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EYE-WITNESS  
AT THE  
WRECKERS'  
TRIAL**

**SAM DARCY**

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## PROLOGUE

**M**ARK the day—November 25, 1936.

You will want to remember this infamous date when you tell your grandchildren about the events of the present time. It was the day on which the Japanese government, dominated by a militarist-fascist clique, and the German government, dominated by the barbarous Nazi thugs, signed the now notorious "Anti-Comintern Pact".

The signing of the pact was in truth only the registering of a fact which was evident for some years previously. Cooperation between Nazi Germany and the fascist militarist Japan against the forces of progress, democracy and socialism began immediately upon Hitler's coming to power.

In the balance of world politics, the rise of Hitler to power in Germany added weight to that side which stood for the rule of the worst robber and oppressive sections of finance capital in every part of the world.

Japan, strengthened by this, openly and with great vigor began her efforts to dominate the Pacific. Her armies seized the Manchurian areas of China and set up her own puppet government. She invaded the northern provinces of China proper; she made efforts to penetrate into the Yangtze Valley region with her military forces; she began to speak openly of invading the territory of the People's Republic of Mongolia and of the Soviet Union. The years following recorded an almost uninterrupted series of invasions by small provocative Japanese military bands of the U.S.S.R., the Western Maritime and Amur provinces and Outer Mongolia (Mongolian People's Republic).

With each new assault upon a peace-loving people, Japan looked with glee at Europe to see her aggressive war actions

applauded, aided and abetted by the Nazi German government.

When they were yet within the League of Nations, Japan formed a close alliance with Hitlerite Germany and fascist Italy. If not in writing, at least in fact, they concluded an agreement for mutual support in each of their assaults upon a world that wanted peace, to seize new territory and new spoils.

Japan supported Germany in the tremendous rearmament program that she undertook, in her rearming the Rhine, to fulfil her tremendous militarization program within Germany, for attack upon France, Czechoslovakia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. She supported Germany's demand for colonial expansion, and since all the main areas or colonies that might be taken are already gobbled up by one or another power, Japan supported the demand of Germany that some of the other capitalist governments relinquish their colonies and hand them over to Germany. She supported Hitler's aggression in the Baltic and in the Balkans.

To give point to her threats, Nazi Germany laid keels for a vast new navy, increased the length of her army service, made the German people tighten their belts and do without butter, fats, flour and other necessities of life, so that the militarists could have cannon, poison gas and shrapnel.

Fascist Italy received out of this bargain a blank authorization from the other two robbers to make her now well-known assault upon the defenseless Ethiopian people, to seize their territory and turn it into a slave colony to Italian capitalism.

Thus, in the period from 1932, when Hitler first began to take power, until 1936, when the notorious "Anti-Comintern Pact" was concluded, there was formed the unholy trinity of the barbarous rulers of Japan, Germany and Italy for war upon the world—a war to turn back the clock of progress, to destroy democracy, and to enslave the peoples

to the most reactionary finance capital exploiters—and their annointed Fuehrer, Duce and Mikado.

It is certain that the wording of the pact was not a frank statement of its aims. It pretended only to cooperate against Communists. But in the chancelleries of Europe, in the State Department of Washington, in the diplomatic offices of every government of the world, it was clear that Germany did not need the help of Japan to fight the Communist forces within its own country. And Japan and Italy were in a similar position. Without any formal pact, the police of all of the capitalist countries have long cooperated against all working class leaders who tried to forge an international movement of solidarity to defend the interests of the producers. For this, no special pact is necessary.

But it was commonly recognized that the officially published pact was, in fact, a cover for the conclusion of a military alliance against civilization and progress.

The preparations for military aggressions by these three fascist countries, and especially the two chief ones, Germany and Japan, have been accompanied by years of sinister intrigue against every other country in the world. Probably not 1 per cent of their activities has been uncovered. But now and then the entire world, and particularly the naive and easy-going bourgeois liberals, are startled by the flare-up of some isolated exploding point which throws light on the dark imperialist intrigues.

Isn't that what occurred when the people of the world awoke one morning to discover that Generals Franco and Mola (two fascist generals tolerated by a democratic government) used their posts to fulfil a secret agreement with Germany and Italy to overthrow democracy in Spain and establish a fascist regime? The people of Spain are now paying for not being alert to this fascist intrigue in their country.

Less dramatic, but no less significant and ever more frequently, there crop up more individual manifestations of



this intrigue. In February, 1933, Great Britain was startled to hear that one of its leading, supposedly trusted officers of the Seaforth Highlanders, Norman Baillie-Stewart, gathered and sold information to a representative of German fascism by the name of Otto Waldemar Oberst. The trial was held secretly—but not so secret as to hide the fact that Nazi Germany had so saturated England with its spying organization and intrigues that the British government was forced to strike back openly.

Numerous similar occurrences took place in the United States, but, characteristically, instead of Germany being the chief protagonist, Japan took the role. There was, for example, the case of a high officer of the American navy, Farnsworth, who worked with the Japanese military and naval forces, as had Baillie-Stewart with Germany. That the United States government was forced to make an open stand against Japan in the Farnsworth' case signified what is common knowledge to almost every resident of the West Coast of the United States—that Japan is spending a good-sized fortune every year for spying and provocative activities in the entire Pacific, and particularly on the West Coast of the United States.

Within the past few years, numerous trials of such Nazi espionage and wrecking agents took place in France, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania and other countries. There were numerous exposures of the activities of the notorious Gestapo agents, especially in the Berthold Jacob kidnapping case in Switzerland and in the Barcelona disclosure of the archives of the Nazi Bureau in Spain.

The activities of Hess, Hitler's deputy "Fuehrer", have already been considerably described in the book *The Brown Network*. This book names the majority of the 2,450 paid Nazi Gestapo espionage and wrecking agents abroad. It also establishes that Germany maintains an auxiliary apparatus abroad of over 20,000 spies. Through its "foreign policy office" headed by Rosenberg in Munich and the

phoney "World League Against Communism" they maintain with finances and personnel for leadership many "innocent" spy organizations in foreign countries—"Fontists" in Switzerland, "Rexists" in Belgium, "Croix de Feu" in France, "Silver Shirts" as well as German immigrant societies in the United States, etc.—which are also used for their insidious work.

