on the pretext of cheapening the costs of production in order to be able to compete better on the foreign markets.

The reformist trade union bureaucracy everywhere supported this policy of the mining capitalists. The reformist bureaucracy, just in the same manner as the mining capitalists, advocated the panacea of rationalisation as a means of overcoming the crisis.

The plans of the English mineowners, however, were frustrated by the laws of capitalist economy. Wage cuts and lengthening of the working day did not lead to an enlargement of the sales markets for English coal. On the contrary, the general crisis of capitalist economy led to a further aggravation of the crisis in the mining industry. The English reformists had promised the miners that when a Labour Government came into power, it would restore to them the seven-hour shift. When the MacDonald Government came into office it had to keep its promise. But it could not and would not do this any more than the English mineowners. In order however, to be able to mislead the miners still further they promised them a Mines Act. The Mines Act was to promote the export of English coal and give back to the miners the seven-hour shift. These were the two most important points of the Act.

The most important question in connection with the Act, however, was not that of working hours, but the setting up of a sort of syndicate. The different mining areas were to be united in syndicates, and these again were to be united in a National Board for the whole of England. This National Board should have the right to place a premium on coal sold within the country and with the help of this to increase the export of coal. This meant increasing the price of coal for the home industry, thereby hampering the export of the engineering, manufacturing and textile industries and increasing the crisis in these industries.

The English capitalists were naturally strongly opposed to this and wish to place these burdens also on the backs of the miners. If a fund is to be raised for the promotion of the export of coal, then this should be borne by the miners. Hence the demand not only for the introduction of the spread-over system, but also for a reduction of wages. In this demand the mineowners are actively supported by the MacDonald government and the reformist trade union bureaucracy. The measures provided in the law are the products of the reformist and social fascist bureaucracy, which is the best assistant of the capitalists in their fight against the miners.

The introduction of the spread-over system however means for the miners a longer working day and longer shifts. According to this system the working time shall be so distributed according to the convenience of the mineowners, that on

five days a week 8½ hours may be worked, so long as the total working hours spread over any fortnight of 12 working days do not exceed 90.

The miners have now seen through this fraud of the MacDonald government and the reformist bureaucracy, and have taken up the fight against it. The events in England, however, also show the workers of other countries how international reformism and social fascism intend to save capitalism. The workers must draw the lesson: intensified fight against the social fascist bureaucracy in all countries.

CHINA

Armistice in the Chinese Generals' War.

By Tun Schen.

The generals' war in China has come to a momentary standstill, after raging with the utmost cruelty for seven months, thanks to the feverish supplying of weapons, tanks, aircraft, and poison gases, to the military leaders by the European, American, and Japanese imperialists. Whilst Chang Kai-shek celebrates his victorious progress, and prepares at the same time for fresh fights against the new enemy, and whilst the vanquished are employing the pause for breath to arm for renewed struggles, the working masses who have been the unhappy victims of the generals' war look back with hate and horror upon the field of battle, now a heap of shattered ruins.

It is incredible how much blood has been shed in these seven months of uninterrupted battle, but the outside world has known little of it. Even Chang Kai-shek himself was obliged to admit, at the national celebrations in Nanking on 10th October, that the present struggle had cost the lives of 150,000 soldiers on each side, a total of 300,000. In actual fact the number of soldiers thus sent to their deaths has been no less than 600,000, and the number of the population killed in the bombardments and bomb attacks is even greater. Almost every village in the districts involved has been destroyed. Even the towns have been reduced to ruins. The district town of Tai-An for instance was half demolished. The population of numerous towns, besieged for months, have perished in the bombardments or of starvation. The Shanghai bourgeois newspaper "Schi Pao" estimates the number of the population who have perished during the generals' war to be three times that of the number of soldiers who have fallen. According to this estimate at least one million of the population have been killed.

To this enormous amount of human material consumed by the war there must be added the vast sums of money expended. The biggest bourgeois newspaper of China, the "Shun Pao" of Shanghai, reported on 5th November that Chang Kai-shek's war expenses ran to over 30 millions monthly, those of Yen Si Shan to over 20 millions, and those of Feng Yu Hsiang to over 10 millions. According to these figures, which do not include the purchase of ammunition, the generals' war thus swallowed up the sum of 70 million dollars monthly.

The "Shun Pao" reports further that Chang Kai-shek bought 5,000 cases of ammunition from abroad, delivered in 19 consignments, and representing a value of 120 million silver taels. Yen Si Shan and Feng Yu Hsiang bought together 7,000 cases of ammunition, again worth not less than 120 million silver taels, delivered in 13 consignments to Yen and 15 to Feng. These seven months of fighting have thus cost over 700 million dollars.

The arable land devastated by this war totals an area approximately as large as Belgium. The so-called "Commission for Reparations in Honan" reports *inter alia*:

"The war area in Honan covers over 60 districts. In the whole of this region the earth is torn up by projectiles, undermined by trenches, and interspersed by ruined village and houses, the number of which cannot be ascertained."

The picture thus drawn applies equally to the other provinces in which the war has raged. Compulsory war service and war levies were imposed in all districts affected by the war. According to the report of the "war service committee" in Chenchow, the capital of Honan, this committee commandeered: over 1000 lorries, on an average with three draught animals and 2 drivers each, over 1,000 bearers, 8,000

men between the ages of 15 and 60 as soldiers, 1,100,000 djin of wheat (1 djin equals 605 gr.), 800,000 djin of rice, over 2 million djin of flour, 9 million djin of wood, 7 million djin of horse fodder, and as an extra levy on each mau (1 mau is equal to 697 sq.m.) of arable land, the sum of 2½ dollars. Besides this, the population was forced to dig trenches, receiving as sole compensation two meals daily. Paper money to the value of 100,000 dollars was forced into circulation. The arbitrary collection of levies increased tenfold. As a result of the shortage of draught animals, wide tracts of land had to lie fallow.

The generals' war has entirely ruined the traffic service both by land and by water. The railway lines Tientsin—Pukow and Tientsin—Hai already greatly in need of repairs, have been completely destroyed. Many of the railway carriages used in the war have been shot to pieces and rendered useless. The restoration of traffic by water is scarcely possible, as almost all the steamers have been destroyed during their service as transport ships for the soldiery. The transport workers and seamen have received no wages for five months; the workers who protest against this are punished as "communists".

In order to raise the huge sums required for carrying on the war, every military commander has done his utmost to squeeze money out of the population of the region in his power. The numerous heavy taxes and levies have been given a variety of absurd designations. The decision came to some time ago to cancel the Likin (interior duty) on 1st October has been withdrawn by the Kuomintang. It often happens that 20 to 30 different taxes and duties must be paid on goods conveyed from one place to another. The Nanking government has added to this by announcing the putting into operation of earnings tax. Numerous undertakings have gone on strike as a protest against the high taxes. The Canton restaurants, for instance, recently struck for ten days. Trade is dealt a severe blow by these enormous burdens of taxation, and many traders have already been driven into bankruptcy.

The profiteering capitalists of the imperialist countries raked in high profits on ammunition consignments during the struggle. Now that this is ended and the country is lying in ruins, they are attempting to invest their capital in China on the pretext of "helping China in the work of reconstruction".

The English "Society for the Study of the Economics of the Far East", which arrived in Shanghai on 25th October, and which includes in its ranks numerous experts in the field of trade and industry, especially in the cotton and wool industries, the metal and iron industries, is not visiting China without definite aims and intentions. The American adviser of the Nanking government, Judge Paul Lineberger, has gone to Washington, commissioned by Chang Kai-shek to take up a loan of 1,000 million ounces of silver in aid of the so-called "reconstruction of China". This shows very plainly that the financial capital of the United States is desirous, on the one hand, of helping the Nanking government out of its financial dilemma and enabling it to pay its soldiers, and, on the other hand, of placing China completely under its yoke. This is inevitably bound to aggravate the antagonisms of interests among the imperialist powers striving to exploit China.

The fact that China is being driven further and further into a blind alley by the constant generals' wars, and is falling more and more into the power of the imperialists, forces the working masses, no longer able to maintain life under these circumstances, to turn to revolution as the sole means of escape and to fight for the Soviet power of the workers and peasants. The command given by the Nanking government that the Red Army and the Soviet territory were to be attacked on 1st November, has not been able to retard the advancing Red Army. The 2nd Red Army, under Holung's command, has taken the towns of Huayang and Nansien, directly of the shore of the Tuntung lake, and is advancing on Yochow.

The revolutionary workers and peasants of China, in spite of the enemies surrounding them on all sides, are steadily moving forward towards their goal; the defence of the Soviet territories and the conquest of fresh regions. At the coming Chinese Soviet Congress on 11th December they will discuss the revolutionary strategy and tactics of their struggle, proclaim the Central Soviet government for the whole Soviet territory as counter power to the counter-revolutionary front, and will then continue their struggle for the victory of Soviet China!

The Trial of the Counter-Revolutionary Sabotagers in Moscow

Before the Bar of the Proletarian Court.

By Paul Braun (Moscow).

The proceedings at the trial of the so-called Industrial Party have proved with all clearness the fact of the existence of a concrete plan, worked out in all its strategical and practical details, of intervention against the Soviet Power.

The criminal actions of the sabotagers which form the subject of the trial fall into the background before the huge war-plot which the imperialist governments prepared together with the former Tsarist generals and white-guardist emigrants. Behind the figures of the accused counter-revolutionaries are to be seen the shadows of Poincaré and Briand. Whilst the accused submit their confessions and reveal the secret machinations of world imperialism, railway trains loaded with French guns and machine guns are proceeding in ever more rapid succession to Poland and Rumania.

In their statements the accused unrolled a striking picture of the strategy and the tactics of the imperialist war-plot against the Soviet Union. Their revelations culminated in the concretely substantiated statement that, since the beginning of the successful realisation of the Five-Year Plan, the initiative in the counter-revolutionary conspiracy against the dictatorship of the proletariat has been transferred from the circles of the uprooted white-guardist emigrés, who have been finally deprived of their power, to the imperialist governments, especially to French imperialism. The counter-revolutionary actions of the most varied kind were subordinated to a definite system and a firm aim: the immediate preparation for intervention. The instructions for the sabotagers who carried on their shameful handiwork in the Soviet Union no longer came from the Industrial and Trade Committee in Paris, from the Torgprom, but immediately from the French government, from its General Staff.

All the accused made this fact perfectly clear in their statements. The accused Fyedotov, one of the leaders of the Industrial Party, who had conducted the negotiations himself in Paris, laid special emphasis on this fact. He declared: "In the role and in the relations of the Torgprom with the government circles and the forces round Poincaré there took place an alteration. While formerly the representatives of the Torgprom kept to their offices, these people now received delegations and had meetings with them in restaurants. The initiative passed from one place to another, and in my opinion this is one of the most characteristic and interesting facts of the development of the idea of intervention.

According to the statements of the accused Fyedotov, plans for intervention first made their appearance in 1923. This statement throws an important light on the history of the Dawes Plan. The planned intervention was on the agenda as a subject of concrete discussion in the conversations which the Paris Trade and Industrial Committee had with government circles in 1925. With the commencement of the reconstruction period in 1928 the intervention plans assumed definite shape. At that time, according to Fyedotov's confessions, negotiations repeatedly took place between the representatives of the Torgprom and of the French government. The leading persons among the former Russian capitalists, Ryabutchinsky, Nobel and Tryetjakov were received by Poincaré. At the French General Staff there was set up a special international military commission under the chairmanship of Colonel Joinville, the express object of which was to draw up a war-plan against the Soviet Union and to co-ordinate the various counter-revolutionary actions in the Soviet Union itself and abroad.

Thus the activity of the sabotagers was subordinated to the military, strategical plans. The French government took the sabotage organisations officially in its service. These organisations had from that time to work according to the instructions of the French General Staff, which, as the accused Kuprianov confessed, were conveyed to them by official representatives of the French Embassy in Moscow. Since the middle of 1929, when all doubts as to the successful execution of the Five-Year Plan disappeared and the collectivisation movement began a powerful upsurge, the preparations for intervention were feverishly accelerated.

The plan of campaign was prepared in every detail. The French War Office developed increased diplomatic activity; representatives of the French government and of the General Staff officers were continually travelling between Warsaw, Prague and Bucharest. The hostile ring round the Soviet Union was drawn closer and closer. During this time there took place the first big warlike action against the Soviet Power: **the raid on the Chinese-Eastern Railway.** In the light of the revelations made by the sabotagers this provocation proves to have been a definite general rehearsal for the coming intervention-war. The accused Laritchev has told of a conversation which he had at the end of 1929 with the French agent K., who informed him that the French government was especially interested in the Chinese Eastern Railway; that the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway was to be regarded as a trial balloon for ascertaining the strength of the Red Army, and that the failure of this manoeuvre showed that the military preparations for intervention were still insufficient.

This confession by a tool of French imperialism is of the very gravest importance. It proves the existence of intervention-plans against the Soviet Union; it proves that these plans were no idle dreams of unemployed officers, nor the dreams, born of fear, of the Soviet press, but that they are a real danger, which approaches nearer with every success of Socialist construction, with every day of the successful execution of the Five-Year Plan.

The strategy of the sabotage work was quite obviously dictated from the military point of view. From the statements of the accused Ramzin and Laritchev there are to be distinguished four phases in the development of the sabotage activity. In the first phase, in the year 1923—24, the activity of the sabotagers was confined to the **textile** and to the **oil industry.** With the commencement of the restoration period the sabotage activity was extended to the **metal industry.** At the commencement of the reconstruction period (1928—29) it assumed an organised, comprehensive character and embraced all the important branches of the **heavy industry.** Finally, in the fourth phase (1929—30), the sabotagers extended their destructive actions to **all branches of industry which are important in the event of war.** They attempted to strike at the war industry; to destroy the coal and metal basis of the Soviet Union; to disorganise electricity and transport and to undermine the currency.

This gradual extension of the sabotage activity undoubtedly corresponded to the military requirements; it betrays the military strategical plan drawn up at the secret meetings of the French General Staff. In this light the activity of the sabotagers appears not to be confined to sabotage acts but also to include the most contemptible espionage work for the French General Staff.

The sapping and mining work of Ramzin and his consorts was supported by the foreign imperialists in every way. The revelations at the trial expose the unexampled corruption. The sabotagers were directly supplied funds from the French treasury through official government agents. In addition, the sabotagers received commission money, running into millions, from numerous firms which had contracts for supplying goods to the Soviet Union. Some of the accused give full details regarding the various methods by which their anti-Soviet machinations were financed — measures which included all forms of direct bribery up to fraudulent manipulations.

The circle of preparations for intervention is concluded by the insane war incitement in the columns of the imperialist press. In his statements the accused Fyedotov gives some interesting facts regarding the systematic bribery of the French press by the government for the purpose of furthering the intervention plans. In the last few weeks the imperialist press of all countries has been pursuing this line of intensified war-incitement against the Soviet Union. The only response to the trial of the sabotagers in the capitalist press is a cry for accelerated intervention.

That the trial has evoked such an echo in the capitalist

world press is not due to chance. It destroys all the pacifist illusions that the imperialist war plans have been frustrated by the revelations at the trial of the saboteurs. It proves rather than the imperialist warmongers are preparing to deliver a fresh blow, that they will prepare intervention at an accelerated pace and with the utmost exertion of all their forces for a later date.

Ryabushinsky and Tretyakov leave no doubt regarding this. In a declaration published by the Paris white-guardist press they write: „The Torgprom will indefatigably continue

its fight against the Soviet Power. It will enlighten public opinion on what is taking place in the Soviet Union; it will do everything in order to prepare for the future restoration of our native country on the basis of freedom and justice“.

The counter-revolutionary criminal Laritchev is right when he says: „Intervention hangs like a sword of Damocles over the Soviet Union, and a real attempt will be made to carry it out in the year 1931.“

That is the most important of the lessons yielded by the trial of the Industrial Party.

The Five Year Plan will Win in Spite of Everything.

By Michael Gold.

Moscow — It is the fifth day of the historic trial of the counter-revolutionary wreckers and interventionists. The eight defendants have risen in turn to confess the shameful details of their conspiracy against the Socialist fatherland.

Now **Krylenko**, State Prosecutor, is cross-examining them. He is a compact, cool little man with a bald head, dressed in simple khaki jacket and leggings. He does not roll on the floor, shed fake tears or wave his arms like the sham actors who are our customary prosecutors in America.

He only asks calm, logical questions of the defendants. And each question, when answered, reveals a new abyss of capitalist treachery. The trial is being conducted with almost a solemn formality. No fireworks, no histrionics; the great audience of workers, students, peasants, sits like spectators at a tragedy. No one has laughed during this trial. Everyone present in this glittering white-and-gold auditorium that was formerly the Hall of the Nobles, seems conscious that this trial is one of the important moments of the Russian Revolution and the World Revolution.

Capitalist imperialism is on trial here in the person of the eight engineers. They had formed a party of 2,000 engineers and technical men to wreck the Five-Year Plan. They had conspired with the French General Staff and with the discarded Russian capitalists in Paris to invade Soviet Russia in 1931, and crush the revolution. They had received millions of roubles from the French and from other sources. They had planned a capitalist military dictatorship and the murder of millions of workers and peasants.

For years liberal pseudo-intellectuals everywhere have tried to find a parallel between the bourgeois French Revolution and the Soviet Revolution. They have predicted hopefully the coming of another Man on Horseback here.

He has come. His name is **Ramsin**, and he was to be the Premier of the capitalist dictatorship. With the help of France, he was to restore capitalist law and order and private property in the Soviet Union. Of course, he would be only a puppet of the imperialists.

Napoleon Ramsin! — and here he is meekly sitting in the defendant's dock with four young Red Soldiers guarding him, and two factory workers and the President of the Moscow University passing judgement on his gory dreams of power.

For this Man on Horseback and his fellow traitors had laid skilful plans, but had forgotten to take the Soviet masses into account. This is not the French Revolution. This is a new thing — a nation where the working-class has been lifted into power and consciousness. The bourgeois west seems not yet to have learned the lesson that the strength of the Soviet regime lies not only in cannons and aeroplanes, but in the burning faith of millions and millions of plain people — men, women, and children — who are ready to die rather than yield an inch of the great transformation in human ethics which they have wrought.

One could feel this mass-spirit on the opening night of the trial. I walked the Moscow streets with Ernest Glaeser, the famous young German novelist who has become a Communist during this past year. A million workers had poured out of the factories in the snow and twilight. From every direction, they marched past the Red Square and the scene of the trial. There were factory bands and defiant posters; and every group of fifty workers seemed to have an accordion player along. Everyone sang. When the parade stopped, a factory girl danced, or a young worker or soldier leaped up and down in the acrobatics of the Russian Kazatsky.

Torch-lights; great red banners of factory and culture groups; bold, happy, defiant shouting. „Long live the Revolution! and Long live the Five-Year Plan!“

What mass joy. What spontaneity. It clutched at one's heart; it brought tears to the eyes to see this human Niagara of youthful faith and solidarity.

Glaeser and I speculated as to why this demonstration took such an exuberant form. We agreed that there was a deep psychological motive behind this joy.

The Soviet masses are so confident of their own power, and so inspired by the successes of the Five-Year Plan that they fear nothing any longer. They know they will win. This trial seems to them another reason why they will win. For the plot reveals what deep-laid sabotage and wrecking had been carried on by engineers who had been among the chief leaders of Soviet industry. Yet despite this enormous treachery, the Five-Year Plan has been going forward with miraculous speed. Therefore — rejoicing.

All over the Soviet Union these spontaneous demonstrations took place. It is inspiring to be in Soviet Russia today. All the passion that went into the winning of the military revolution in 1917, has been turned into construction of a new life.

The air tingles with creative feeling. New factories and workers' homes and clubs rise on every hand. We visited Dnieperstroy where a great dam is being built that will furnish electricity for an area of 300 miles. Two years ago it was a squalid dusty peasant village; today it is a huge fantastic industrial theatre where 25,000 proletarians are the actors.

We saw men and women at work. Hard work, dirty work, dangerous work; but they all could stop for a moment to tell us about the glorious Five-Year Plan. Everyone now is part of the Great Plan; lumberjacks, engineers, waiters, poets, Red Army soldiers, students. There is no unemployment; no, but a shortage of workers for the Plan. Minor hardships depress nobody for they are necessary to the Plan.

We had a brief interview with **Krupskaya** yesterday. Her serene face grew youthful as a Comsomol's as she told us about the new cultural victories of the Revolution.

„Every year new millions of our peasants and workers grow into consciousness“ she said. „Before the Revolution more than 80 per cent of Russia was illiterate. But now we are moving so rapidly that by the end of the Five-Year Plan we are certain every trace of illiteracy will be wiped out. Soviet Russia will be the only country in the world where there is no illiteracy.“

She spoke of the thousands of new schools that are being built of the great epikemic of self-education that has seized the Soviet masses; of the millions of books that are being published, to satisfy the eager masses; of the new music, literature, theatre, all the manifold expressions of a nation in creative ferment.

In the Five-Year Plan the Revolution is justifying itself. The Five-Year Plan is now the hope of the world.

The capitalist plotters who seek to destroy this Plan and to drown the world anew in blood must constantly be exposed and defeated. Today the first duty of every honest worker or intellectual in the world is to defend with his all the Soviet Union and the Five-Year Plan. Today the plain duty of the world proletariat is to stay the hand of the interventionists — to strike the sword of war from the raised hands of Poincaré, and Briand and their bloodthirsty fellow conspirators in all capitalist countries.

Report of the Proceedings at the Trial.

Wholesale Bribery of Sabotagers Exposed.

Afternoon Session of November 29.

The afternoon session of the fifth day of the trial of the counter-revolutionary sabotagers began with the cross-examination of the accused **Fyedotov**. **Fyedotov** is typical of the demoralisation of certain sections of the old Russian intelligenzia. Prior to the revolution his material situation was splendid. He earned a fixed salary of 60 000 roubles a year as a responsible employee of the textile concern **Morosov**. He owned an estate valued at 40 000 roubles and had a private bank account of 30 000 roubles. Politically he was an active member of the National Democratic Party, belonging to its "left-wing". He was a frequent contributor to the newspaper, "**Russkiye Vyedomostoy**" which was often referred to as the organ of "the toothless academic Russian liberalism". **Fyedotov** boasted of having recognised the historical inevitability of the proletarian dictatorship as early as May 1917. He remained loyal to the Cadet Party even after he had recognised what he termed "ideal bolshevism". He entered the service of the soviets as early as 1918 upon the basis of "a recognition of bolshevism", but admits that in 1920 he welcomed the advance of **Denikin** on Moscow and considered joining **Denikin** should Moscow be taken.

In 1925 he was recruited by **Lopatin** for the sabotagers group. At the time this group allegedly aimed only at improving the social status of the engineers. **Fyedotov** declares that "the drama of my life" was my hesitation and vacillation between the influence of the old bolshevist and textile specialist **Nogin**, and the influence of the **Lopatin** group. The final decision was for the sabotagers, particularly after **Nogin's** death. He then took an active part in the sabotage work.

Supplementing his previous statements concerning his journey to London, **Fyedotov** told how he was visited by **Chrestovnikov** in London. The subject of discussion was how to secure a higher percentage of the discount paid by British firms on Soviet purchases to the Paris emigrants. This statement of **Fyedotov** informed public opinion for the first time that sums paid by the Soviet government in foreign currency flowed in part into the pockets of the white-guardist emigrants. In the name of the Paris emigrants **Chrestovnikov** demanded that they should receive five percent instead of the previous one percent. **Fyedotov** calculates the total sum paid at the time to the emigrants at 200 000 roubles. **Chrestovnikov** also denied to **Fyedotov** the statement of **Kuprianov** according to which **Konovalov** had lost his money and his influence. It was, however, true of **Ryabushinsky**. **Ryabushinsky** and his colleagues had plundered the treasury of the **Wrangel** "government".

Krylenko, interrupting, "So Poincaré received persons accused of theft?"

Fyedotov: "Yes, one can say that." (Laughter in court.)

Ramzin, who was recalled by the President of the court, then confirmed his former statement according to which **Fyedotov** represented the monarchist point of view in the discussion of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party.

Ramzin's evidence was extremely embarrassing for **Fyedotov** whose embarrassment became still greater when **Krylenko** described the exact circumstances under which discount was given to the Paris emigrants on Soviet purchases. Of a sum of 50 000 roubles, **Fyedotov** received 4000 roubles for his own personal use. In answer to questions of the President of the Court, **Fyedotov** at first tried to wriggle, but finally admitted frankly that the sum he received was a bribe. After this exposure of the white-haired professor as a corrupt element, his denials of the sabotage activity in the textile industry also collapsed.

Re-called **Ramzin** declared again that **Fyedotov** was the man who had taken the initiative in the discussions of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party for the carrying out of sabotage in the textile industry in the form of drawing up plans for creating disproportions in production, the construction of unnecessary factories etc. **Fyedotov** finally admitted this.

The cross-examination of the next accused, **Otchkin**, revealed the cold and calculating cynicism with which **Ramzin** misused his position as superior and "friend" in order to draw his secretary into the sabotage work. But no less cynical and treacherous appeared **Otchkin's**, own attitude. After long years of alleged sympathy for the Soviet power he accepted the standpoint of the sabotagers and took an active part in their work, all within the space of a few months.

The next accused **Sitin** tried to represent himself as having worked solely for the original aims of the engineers group: to further the degeneration of the Soviet regime into State capitalism plus freedom of action for small and middle-scale capital. Under cross-examination he was compelled to abandon his former statement according to which he had not been a member of the Industrial Party and knew nothing about the intervention plans. He admitted having taken part in the sabotage activity, having known of the intervention plans, and having taken part in the preparations for the intervention.

His collapse was brought about by the revelation that he had accepted bribes amounting to 80 000 roubles from American cotton firms in order to supply textile goods to private traders. The paper roubles he received for this he caused to be exchanged on the illegal exchange for gold roubles; 7500 roubles were found in his possession when he was arrested.

The Accused on the Counter-Revolutionary Campaign of Lies.

Morning Session of November 30.

In the morning session of the sixth day of the trial the court began to examine the accused concerning their relations to the Trade and Industrial Committee in Paris. The examination showed clearly that of the three bodies preparing the intervention, the Industrial Party, the Trade and Industrial Committee, and the French government, the latter took the initiative to accelerate and intensify the preparations for intervention and that **Loucheur**, **Poincaré** and **Briand** took a personal part in these preparations. The beginning of the active practical work of the French General Staff for the preparation of the intervention caused the Trade and Industrial Committee to set the date of the intervention for 1930 and to con-

centrate the whole activities of the Industrial Party within the Soviet Union on the preparations to facilitate this intervention of French imperialism.

The accused **Ramzin** described in detail his discussions with **Ryabushinsky** in 1927 and with the Trade and Industrial Committee as a whole in October 1928. The details of **Ramzin's** statement which were confirmed by the accused **Laritchev**, left no doubt of the reliability of his evidence. According to the statement of **Ryabushinsky Loucheur** was the man who established the connections with the French government. **Ramzin** was then examined concerning the person of **Ryabushinsky** whose existence is denied by the foreign emigrant

press and by the bourgeois and social democratic newspapers. Ramzin declared that the man in question was Vladimir Ryabushinsky.

At this point of the proceedings Krylenko proposed that an article published in the white emigrant newspaper "Vosrozhdyenye" on the 7th July 1930 and signed Vladimir Ryabushinsky, should be read. The article in question was entitled, "A Necessary War" and described the business advantages of a military destruction of the Soviet regime.

Ramzin then described the actual reason for his meeting with the leaders of the Trade and Industrial Committee in Paris in October 1928 as representative of the Industrial Party. His aim was to obtain details of and proof of the concrete preparations for an intervention being made by the Trade and Industrial Committee and by the French government. At his demand that he should be given tangible proofs of the connections between the Trade and Industrial Committee and the French General Staff, Denisov promised to introduce him to officers of the General Staff. This meeting was sufficient to convince Ramzin and Laritchev that the French General Staff was working for an intervention against the Soviet Union with the express support of Poincaré. A further proof was the information that the French General Staff had appointed a special commission to deal with the military side of the intervention under the chairmanship of the French General Staff.

At this point Krylenko proposed that extracts from Jeanin's "Siberian diary" concerning the time spent by him as commander-in-chief of the allied forces attached to the staff of Admiral Koltchak and as representative of the French government should be read. The proposal was adopted and the reading of Jeanin's notes showed that he had great experience for a war of intervention on Soviet territory. The extracts also showed the terrible brutality of the white intervention troops.

Questioned concerning the finances of the intervention, Ramzin declared that Denisov had expressly mentioned the French War Ministry as one of the sources for finances for the intervention; another source was the circle of the oil industrialists with Déferding at the head.

Krylenko questioned Laritchev regarding his role in the remitting of money. Laritchev admitted that he has been the treasurer of the Industrial Party. There were no books kept, for obvious reasons. The transmission of money to the saboteurs in the various industrial branches was carried out by reliable persons in accordance with instructions given by the Torgprom.

Questioned regarding the source of income of the Torgprom, Laritchev made the sensational disclosure that foreign purchasers of Soviet oil regularly paid a definite percentage to the old oil industrialists in emigration. The London representative of the Soviet oil trusts (ROP.) even received from the firm of "Combine" (Deterding) an official proposal, according to which "Combine" would be prepared to divide the markets on condition that 5 per cent of the revenue of the ROP. be regularly paid to the old employers, ROP. of course flatly rejected this proposal.

Krylenko then delivered a stroke which brought this day's proceedings to the highest dramatic point. He proposed that the statements of the accused be compared with a document which is in absolute contradiction to their statements.

The document in question is the official declaration of the Torgprom, bearing the signatures of all members of the Central Committee, among them being such well-known names as Denisov, Nobel, Lianosov, Tretyakov, which has been published in the press of the whole world, including the Warsaw white-guardist newspaper "Sa Svobodu" of November 24. In this declaration the Torgprom maintains that it never had connections with the accused and never financed the Industrial Party; that the statements of the accused are either pure inventions of the GPU, or have been extorted by means of torture. The Torgprom finally declares that it will indefatigably continue to fight to "make known the truth regarding the Soviet Union" and for the restoration of "Freedom and Right" in Russia.

The accused and the public followed the reading of this declaration with visible excitement.

Krylenko asked the accused Ramzin: Accused Ramzin, how far is this document in accordance with the truth in regard to the denial of the conversations with you, its defence of "innocent" people, and the announcement that the Torgprom intends indefatigably to continue to fight against the Soviet Power?

Ramzin (in a tone of profound indignation): I emphatically reject the Torgprom's offer of defence. All the statements regarding the connections with the French General Staff, the financing of the Industrial Party by the Torgprom and the conversations which took place are absolutely true. Although it would have been in our interest to recognise these assertions of the Torgprom, I declare these assertions to be base and direct lies. With regard to the assertions that we have been tortured, I believe that our presence before the Court is palpable proof that this assertion is also a downright lie.

Laritchev said: I can but repeat, word for word, Ramzin's statement. I can only add that, to the last part of the Public Prosecutor's question our reply is: the Torgprom is speaking the truth when it announces its intention to continue the fight against the Soviet Power.

Fyedotov said: I also endorse what Ramzin has said. I expected such a declaration. They accuse us of lies and inventions. Why should we do that? They assert that our confessions have been extorted by means of torture. Everybody can see that we are in the best of health, and, speaking for myself, I can say that I feel better in health than I was before. I declare before the whole world that we have been treated in the most humane manner in prison; that we lived there under good hygienic conditions; and that we acknowledge our guilt completely out of our own inner conviction.

Kalinnikov (his voice trembling with excitement over the "treachery" of the Torgprom) and also Kuprianov and Charnovsky endorsed the statements of their fellow accused when asked separately as to their attitude to the declaration of the Torgprom. Otshkin added: All the allegations regarding compulsion and torture are shameless lies. I, also, feel in better health than before. If I am given the possibility I promise to do everything humanly possible finally to expose the sinister plans of the imperialists and of the Torgprom.

Krylenko stated that these answers of the accused would of course be made known to the public through the press.

The session was then adjourned until the afternoon.

Firm Assurances of the French General Staff Regarding the Intervention.

Afternoon Session of November 30.

The continuation of the examination of the accused produced further material concerning the role of the French General Staff and the continued preparations for war against the Soviet Union. New facts were brought to light by the statements of eye-witnesses and by the examination of the first important witness Professor Ossadtchij who had a conference with Denisov in Paris in 1927. The efforts of the white-guardist press to discount the evidence of the accused, were exposed by the evidence of this witness. The court registered the fact that the forged documents allegedly used by Krylenko have never been in the hands of the prosecution.