In Czechoslovakia Nazi agents kidnapped fifteen people (not one of whom has ever been heard from since) in 1933-35. In 1933, the Rumanian Premier Duca was murdered by the "Iron Guard", a Nazi subsidiary, which is on orders from Berlin. The Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss was murdered by the Nazis. Barthou of France and the King of Yugoslavia were assassinated by the Nazi subsidiary organization "Ustashi" in September, 1934. The murders, espionage and wrecking by the world network of Nazis and their agents and allies in the Soviet Union will be dealt with more extensively in the subsequent chapters.

The world knows that it is on the brink of a new war, and in that knowledge the American people should awake and lose their complacency. The chief enemies of the American people in the event of a war are the militarist-fascist cliques who dominate Japan and the Hitler assassins who dominate Germany and their champions at home. Have we forgotten the arson, murder and wrecking which were carried through within our borders following the outbreak of the last World War in 1914 (at that time, under the personal leadership of Von Papen, one of the big figures in the present Hitler government)? The unholy trinity who joined in the "Anti-Comintern Pact" will make Von Papen's "Black Tom" explosions and other catastrophes look puny —*unless we stop it now!*

The chief object of the intrigues is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As was clearly shown in the world-famous trial of the so-called "Parallel Center" in Moscow, held from January 23 to 30, and as we will show in this brief

booklet, German and Japanese intrigue in the preparation of war went further in the U.S.S.R. than in any other country. This is not an accident. It is because the U.S.S.R. is the bulwark of peace, the chief obstacle to fascist war aims. If the fascists were not basically successful—it is because the Soviet peoples were and are vigilant against fascism. We Americans can learn from this.

But, while not basically successful, fascism did find allies and agents in the U.S.S.R. Didn't Jesus suffer Judas? Didn't we suffer our Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr? Isn't Spain suffering Franco today? Hasn't China her Henry Pu-yi?

The Soviet Union has its Trotsky and his satellites. Among 170,000,000 people it is not impossible to find some willing to be traitors to their country and to humanity.

The dramatic story of the frustration of their betrayal to the world network of fascism is told in the following pages.

## CHAPTER I

### The Mysterious "Accidents"

**T**HE Soviet Union hardly has a parallel in any part of the world in its vast expenditures for safety measures in industry and, in fact, until the early '30s the Soviet Union was able to boast an almost total absence of serious industrial accidents.

Beginning in 1933, however, particularly in three industries—railway, coal mining and chemical industries—a considerable number of sudden, unexplained and disastrous "accidents" occurred.

Inquiries were set afoot. There were some people, holding leading positions in these industries, who were glib with explanations as to the cause of the "accidents". The "speed of industrialization was too rapid", the "Russian worker is clumsy", etc., etc. But although none of the explanations was convincing, yet no actual evidence which might provide a basis for a better explanation was forthcoming. Quietly, however, the authorities in the Soviet Union continued to investigate.

Some of these "accidents" took a terrible toll. Consider one of Shumikha, a town on the South Urals Railways. This railway was one of those which seemed plagued by a curse.

On October 27, 1935, a train filled with young Red Army troops (all born in the year 1913) was running at the comparatively low rate of 25 miles an hour. Everything seemed normal. The Red Army men, in their usual spirited manner, were singing folk and army songs and indulging in play common to a happy people at the age of 22. Suddenly the train was slightly jarred. Many of the men noticed that it

had been switched to another track but took it for granted that this was as it should be. Suddenly there was a tremendous and sickening crash. Cars were piled one on another in the horrible wreckage. The scene that ensued was beyond description. Just as soon as order was re-established a count showed that twenty-nine Red Army men had been killed and twenty-nine seriously injured. Investigation of what happened indicated that, for no reason at all and *not* in accordance with what should have been done, this train had been shifted from its own track onto Track 8 and had smashed into a trainload of ore which was parked there.

Many miles away, Kniazev (remember the name), chief of the South Urals Railway, grabbed a fast train and rushed to the scene of the disaster. He surveyed the wreckage and the victims with a cool eye, murmured something about "investigation", climbed back into his special train and departed. An investigation a short time later brought out that senior switchman Kolesnikov had ordered apprentice Chudinova, apparently without reason, to turn switch 14 which diverted this troop train to Track 8, causing the disaster. The government took numerous measures so as to prevent a recurrence of such an "accident". A number of people held to be responsible were arrested, tried and punished.

But it was clear that everything was not well.

Everyone realized that things were not well, especially because on this route alone in the years 1935-36 a total of at least sixty-three people were killed in similar disasters and 154 injured.

In December, 1935, there was a wreck at Yakhino-Ust-Katav.

In February, 1936, there was a wreck at Yedinover-Berdyansk.

The staggering fact was soon uncovered that during the three years 1934-36 inclusive there had been the unbelievable number of 1,500 minor and major railroad wreckages.

All of them centered on a certain three or four lines. This in itself made the facts extremely suspicious.

Some "accidents" seemed "innocent"—for example, numerous pressure gauges did not work properly; the boilers exploded and blew engineers into bits, also, of course, causing wrecks on the train.

But these "accidents" were not limited to railroads. In the two allied industries, coal and chemical, similarly numerous disastrous "accidents" occurred. At Kemerovo, in the Ural Mountains, for example, an explosion occurred in the Central mine which killed ten miners and injured fourteen. At another time young children of the miners were playing at being miners. One of them grabbed a shovel and pretended to dig when suddenly a thunderous explosion occurred. Ten children were instantly killed. An investigation which followed subsequently showed that dynamite had been cached in the children's playground for no understandable reason and had exploded as we have already described.

The chemical industry seemed to be another plagued spot. The huge plant at Gorlovka, for example—a nitrogen fertilizer combinat—had many disastrous explosions, the worst in November, 1935, with numerous dead and injured.

In the first week of April, 1934, an engineer by the name of Boyashimov walked into the office of the construction chief in the Kuznetsk coal basin, named Shestov, and reported that the way the construction work was going on in his mines, he was sure there were wreckers at work. It is interesting that Boyashimov himself was a former wrecker who had been convicted, but had made successful efforts to "square" himself in the interests of his country, his family and his own future. He was, in fact, one of the best liked engineers when he had what was to prove for him a fatal interview with the chief of construction, Shestov.