The central question under examination was the meeting between Ramzin and Laritchev on the one hand and the officers of the French General Staff on the other, following the negotiations with the Trade and Industrial Committee. Much bargaining appears to have taken place at this meeting. The representatives of the Industrial Party demanded information concerning the concrete intervention plans, the exact date of the intervention, etc., whilst the French Colonels of the General Staff demanded espionage work, the preparation of sabotage action, and the formation of a military organisation to carry out treacherous actions in the rear of

the Red Army. At a conference, with Ramzin, Demisov and General Lukomsky, Colonel Joinville demanded that the Industrial Party should organise special actions in the war industries and particularly in the important branches of the metallurgical and chemical industries. Joinville's aim was to re-establish the connections of the saboteurs with the war industries, connections which had broken down as a result of the discovery, arrest and execution of the saboteurs in these industries.

Asked by Krylenko: Whether he had "the impression that Colonel Joinville had no firm opinion in regard to the intervention or that he was only afraid of showing his cards and whether Joinville and later Richard gave him categorical declarations regarding the intervention". Ramzin replied: In regard to the intervention firm and definite assurances were given that it would doubtlessly take place and that we must orientate towards the year 1930. In regard to the strategical plan and the armed forces we could not get any definite information.

Ramzin expressed the opinion that the evasive answers given to him by Colonel Joinville concerning the exact plans of the intervention, were not due to the fact that these plans were not concrete, but to the general mistrust harboured by military personages towards civilians. Ramzin also revealed the next fact that at that time it was proposed that Colonel Richard should be sent to Moscow for a time in order to control the work on the spot.

Questioned by Krylenko Ramzin admitted that the establishment of a military organisation was demanded, and finally that this organisation was entrusted with the task of committing treacherous actions in the rear of the Red Army in case of intervention. The connection with the General Staff and the handing over of information were already organised by Paltchinsky.

The accused Laritchev described the discussion with Colonel Richard, and declared that the militarists obviously

felt themselves in command of the situation and regarded the Industrial Party as their blind instrument. Ramzin declares that the French agents in Moscow Mr. R. and Mr. K. were always striving to exercise pressure on the Industrial Party in the name of the French General Staff.

The accused Fyedotov who was called at this juncture declared that from a conversation with Karpov in 1928 in Berlin he had received the very definite impression that the demands for the intensification of the internal preparations for intervention were due to the personal wishes and instructions of Poincaré. Fyedotov also declared that in his opinion the peculiar fact that the "left" circles of the emigrants co-operated with Miliukov and the out and out monarchists in the joint leadership of all emigrant circles, was due to the influence of the French General Staff.

Krylenko: You said that the Torgprom wished to have a trump card in its hand through the military work of the Industrial Party. What did you mean by that?

Fyedotov: It seemed to me that the Torgprom could only hold its own in face of the energetic demands of Poincaré and of the French government if it was able to point to the practical work in the preparation for war within the Soviet Union.

In reply to a question regarding his foreign connections in the year 1930, Ramzin told of his journey to the World Power Conference in July 1930. A further meeting between Ramzin and Denissov was arranged at that time, but Ramzin could only speak with engineer Zenker, the representative of the Torgprom. As a result of Laritchev's and Fyedotov's arrest connections were interrupted and this occasion was to be used in order to restore them. Ramzin was instructed to demand from the Torgprom a postponement of the intervention to 1931. At the end of June, however, Ramzin had to return to Moscow on important matters connected with the Industrial Party and entrusted Professor Ossadshy to conduct the negotiations with Denissov.

Finland as a Specialist for Frontier Conflicts.

The First Witness: Ossadshy.

Ossadshy was then called as the first witness. There was a great sensation in court when this former Public Prosecutor in the Shakhty Trial and member of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union was brought into the hall. Ossadshy, who was brought to the court from prison, confirmed in every detail the statements of the accused regarding the activity and the aims of the Industrial Party. According to Ossadshy one of the countries allotted an active part in the intervention was Finland, which was a "specialist for the organisation of frontier conflicts". Ossadshy was informed that the foreign connections of the Industrial Party were maintained through the agents of the French Embassy. He then dealt with the change in the conditions in the Soviet Union in Spring 1930. The collectivisation of agriculture had frustrated the hopes of an economic crisis and discontent of the population. The partial successes of sabotage work, in particular in the sphere of plan work and the generation of electricity, were nullified by the great achievements of socialist construction. Thus it appeared that intervention was not sufficiently prepared within the Soviet Union. The Central Committee of the Industrial Party therefore decided to propose to the Torgprom and to the General Staff that the intervention be postponed. This decision was also prompted by the complete failure of the Right Opposition, in whom the Industrial Party had placed great hopes.

The Paris people had through their agents pointed to the insufficient preparations for the intervention abroad and had demanded of the Industrial Party that they fix a new date. Although the Central Committee was not very convinced that an economic crisis would break out in 1931, it nevertheless decided on this date. Ramzin was instructed to inform Denissov in Berlin of this decision on the occasion of his journey to attend the World Power Conference. As Ramzin had to leave Berlin earlier, he passed this commission on to me. At first I refused, but later I decided to carry out the

instructions, after learning in Sweden of the increasing activity of the fascist organisations and the provocation of frontier conflicts by Finland. Through the mediation of engineer Jassinsky I met Denissov on 10th July 1930 at 9 o'clock in the evening in a small restaurant in Friedrichstrasse. Denissov was very dissatisfied with the "inactivity" of the Industrial Party.

Ossadshy described to Denissov the political reasons for the failure of sabotage work and the hopelessness of the situation. Denissov replied that the Industrial Party had received many millions and not done anything in return. Ossadshy informed Denissov of the official decision of the Industrial Party to postpone intervention until 1931. Denissov was very indignant. He pointed to a number of facts which could render intervention in 1931 still more difficult. Denissov refused to give Ossadshy any definite answer to the proposals regarding postponement of the intervention, as these proposals had first to be discussed by Torgprom and by the General Staff.

Ossadshy was of the opinion that Denissov regarded him with mistrust and intended to give Ramzin the directions of the Torgprom and of the General Staff. Ossadshy declared that in his opinion the plan of intervention had not fallen through and was only being carried on more persistently. Ossadshy confirmed that he has been a member of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party since 1930 and that he was fully acquainted with the individual leaders of sabotage work.

After having finished giving his evidence the witness requested permission to make a few remarks. Turning to the public, he said: I declare before all who are assembled here that I am guilty of serious crimes against the Soviet Power. I repent it. If the proletarian court spares my life, I shall employ the years remaining to the honest service for the proletariat and for Socialism.

The Social Democrats are Ready to Support the Intervention.

Jurovsky's Evidence.

The witness **Jurovsky** was then heard. This witness is under arrest on a charge of having conducted counter-revolutionary activity and with being a member of the illegal "Party of the Toiling Peasants". Although the witness was warned by the President of the court to confine his answers to the questions put to him concerning the activity and foreign connections of the Industrial Party, and not to mention the activity of the Party of the Toiling Peasants, as this matter is still under examination, the witness made valuable statements concerning the activity of that party and its co-operation with the Industrial Party and the Mensheviks.

The witness admitted that he knew of the existence of the Industrial Party and its work for the preparation of an intervention. Apart from information given him by the representative of that party in the Toiling Peasants Party, he had learned much during a journey abroad. In 1928 he had two talks with **Miliukov**, the leader of the Republican Democratic Centre, and with the representative of the Trade and Industrial Committee, **Hoefding**. At these discussions **Miliukov** declared that he was aware of the activities of the Industrial Party and that he was a supporter of the idea of an armed intervention against the Soviet Union because he thought that Bolshevism could never be overthrown from within. Asked by **Jurovsky** what would be the attitude of the French socialists to the intervention, **Miliukov** had replied that although the French workers would be opposed to any war, and in particular a war against the Soviet Union, the socialist leaders were undoubtedly determined to support a war against the Soviet Union.

Miliukov then gave him detailed information concerning the preparations for an intervention. His reason for the postponement of the intervention from 1928 to 1930 was that a strong government was necessary in France, and that **Poincaré** was the man for the job. He confirmed the fact that the whole preparatory work, the financing of the intervention and the military leadership were in the hands of the French government and the French General Staff. The military forces would be chiefly those of Poland, Rumania and the Baltic States. The military alliance of France with Poland and

Rumania offered a guarantee that the plans would actually be put into execution.

All the parties to the intervention demanded compensations, including territorial gains at the expense of the Soviet Union. France demanded the payment of the Tsarist debts, the return of all confiscated property and new concessions. Another aim was to establish indisputably French hegemony in Europe. The French General Staff received current information from the Soviet Union and was the actual leader of the sabotage work for the facilitating of military action. **Miliukov** also declared that he had close relations with the French Foreign Ministry and with **Briand** who supported the intervention plans.

Hoefding confirmed the existence of close relations between the Trade and Industrial Committee and the Industrial Party on the one hand and the French General Staff on the other.

Jurovsky confirmed the sabotage plans of the Industrial Party, before all in plan work. He stated that in 1928 it was intended to unite all the secret parties in a "Secret Centre", but this plan was shelved. The Industrial Party, the Party of the Working Peasants and the Menshevik **Gromann** group were to be united in this "Secret Centre".

Jurovsky declared that he had been aware of the attitude of the Industrial Party of late in regard to sabotage in the war industry, espionage and preparations for treachery in the Red Army. His Party had entrusted **Kondratjev** and **Chavonov** with the guidance of the whole work in this direction.

Jurovsky's evidence regarding a quarrel between the various secret parties for the nomination of future Ministers, aroused laughter in the hall. Asked concerning the form of the prospective government after the planned overthrow, **Jurovsky** admitted that he had been quite aware of the perspectives. The final decision would have been in the hands of the French leaders of intervention.

At this juncture **Krylenko** proposed that extracts should be read from **Poincaré's** article published in the "Excelsior". This was agreed to.

After the reading of these extracts the proceeding were adjourned until the 1st December.

The Methods of the Sabotage Activity.

Morning Session of December 1.

The examination of the accused turned to detailed questions of the sabotage carried out by them. The replies of the accused revealed the widespread and systematic sabotage complot, particularly in the fuel supply. The whole world learns the price which the counter-revolutionary engineers had to pay in order to secure the support of French imperialism for their plans to overthrow the Soviet power. The sabotage work was not only directed by the Central Committee, but also by the branch committees which worked out the final details. The whole work of the saboteurs was dominated by the military needs of the coming intervention.

The accused **Ramzin** described in detail the measures of the saboteurs to hinder the development of the fuel industry. The figures for the peat supply were given by the saboteurs as 15 million tons for the end of 1932. The counter-plan worked out by the workers themselves in the industry provided for the delivery of 33 millions tons. The saboteurs worked with all possible means and took advantage of the freedom of the press to organise "discussions" in which various saboteurs took opposed viewpoints and argued scientifically with a view to confusing public opinion and preventing the accomplishment of the most important tasks. **Ramzin** did his best to defend the "scientific objectivity" of his various dissertations and of the Thermal-Technical Institute which he directed. Driven into a corner by **Krylenko**, he finally admitted that his attempts to secure the working out of practical problems for the Institute

were only in order to exploit his position there to the advantage of the saboteurs.

The accused **Laritchev** described the measures of the saboteurs to conceal the enormous importance of the Kuznetz Basin in western Siberia for the industrialisation. This Basin has (according to conflicting calculations) from 400 to 1,000 milliard tons of excellent coal and is thus one of the best coalfields in the world. The saboteurs worked out minimum plans for the exploitation of the district and did their best to prevent the improvement of the transport communications.

In the petroleum industry, where the best organised sabotage groups were at work, the aim was to cause a disproportion by setting up widely exaggerated plans and at the same time refraining from using the foreign machinery which had been imported far in excess of the actual needs. The saboteurs also sought to prevent the building of oil tanks for railway transport in order that in case export was cut off by the intervention the Soviet industry would be unable to utilise the oil surplus.

Under cross-examination the accused **Tcharnovski** finally abandoned his attempt to present himself as an innocent tool. He admitted having taken a leading and responsible part in the sabotage, particularly in the engineering industry. The plans for important engineering undertakings were deliberately delayed for years.

The proceedings were then adjourned until the afternoon.

Afternoon Session of December 1.

The court continued its examination of the practical sabotage work of the accused. The accused who formerly posed as "expert authorities" would now gladly conceal much of their knowledge in order to prevent the details of their sabotage becoming known. Krylenko quoted articles etc., formerly published by the accused and compared them with their present statements. The revelations at the trial show how it was possible for the saboteurs to carry on their work for years without discovery. They worked with great cunning so that their activities would only be discovered if all the connections were exposed, and only then after the practical results of their work began to make themselves felt. An example given by **Charnovsky** is an excellent illustration of their work. With "objective arguments" the saboteurs urged the building of a park of giant locomotives with a weight of 35 tons on each axle. The use of such locomotives would have meant that the whole permanent way would have to be overhauled and strengthened to stand such wear and tear. Further all the bridges would have had to be rebuilt. The aim of the saboteurs was to sink huge sums into these unsuitable locomotives and thus have capital lying idle and tied up. The saboteurs also had a strong group in the Central Bureau for Engineering Plans and here they succeeded in delaying and sabotaging numerous undertakings.

The accused **Kalinikow** admitted that his dissertations held in the sessions of the Plan Economy Commission against "an exaggerated tempo of construction" were held at the instructions of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party with a view to hindering the development of the engineering industry.

The examination of the accused **Fyedotov** lasted a considerable time as he insisted that his aims were honest with regard to a series of damaging instructions given by him. In the end, however, he admitted that his intentions had been to sabotage. This was particularly true of his work to prevent the correct utilisation of home-grown cotton and the use of modern American textile machinery. His declaration that the saboteurs on instructions from France, had planned the building of new and modern textile factories in White Russia in order that these modern factories should fall into the hands of the interventionists, caused a wave of indignation in the court. **Fyedotov** described the measures of the saboteurs to disorganise the supply of finished products for the country districts. Those districts which were engaged in bringing in the harvest were either not supplied at all or were supplied with poor-quality goods, whilst other districts received more than their share. The aim of these measures was to cause discontent amongst the peasantry and to play large quantities of commodities into the hands of speculators.

Two witnesses were then examined and their evidence showed that the foreign interventionists took up direct connections in 1929 with the various branch organisations of the Industrial Party over the heads and without the knowledge of the Central Committee. The definitely military character of

these parallel directions show clearly that they were the action of the French General Staff which had little confidence in the activity of the Central Committee.

The cross-examination of the witness **Kirpotenko**, a textile specialist, gave Krylenko the opportunity of again exposing the hypocritical attitude of **Fyedotov**. **Fyedotov's** propaganda for "luxury" factories which he had defended in the press as "factory palaces" transpires to have been nothing more than cunning sabotage. His arguments for the continued use of obsolete English machinery, transpired to be nothing more than a desire to continue receiving bribes from the English engineering firms. The evidence of **Kirpotenko** showed that the sabotage groups in the People's Commissariat for Labour and later on in the Technical Council, worked out deliberately extravagant building plans under the pretext of "hygienic demands". In this connection the attempt of **Sitnin** to represent himself as a harmless tool of the saboteurs, was exposed.

The confrontation of **Kirpotenko** with **Kuprianov** and **Sitnin** revealed the fact that in the summer of 1928 the industrialist **Karpov** demanded through **Kuprianov** that "the incapable old buffer" **Fyedotov** should be removed from the leadership of the sabotage work in the textile industry and his place taken by **Sitnin**. **Sitnin's** attempt to deny having agreed to this "promotion" was unsuccessful. **Sitnin** was considered to be particularly suitable for the leadership of the sabotage work because he was generally regarded as being loyal to the Soviet power.

The witness **Nolde**, a former Baron, admitted having knowledge of the fact that from the year 1928 the sabotage work in the textile industry was concentrated on the preparation for the intervention. He described how preference was given to those sections of the textile industry which worked with foreign raw materials. It was hoped that when the intervention cut off supplies from abroad the textile industry would be paralysed. **Nolde**, who was unaware of the previous evidence, made further revelations concerning the relations between other members of the sabotage organisation and foreign circles. A leading role was played by the engineer **Stutzer** who made a journey abroad in 1928. **Stutzer** had connections with the French agent **Mr. K.** whom he introduced to **Nolde**. **Lazarketich** also maintained connections with **Mr. K.** The directions for the building of modern textile factories in White-Russia came through **Mr. K.** and **Stutzer**. Called at this juncture, the accused **Ramzin** denied having known of these connections or that money was sent through them.

In reply to questions, **Fyedotov** also stated that, though he was the leader of the sabotage activity in the textile industry, he was not aware of the existence of the **Sirosinsky** group or of the fact that this group had received money independently. After these revelations, which prove that French military circles were obviously dissatisfied with the "inactivity" of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party and established direct connections with different sabotage groups through the mediation of French agents, the proceedings were adjourned to the following day.