He pointed out to Shestov that mine shafts were sunk in the wrong place, the ventilation system was not being

properly built, etc. Shestov listened with great attentiveness to engineer Boyashimov, thanked him for his information and said: "I will take measures—but keep this under your hat for a few days until we can make a private investigation." Boyashimov left feeling satisfied that he had done his duty. It is possible that he wondered how it was that an educated man like the chief engineer of the mine, Stroilov, had allowed such obviously faulty plans to be carried through.

Three days later, Boyashimov was found dead in a ditch along the road which led from the railroad station to the main part of the town of Prokopyevsk. An investigation showed that he was going home from the railroad station in a horse and small buggy when suddenly an automobile driving at a very fast rate hit the horse and buggy and killed the engineer.

"Accidents" of another kind occurred in other parts of the Soviet Union. For example, a large copper plant, Sred-Ural-Medstroi, was being built in the Urals. In this plant great amounts of money were squandered; construction was held up. Contrary to regulations, the newly established town was brought very close to the plant, although the health authorities specifically forbade it in consideration of the fact that it would endanger the health of the inhabitants. The chief of construction at this plant, Yulin, and his successor, Zharakov, did not seem particularly upset by the situation. The whole idea of Sred-Ural-Medstroi was to combine metallurgical and chemical units in order to create an industrial combinat. Soon it was discovered that construction on the chemical unit had never been begun. In fact, it had been transferred to the central administration of the chemical industry, which was headed by a man by the name of Rataichak, where it was finally buried.

A car-building plant was being constructed in the Urals. The chief of construction was a man by the name of Maryasin. Vast amounts of money were appropriated by the gov-

ernment in order to ensure the early and successful completion of the plant. But at the beginning of 1936 it was discovered that not only had very little progress been made, but 50,000,000 rubles of material had been needlessly accumulated at railroad sidings in a "frozen condition". Despite large and adequate appropriations of money by the government to ensure good conditions for the workers, dwellings were poor and the supply of food, the organization of cultural activities, etc., were wretched.

In 1934 there began the construction of four car repair shops which engineers estimated would cost (even at a generous figure) from 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 rubles each and would take one year and a half to finish. At the end of 1936, when a check-up was made, it was discovered that these car repair shops cost over 50,000,000 rubles each and would take about three years to finish.

The reader can see from the above list (which, it must be understood, is not a complete list but only contains examples) the long chain of "accidents" which seem to dog the efforts of the peoples of the Soviet Union to carry through their program of industrialization.

During the same time also, some bank robberies took place. The significance of this is that bank robbery in the Soviet Union is practically unknown. Nevertheless, at the Anzhero-Suzhensky Bank a robbery occurred and 164,000 rubles were stolen. It was generally agreed at the investigations that this job could not have been done except as an "inside job" because this is a comparatively small branch bank and such large sums are usually not kept in the bank except at certain periods, such as pay day.

Investigations were made of all of these and a great number of other similar incidents, and now and then culprits—concerning whom it could be established that they had all or part of the responsibility for the losses incurred—were punished.

Previously elements who had been in opposition to the



government program of construction of industry and expansion of economy and to the political line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union tried to utilize earlier "accidents" such as these as arguments against the Party and the Soviet Union. They said that the "accidents" occurred because of the too stubborn and relentless drive of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for industrialization; that if this drive were given up, if economic construction were put at a much slower pace, such disasters could be avoided. There were numerous groups: the "Trotsky" group, the "Bukharin" group, the "Zinoviev" group, the "Radek" group, etc. These groups had fought against the Communist Party and its leadership and against the government. Although there were slight differences among them, they were united in one thing—their hostility to the efforts to industrialize the country and to build socialism.

Since their hostile activities to the government seemed to be limited to theoretical and political criticism, and the organization of "factions" for spreading their wrong ideas, the answer to them by the responsible leaders of the government and the Communist Party was also limited to argument and explanation and to mild measures aimed to scatter the factionalists and make it difficult for them to operate. After 1931, these opposition groups did not speak out openly at all!

At that time there was no knowledge of their Dr. Jekyll-Mr. Hyde character, of the true connection between the subsequent wave of "accidents" and their political program.

## CHAPTER II

### A Boomerang Murder

**I**NSOFAR as the structure of the Soviet government provides for a single official and legal head, that man is Viacheslav Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. He is one of the most popular figures in the Soviet Union. He is modest and unassuming. He feels most greatly honored when he is called the comrade-in-arms of the unchallenged and most beloved living leader of the Soviet peoples—and many people beyond its borders—Joseph Stalin.

In September, 1934, Molotov was riding in his automobile (as usual without any such escorts as we are accustomed to in the United States) on the road to Novosibirsk, which is a town located in the heart of the area where the most numerous "accidents" were taking place. Suddenly a car coming from the opposite direction seemed to sweep down on Molotov's machine. At the last moment, however, it swerved away. Molotov's car was "side-swiped" and hurled into a ditch. Molotov suffered contusions and scratches. Modest as he was, he himself did not, and he did not allow anyone else, to make a great fuss over the incident. Nevertheless, it was noted by proper authorities and an investigation as to the circumstances of the "accident" was made.

This proved to be the prelude!

Another close comrade-in-arms of Joseph Stalin was Sergei Mironovich Kirov. Kirov was a real man of the masses. He came from a poverty-stricken family in one of the Russian provinces. Early in childhood he lost his parents. He was adopted by his grandmother. He, his two sisters and his grandmother lived on three rubles a month. Despite this

handicap, he studied and succeeded in entering the Kazan Mechanical and Technical School. Here he became a revolutionary and for thirty years following remained a loyal, devoted and very popular Communist leader of the people. He was an able organizer and had a developed and skilled political understanding.

The masses loved him for his richness of spirit. He had a feeling for people such as Abraham Lincoln had. All the masses were his "folks". His years of devoted work were bringing him to the very heights—he became a member of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (Although we have no equivalent in the American government, it can be considered equivalent to one held by leading government officials), and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. He found joy in his work, joy not merely in his official authority but in his work with the masses and in the esteem and love which the masses held for him. In speaking before one of the Party Congresses after discussing the problems, the weaknesses and achievements of their work, he finally exclaimed happily: "How wonderful it is to live!"

On December 1, 1934, at 4:27 p.m., Sergei Kirov stepped from his office in the building of the Leningrad Soviet (formerly the Smolny Institute of revolutionary fame). He walked along the long narrow corridor, greeted a passing comrade in his typical hearty manner and hurried to complete his duties in the building because he had to prepare a speech that evening before a large body of leading functionaries in Leningrad. Suddenly, as he passed one of the cross corridors, an assassin stepped out of the shadow behind him, lifted a revolver and shot him at the base of the skull in the back of his head.