All for the French General Staff.

Morning Session of December 2.

The revelations made in yesterday afternoon's session were continued in the morning session of the eighth day of the trial of the counter-revolutionary saboteurs. Krylenko's suspicion that the accused were concealing important facts and details, was confirmed. The examination showed that the organisation of the saboteurs was still more widespread than they have admitted, that their work was still more concentrated on the purely military tasks for the preparation of the intervention than they have admitted, and that in the last period of its activity the Industrial Party and the secret organisations co-operating with it were completely in the hands of the French General Staff and its agents. Further, new material was obtained concerning the part taken by the **Menshevist Gromann** group in the espionage and the preparations for war.

Questioned concerning the work of the sabotage group in the Technical Council of the Engineering industry, **Kuprianov** admitted that he was aware that this group had drawn up

"peculiar plans" for various buildings. The aim of the group was undoubtedly to play these undertakings which were constructed on the Western frontier, into the hands of the interventionists in support of the air force and the heavy artillery.

Kuprianov also admitted that he was aware of the activity of the specialists group in the irrigation branch under the leadership of **Riesenkampf** and **Koenig** on the western frontier of the Soviet Union. **Kuprianov** revealed the fact that the Industrial Party was composed not only of engineers but also of numerous employees in official trade and cooperative institutions, including the trading missions abroad.

Krylenko examined the question of how far the Industrial Party had carried out its undertakings towards the French General Staff with regard to the bringing about of an economic crisis in the year 1930, with regard to espionage and the preparation of sabotage in case of war, and with regard to the creation of a special military organisation.

With regard to point 1. Ramzin declared that as far as the fuel supply, the power industry and the metallurgical industry were concerned the saboteurs believed that they had succeeded in creating a disproportion which would cause a strained situation and actually lead to a catastrophe in case of war. As the beginning of the year 1930 showed a favourable development of the Five-Year Plan, of the collectivisation of agriculture and the development of industry, their hopes of causing insurrections within the Soviet Union faded and they concentrated on the preparations for the overthrow of the Soviet power from outside, whereby their sabotage activity took on a purely military character.

A long correspondence took place with the Trade and Industrial Committee in Paris through the mediation of French agents. A session held in February 1930 with the "Party of the Toiling Peasants" which discussed the possibility of terrorist acts on the part of the Kulaks against the Soviet organs, finally abandoned all hope of provoking peasant insurrections. Ramzin admitted that his and Ossadchi's interviews with Denisov in July 1930 were exclusively directed to persuading the Trade and Industrial Committee of the necessity of a purely military preparation of the intervention.

With regard to point 2. (espionage work) Ramzin pointed out that quarterly espionage reports had been handed to the French agents Mr. K. and Mr. R. concerning the economic state of the Soviet Union with especial reference to the results of the sabotage activity, concerning the situation of the Soviet air service, and concerning the situation and prospects of the soviet war industries. Ossadchi, Laritchev and Kalinnikov formed the editorial committee. The leader of the Menshevik group Gromann, co-operated in drawing up the purely economic reports. Ramzin and Laritchev revealed the special instructions of the French agents Mr. R. and Mr. K. for the installation of oil stores on the western frontier intended for the use of the tanks, motor-cars and aeroplanes of the intervention forces. They also declared that the two agents had demanded the building of an aerodrome at a strategic point. They also demanded that the production of oil for military purposes in 1930 should be diminished.

With regard to point 3. Ramzin declared that the instructions for the organisation of sabotage acts in the war industries, in the power stations and in the transport industry were given in October 1928 by Colonel Joinville. Special commissions had been formed to work out the details. The work had already made great progress, and a member of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party was in charge of it. The name of this man had not been revealed and would not be mentioned in the public sessions in order to give him no warning.

Ramzin, Kalinnikov and Laritchev admit that concrete plans and list of objects had been drawn up for this work and that at five points groups had been formed to carry it out. All the details had been agreed on with Mr. R. In Transport it was intended to blow up bridges in order to destroy the railway connections.

With regard to point 4. the creation of a special military organisation, Ramzin declared that discussions concerning the details of this work had taken place in October 1928 in Paris. There was no intention of forming any mass soldiers organisations, but only of winning leading persons in the Red Army, particularly in the mechanised detachments. This military organisation was to be organisationally independent of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party and to take its instructions direct from the French General Staff, and in particular from Colonel Richard and General Lukomski.

Ramzin finally admitted that the leadership of this work was in the hands of a special commission of members of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party. He, Laritchev, Kalinnikov and Ossadchi were all members of this commission. This commission was aware that the tasks set had been carried out in part. Kalinnikov and Laritchev confirmed these admissions of Ramzin which charge them with direct co-operation with the imperialist enemies of the Soviet Union.

Recalled at this juncture Ramzin admitted that he was aware of the work carried on by Riesenkampf on the western frontiers of the Soviet Union to prepare the way for the troops of intervention.

The proceedings were then adjourned until the afternoon,

Building Projects to Facilitate the Advance of Intervention Troops.

Afternoon Session of December 2.

The afternoon session of the eighth day of the trial produced many new facts on many new fields illuminating the military work of the saboteurs in the service of the French General Staff. The evidence showed that the internal preparations for an intervention began earlier than 1928.

The witness Krassovsky (who was taken from prison where he is serving a term in connection with the sabotage of the transport) described the widespread activity of the saboteurs in the transport industry. He dealt in particular with the measures taken to paralyse the railway system in the frontier districts. Apart from their general efforts to bring about a crisis in the transport industry for 1929/30, the saboteurs aimed at preventing the carrying out of repairs and at sabotaging the mobilisation preparations in the districts threatened by the intervention.

Both Ramzin and Laritchev declared that they knew nothing about this work, but Krassovski persisted that the Central Committee of the Industrial Party must have been informed.

The witness Sirosinsky revealed many unknown facts. He confirmed the fact that the building plans of the People's Commissariat of Labour were set up by him and Kudrazev as sabotage. His group to which Klevesal and Kusnizov also belonged, was informed of all the details of the coming intervention. The details given by Sirosinsky (who was arrested two months ago) coincided in all points with those given by the accused.

During a discussion with Klevesal, Sirosinski learned the following details: All important industrial building undertakings in the coastal districts were to be built in such a position that they could easily be shelled from the sea. In the neighbourhood of possible landing places for the inter-

vention troops, concrete platforms for heavy artillery were to be laid down under the cover of industrial undertakings. A great industrial project was held back for five months in the Technical Council in order that it could first of all be sent abroad through the French agents for consultation and suggestions. The plan when it was received from abroad permitted the rapid transformation of the works in question to the production of explosives. In the same district saw mills were constructed in such a fashion that they could easily be transformed into hangars for aeroplanes.

Dealing with the preparation of acts of sabotage, Sirosinsky stated that in accordance with instructions received, the group of saboteurs in the People's Commissariat for Labour began the preparation of acts of sabotage in the undertakings which are of importance in the event of war. The carrying out of this task was entrusted to Kudrazev, who as a former factory inspector had many connections with the old foremen etc. Plans were made to blow up boilers. Large-scale sabotage work was undertaken in connection with three new gigantic chemical works. As the site of the first undertaking a piece of swampy ground was intentionally chosen, which made it necessary to drive in specially deep piles. In addition, the site chosen was subject to periodical floods, so that a sand foundation four metres high had to be placed under the whole building. At the next floods in the spring and autumn there is not the least doubt that the water will penetrate and wash away the sand, with the result that it will be necessary completely to rebuild the foundation. This building is nearly completed.

The second undertaking is an electric power station. At the site chosen there are underground rivers which are to be diverted into a reservoir. Without even discussing other possibilities, it was decided to build two coffer dams, one of which

is 14 metres high and, in the opinion of foreign specialists, is likely to burst before long.

The third undertaking is a great factory for the utilisation of the bye-products of the gas produced by another factory in course of construction. The building of the chemical factory had to be stopped, as without any reason, work on the erection of the factory for the utilisation of the bye products of gas had been commenced three kilometres distant from the chemical factory.

All three undertakings are of great importance to the war industry. The sabotage-work aimed at tying up large amounts of capital and weakening the defensive power of the country. All the plans were worked out in the planning departments of the branches of industry in question and were confirmed by the technical advisory council of the building committee of the Supreme Economic Council. In this advisory council, as well as in all the planning departments, there were saboteurs who worked according to the instructions of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party. Witness further stated that to his own knowledge Charnovsky was responsible for the sabotage work in the sphere of constructional work. Consequently all these plans must have been known to the central committee of the Industrial party.

Ramzin and Tcharnovsky both declared that they knew nothing of these measures, but they admitted that the Central Committee of the Industrial Party maintained connections with the Klevesal group.

The two following witnesses, Michalenko and Zeidler dealt in detail with the work of the saboteurs for the draining of certain tracts of land. The President of the court was compelled to interrupt Michalenko on several occasions in order

Morning Session of December 3.

The examination of the accused and the witnesses is approaching an end. The court recalled the witness Zeidler and confronted him with the accused Ramzin, Laritchev and Kalinnikov who then all admitted that they were aware of the sabotage work being conducted in the drainage department, that the Industrial Party maintained connections with this group and controlled its work.

In answer to questions of Krylenko the accused admitted that they had concealed the facts in connection with the drainage sabotage although they were well aware of them. Krylenko then pointed out that his attempt to prove by the examination of witnesses that the sabotage work conducted by the accused with a view to direct military preparations for an intervention, was much greater than originally admitted by the accused, had been successful.

Krylenko then caused the recall of the witness Kirpotenko and confronted him with the accused. He placed the fact on record that the Central Commission of the Industrial Party was aware of the sabotage work in the cotton industry and that it directed this work through Kuprianov.

The accused Kuprianov then admitted, that he was acquainted with this side of sabotage work for the aims of the interventionists, which were carried out on behalf of the

Afternoon Session of December 4.

The public session began to-day at 6 p. m. The accused were questioned concerning the sums they had received from the Trade and Industrial Committee in Paris for their personal use. Questioned individually Ramzin, Laritchev, Kalinnikov and Tcharnovski denied having received any monies for their personal use. Kuprianov admitted having received 12,500 roubles for his own use. Sitnin admitted having received 12,000 roubles for his own use. Fyedotov admitted having received monies for his own use, without naming sums. He also admitted having held back other monies and turned them to his own use.

In reply to a question by Krylenko, those who admitted having received monies for their personal use declared that they considered it to be very likely that the other members of the Central Committee received monies for their personal use, just as Fyedotov had received such monies in his capacity as head of the textile trust.

Fyedotov declared: "I had sunk so low that assumed as

to prevent him from mentioning the exact objects of this sabotage in the public session. He reported that since 1926, great draining operations had been conducted allegedly for agricultural purposes, but in fact to facilitate the advance of the troops of intervention. In accordance with the experiences of the world war, the saboteurs intended to create great unprotected areas to serve as landing places for the troops of intervention. The conduct of this work was in the hands of the saboteurs in the drainage section of the Supreme Economic Council. The leaders were Engineer Koenig, Professor Riesenkampf and Professor Sparro. In the summer of 1929 the witness himself conducted such work. Under the pretext that the development of agriculture demanded it, urgent demands were made for the completion of the work by the autumn of 1930. During the course of the work the witness was informed by Professor Sparro of the real reason for the haste. The specialists on the spot informed the witness that the ground was being prepared for the landing of the Krassnov Cossacks. The witness received 3,000 roubles from an Inspector in order to encourage him to speed-up the work.

The witness Zeidler gave evidence concerning the sabotage conducted in connection with the irrigation of the cotton district in Central Asia. Here the aim of the saboteurs was to cause large sums to be sunk in useless undertakings and to hinder the development and extension of the cotton areas. He was aware that great drainage plans were being carried out on the western frontiers of the Soviet Union in order to obtain practical results in the shortest possible space of time, the saboteurs adopted the principle of draining a chain of islands through the marsh districts in order to permit the advance of large bodies of troops with baggage and supplies. He confirmed the names of the responsible persons already given.

French General Staff; that he had started the practical preparation for it and that Obreskov reported to him regarding the different stages of its execution.

The court then decided to exclude the general public in order to deal more closely with the persons of the French agents at work in the Soviet Union and in order to deal in detail with the concrete practical work carried out by the saboteurs to prepare the military intervention. The general public will be again admitted to the proceedings at 5 o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th December.

A fairly clear picture of the whole extent of the counter-revolutionary activity of the Industrial Party in alliance with the "party of the working peasants" and of the Menshevik Groman-Suchanov group is now furnished by the proceedings at the trial. The attempts of the accused by means of alleged "honest and full" confessions to cover up the greatness of their guilt in regard to the concrete treasonous assistance which they afforded the French interventionist plans within the Soviet Union have been frustrated. The public is presented with a picture of an organisation and activity, the like of which was never seen before, for the direct support of the deadliest enemies of the country, whereby the clearly expressed class character of the intervention plans and of the espionage, sabotage and treasonous activity is particularly striking.

a matter of course that other members of the Central Committee received monies for their personal use.

The accused Otchkin denied having received anything for his personal use from the 80,000 roubles which Ramzin handed over to the Thermal-Technical Institute.

Krylenko then proposed that various documents should be inserted in the protocol of the proceedings, including two numbers of the emigrant newspaper published in Paris "Vos-rozhdenye" (Resurrection) on the 13th and 15th June 1930. These numbers contain respectively a letter and a report of a speech delivered by Deterding, both of which announce the emancipation of Russia to be a matter of a few months. Further, Krylenko handed two documents over to the court in accordance with a request made to him during the secret session of the trial. The court decided to insert these documents in the protocol without making their contents public.

The examination and cross-examination of the accused was declared to be at an end and after a pause Krylenko was given the floor for the speech for the prosecution.

Comrade Krylenko's Speech for the Prosecution.

A hall filled to its utmost capacity and millions of people listening in by wireless followed with strained attention the words of the Public Prosecutor of the Proletarian Dictatorship, **Comrade Krylenko**, who commenced his speech for the Prosecution at 6 o'clock in the evening of December 4th.

The Political Background of the Trial.

This trial has been going on for ten days, under unusual circumstances. Its beginning was characterised by demonstrations on the part of millions of workers in the Soviet Union, who proclaimed their indignation, and at the same time their readiness to fight, if needs be with weapons in hand. The millions of the working masses outside of the Soviet Union have followed the trial with no less strained attention. At the same moment the foreign bourgeois press has filled its columns with accusations and slanders against the Soviet Union, lying reports of insurrections, etc. in order to divert attention from the trial, and prominent personages in the bourgeois world have stated their standpoint with regard to the trial in public speeches and articles and in declarations in the press. In all this there is to be seen their fear of the results of the trial, their alarm lest their own dark machinations may be brought to light.

Yet another circumstance has concentrated the close attention of the world on this trial: the public indictment has not shrunk from laying bare the open sores in our state apparatus, from exposing the sabotage work which has been going on in every branch of industry, and from showing clearly the difficulties under which the work of socialist reconstruction is being accomplished.

We believe that the working masses will fight even more enthusiastically for the victory of socialism when they realise the whole extent of the weaknesses and sore spots of our reconstruction.

The Shakhty Affair and the Industrial Party.

Before the indictment passes on to the juridical analysis, to the examination of the evidence and the ascertainment of guilt, it is first necessary to touch upon questions of general politics. This is necessary in order to make clear the motives determining the content and direction of the crimes committed by the accused.

Two years ago the Shakhty trial was held in this court. The similarities between the two trials are self-evident. We must regard the present trial as an extended reproduction of the Shakhty trial. Let us take the main point: At the Shakhty trial the saboteurs of the coal mining industry were called to account. Today we see in the dock the leaders of the sabotage work in the whole of the leading branches of industry, extending even to agriculture. In the Shakhty affair we exposed the contacts maintained between the saboteurs and some of the former owners. Today we see the Torgprom, comprising every branch of industry, in the rôle of the business partner of the saboteurs. The Torgprom represents an organisational unit with definite political aims, a class organisation claiming for itself the functions of a "foreign embassy" with almost diplomatic rights. In the Shakhty affair we were concerned with individual foreign industrialists. Today we see Poincaré, one-time leader of French governmental policy, in communication with the Torgprom. At that time we encountered the idea of the intervention. This time we find an exact plan, stating a definite term, giving exact months, and possessing means worked out to the last detail. At that time there was talk of isolated connections with agents of individual States. Today we have before us a firmly welded bloc of States, based on agreements and treaties.