At 4:30, Sergei Mironovich Kirov was dead.

That shot killed Kirov—but it was also to blow the lid off the most gigantic and sinister conspiracy that any people

in any part of the world were ever confronted with. When the threads of the conspiracy were gathered, the explanation for the murders and crimes, which up until then had taken place but which had yet to be uncovered and which were passed off as "accidents", was found.

Not only was the murderer of Kirov, a foul being by the name of Nikolayev, caught but through him were traced and caught several score of others who were involved. It was the questioning of those which gave the first clues that finally led to the unearthing of all the main features of a monstrous conspiracy.

## CHAPTER III

### The "Parallel Center" Confesses

THE threads which were first picked up from among those who were arrested together with the assassin Nikolayev led finally to the uncovering of not one, but, eventually, several interlocking networks of conspirators.

In the period immediately following Comrade Kirov's murder it was necessary to act decisively. Where it could be proven beyond a doubt that the arrested were directly, or as accessories, involved in the murder, trials were immediately organized and the highest measure of social protection meted out to the guilty.

These were, however, incontestably established as the "trigger men" of the gangs.

When Zinoviev, Kamenev and other leading oppositionists who were implicated were brought to trial they denied having any direct knowledge of the murder of Kirov or of any similar attempts at assassination. They used the old trick of a criminal who, when arrested and charged with murder—knowing that he is guilty of murder—will plead guilty to robbery in an effort to escape the more severe penalty. Zinoviev and Kamenev at that trial did get away with the plea of being only "morally responsible" for the murder of Comrade Kirov.

The people of the Soviet Union by now, however, were thoroughly aroused. The authorities vigorously continued the investigation. They were spurred in their efforts by the extensive sabotage, murder, robbery and wrecking that were going on in various parts of the country, examples of which we gave in Chapter I. At the end of 1935 the investigators scored their first major success when they uncovered threads

that finally led to a central organization—the “United Terrorist Center” headed by Zinoviev and Kamenev and directed by Leon Trotsky. All those belonging to this center were rounded up and brought to trial on August 19 to 24, 1936.

The terrible picture of criminality unfolded at that trial is, however, not the subject for this little booklet. The transcript of the court proceedings is available to those interested in the details. It is sufficient for our purpose here to say that the case against these criminals was established beyond a doubt.

About three months later, in one of the regions where the instances of wrecking, murder and robbery were most frequent, at Kemerovo in the Kuznetsk industrial basin, the second group was brought to trial. There again a picture of the activities of the most cold-blooded, anti-social elements, which carried on criminal activities on a scale never before known even in times of war, was brought to trial. The most complete picture, and incidentally the solution of the wave of “accidents” was unfolded, however, in the trial of the third group of those who had been arrested, in the trial of the so-called “Parallel Center” which occurred in Moscow from January 23 to 30, 1937. Because one can get the most rounded true story from this trial, we will briefly report the facts.

We are all the more aided in this by the fact that the evidence accumulated since the murder of Kirov was so overwhelming that all of the defendants in the trial of the “Parallel Center” confessed. It was quite clear that they did not give full confessions. They hid many things, as we will show, from the court and the prosecution. Yet the confessions they did give confirm and correspond to the facts already known and the physical evidence available to such an extent that they provide a fairly complete description of all the main outlines of the structure, aims and personnel of the conspiracy.

For the purpose of more clearly grasping the vast accumu-

lation of evidence brought out in the trial, we must group the defendants:

There were seventeen defendants. Although all were involved in all phases of the criminal activity, for the purpose of convenience in presenting the material the defendants might be divided into three groups, approximately as follows, based on the phases of the criminal activity to which they confessed:

The Trotskyite leaders, who consisted of Piatakov, Radek, Sokolnikov and Serebriakov; the German and Japanese espionage agents, who were Trotskyites: Turok, Kniazev, Rataichak, Shestov, Stroilov, Grashe, Pushin; the Trotskyite murderers and wreckers: Arnold, Livshitz, Muralov, Drobnis, Boguslavsky, Norkin.

Each of the following chapters, in the same respective order as the groupings above, presents the astounding facts established beyond a doubt as to the activities of the accused.

## CHAPTER IV

### The Monstrous Intrigues

**I**N DESCRIBING how the conspiracy was hatched, we must describe chiefly the activities of the leaders among the accused. These, as we have already stated in the previous chapter, consisted of four people, three of whom were the chief negotiators, Piatakov, Radek and Sokolnikov; the fourth, Serebriakov, was, judging by their attitude in court, of secondary authority among them. The three, as well as all the others who were on trial, had had a long record of opposition to the policies of the Soviet government. But in 1928 all of them (except Muralov) had made solemn pledges that they would give up their former opposition and disruptive activities and work loyally with all those trying to built up the economy of the country and improve the standard of living of the people.

These pledges were taken in good faith and some of the highest offices in the country were entrusted to them. Piatakov was made Assistant Commissar of Heavy Industry. The steel, automobile, car building, coal, chemical and many more important industries are under the management of this department. There is no industrial post in the United States which ranks so high as does the Commissariat of Heavy Industry. Sokolnikov was made ambassador to Great Britain and later Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs (which is analogous to the Assistant Secretary of State in the U.S.). Radek, by virtue of an editorial post which he held on the official newspaper of the Soviet government, *Izvestia*, was allowed to express its views on foreign affairs and thus became one of the leading Soviet spokesmen.

What did they do with these posts? Let us begin a de-



scription of that by following the confessions. Piatakov testified in the morning session of January 23, 1937, as follows:

"In 1931 I was on official business (as Vice Commissar of Heavy Industry) in Berlin. Simultaneously with me were several Trotskyites including Smirnov and Loginov. . . . In the middle of the summer of 1931, in Berlin, Smirnov told me that the Trotskyite struggle against the Soviet government and the Party leadership was being resumed then with new force. That he, Smirnov, had had a meeting in Berlin with Trotsky's son Sedov, who had given him on Trotsky's behalf new instructions to the effect that the mass methods of struggle had to be abandoned, that the basic method of struggle to be employed was the method of terrorism and, as he expressed himself then, the method of resistance to the measures of the Soviet government. . . . He told me that Sedov had been very anxious to meet me and he in his own name recommended to me to meet Sedov since Sedov had a special commission for me from Trotsky. I agreed to the meeting. . . .

"We [Sedov and Piatakov] knew each other very well through past contacts. He told me that he was speaking to me not in his own name, but in the name of his father, L. D. Trotsky. That Trotsky, upon learning that I was in Berlin, had given him strict instructions to find me and meet me personally and to talk to me. . . . After this Sedov put the question straight to me: 'Trotsky asks if you, Piatakov, intend to join in this struggle.' I gave my assent. Sedov didn't hide his great pleasure over this. He said that Trotsky had not doubted that despite our disagreement which had taken place at the beginning of 1928 he would still find a reliable comrade-in-arms in me."

Following the Berlin events, Piatakov returned to the U.S.S.R. and recruited, among others, those already mentioned as leading defendants in this trial. Trotsky continued to direct their activities from Norway through letters which he sent at various times to them through personal messengers, such as Vladimir Romm and others, and at least one visit by Piatakov to him in December, 1935.

According to their confessions, they early came to the conclusion that they could not base themselves upon the

hope of winning the mass of the workers and farmers in the Soviet Union to their program. Their reason for this was, as Trotsky expressed it, according to one of the confessions, that the masses in the Soviet Union were "hypnotized by Stalinist construction". The most precise statement of their program is contained in two letters sent by Trotsky and received by Radek, the first in May, 1934, and an enlargement and confirmation of it received in December, 1935.

Radek, in his examination in the morning court session of January 24, 1937, testified that the contents of the May letter dealt with the following points:

"The victory of fascism in Germany, the intensification of Japanese aggression, the inevitability of a war of these states against the U.S.S.R., the inevitability of the defeat of the U.S.S.R., the necessity for the bloc (of all of the various agents of Trotsky in the Soviet Union, such as the 'United Terrorist Center', the 'Parallel Center', etc.) to make concessions to capitalism should it come to power."

Vishinsky, the State Prosecutor, at cross examination then asked:

"So you were interested in hastening war and interested in the U.S.S.R. being defeated in this war? How was it stated in Trotsky's letter?"

Radek answered:

"Defeat is inevitable and it creates the situation for our advent to power. We are therefore interested in hastening the war. The conclusion is that we were interested in defeat. . . ."

Radek also pointed out the contents of the second letter received by him December, 1935:

"While up to that time Trotsky there, and we here in Moscow, spoke of an economic retreat on the basis of the Soviet state, in this [second] letter a radical turn was indicated. First, Trotsky considered that the result of a defeat will be the inevitability of territorial concessions and definitely mentioned the Ukraine.

Second, it was a question of the partition of the U.S.S.R. Third, from the economic point of view, he foresaw the following consequences of a defeat: Not only to grant as concessions industrial enterprises of importance for imperialist states, but also to turn over, to sell to capitalist elements, objects of economic importance which they want. Trotsky foresaw the floating of bonds, that is, admission of foreign capital to the exploitation of such plants as would formally remain in the hands of the Soviet Union. . . . It was clear that it was the question of the restoration of capitalism. . . .

“In the political sphere what was new in this letter was the way the question of power was posed. In the letter Trotsky said: There can be no question about any democracy. The working class has lived through eighteen years of the revolution and it has an enormous appetite, and these workers will partly have to be returned to private factories, partly to state factories which will be in a condition of very keen competition with foreign capital. This means that there will be an acute worsening of the conditions of the working class. In the village the struggle of the poor and middle peasants against the kulaks will be renewed. And then, in order to maintain ourselves, a strong power will be necessary, irrespective of the forms which may disguise it. If you want historical analogies, then take the analogy of the power of Napoleon I, and ponder over this analogy. Napoleon I did not mean a restoration—restoration came later—but this was an attempt to preserve the chief gains of the revolution, to preserve what was possible in Trotsky’s letter. He realized that the master of the situation, thanks to which the bloc could come into power, would be fascism, on the one side German fascism, and on the other, military fascism of a Far Eastern country.

“And the new thing in the practical conclusions was that it would be necessary to reach a special agreement on this activity concerning wrecking with that partner with whose aid alone the bloc could come into power.”

The point was that the restoration of capitalism, which Trotsky called “equalizing the social system of the U.S.S.R. with the victorious fascist countries”, “was inevitable if we [the Trotskyites] wanted to maintain ourselves in power at all”. The partition of the U.S.S.R. was concretized as giving the Ukraine to Germany and the Maritime and Amur dis-

tricts in the Far Eastern territory of the Soviet Union to Japan.

"It was pointed out that it was necessary not to place any obstacles in the way of Japanese imperialism conquering China. . . .

"About the Danube and Balkan countries, Trotsky wrote in the letter that the extension of German fascism is proceeding and we must not hinder this fact in any way. It is clear that it was a question of cessation of all our relations with Czechoslovakia, which relations would be a defense of that country [against German fascism]."

And then came the "blow-off" for the American people. Radek quoted from the program as follows:

*"In regard to Japan, it was said that it was necessary to give it not only Sakhalin oil but to provide it with oil in the event of war with the U.S.A."*

To put this program in plain blunt English, it amounted to this:

What Trotsky proposed, and his followers agreed to, was that in the present world situation as between those countries who wanted peace and those reactionary fascist governments that wanted war, the Trotskyites would ally themselves with the warmongers, German fascism and Japanese imperialism. This would include dividing up the U.S.S.R. in favor of Germany and Japan, helping Japan to make war on the American people, helping Germany to seize Czechoslovakia and turn it into a colony and helping Japan out in the same way with China. Thus Trotsky went from advocating counter-revolution in one country to "permanent" counter-revolution. "Just as ridiculous as it is for Stalin to try to build socialism in one country," he told Piatakov, "so it is ridiculous to limit the struggle against Stalin to one country."

This isn't a program merely hatched in someone's bedroom and forgotten about.

As testified by the accused Piatakov, in the evening court

session of January 23, Trotsky in his discussion with him in December, 1935—

“ . . . told me that he had conducted fairly lengthy negotiations with Hess, deputy fuehrer of the German National-Socialist Party. To be sure, I cannot say whether there is any agreement signed by him or only an understanding, but Trotsky represented it all to me as an existing agreement which, to be sure, was still subject to being put into shape through certain other persons of whom I shall speak at the closed session of the trial.”