We observe corresponding differences at home: In the Shakhty trial the accused saboteurs belonged to industry only. Now we have two counter-revolutionary groups, the Industrial Party and the Party of the Working Peasantry, a bloc representing politically the interests of industrial capital and those of the upper kulak stratum, meeting together to discuss joint tactics. At that time we were only able to ascertain connections with various individual industrialists abroad. Now Yurovsky and Fyedorov confirm the existence of a bloc of

politically differentiated groups, possessing the common basis of consolidation with the aim of intervention. At that time only engineers were among the saboteurs. This time we find economists, statisticians, goods specialists, book-keepers, architects in short, every stratum of technical intelligence. In the Shakhty affair and in other sabotage cases we found groups of engineers of the types here represented by Kuprianov and Sitnin. This time the sabotage action is led by the heads of the technical intelligentsia: Ramzin, Charnovsky, Laritchev, Kalinikov.

In the Shakhty affair we had before us an earlier stage in the evolution of sabotage, in which the saboteurs had commenced with the idea of "preserving the undertakings for their original owners" and went on to industrial sabotage. Now we have before us sabotage on a far-reaching systematic plan. This change is observable in every sphere of practical sabotage work. Formerly acts of sabotage were resorted to in order to damage individual plant. This time sabotage has been carried on systematically with the uniform object of the military preparation of the intervention. The Shakhty affair too had its espionage service, but only in isolated cases. In the present affair we see espionage systematically connected with tasks of an operative character.

And finally, an entirely new factor: The creation of a military organisation. The present trial began by lifting the veil concealing this description of sabotage, in so far as this was permissible at a public session. Another new factor, upon which the depositions threw light for the first time, was the practical preparation of the marching centres of the intervention armies and of points of support on the frontiers.

The centralisation of the sabotage work, the bloc of the separate secret parties, the bloc of the various political trends, the extension of the planned methods—all these factors were adopted to the intervention, and the practical plans and the time of this intervention were already settled. This meant: The consolidation of all counter-revolutionary forces for the purpose of annihilating the Soviet Union by force of arms.

What are the reasons why the growth of the power of the Soviet Union was accompanied by a consolidation of the armed forces of counter-revolution in alliance with the counter-revolutionary saboteurs?

At the XVI. Party Congress Comrade Stalin gave a survey of the international situation which answers this question. "If we desire to characterise the past period in two words, we must designate it as a period of change. Change not only in the Soviet Union, but in the capitalist countries of the whole world. For the Soviet Union this change signifies an economic uplift; for the capitalist world decay." Poincaré, in his article, confirms the fact that the crisis is tearing the whole world to pieces, and that it forms one of the most painful and decisively important questions in the world. But Comrade Stalin draws different conclusions: The main results of the tension in the world's economics and of the aggravation of capitalist antagonisms are the intensified struggle for the raw material markets and for possibilities of capital export. Since the Soviet Union, from the standpoint of capitalist expansion, forms the most promising object of all, Comrade Stalin's definition leads to the conclusion that the capitalists will inevitably endeavour to make a predatory raid on the Soviet Union, as object for the export of capital. This means that the danger of war is growing rapidly. The antagonisms between the victors and the vanquished, between the imperialist states and the colonies, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, are becoming clearer and greater. The proletariat seeks a means of escape in the world revolution. Therefore the bourgeoisie, seeing capitalist contradictions growing acuter all around it, turns to the Soviet Union, at whose expense it hopes to smooth out these contradictions." This is what Comrade Stalin said.

These words were spoken at a time when Ramzin was travelling to Berlin to settle with the Torgprom the time of the final attack of the imperialists on the Soviet Union. The stir which this trial has created is explained by this accurate coincidence of Bolshevik analysis and historical fact. The robbers have been caught in flagranti! We have here before us eight men out of a population of 150 millions, eight men

with a following of 2000 men out of 40,000 engineers. Nobody would make a fuss about them, were it not for the fact that they embody the war intentions of the world bourgeoisie. This reality of their importance explains at the same time why their statements correspond with the truth. In countries abroad an outcry is being raised that the Five-Year Plan has failed. Let us mention three figures: During the last three years agriculture has progressed from 106 to 114 per cent of the prewar status; during this same time industrial production has increased from 102 to 180 per cent; and the national income has increased by 15 per cent yearly. These are facts which explain why our enemies, incorporated in the leading organs of the capitalist states and their adherents, have now accelerated the preparations for their criminal adventure against the Soviet State, just as Comrade Stalin stated that they would. Our policy has been, and continues to be, a policy of peace. We do not interfere in the affairs of our opponents, as they do in ours. We have employed no such methods, and are not employing them. These are all reasons explaining the activities of the counter-revolutionary organisation known as the Industrial Party, and the extraordinary amount of interest awakened in this trial all over the world.

It is now our task to throw full light upon this whole complicated fabric of conspiracy, to ascertain what real danger has threatened the Soviet Union, and what real danger is represented by each one of the accused. The criminal actions forming the subject of the trial are interwoven with the national interests of certain capitalist countries, with the group interests of the bourgeoisie in the form of the former owners, with the interests of a certain section of the former leading engineers, and with the personal interests of individual persons — Fyedorov, Kuprianov, and Sitain. The point of view of paramount importance, from which the whole question is to be regarded, is that of the struggle for the external security of our country, the struggle for the possibility of peacefully continuing the work of socialist reconstruction. This possibility has been threatened. We must not forget this whilst considering the details, the individual interests and actions of the accused.

The Final Stage of Sabotage Work.

In our Soviet country the work of the saboteurs does not possess the character of isolated actions committed by individual persons, but of a method of class warfare employed by the bourgeoisie as a whole. This has already been shown clearly in the course of the proceedings. It explains why the groups of saboteurs which sprang up separately united in one organisation with one political and military programme. From Krassovsky's statements and from the documents we know that sabotage work was carried on in the transport service as early as 1927, but that this group did not join the central organisation until 1928. We know from the same sources that in the war industry too sabotage has long been going on, but did not pass under the control of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party until its original leading group was liquidated.

Those accused who have worked in the textile industry report that their sabotage activities began in the middle of 1925. The same applies to the oil industry, to coal mining, and even to water works. This already demonstrates the objective significance of the central sabotage group. It was not the initiator, but the condenser of this work.

The centre created at the end of 1927 assembled the groups of saboteurs in each branch of industry, after these groups were firmly established in themselves and well developed. Precisely this fact enables the extent of their — to use an old word — guilt to be gauged, the degree to which they have represented a danger to the Soviet régime. It explains at the same time many of the peculiarities of their organisation and activities.

The Organisational Structure of the Industrial Party.

The Industrial Party was built up on the "chain" system. Along this chain orders passed from the Centre to the groups and to the individual members of the sabotage organisations, who were unknown to one another.

It was only recently that the idea of a horizontal contact

was brought forward. The individual witnesses confirm the existence of this system in their statements.

Zeldler was one of the functionaries of an important sub-district, but he only knew the members of the Centre by hearsay.

Michalenko worked on the periphery; he knew only his "immediate" superior Sparro, but not one of the defendants. Sirovinsky too knew only his nearest co-workers.

The whole of the statements made by the witnesses confirm this. Their depositions combine without contradiction to define the form taken by the organisation. Ramzin, on the other hand, was unaware of the details of the sabotage work on the periphery, or at least he asserts that he was unaware of the manner in which it was carried out.

This structure is explained by the historical facts of the origin and growth of the sabotage organisation and by the necessity for strictly conspirative methods. The system on which the organisation was based served at the same time as a basis for the working methods, involving the complete dependence and subordination of the lower parts of the organisation to the leaders.

After the whole of the sabotage work had been centralised, the form of organisation was retained and was supplemented by a control exercised over the execution of orders. In order to ensure a uniform leadership of activities in the different fields of work, the Centre of the organisation was removed to the organs of Planned Economy, and especially into the State Planning Commission. Much attention was devoted to winning over leading workers in this sphere of work, and efforts in this direction reached to the vice-president of the Planning Commission, Ossadshy.

Some light should at the same time be thrown on the question of why this secret organisation, which sought to permeate the whole apparatus of the state, relied for support chiefly upon the engineers.

In our country we are creating a heavy industry. Here the engineers represent the embodiment of the technical knowledge of highly developed capitalism; and they occupy positions of decisive importance everywhere, from the State Planning Commission down to the last works and factory. Until the Soviet Union has a sufficient number of Red engineers belonging to the working class, it is obliged to employ the old engineers. This is the reason why the enemy has sought accomplices in this stratum.

Therefore, the 2000 saboteurs under Ramzin have been of greater importance to the bourgeois than the alleged 200,000 followers of Kondratyev's "Party of the Working Peasantry".

Horrors, Shootings, Heaps of Corpses.

The second incidental question requires explanation. The defendants had worked out a theory of state leadership by engineers. This theory burst like a soap bubble during the inquiry. An independent policy on the part of the intelligentsia, without connection with the great social classes, is impossible. The accused have admitted that had the intervention been carried out, then that group which had utilised and financed the engineers would have certainly thrust these same engineers aside. The leading personages of the Industrial Party, those who discussed their plans with Denisov, Lukomsky, and Jolville, are not politically naive. The theory of the rule of the engineers is not only political hypocrisy, but political deception. The evidence has shown plainly what was intended to be the content of the military dictatorship, and what it was bound to be. The description given of the memorial celebration for General Suvarov in Paris enables an insight to be gained into the political programme of the emigrés preparing the intervention. The grand-dukes, metropolitans, generals, and representatives of the French council of war present at this celebration, were united in their slogans of: For God and country! General Lukomsky did not come alone, but was accompanied by a whole gang of monarchist rabble who had crept from their hiding places. Here Ramzin announced his programme: "First the quieting process, then reforms". What he should really have said was "First horrors, shootings, heaps of corpses, millions of victims among the workers and peasants, and then (to Ramzin): "The Moor has done what was required of him, the Moor can go". This was the real aim of the intervention, not state capitalism. Ramzin asserts that the thief

Rabuschinsky declared himself to be in agreement with a programme of state capitalism after the counter-revolution. Did Ramzin convince him with the aid of — Plato? Who was fooled here?

A few words on the political programme. This was the subject of many consultations, with the Kondratyev group for instance. Why did they found the political "Industrial-Party"? Ramzin gives three reasons:

1. They fought not only against the dictatorship of the proletariat; they feared to come into the inheritance alone.

2. The adjustment to the intervention brought with it the question of political power; this had to be discussed and settled.

3. They were obliged to carry on political negotiations with political persons and organisations abroad. Perhaps the example offered by the steel unity and fighting readiness of the CPSU, too induced them to do the i. and to declare themselves openly as the political agents of the big bourgeoisie.

The sole content of the political programme of this party was: The restoration of capitalism, with inevitable prospect of a return to monarchism.

Attempts have been made abroad, by means of the most ridiculous insinuations, to throw doubt upon the value of the evidence produced at the trial.

I shall deal in detail later with the objective proofs. First we must settle the question: What proofs can be adduced at such a trial?

The most important proofs are the confessions of the accused. If the accused men were arrested accidentally and are not speaking the truth, why were just these men arrested? The fact alone that these men, arrested at different times and knowing nothing of one another, have made depositions corroborating one another down to the smallest details lends these depositions high value as evidence. Besides this, the depositions agree with the material supplied by other trials, with the results of public inquiries published years ago, and with the actions of the defendants before their arrest.

Why have the Accused Given this Evidence?

The assertion that the statements made by the defendants have been extorted from them by torture has already been publicly refuted by the defendants themselves. We can reveal the psychological reasons for their confessions. In all the numerous trials of saboteurs, the overwhelming majority has confessed. Representatives of a dying class, acting on directives from outside, and caught in flagranti, they could not act otherwise. No ideal supports them, they possess no convictions. We have just seen what was their whole stay: Money.

Another circumstance which goes to show that their statements are true is the total absence of contradictions among the various statements made by the defendants and the witnesses, further the contents of Kalinnikov's public speeches in the State Planning Commission in 1927, and the first draft of a plan drawn up by the saboteurs. Again, we see the perfect agreement of the statements made by defendants who do not know one another, and by such witnesses as Michalenko, Zeidler, Sirosinsky, etc. These have given evidence on points concealed by the accused, who have then been obliged to admit their truth.

Finally, the truth of the statements is vouched for by the consistency between them and political facts known to the public and proved by documentary evidence. The defendants make statements regarding their connections with the Torgprom. The Torgprom exists. There is no doubt of its counter-revolutionary policy of aggression against the Soviet Union. The Torgprom has declared, and still declares, in writing and in speech, its determination to continue its struggle against the Soviet Union indefatigably, and to strive for the "restoration" of its native country. Documents in our hands prove the political standpoint, the relations with all counter-revolutionary powers, and their financial support. The Torgprom designates itself as the "unofficial embassy of the Russian emigrés in Paris". This would be impossible without the actual background of influential political relations.

Equally conclusive proof of the truth of the statements of the defendant is afforded by the documents published by the "White Guard" "vosroshdyenye", from Deterding's pen, in which

Deterding twice announced, in the middle of June 1930, the "overthrow of the Soviet government within a few months".

The time chosen for the intervention, as stated by the defendants, was thus common knowledge among the counter-revolutionary elements in Paris. When the written indictment was published, the Torgprom hastened to grant an interview, and Deterding did the same. Why this haste? Why no word about Poincaré? As good business men they evaded any compromising statement in public, in order they might not lose their claim to the fulfilment of the promises they had received, as might happen were they publicly to turn their backs upon their colleagues. The accused have given the name of General Jeanin as the leader of the commission studying the preparations for the intervention. Who other than Jeanin, whose diary from the time when he led the intervention in Siberia lies before us, is sufficiently qualified for the task? Numerous further articles and historical facts, as also existing military agreements, the journeys taken by French generals to the Baltic States in the spring of 1930, etc., prove that the leading political circles in France and of the French General Staff have regarded the question of the intervention as a closely impending practical task.

We have other practical proofs: The connections between the saboteurs and the French agents have been proved; we know the actual personages. The acts of sabotage were concretely prepared; groups waited in readiness to carry them out; real living people speak and make these statements. The organisation of the military organisation had been commenced. Here again we have the organisers in our hands. The sabotage of the mobilisation of the textile industry had been organised; the actual persons responsible for it are in our hands. All this would be devoid of sense had it not been set going in combination with relations with foreign military experts for the actual purposes of the intervention.

The same degree of veracity is evident in the statements made by the accused on the meeting between the Torgprom and Poincaré. Poincaré, in his article, demands a concrete answer to the question of where and when the French General Staff had planned the intervention. Poincaré will find the answer in his own article of 28th February 1930 in the "Excelsior". Here Poincaré draws attention to the "dangerous frontier conflicts on the eastern frontiers of Rumania and Poland", which could not be tolerated by France. These are the frontier conflicts mentioned by the defendants as the planned commencement of the intervention. Poincaré's article of 30th October is a striking proof of his utter hatred of the Soviet Union; it characterises the atmosphere in which the initiative of the French intervention against the Soviet Union came into being. Poincaré ends this article with the words: "There has been enough joking!" Quite so. Enough joking. Explosions in war plant, caused by agents acting on the instructions of the French general staff, the building up of a military organisation — these are "jokes" which we do not tolerate. This confirmation of the most important statements made by the defendants, contained in speeches, facts, and documents, brings further conclusive proof of these statements.

After the Paris Agreements on the Preparations for Intervention.