Thus we have the first step of Trotsky's sinister intrigue to put his program into effect. This agreement, according to Piatakov's admission, not only contained the points which they had incorporated into their program, but also others such as Point 5—to develop during war active subversive work in the military enterprises and at the front. This subversive work should be carried on under Trotsky's instructions, but coordinated with the German General Staff.

Not confining himself to his personal negotiations with representatives of foreign states abroad, L. Trotsky proposed to members of the Parallel Center to establish connections with representatives of these states within the U.S.S.R.

As testified by Piatakov, L. Trotsky in his letters to the Parallel Center—

“ . . . demanded from Radek and Sokolnikov, who had the necessary opportunities, that they should probe for the necessary contacts with official representatives of powers, and should support what he, Trotsky, is carrying out in practice.”

In accordance with the instructions of Trotsky, the accused Radek and Sokolnikov established contacts with the representatives of the same states as Trotsky had already contacted. (In each case where the name of official foreign persons or governments with whom the Soviet Union maintains diplomatic relations was to be mentioned, it is customary in all countries for state reasons to omit the exact

names. Detailed testimony concerning activities in which the exact names of official personages of foreign powers or their agents were mentioned were given in a secret court session on the evening of January 27.)

The accused Radek, during the examination on December 4, 1936, testified on this subject:

“. . . Trotsky's assertion that he had contact with the representative of the — government was not mere idle talk. Of this I could convince myself from conversations which I had at diplomatic receptions in 1934-35 with the military attache Mr. — and with the press attache to the — embassy, Mr. —, a very well informed representative of Germany.

“Both of them cautiously gave me to understand that the — government was in contact with Trotsky.”

And further:

“I told Mr. K that it was absolutely futile to expect any concessions from the present government and that the — government can count upon concessions from ‘realistic politicians in the U.S.S.R.’, *i.e.*, from the ‘bloc’ when the latter comes to power.”

The accused Sokolnikov also admitted that, taking advantage of his position as Assistant People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, he, on L. D. Trotsky's instructions, carried on secret negotiations with representatives of a certain foreign state.

The accused Sokolnikov testified:

“Following one of the official conversations held in my office, when Mr. — and the secretary of the mission were about to leave, Mr. — stayed behind.

“At that time both interpreters had already left my office. Using this opportunity, Mr. —, while I escorted him to the door, exchanged a few words with me. Mr. — asked me: ‘Are you aware that Mr. Trotsky made certain proposals to my government?’

“I replied: ‘Yes, I am posted on this.’ Mr. — asked: ‘What do you think of these proposals?’ I replied: ‘I consider these proposals to be of an exceedingly serious nature.’

"Then Mr. — asked: 'Is this only your personal opinion?'

"I replied: 'No, this is also the opinion of my friends.' "

Thus it was clearly established by the evidence that under Trotsky's orders and in cooperation with him, Sokolnikov, Piatakov and Radek entered into a vile treasonable intrigue, betraying the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and for that matter of the U.S. and China and Czechoslovakia and all peace and progress loving peoples, into the hands of the barbarian fascists of Germany and Japan.

The intriguers were next faced with the problem of raising large sums of ready cash to pay for the activities, not only of the Trotskyites in the Soviet Union, but also of the Trotskyites abroad.

How was this to be done?

Piatakov testified that, in his conversation with Trotsky's son, Sedov,

"Sedov said that I [Piatakov] was required to do only one thing, to give as many orders as possible to the two German firms, Borsig and Demag, while he, Sedov, would come to terms about receiving from them the necessary sums, considering that I would not bargain about price with them very much. If this thing was to be deciphered, it was clear that the extra price on Soviet orders that was to be added would be turned over in full or in part into the hands of Trotsky."

The viciousness of this aspect of the intrigue becomes all the more shocking when one knows who these firms are.

Let us take the Borsig firm, for example. Under the Kaiser, Borsig was one of the great munitions manufacturers—a close friend of Krupp. Borsig formerly had a monopoly in certain branches of armaments. But his firm languished under the Weimar Republic. When in office the Centrists, Catholics, Social-Democrats, not to speak of Communists, and all others, except the Nazis, conducted their governmental affairs so that this firm would not benefit under their regime. The German railroad workers especially hated

Borsig because of his actions as one of the chief stockholders of the railroad industry. For, both in munitions and in railroads, Borsig's ruthless anti-labor policy and his promotion of the Nazi movement earned him the hostility of every progressive thinking person in Germany. It was only after Hitler came into power that Borsig again became what he is today—one of the leading munitions manufacturers of the country.

It was with this Borsig outfit that Trotsky's son, Sedov, came to an arrangement to finance their reactionary, anti-labor, anti-peace, counter-revolutionary intrigues by having the prices on Soviet orders raised and getting a rake-off. It is characteristic of the situation that this type of arrangement is identical with the deals that the Nazi movement through Hitler had with Thyssen, Krupp and Borsig to finance their seizure of power in Germany.

It is also a significant fact that, at the same time when Rudolph Hess, Hitler's deputy fuehrer, was concluding his agreement with Trotsky, Rosenberg, Hitler's foreign propaganda minister, concluded an agreement with Hearst in the U.S. which provided for the Nazis paying to Hearst \$400,000 a year subsidy (under the guise of "news service" which the Germans already had through their own and a dozen other agencies), under which agreement Hearst began his great barrage of vilification and slander against the Soviet Union and all that was and is progressive in the U.S. It is during this time also that Hearst opened up the columns of his papers to the Trotskyites for attacks on the Soviet Union. By these and other measures Hearst committed treason against the people and the government of the U.S. because he helped the Trotskyites to carry through their intrigue with Japan, which aimed to use the resources of the Western Maritime and Amur provinces of the Soviet Union, Sakhalin oil and other resources to make war on the American people.

Thus the web of monstrous intrigues against the progres-



sive thinking people of the world was spun by Trotsky and the Trotskyites.

From these facts we have a picture of the main features of the program of Trotsky and his immediate lieutenants of the Parallel Center.

Did the connection between the Trotskyites and the German and Japanese militarist cliques remain a relationship only at the top? We will show in the next chapter, by dealing with the activities of the second group of defendants on trial, how they carried out in day-to-day activities the provisions of their treasonable program.