We now come to the questions of the inner work of the so-called Industrial Party and of its Central Committee for the carrying out of the agreement arrived at in Paris in October 1928. From this moment onwards a new description of activity is observable in the sabotage work, adapting itself to a definite term for the intervention, and aiming at bringing about a crisis in the decisively important branches of industry: fuel, metal, transport, power and textiles. These branches of industry were amply represented in the Centre, by their leaders. This part of the sabotage activities has been examined in detail during the hearing of evidence, with the object of ascertaining the actual beginnings and results of the work of the saboteurs in these fields. With respect to fuel, the saboteurs devoted their attention to the Don Basin, the Moscow coal basin, and the Kusnetzki mining district. In spite of the revelations of the Shakhty trial, and spite of the extraordinary measures of the government, the plans for the development of the mines of the Don Basin have not been carried out. The accomplishment of the work planned in the mining industry has actually been frustrated by the activities

of the saboteurs, who prevented the instructions issued by the government from reaching the persons whose office it was to put these into execution. The result was a strained situation in fuel supplies, much greater than was to be explained by the enormous increase in the demand for fuel by all industries due to the accelerated speed of industrialisation. If the intervention had taken place and an expeditionary corps had advanced against the Don Basin, given the breaking off of communication between the Don Basin and Moscow by means of sabotage, the strained situation could have developed into a crisis and into a catastrophe. The evidence has shown that the development of the Moscow coal basin has been hampered by various procrastination artifices on the part of the saboteurs. In Kusbas the saboteurs endeavoured to keep down production, and here too hindered the building of the necessary roads for transport; these assertions are easily proved. These facts are confirmed by the statements of the accused. To this must be added the special work for the sabotage actions involved in the plan agreed upon among the saboteurs in accordance with the directives of the French agents R . . . and K In the oil producing industry the saboteurs endeavoured to sabotage by means of proposing "objectively unattainable" plans. These calculations were frustrated by the energy of the working masses, which succeeded in approximately carrying out the plans designated as impossible of realisation. This does not, however, lessen the responsibility of the saboteurs for the harm actually caused to the oil industry. In the metal industry the strained situation which was actually brought about shows that the saboteurs made active preparations for the crisis and catastrophe to take place in 1930, and were partially successful. The saboteurs pursued definite plans for restricting the building of locomotives, ships, boilers, machinery, and the production of crude metals.

The existing tension in the transport service is due to a great extent to the sabotage, which is at fault for the insufficient number of engines and trucks. On this point **Krassovsky** reports of a meeting of the Centre, at which the measures to be taken for worsening the condition of the rolling stock, especially of the engines, was discussed. It must be placed on record that here too, in case of intervention, the difficult situation in the transport service would have been likely to develop into a serious danger to supplies and to the defence of the country.

In the transport service, the leading group of wreckers was liquidated in 1928. Since that time the Soviet government has had to exert much effort to overcome the effects of the sabotage already carried out in this service. The plans for rendering the railways useless in the Western frontier districts were known to the Central Committee of the Industrial Party. It is a characteristic fact that the accused have concealed this part of their sabotage work, although it has been proved that even after 1928 they attempted to resume their interrupted sabotage activities in this direction. In the textile industry the sabotage work had spread far. Here various methods were employed to produce an artificial disproportion between the available raw materials and the production apparatus. A severe crisis was to be brought about in 1930 and the factories brought to a standstill. The actual situation in the textile industry shows that the efforts of the saboteurs have partially succeeded.

Bribes for the Learned Professors.

Another method consisted of retarding the development of the textile industry by the investment of large sums bringing in no return, and by introducing obsolete English machines instead of up-to-date American ones. Here again **Fyetodov** endeavoured to substantiate "theoretically" the preference given to the English machines. The evidence shows that the measures proposed and carried out by him served only two objects: The keeping down of the level of textile production, and the certainty of the receipt of further bribes from the English suppliers. The revelation of the actual motives of this learned professor shows him up as a very sorry figure. The saboteurs sank to the lowest depths of baseness when on some occasions they accused one another publicly of being "saboteurs", employing thereby artificial and systematically applied pseudo-polemics. Their intention of laying large sums of money idle in unnecessarily expensive factory buildings was camouflaged by their apparently "revolutionary" theory of the necessity of building "factory

castles". Another method has been divulged by **Sitnin**, who accepted large bribes for intentionally introducing unsuitable and expensive sorts of cotton. Taken in itself, this offence was merely an "abuse of office", but taken in its relation to the whole of the sabotage work, it represents economic counter-revolution, and as such incurs extremely severe punishment under the criminal code.

Still another method was that employed by **Kuprianov**, who has confessed to the systematic delivery of the wrong textile goods to the consumers, for the purpose of stirring up discontent and promoting speculation. In the textile industry all sabotage records have been beaten with regard to versatility of method. To all this must be added the expressly treasonable work carried on in the textile factories producing war materials, for the purpose of furthering acts of sabotage in the case of intervention, as also the preparations made for delivering the textile factories in the frontier districts into the hands of the interventionists. The consultations on such plans as these, held with experts belonging to the French General Staff, and the building of platforms for heavy ordinance under the cloak of industrial building, form the culmination of the criminal activities of the wreckers in the textile industry. In this connection a further branch of military sabotage work has been exposed. The engineer **Zeidler** reports of means for causing artificial difficulties and for limiting the area cultivated in the cotton district, with the aid of irrigation technicians. The sabotage work carried on in the waterworks department and other departments, reported on by **Michalenko**, was known to **Zeidler**. **Michalenko** has supplied details on work of this description conducted by him on the coast of the Black Sea. On the spot where troops belonging to the White Cossack general **Baklayev** attempted in vain to make a landing in 1920, the marshy district was to be drained by the autumn of 1930 in order that there might be no difficulties in the way of the landing of the **Krassnov** Cossacks in accordance with the strategic plans revealed by the other defendants.

Michalenko acted on the direct orders of the sabotage Centre, and was urged by an inspector — a saboteur — to hasten on the work, both money and threats being used as inducements. It is characteristic that **Ramzin** kept this department of the sabotage activities secret until the public session. Here **Ramzin** could no longer maintain silence, for he knew that the leaders and instigators of this work: **Riesenkampf** and **König**, **Sparro**, **Michalenko**, **Zeidler**, and others, were in our hands, and that when these came forward at the trial he could be obliged to speak. The whole extent of the sabotage activities now lies clearly before us as a system for the retardation and wreckage of industry, of espionage, sabotage, and high treason.

The Orders of the French Agents Messieurs K . . . and R . . .

At the session in camera other important ramifications of the sabotage activities were finally explained. Here the personalities of Messieurs K . . . and R . . . have been so clearly represented, and the content of their orders stated so precisely, that they appear before our eyes as tangible persons.

The whole of the facts here ascertained with reference to the actual orders issued for acts of sabotage, explosions, and the formation of a military organisation in the service of the intervention, have fully exposed the extent of the real danger of the impending intervention. This is the point of departure for the determination of the individual responsibility of each individual defendant.

The Leading Role of the French General Staff Proved.

In order to determine the extent to which each individual defendant has taken part in the counter-revolutionary activities in preparation of the intervention, with the object of overthrowing the Soviet power and restoring capitalism, the concrete aim of the whole of the sabotage work must be once more outlined. The concrete plan of intervention existed, complete in all details though these changed at times. France played the leading role in drawing up the plan of intervention, with the French General Staff as controlling force. Not one of the "refutations" hitherto published, whether from the **Torgprom** or from **Poincaré**, has disavowed the names of **Jeanin**, **Joinville**, and **Richard**. And on the other hand, the

documents which have been read here have shown us the close connection existing between such French officers as General Nissel and others and the circles of the counter-revolutionary emigrés.

Of equal importance to us is the witness borne by Poincaré himself in his article of 8th February 1930, in which he refers repeatedly to the conflicts flaring up on the Bessarabian frontier, and speaks of these as "sinister". These public statements coincide with the strategic plan of the intervention as laid down by the French officers, reported on by the defendants.

The Strategic Plans of Intervention

The statements of the accused on the strategic plans of the intervention, beginning on the Western frontier and dealing the main blow against Moscow and Leningrad, are strikingly confirmed by Michalenko's descriptions of the sabotage carried on with the object of creating entrance gates on the West and North West frontiers by the draining of bogland. Further proof of the existence of this concrete plan of intervention is furnished by the revelations on the special plant constructed on the West frontier, as reported on by Sirosinsky.

Apart from the existence of this military plan, the erection of hangars, petrol storage plant, and aircraft bases on the North and West frontiers would have had no sense whatever. The correctness of Michalenko's statements on the object of the drainage work in the South is further confirmed by his reports that the counter-revolutionary kulaks and the remaining White officers in that district spoke quite openly about the expected landing of the Krassnov Cossacks, and about its connection with the kulak risings in the Kuban district.

Preparation of Frontier Conflicts, Landing manoeuvres and Kulak Risings.

These practical steps in preparation for the frontier fighting, landing manoeuvres, and kulak risings, in the South, the drainage work, the weakening of the railways at the front, the preparation of oil reserves and aerodromes—all this confirms preparation of oil reserves and aerodromes—all this confirms the defendants. Here Poincaré may find the answer to his question as to how and where the intervention was to be carried out. Let him prove to the public that these measures do not correspond fully with the most effectual methods of intervention as openly discussed in European military circles. To this must be added the needful political prerequisite for the intervention, confessed by Yurovsky (according to Milyukov's statements), in the form of a highly reactionary government in France. In this regard the events just reported in the French government give us much food for thought.

But the intervention-mongers are out in their reckoning. If needs be, the working millions will protect the Soviet Union with weapons in their hands against the attacks of any of robbers.

The Crime of Each of the Accused.

I pass on to a characterisation of the individual defendants.

Ramzin.

Ramzin, an intellectual of the purest water, stands before us as the leader of the Central of the so-called Industrial Party, as the organiser in chief of the whole of the sabotage work, as the man maintaining the immediate connection with the Torgprom, as well as with the French general staff and the agents R. and K. After the October revolution, he became an active saboteur of the Soviet power. That he allegedly adopted the platform of the Soviets at the time of the NEP, arose solely from the fact that he had no other choice, and from his hope that the NEP would bring about the degeneration of the proletarian dictatorship. This is proved by his "sudden" volte face in 1926 in the direction of the greatest activity against the Soviet power. Ramzin is a typical practician and organiser. He was and remained a conscious counter-revolutionist, and his strong will rendered him of great importance to the sabotage organisation in connection with the Institute for Thermal Technics, of which he was the head. Here the leadership of the organisation rapidly passed into his hands. This characterisation of Ramzin explains his political attitude. In October 1928 he met the representatives of the Torgprom in Paris. He demanded proof of contact with the French General

staff. He inquired into the question of the financing of the actual intervention and for the future economic form. At this time Ramzin learnt of the demands for compensation put forward by the imperialists, but deliberately concealed these from his collaborators on his return to Moscow. Ramzin stands before us, therefore, as the leading saboteur, spy, and conspirator in the practical preparations for the intervention with the aid of French military circles. At the moment of his "unreserved" statements, he kept the most important points secret. With respect to this Ramzin, there is not one moment's difficulty in determining his social dangerousness.

Charnovsky

Charnovsky was characterised by the first words which he uttered, aiming at arousing pity. He admits, politically, that his sympathies have been with tsarism. His attempt to represent himself solely as an informer outlines the leading features of his character: falsity and cowardice. He was entrusted with the leadership of the sabotage work in the metal industry, to which special importance was attached by his Paris employers. On orders from R. . . he organised preparations in the war industry, drew up the list showing the order in which the sabotage actions were to be carried out, supplied the espionage reports, and maintained communication with the French agents. This alone suffices to characterise Charnovsky's actual rôle, and his dangerousness for the future. With respect to him, that means of self-defence is suitable which will rid us finally of this pest.

Kalinnikov.

Kalinnikov's activities were concentrated of late upon state planning. He is one of those rare elements of the old bourgeoisie who have possessed the sorry courage to undertake counter-revolutionary action under the Soviet regime. He did not want to co-operate with the Soviet power. But in spite of this, the Soviet government subsequently placed faith in him in his capacity as prominent specialist. It was precisely at this juncture that Kalinnikov became an active member of the sabotage organisation. He belonged to the commission editing the espionage reports, secondly to the commission working out acts of sabotage to be carried out in case of intervention, and thirdly to the commission organising treasonable work in the Red Army.

He transmitted the orders received from K. . . and R. . . and remitted the money received. He abused the confidence of the Soviet government, using his position for leading the sabotage, the espionage, the wrecking and treasonable activities. This decides upon the method to be employed to put an end to Kalinnikov's sabotage.

Laritchev

Laritchev is an old engineer — a technician who long ago took up the sabotage of fuel supplies. Later on he became a leading figure in the Central Committee. In his capacity as oil expert, he negotiated with the former owners of the oil fields and took part in an evening meeting with Colonel Richard. He did not personally undertake the carrying out of sabotage and espionage, but shared with Ossadshy, Kalinnikov, and Charnovsky the work of forming the military organisation. Espionage, high treason against the state, and sabotage — this is Laritchev's list of wrecking activities. Like Ramzin and Kalinnikov, he has kept secret his knowledge of the most important departments of the sabotage activities. This signifies that even at this last hour he hopes for the success of his shameful work. In this lies his especial dangerousness for the proletarian state.

Fyedotov.

Professor Fyedotov too might be an interesting figure; a typical representative of the demoralised Russian intelligentsia; an active cadet, a man drawing a salary of 60,000 roubles yearly. Closely allied with the old industrialist Karpov, he soon collaborated with Karpov's deputy Lopatin, as leader of the sabotage in the textile industry. He remained true to this work till recently. We have seen two Fyedotovs here: The learned professor, ready even to take up an impassioned discussion; and the other Fyedotov, a broken man, who accepted dirty bribes. The venerable professor is worth the pound sterling for which he sold himself.

Kuprianov.

For seven years Kuprianov "faithfully" served his old master Konovalov. To him fell the leading rôle in the sabotage in the textile industry. But his leadership was not confined to the industrial districts; he was in closest contact with the Central, and shared all secrets of the sabotage work, down to the conspirative activities. He too has confessed participating in the attempt to form a military organisation. Therefore I see no possibility of separating him from the group of the other accused; he must share their fate.

Otshkin.

No detailed characterisation of the defendant Otshkin is necessary. He was Ramzin's secretary in the Industrial Party and in the Soviet Institute. Otshkin maintains that after the October revolution he was in full agreement with the platform of the Soviets. Then he "suddenly" makes a turn of 180 degrees, and at the end of 1927 he becomes an active wrecker. He undertakes and carries out the most important orders. At the session in camera it was ascertained that he repeatedly received and executed orders for sabotage actions and espionage. This places him in the same category as the other defendants.

Sitnin.

Finally, Sitnin. He was counted as a "Soviet man". He too repeatedly undertook responsible commissions for the organisation of sabotage work. Though possessing limited political knowledge, he was entrusted with reconnoitring work abroad. He saw his future in the capitalist state of society. He denies having been a member of the Centre. It has, however, been ascertained that he occupied the place of Fyedorov's deputy. His rôle as recipient of the bribes on "an international scale", which he received for definite acts of sabotage in cotton buying, fully indicates his true character. His social usefulness stands at zero, his social malignancy is beyond all doubt.

The Requirements of the Class Struggle Against the Remnants of the Shattered Bourgeoisie.

On the Path of Lenin.

The whole of the defendants incur the maximum penalty laid down by bourgeois law for this degree of "guilt". This conception does not exist for Soviet justice. Our standpoint

is that of the tasks of self-defence against the threat of counter-revolution. Our tribunal is the weapon of the proletarian dictatorship in the class struggle against the remnants of the shattered bourgeoisie. To what extent are reprisals permissible as a means towards the destruction of the enemy? Lenin states on this point:

"There are enemies who can be temporarily beaten by a few defeats, but who cannot be annihilated by any forces, not even when reaction is completely victorious: these are the millions of the working class and the poor peasantry."

Do the defendants belong to this kind of enemy? No, there are no masses behind them. Behind them stand solely the last residue of the dying classes and of the world bourgeoisie already under sentence of death. Is it possible to imagine a revolutionary party of the working class which would not, in the epoch of acutest class struggle, punish such crimes by death? In such a case the working class cannot renounce the death penalty against its mortal enemies in the class struggle. The specialists can and must be forced not to take part in counter-revolution; they must be intimidated. We see before us the proofs of long years of united activities for the overthrow of the Soviet power, carried on in agreement with groups of the world bourgeoisie and of military circles. The overthrow of the Soviet. Power was their object. This fact alone determines the necessary extent of the reprisal. That millions of the masses of the working class have sent greetings to the GPU, which discovered the activities of this group, signifies that they express their readiness to defend the Soviet Union, and they demand from us decisive measures for preventing the promotion of the intervention from within.

At this moment, when the world bourgeoisie is arming for the life and death struggle for the extermination of the Soviet Union, and the collision of two worlds is objectively inevitable, everything aiding this second and hostile world must be annihilated once and for all. Therefore, the Public Prosecution calls upon the court to sentence the defendants to be shot.

(As Krylenko uttered these last words, a storm of applause broke out in the court room, in which exemplary discipline had been preserved during the whole course of the trial. The hand clapping and the shouts of the thousands present continued for some minutes, drowning the sound of the president's bell. After this spontaneous demonstration of the opinion of the millions of the workers of the Soviet Union quietened down, Comrade Vishinsky adjourned the session until the afternoon.)

The Speeches of the Defenders.