## CHAPTER V

### Trotskyite Espionage for Fascism

**T**HE picture formed by the facts quoted in the previous chapter gives a degrading enough view of the activities of the Trotskyites. But the degradation reached its depths when one studies their confessions in respect to their day-to-day activities.

Is there a man or woman connected with the labor movement in any part of the world so lacking in the red blood of human dignity that their indignation does not rise at the thought of the Hitler regime and the atrocities it has committed? Is there a decent citizen of any country in the world who can help himself who would have anything to do with the Nazi assassins? But Trotsky and his satellites who pose before the world as devotees to principle and cause have no scruples about collaborating with the Nazis.

Piatakov, for example, tells the story of how he came to visit Trotsky in 1935. He told how through Bukhartsev, a Trotskyite living in Berlin, he came in contact with a certain mysterious "Stirner". This Stirner organized his trip to Trotsky.

"We agreed," admitted Piatakov, "to meet the following morning at the Temple Hof Airdrome. Early in the morning I appeared right at the entrance to the Airdrome; he [Trotsky's and who else's emissary?] was standing at the entrance and led the way. First he showed me a passport which had been prepared for me. It was a German passport. He himself had taken care of all the customs formalities, so all I had to do was to sign my name. We got into the plane and took off. We did not stop anywhere and about 3 p.m. we landed at the airdrome in Oslo. An automobile was there. We got into it and drove away. We probably rode 30 minutes and arrived at a country place.

We got out and went into a small house which was not badly furnished and there I saw Trotsky, whom I had not seen since 1928."

Never was the German government so obliging.

They gave a foreigner a false passport. No customs formalities. He crossed the frontiers without stopping and without the slightest hindrance. Everything was nice and informal, just like the German Nazis help every tourist who comes to Germany.

Piatakov, who also pretends devotion to principle, and who once claimed devotion to the cause of the working class, sank so low that he saw nothing wrong when the German Nazis treated him as they would undoubtedly treat royalty, the agents of Mussolini or the Mikado.

This little act of Piatakov in Germany was but play as compared with what the Trotskyites did in the Soviet Union itself. We will just quote some brief excerpts from the testimony of those Trotskyites in court who had come into direct contact with foreign espionage services in fulfilment of the agreements concluded by Trotsky, Radek and Sokolnikov with these fascist governments. Piatakov, in his examination on January 24, 1937, had testified as to how he carried through the directives for espionage work:

"I recommended to my people not to drive in many directions in their wrecking and espionage work, but to concentrate their attention on the number of industrial enterprises with defense and of all-Union significance. On this point I acted on Trotsky's instructions: 'to deal blows in most sensitive places'."

The investigation established that under the immediate guidance of the Trotskyite Parallel Center a number of the accused in the present case, Turok, Kniazev, Rataichak, Shestov, Stroilov, Grashe, and Pushin, were directly connected with the chief agents of the German and Japanese military intelligence department, systematically carrying on espionage for Germany and Japan and committing a num-

ber of wrecking and subversive acts which resulted in large numbers of casualties in enterprises of socialist industry and railways particularly and in enterprises for the defense of the country.

We must recall that one of the points of Trotsky's agreement with the German fascists (according to what he told Piatakov) was

“. . . to adopt a defeatist attitude in the eventual war by Germany against the U.S.S.R., to intensify the subversive activities, particularly on enterprises of military importance . . . to act on Trotsky's instructions agreed upon with the German general staff.”

How this work was carried on in day-to-day activity can best be shown by citing the testimony of the Trotskyite espionage agents themselves. For example, the defendant Kniazev testified in the open court session in the evening of January 26:

“I joined the Trotskyite organization in April, 1934, and I established connections with the Japanese intelligence service in September. In April, 1935, I received a letter from Mr. X [chief of Japanese espionage in that territory] in which he wrote that he was traveling to London on diplomatic business and would pass through Sverdlovsk. I met Mr. X in the train. This Mr. X, with whom I already had connections previously, told me that the Trotsky organization was carrying on work in the Soviet Union with the help of Japan and it was necessary at present to pass on to subversion, especially as regards troop trains proceeding to the Far East, in order to demoralize the Red Army.”

He then admitted that the crimes already described in Chapter I, in one of which twenty-nine Red Army men were killed and another twenty-nine seriously injured, were the result of his work. And to make the crime all the more hideous he confessed that, in order to cover himself, he had organized a frame-up of a number of innocent railroad workers and obtained convictions of “guilty” against them

on the charge that the "accident" was caused by their negligence. This unspeakable skunk also admitted when confronted with incontrovertible proof that it was he who had organized the crimes at the Yakino-Ust-Katav run, as well as "accidents" in which, as we have already reported in Chapter I, at least sixty-three people were killed and 154 injured in wrecks during 1935-36. He admitted that he had accepted instructions for activities in the event of war.

“. . . to set on fire military storehouses and supply points for military troop trains. In October Mr. X persistently broached the question that 'We undertake the task of not only setting on fire, but when necessary even to contaminate with bacteria military cars intended for the transportation of troops'."

When questioned by the State Prosecutor, he admitted that he had received 15,000 rubles through another Japanese agent from the Japanese intelligence service. This low creature, it might be recalled here, was entrusted by the Soviet government with the post of chief of the South Urals Railway.

Consider the testimony of Turok. It will be remembered that Piatakov, one of the leaders of the Trotskyite Parallel Center, was Vice Commissar of Heavy Industry. In that capacity he appointed a Trotskyite by the name of Maryasin (whom we also have referred to in Chapter I in connection with wrecking activities) as head of the Ural construction job. Maryasin in turn appointed Turok as assistant chief of operations and at the same time enlisted him into the Trotskyite organization. In the course of the testimony the presiding judge asked Turok:

"How many wrecks were organized by the members of your Trotskyite organization [*i.e.*, in construction works]?"

TUROK: "I know that there were about 40 wrecks since the end of 1934."

PRESIDING JUDGE: "There were victims?"

TUROK: "There were, mainly on freight trains, among the crews of those trains and also on a passenger train; one was

killed, five were seriously injured and fifteen were slightly injured."

PRESIDING JUDGE: "Your counter-revolutionary Trotskyite organization engaged in the preparation of terrorist acts?"