Afternoon Session of December 5

In the afternoon session the court gave the floor to the defending lawyer **Braude** on behalf of the accused **Kuprianov**. In a magnificent speech Braude pleaded against the death sentence for his client. He described the character of the accused Kuprianov, his social origin and environment. Kuprianov had been loyal to his old master the textile industrialist Konovalov, and when the latter left the country, Kuprianov transferred this loyalty to Konovalov's representative Lopatin. This man had been Kuprianov's ruin and had gradually and systematically drawn Kuprianov into the sabotage activity. Kuprianov's companions in the Central Committee of the Industrial Party had not regarded him as a politician in any respect. He was purely a textile expert. The caste psychology of the engineers had prevented Kuprianov from withdrawing when he recognised the real aims of the saboteurs.

Kuprianov represented no acute danger to the Soviet power. Owing to the fact that the persons really responsible, Poincaré, the members of the Trade and Industrial Committee and the members of the French General Staff were not in the dock, it was difficult to determine exactly the degree of Kuprianov's guilt. The court should exercise mercy towards a valuable specialist despite his admitted crimes.

The defending lawyer **Osip** then took the floor on behalf of the accused **Sitnin**, who, he declared, was only an executive

organ of the saboteurs. Quoting the verdict of the court in the Schakhty trial, he pointed out that full confession and co-operation in the clearing up of the case had been considered as reason enough for not passing the death sentence. Sitnin's confession of guilt was honest, and the Soviet government should not sentence him to death, but give him the possibility of repairing his crimes by work for the building up of socialism.

The other accused, who were not represented by counsel, declared that they did not wish to make any special speeches in their defence.

The Public Prosecutor **Krylenko** declared that he did not consider it necessary to make any special answer to the speeches for the defence on behalf of Kuprianov and Sitnin.

After a short pause the accused were given the floor for their last declaration.

The Final Words of the Accused.

Ramzin's speech was again a demonstration of his great intelligence and capacity. He denied the contention of the prosecution that "cool and calculating reckoning" had been the reason for the adoption of sabotage work by the engineers. He, Ramzin, had developed into a saboteur not as the result of material interests, but as a result of the conviction of the

falseness of the soviet economic system. In addition there had been the moral pressure of the old engineer caste. Now, however, he saw plainly that there were only two possibilities: to the left with the working masses to socialism, or to the right with Paris; capitalist preparations for war, sabotage espionage and treachery. Unfortunately he had taken the latter path.

He now realised whither this path was leading. A victory of intervention would have led to the collapse of the Five-Year Plan and a setback lasting for years. After he had realised this, there was only one task for him: to fight against this danger by exposing the real warmongers, including his own role in this affair.

The will to annihilate of the white emigrants, the Torgprom, which played the role of jobber in this dirty business, and the French government, which is a support of militant imperialism and a centre for war against the Soviet Union, they are the real guilty ones in the future war. In other wars the guilty parties are only found out much later, for the future war the guilty people are already now ascertained.

If a portion of the engineers had pursued the path of concluding an alliance with these war inciters, they were dominated by narrow craft spirit. The transition to sabotage and espionage was the logical consequence of it. This path led into the abyss. Krylenko had raised the question: "How is it to be explained that the accused made such comprehensive confessions? He saw the reasons quite clearly. Already at the beginning of 1930 and ultimately in prison he realised that he pursued a wrong path. He had no basis for his defence. He had come to that Court in order to capitulate. Convinced of the criminal nature of his actions he had only one aim: To do everything in the last weeks of his life in order to expose as much as possible the criminal machinations. The accused declared: "I knew that confession before the whole public would instil into my soul a great calmness which I was lacking when I entered the Court. In the course of these ten days I felt the wave of hatred, of execration and the contempt of the toilers of the whole country against the accused and against myself personally. I hope that in the not far distant future this hatred will be abated by the fact that I sought during the rest of my life to atone for what I have done."

Continuing, Ramzin stated his hopes had been concentrated on the year 1930. He expected the results of their activity with the same tension as the results of scientific experiments in a laboratory. But precisely the year 1930 proved that their perspectives were wrong. In spite of the activity of the Industrial Party, of the "Party of Toiling Peasants" and of other counter-revolutionary organisations the socialist construction uninterruptedly proceeded. The leaders of the revolutionary proletariat had foreseen the perspectives more correctly than the scientists. His standpoint regarding the necessity of a slower rate of development, a standpoint which was shared by the Right opposition, had proved to be wrong. He had not taken into account the new potentialities which slumber in the masses because he was isolated from the masses. His blindness led him to this place, to a repudiation of his past. He cherished the hope that the last circles of counter-revolutionary engineers would draw the lesson from their example and turn into active collaborators in Socialist construction.

In conclusion Ramzin said: "During the last three years I was the worst active enemy of the Soviet Union, which I combated with all means at my disposal. After the recognition of my mistakes I laid down my arms. I view the approaching execution with mixed feeling: it is impossible to live any longer under the contempt which is quite rightly felt towards me. On the other hand, I have the firm belief in the ultimate victory of Socialism and the wish to see myself the great achievements which Socialism will bring with it. The proletarian court may decide what is more useful for the revolution: my death, or my life and my collaboration. The verdict demanded by Krylenko is just. If the Court allows me to live, I give the firm unshakable promise, to place all the knowledge which I have acquired at the cost of the Soviet Union, in the service of socialist construction."

After Ramzin the floor was given to **Charnowsky**. His speech bore the stamp of cowardice and dishonesty which Krylenko had already described as typical features of the accused. Charnowsky began with an exact repetition of the confession of guilt and penitence with which the first accused began. The reasons for his mistakes were his political ignorance and his weak character. When he got into contact with the working masses, the old conceptions faded away. If he were released from prison he would collaborate in the work of construction. His past showed also some positive sides: his long activity as a teacher, his work in the factories, in which he was one of the first to introduce the eight-hour day. Even today he could be of use and therefore he implored the Court to exercise mercy.

Laritchev declared that the indictment was correct apart from "minor exaggerations". He believed he had performed his last duty by his confession and by exposing the preparations for intervention. There was no reason for not considering his confessions to be honest. The powerful influence of the engineers' craft spirit has caused him to take the first step on the path of sabotage work. A capitalist restoration is a chimera. He had completely broken with his past. In conclusion Laritchev said: "I think I have no right to ask for mercy. Any sentence will be justified."

The next accused, **Otchkin**, only defended himself against the charge of having entered the service of the Soviets after the October Revolution with bad intentions. He had entered Ramzin's Institute for the purpose of learning. Ramzin has given him much, but has taken much of him. The intellectuals of the old school have no backbone. The only connection he ever had with the working class was the proletarian court. He hoped from now on to begin a new honest life and asked the Court for mercy.

Kalinnikov stated the Public Prosecutor was right when he called him a consistent counter-revolutionary. The evidence had shown that they guided a counter-revolutionary activity of a broadly ramified engineers' organisation. In spite of this they had not succeeded in frustrating socialist construction and the defensive power of the country. Their foreign allies had revealed their weakness and their baseness. Their orders to increase sabotage, espionage and military work, had come to naught owing to the stability of Soviet economy and the integrity of the Red Army. The accused had been vanquished by life. He now recognised the Soviet Power as the real representation of the people, which helps the masses and the scientists. He recognised his crimes and repented of them. They were so grave that he did not dare to ask for mercy. If the Court regarded his repentance as sincere he promised to collaborate for the rest of his life in the work of building Socialism.

Fyedorov said he knew that their arrest was a good thing because their confessions are important hindrances to an imperialist war. The war danger continues to threaten, because abroad there are too many hostile forces which aim at the overthrow of the Soviet Power. But these forces will no longer find any assistance within the Soviet Union. He was particularly guilty; because he had sold his honour and character for filthy lucre. What remained to him if he was permitted to live? His only wish was to have the possibility of restoring his good name to his family and his people. This could only be achieved by great responsible work. But how was it possible to believe him! The Public Prosecutor had rightly demanded for him the highest punishment. He had not believed in the possibility of building up society on the basis of collectivism and solidarity. Life had proved the contrary. Before the Soviet Union there is a brilliant better future in which the workers, the peasants and the engineers will be comrades. There was only one mitigating circumstance: He had only attended meetings of the central committee of the Industrial Party at which his affairs were dealt with. If the Court could take this circumstance into account, then he asked for mercy.

After hearing a short closing declaration by Kuprianov and Sitnin, who asked for mercy, the Court retired for consultation. The Verdict, the full text of which appears in this number of the "Inprecorr.", was announced about midnight on December 7th.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

"Against the Two-Faced Policy of the Capitulators."

In an article bearing the above title the "Prawda" writes:

The Syrzov-Lominadse-Shatzkin bloc was founded for the **struggle against the general line of the Party and its Leninist leadership**. Whilst, however, the participants in this bloc conducted illegal fraction work, they posed before the Party and the country as 100 per cent. adherents of the Party line. It was only thanks to this deception of the Party that the XVI. Party Congress elected them as members of the C. C. and of the C. C. C.

We are here confronted with an instance of double-facedness which fully confirms the resolutions of the XVI. Party Congress regarding the new manoeuvres of the opportunists of all tendencies, in the first place the Rights. Outwardly they proclaim their formal solidarity with the general line of the Party, and in reality they fight against it.

Here there is revealed the isolation from the Party and from the working class of a handful of intellectuals who owe their whole, even if small, influence solely to the fact that the Party placed them in responsible positions because they declared their agreement with the general line of the Party; but their miserable weakness was at once revealed as soon as the Party exposed their fraud.

The unprincipled two-faced bloc of Syrzov, Lominadse and Shatzkin was based on the **platform of the Right opportunists** under the slogan of the "radical alteration of the Party line" (Syrzov), of the contraction of the front of capital investments" (Lominadse), etc.

After the XVI. Party Congress Syrzov propagated with energy the demand for an increase of prices, borrowed from the old Trotskyist arsenal and now used by the Right opportunists. This demand would have led to a **limitation of the rate of industrialisation**, to the joy not only of the Right opportunists but of all counter-revolutionaries and wreckers.

The representatives of the "Left" tendency Lominadse, Shatzkin, in the past committed mistakes of a Trotskyist and semi-Trotskyist character (the League of the village poor, permanent revolution in China, characterising the Soviet State apparatus as alien and bourgeois, and the exaggerations in self-criticism resulting from this). Therefore it is not surprising that after they had dropped their Trotskyist standpoint they adopted the standpoint of Right capitulators and renegades in the most important questions of Party policy.

It is not so long ago that Lominadse, Shatzkin and their adherents criticised the Party on account of an allegedly not sufficiently determined struggle against the Rights. Sten, who belongs to their group, even went so far as to accuse the Leninist Party leadership of centrism.

Now they have themselves arrived at the demand for "contracting the front of capital investments", i. e., adaptation to the "weak spots": at Bukharin's "Remarks of an Economist". Lominadse and Shatzkin allied themselves with Syrzov on the basis of the Menshevik-Trotskyist criticism of the Party and on the platform of Right opportunism. Just like the Mensheviks and the Trotskyists, just like the Right opportunist leaders, they talk about a worsening of the position of the working class, of a feudalistic rule of the Soviet apparatus over the masses (this formulation was used by Lominadse in his letter to the district committee), of a Party regime and the disintegration of the Comintern.

And they were unable to propose anything to the Party except to capitulate in face of the difficulties, to retreat in face of the resistance of the capitalist elements. They were in despair when faced with the task of liquidating the kulak as a class, a task which confronts the Party.

The bloc of the Right "Leftists" Syrzov-Lominadse arrived at the platform of Right opportunism. But all the participants in this bloc, among them being Syrzov, who are up to their ears in the Right opportunist bog, attempted even when they were exposed to pose as true "Lefts".

The same Syrzov, who repeated in 1927 Bukharin's slogan: "Enrich yourselves!", who already before the XVI. Party Congress converted the struggle against the exaggerations in

the collective farms openly into a struggle against the hundred per cent. collectivisation and the liquidation of the kulak as a class, who after the XVI. Party Congress was finally seized by a panicky mood which found expression in his confused anti-Bolshevist pamphlet on the control figures—this same Syrzov not only in words dissociated himself from the Right, but also gathered round himself a group of Left people, with whom he joined the Shatzkin-Lominadse bloc.

The enhanced struggle of the Party against Right opportunism led the genuine Right elements to side with the "Letts" in order to mask their opportunist character. But this is of no avail! The Party is increasing its watchfulness against the "Left" phrase: the Party knows how to unmask all opportunism. The Party will continue the most determined struggle on two fronts—against the opportunists and capitulators, no matter how they may mask themselves, against Right opportunism as the main danger and against its "Left" allies.

The example of Lominadse and Shatzkin shows again and again how even small vacillations and mistakes can lead the comrades far away from the Party if they do not overcome in a Bolshevist manner the petty bourgeois toleration of deviations, if they are infected with the smallest germ of Trotskyism or Right opportunism. This applies especially in the present situation of accentuated class struggle. Hence there follows: **ruthless struggle** not only against any deviation from the Leninist line, but also against any kind of conciliatory attitude towards deviations and an kind of vacillations.

The "newest" opposition of Syrzov and Lominadse did not openly oppose the general line of the Party, which had only recently been approved by the XVI. Party Congress, which is supported by millions of workers, collective farm peasants and toiling peasants and which is being carried out by the Party, under the leadership of its Leninist Central Committee in spite of all difficulties and all hostile forces. But in spite of its numerical, political and moral weakness this "opposition" tried to disintegrate the Leninist line and the Leninist leadership of the Party, the Party unity; it spread panic, and disbelief in socialist construction and in the forces of the working class, and that at a time when international imperialism is preparing for intervention against the Soviet Union at a time when the kulaks are offering obstinate resistance to our socialist attack.

By its joint decision the C. C. and the C. C. C. of the Party have dealt a severe blow to the double-faced capitulators. The Party is still more closely rallying round its Leninist leadership in order to carry out the tasks set by the XVI. Party Congress: to establish Socialism in the Soviet Union, while removing from its path the pitiable handful of capitulators.

THE WHITE TERROR

Trial of Peasants in Bulgaria.

In a short time another monstrous trial is to take place in Bulgaria: the trial of the 65 peasants of Gowedare is to come up before the court in Tatar-Pasardschik. Among the defendants are seven women and 4 minors. The State Prosecutor demanded already now a punishment of lifelong imprisonment for 58 of the defendants and it is not out of the range of possibility that death sentences will be proclaimed.

The defendants are all poor peasants from the village of Gowedare, in the district of Tatar-Pasardschik. The majority of the defendants are not members of any political association, several of them belong to the Peasant League and some are sympathizers with the Communist Party. All of them are charged with insurrection, murder of two police agents and heavy assault on one gendarme, committed on the 24th of February 1930.

The events leading up to this trial are as follows: — On the 24th of February the communal elections in the villages were taking place. The Liavtscheff-Government used the most cruel terror in order to achieve a majority. In many villages heavy clashes occurred between police and peasants in some villages actual revolts of the peasantry took place. That happened also in the village of Tschemschedinowo near Sofia. Here the election results were nullified because the Govern-

ment party was left in a minority. As the elections were repeated the village was turned into an armed camp. Police and fascist government agents swamped the village and its vicinity. The mayor of the village, a member of the Peasant League, was murdered, many peasants were kidnapped, terribly beaten, arrested and tortured. The whole village boycotted the new election. Similar events took place in Govedare. On the eve of the elections the Government sent down a punitive expedition. More than 300 peasants were arrested, among them women and children. Terrible, indescribable tortures and cruelties were committed, many of the peasants are crippled from these atrocities. That drove the peasants to an open revolt. Spontaneously the whole village rose in rebellion. Men, women, children, driven to despair, revolted; two of the fascist agents, whom they caught, were literally torn to pieces by unarmed peasants who could not endure the cruelties any longer. This outbreak was answered by a new punitive expedition, martial law was declared over the district, mass arrests were executed, tortures were applied in prison in Plowdiv, to where the prisoners were brought, against which even the bourgeois press (ZNAME, NESSAWISSIMOST, etc.) protested. On the evidence of some of the policemen 65 peasants were charged with murder, assault and insurrection.

This mass trial and a number of similar peasant trials — all under the law for the safety of the realm — are characterizing the prevailing mood of the peasants in the villages, sharpened yet further by the economic crisis and the permanent government terror.

Clashes between peasants and the police are occurring more and more frequently. In vain the Government tries to prevent revolts of the toiling peasants by the most ruthless fascist terror and mass persecution. On the contrary, the revolts are developing from a defensive character to an open offensive against the terror methods of the Government. The trial of the 65 peasants is of great political importance for yet another reason. The clique in the leadership of the Peasant League, which represents the interest of the rich farmers, has taken up connection with the bourgeois oppositional parties with the aim of forming a bloc and enforcing their participation in the government in coalition with Liptscheff and Zankoff. But while the leaders are haggling about their coalition with the hangmen of the peasants since 1923, the process of radicalization of the masses of poor peasants is growing in depth and intensity.

On account of the specific importance of the trial of the peasants the Bulgarian section of the **International Red Aid** is leading a campaign for the defendants, which must be supported by a broad action of solidarity of the other sections. Only a storm of protest by the toiling masses of all countries can stop the rage of the Bulgarian fascists and snatch the victims from their claws.

THE NEGRO MOVEMENT

The Role of the United States Government in the Suppression of the Negro Masses.

By William Wilson, (New York).

The anti-lynching campaign of the Communist Party of the United States and the American Negro Labour Congress and the nationwide support given it by the Negro masses has driven the Negro reformists, particularly of the "radical" group into a flurry of excitement. More and more loudly they emphasise the necessity of increasing their petitions to the U.S. Government and "exerting pressure" upon "sympathetic" Senators and representatives, in the Congress for the passing of a Federal anti-lynching Law.

These "extremely effective measures" for the curbing of lynching received the "firmest" support from the inter-racial committees particularly in the South where the reformist National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and the semi-fascist National Urban League tells us the composition of these committees consist of the "best people" doctors, lawyers, editors, judges, legislators and even governors, all of whom are much "disturbed" at the "unaccountable" new wave of lynching and mob terror against the Negro masses.

There can be no doubt about it. The anxiety of the "best

people" is real, but they are not concerned about the passage of a Federal Anti-lynching Bill. They are however, seriously disturbed by the growing militancy of the Negro masses. All of the Negro reformists and reactionaries, big and little, have been pressed into service. The best known and best trusted reactionaries have been sent on international missions either to quell the growing unrest of the exploited and oppressed Negro toilers on an international scale, or to prepare the way for a further penetration of American imperialism into Negro countries or both. Such were the tasks of the commissions upon which Dr. Russa Moton, the Dean of Negro reactionaries and also incidentally Dean of Tuskege University, Alabama, Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University and George Haynes of the Inter-denominational Church Council in Haiti, Liberia and South Africa respectively.

But in surveying the treacherous activities of these individual tools of American imperialism and even the larger activities of the reformist bourgeois and petty-bourgeois organisations; in reviewing the increasingly widespread lynching campaign of the fascist Ku Klux Klan and the American Legion organisations and the sanctimonious lies, deploring these "horrors" which emanate from the ranks of the liberal wing of the American bourgeoisie, and of the activities of the American Government with reference to these incidents, it is particularly important that we place the performance of these groups of betrayers and deluders of the Negro masses in their correct perspective.

The 13th, 14th and 15th amendments, written into the Federal Constitution after the civil war, were to guarantee all the rights of citizens to the Negro masses. These have been nullified by various class and anti-Negro legislation in virtually every state of the union. Yet these same Negro "leaders" who "protest" against the failure of the government to enforce these "guarantees" are seeking the addition of another such innocuous law. What game are these Negro reformers playing with the government?

The United States government takes its place in the front rank of the imperialist agencies, formulating, propagating and disseminating the bourgeois "racial superiority" ideology. The corrupt bureaucracy of labour, the fascist organisations, the reformist elements, the prostitute press and the professional bourgeois ideologists, in keeping with their programme of division of labour, popularise the official state policy, work out tactical measures surreptitiously or openly according to their nature, fermenting acts of provocation which terminate in race riots, lynching bees, arson, and even extend to the wholesale driving of Negroes from their homes as has happened this year in the states of Delaware, Oklahoma and Texas.

In laying down its line of procedure for the suppression of the Negro masses, the government proceeds openly, particularly is this true in periods of sharpening social contradictions.

The segregation and discrimination imposed upon the Negro employees of the government, particularly in the various departments of government, in the National Capitol is another example of the manner in which the State laid down the line to be followed where the Negro masses are concerned. The Jim Crowing of Negro soldiers, the shutting of the doors of military, naval and aviation schools in the face of Negro candidates, the mass trial and "legal" murder of Negro soldiers who only defended their lives in the honour of their women, the creation and partial subsidisation of a Jim Crow College—Howard—are all notable cases of the leading role played by the United States government in the suppression of the social, political advancement of the Negro masses.

In industry the discrimination operates in many ways, of which the colour wage scale — the paying of Negro labour a smaller wage than white labour on the same job is a glaring example.

The government now turns to a more extensive and intensive use of Negro reformist and reactionary elements. These are now being utilised to quiet the growing militancy of the native bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie in Haiti and the South African natives, and to prepare the way for a League of Nations mandate over Liberia, Nigeria and West Africa. The offensive of the American government against the Negro masses never ceases; open and concealed, it ramifies every phase of the economic-political life of the Negro toilers. Their struggle for social, national emancipation leads inevitably to a struggle against the American government.

Agitprop**On the Immediate Tasks of the Agitprop Work of the Mid-European Sections of the Comintern.****Resolution of the Conference of the Mid-European Agitprop Departments.**

(Conclusion)

(c) Another shortcoming of the factory newspapers is that the nature of their articles is too general. General political questions are not linked up with questions of a given factory, factory papers take no sufficient part in the general political campaigns, they have poor international contacts. Improvement in the contents of factory newspapers in the future must proceed along with the liquidation of these shortcomings and must go along the lines of increasing the amount of political information, greater information on Party life, better contacts between questions of local conditions and general political slogans, increased information as to the U.S.S.R. and especially information as to the life of workers in similar industries. An important task for the agitprop department is the strengthening of international contacts between factory newspapers and between worker correspondents of factories in various countries.

(d) The conference considers it inadmissible to finance factory newspapers and especially pseudo-factory newspapers from the Party funds, and requests all agitprop departments to procure the rapid reorganisation of all factory newspapers on a new financial base. They must either be paid for, or be financially supported by the broad mass of workers.

Agitprop departments must give the guidance of factory newspapers a systematic character and everywhere set up organs similar to those in the C.P.G. and C.P.F. which supply the editors of factory newspapers with material, advice, etc.

11. One of the means of bringing about the turn towards the masses is the creation of a wide ramification of worker correspondents. All Party papers must devote serious attention to the drawing in of **worker correspondents from the factories**. While noting a certain move forward in this matter as expressed in the increased number of worker correspondents in a number of papers, the conference points out the extreme weakness of the work of ideologically educating worker correspondents, of promoting them, and points out the absence of planned work for attracting new masses to press work.

12. The turn towards the masses requires further great attention by the agitprop department to the **form** of our agitation and propaganda, especially in the press. A vigorous struggle should be waged against the use of language which cannot be understood by the masses. The agitprop department must organise special studies of printed and verbal statements and also official Party documents from the point of view of the language in which they are composed. By systematic criticism we should achieve a state of affair when the language of our verbal and printed agitation will be as clear and incisive as our slogans and at the same time will be simple and understandable for the most backward workers.

13. The turn towards the masses requires exceptional attention to be paid to the **distribution of the Party press and mass literature**. The conference records that the Parties and their agit-prop departments underestimate distribution as a most important political task, which is to a certain extent responsible for the drop in the circulation of such papers as "Humanité", "Daily Worker", "Rude Pravo", and the stagnant circulation of the "Rote Fahne".

The conference considers it necessary that in the near future every agitprop department and later the Secretariats of the C.C.s should consider a special report on distribution, previously studying the causes of the falling off of circulation, the opinions of the worker readers about the newspapers, the methods of distribution, and should decide on a number of measures to be taken for systematically improving distribution. First of all attention should be paid to the necessity of rapidly organising our own apparatus for distribution. One of the necessary measures is to carry on a campaign inside the Party for every member to take part in the recruiting of new readers for the Party press and the press sympathising with the Party. The conference notes that not a

single Party as yet has used such an important method of improving the quality of the press, and of bringing it nearer to the masses, as the systematic study of readers' demands by organising conferences and meetings of readers and discussing the quality of the papers with them and the changes which are desirable.

III. The Propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, Party Education and Training of Cadres.

14. The weakest point in agitation and propaganda is to be found in the system of propaganda of Marxism-Leninism among the broad masses, in the sphere of Party education and the ideological training of cadres. While noting that in this matter only the C.P.G. has proceeded to planned guidance of this work, the conference most definitely stresses the fact that any further neglect of this part of the work by Communist Parties, any further underestimation of it, threatens all the Parties with the most undesirable results, especially if it is borne in mind that the growing revolutionary upsurge makes demands on all the Parties for a better qualified leadership. The conference points out the following main tasks in this matter.

(a) Having for its immediate aim the raising of the level of Marxist development, the extension of the political horizon and the working out of a sound materialist world view, Bolshevik propaganda has for its main task the mobilisation of the proletarian masses, their drawing into the direct struggle on the various slogans of the Party but in the whole path of Communism. From the basic principle that "Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma but a guide to action", that "practice without theory is blind and theory without practice is barren" (Stalin), all the work in the sphere of propaganda and Party education must be organised so that all the generalisations and conclusions of Marxism-Leninism are mastered by the students through material which is familiar to them, so that every generalisation is verified by practical experience of the every day struggle. In the matter of practically bringing into existence this basic principle (the connection of theory and practice) the Lenin School has successfully adapted the rich experience of the C.P.S.U. The conference considers it necessary that all Parties when drawing up programmes and plans for propaganda and Party education should use the experience of the Lenin School.

(b) Party education which has for its direct aim the raising of the theoretical level of all Party members and the ideological training of cadres, must be based on the fundamental task of Bolshevik education: the understanding by every Communist of the method of dialectic materialism, the obtaining of habits of applying Marxist-Leninist analysis to any concrete situation of the class struggle, the understanding of the Leninist strategy and tactics and the art of leading the masses.

15. On the basis of these tasks, the conference considers the chief form of Party education and the ideological training of cadres to be the general Party school which gathers together those comrades who have practical experience on the most varied sections of the Party work. The common study of the main questions of Marxism-Leninism, the common verification of varied practical experience in the light of Marxist theory is a mighty weapon for extending the political horizon and the mutual enriching by experience of the practical struggle.

Specialisation on types of work must be achieved by special instruction at the end of the course or by studying in special short-term courses which are an additional form of Party education.

16. In addition to Party schools, it is necessary to use all other methods for the wide dissemination of Marxist-Leninist teachings:

(a) Circles and Marxist-Leninist Schools in the factories, attracting non-Party workers as well as Party members to them.

(b) The Communist press, factory newspapers, the press of the revolutionary trade union movement, of the Y.C.L. and all mass organisations.

(c) The mass organisations.

The agitprop departments of Party committees together with the leaders of mass organisations must draw up a special programme for propagandist work in each organisation. In addition to the activation of propagandist work in allied organisations, it is necessary to work out forms of propagandist work in hostile mass organisations, attempting to penetrate them not only by propagandist literature, but by organisation of discussion, widely using legal possibilities for delivering public lectures, etc. Great importance is attached to the publication of popular propagandist literature which raises the most immediate practical questions of the movement to the height of principles.

17. The system of ideological training of cadres must be closely linked up with a systematic promotion of the most active proletarians. The greatest possible attention must be directed to the selection of students for the various grades of Party schools — from district schools to the International Lenin School. A state of affairs must be achieved where a definite minimum of Party activists is included in the plans of Party education (in the coming year for the C.P.G. it will be 20—25% and for other Parties 5—10%). The principal mass of students in Party schools must be recruited chiefly from among comrades who have actively distinguished themselves in the revolutionary struggle and who have the capacity for further growth in the quality of future leaders of the masses. It is absolutely necessary that youngsters and women should be widely attracted to Party education.

18. In view of the shortage of propagandists, which is one of the reasons of the poor organisation of propaganda and of Party education, the agitprop departments must carry on organised work for promoting and training new propagandists and for energetically retraining old propagandists. The most important measures for this purpose are:

(a) An accurate registration of all propagandists and Party workers in general who are able to carry on propagandist work, and using them in a considered manner.

(b) New propagandists should be systematically sought for among the students who have passed through Party schools.

(c) Organised retraining of propagandists by short-term courses and by instructional meetings and conferences.

(d) All students who have finished the I.L.S. should be used as propagandists independently of what other work they are doing, as part of their Party duties.

(e) Arrange for the theoretical training of workers who have come forward in the daily struggle as competent agitators and propagandists.

(f) All Parties should follow the example of the C.P.G. in publishing journals to instruct propagandists.

19. While noting that the publication of a few volumes of Lenin and the main work of Stalin on Leninism in English, French and German, comprises the minimum fund of literature for carrying on propaganda and Party education, the conference points out the absolute insufficiency of this fund and puts the following urgent tasks to the agitprop department of the E.C.C.I.

(a) To see that a full collection of Lenin's works is issued without delay.

(b) To help the Marx und Engels Institute so that it will fulfil its obligation to issue a popular edition of Marx and Engels in good time (18 volumes in 3 years).

(c) As soon as possible issue a commentary on the Comintern programme and publish the minutes of the programme commission of the VI. Congress.

(d) In the near future publish a new popular book after the type of the A.B.C. of Communism.

(e) Extend the publication of various works of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

(f) As soon as possible prepare necessary text books and school material.

20. In view of the tremendous importance of acquainting Party members and especially the new generation with the rich experience of the Comintern and all its Sections, the conference welcomes the first steps which have been taken to

arrange for the study and popularisation of the history of the Comintern (the organisation of commissions in the E.C.C.I. and of a cabinet for the history of the Comintern in the Lenin Institute). The conference considers that work in this sphere should be increased and hastened in the future. One of the necessary conditions for success in this work we consider to be the collaboration of all Sections of the Comintern in it. The agitprop departments must take the initiative in putting the Party archives in order, in organising commissions in every C.C. on the history of the Party and in setting up close contacts between these commissions and the E.C.C.I. commission on the history of the C.I. The conference considers it to be an urgent task to issue rapidly a text book on the history of the C.I. and a number of monographs and material on the history of the C.I.

21. Emphasising the urgent necessity of working up a number of immediate practical problems (the question of the further development of the crisis, the influence of the crisis on the revolutionary movement, the influence of the success of the Five-Year Plan on the situation of capitalism, fascism and social-fascism, mass political strikes, the type of our partial slogans, etc.), the conference considers it to be an unpostponable task to collect and unite all the theoretical forces of the Communist Parties and to mobilise their energy around the fulfilment of a single plan of theoretical work. One of the most important measures along this line is the calling of a Mid-European conference of Communist theoreticians which is being prepared for by the editors of "Unter dem Banner des Marxismus". The conference welcomes this initiative and considers it necessary to call this conference not later than January 1931, on condition that it is extremely carefully prepared for by the European sections of the C.I. concerned, together with the Agitprop Department of the Comintern, and the editors of "Unter dem Banner".

The conference considers it very urgent to organise in every C.C. a group of responsible comrades who will be entrusted with working up the most important problems of the movement.

22. The conference welcomes the initiative of the E.C.C.I. in calling the present conference of agitprop workers, but considers this as only the first step on the road of strengthening the contacts of agitprop departments in various Parties among themselves and with the Agitprop Department of the E.C.C.I. and for studying and making use of the experience of each Party. It notes that the main achievements of the conference are:

1. In addition to the experience of the C.P.S.U., it has brought out the experience of the C.P.G. as the only Party in capitalist countries with considerable achievements in agitprop work, for the benefit of weaker parties. 2. The working out of a general line of agitprop work. 3. A commencement has been made to plan out agitprop work.

In addition the conference points out the following shortcomings in its work.

(a) The conference was prepared for insufficiently owing to the absence of material in the agitprop department of the E.C.C.I. as to agitprop work in the majority of the Parties.

(b) The absence of the representatives of the Polish Party, which was a hindrance to the working out of the question of illegal work.

(c) The under-estimation of the conference by the Austrian Communist Party which did not send one of its permanent agitprop workers.

(d) The extreme hurry with which the conference worked, and its inability to work out a number of important questions (work of mass organisations, illegal work, etc.)

In view of the extreme importance of similar meetings for the further consolidation of the work the conference considers it necessary to convene another broader conference of agitprop workers, in which case it should be better prepared for on the basis of consideration of the experience of the present conference.

The most important point for the realisation of the decisions of this conference is increased leadership from the agitprop department of the E.C.C.I., without whose active support the agitprop departments of the various C.P.s will be unable to fulfil the numerous and complicated tasks set them by the present conference.