TUROK: "Yes, in the autumn of 1934 Molotov was expected to pass through Sverdlovsk, and the Trotskyite Burlakov prepared a terrorist act against him which did not take place. He also prepared a terrorist act against Kaganovich in February, 1936. As the direct agent for the perpetration of that act he recruited a certain Mikhetko, who was a Japanese agent."

PRESIDING JUDGE: "Do you confirm your testimony concerning your connection with the Japanese spies Mr. X, Mr. Y, 'Georgi Ivanovich'?"

TUROK: "I do."

PRESIDING JUDGE: "How much money did you receive for your services to the Japanese intelligence service?"

TUROK: "In February, 1935, they brought me 35,000 rubles."

Further, the State Prosecutor Vishinsky put questions to the defendant Turok about the wrecks between Sverdlovsk passenger and Sverdlovsk switchyard stations in March and April, 1936, and also the wreck at Monzino station in September, 1935. Turok confirmed that all these wrecks were organized at the order of the Trotskyite organization, at the same time the guilt for these wrecks was thrown by these cold-blooded murderers on innocent persons.

Probably the most cold-blooded assassin of all among the Trotskyites was a character by the name of Shestov. The following excerpts from his testimony can only give a slight indication of him and his work. In his testimony in the evening session of January 25, he said:

"In 1924 I deceived the Party for the first time when in the autumn, at one of the Party meetings, I declared my abandonment of Trotskyism. At the end of 1925 I recommended the active fight against the Party. I was put then in charge of an underground printing press in which I printed Trotskyite literature. . . . Between July 10 and 20 (when in the position as Piatakov's secretary) I met Smirnov [the convicted Trotskyite in the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial] and he bluntly put the question: 'Well, how do you feel about it?' I said that I had no

personal sentiments, but that I followed the teachings of our leader Trotsky, standing at attention and waiting for orders. And I asked him right then: 'Ivan Nikitich, I was told by Sedov to connect with the 'Frohlich Klupfel-Deilmann' firm which is doing espionage and subversive work in the Kuznetsk Basin.' Smirnov said: 'Drop using such big words as spy and subversionist.' He went on: 'What is it that terrifies you if German subversionists are to be drawn into this work.' He persuaded me that there was no other way. After that conversation I consented to connect with that firm."

He then went on to describe his connections with Stroilov, the spy Schebesto, Floran, Kan, with Stein, another espionage agent, with Baumgartner, still another espionage agent and others in their wrecking work.

Shestov then continued to testify:

"At my suggestion, in a certain place where dynamite was stored we managed to steal dynamite with the help of the technician Kan, and set up our secret store of dynamite.

"In 1934 the store was discharged. Miners' children who were playing not far from this place were probably digging, and hit upon this dynamite. A terrific explosion took place." [We have already described this "accident" in Chapter I.]

"In May, 1933, an attempt was made by Schebesto to burn down the Kuznetsk power station by order of the German intelligence service and on my instruction. . . . I know further from Floran that in the autumn of 1934 he set fire to the bunkers in pit No. 9. . . . In the Prokopyevsk Colliery a room-and-pillar system was put into effect without proper filling in of the worked upper levels. Thanks to that system we had losses of over 50 per cent of the coal instead of the usual 15 to 20 per cent. Second, thanks to this fact, we had in the Prokopyevsk pit by the close of 1935 around 60 underground fires. . . .

"In all the collieries—Prokopyevsk, Anzhera and Lenin—the Stakhanov movement was sabotaged. The order was given to get on the workers' nerves. Before a worker would reach the place of work he swore two hundred times at the management of the pit. Impossible working conditions had been set up by us. It was impossible to do normal work. . . .

"I recollect that at Prokopyevsk the engineer Boyarshinov

was murdered by a terrorist group [another 'accident' listed in Chapter I]. He was murdered at my order. He reported to me that there was something wrong in the construction work of the mine. . . . He wanted to open my eyes to this. I told him that I would take note of his information, thanked him, and said: 'I am going to report the matter to the proper authorities, but you must keep quiet in the meantime.' After that I summoned Cherepukhin and ordered him to kill the man, and this was done. . . .

"In 1934, I enlisted Figurin, manager of the Anzhero-Sujen District branch of the State Bank, who got the head cashier Solomin to join our organization and they took 164,000 rubles from the bank's coffer for purposes of our organization, and handed the money over to me. I distributed the money."

The above are only some isolated excerpts from the testimony of this repulsive character.

For purposes of brevity, we will omit the miserable record of Grashe, the spy, who worked as an espionage agent for the Czechoslovakian government from 1923 to 1932. At that time the Czechoslovakian government dispensed with his services, and he became an agent of the German espionage service. Grashe, who was the cause of the loss of scores of lives, tried to gain the mercy of the court by presenting himself in a virtuous light by saying the foreign intelligence chiefs gave his pay (7,000 to 8,000 Czech kronen) for his miserable work to his mother who lives in Czechoslovakia.

We will skip the testimony of the wretch Stroilov, who became a German espionage agent and for purposes of his espionage work joined the Trotskyites. He asserted that the German intelligence service made less demands on him for wrecking, etc., than the Trotskyites did.

We will also skip the testimony of the defendant Pushin who worked under the direction of Rataichak (the chief of the chemical industries of the Soviet Union and who caused three explosions with great loss of lives) and handed a number of secret documents over to foreign intelligence services.

But we must take a moment to characterize, at least



briefly, one of the lowest human beings that it has ever been our misfortune to see, the defendant Rataichak. This character even looks his part. He has the face of a rat, an appearance of sliminess that chills the spine. Piatakov, in his capacity as Vice Commissar of Heavy Industry, appointed this poor imitation of a human being as the chief of the chemical industry, which is a sub-division of the Commissariat of Heavy Industry. That the man knew next to nothing about chemicals didn't disturb Piatakov, in fact it helped him in his Trotskyite work for destruction.

It was he who organized three wrecks in the Gorlovka chemical works, one in the Nevsky and one in the Voskresensk chemical combinat. When asked if he knew the names of his victims, he said he didn't bother to find out. They included L. F. Kurkin, 20 years old, N. I. Mostets and I. Y. Strelnikova, a 22-year-old girl, all of them particularly beloved workers in the plant. In the explosion in the east chamber of the Gorlovka works, the most popular worker in the plant, Lunev, was killed. A young technician by the name of Yudin, who had in the previous year graduated the Tomsk Technical Institute and was serving his time as a technical worker before getting his degree, was killed. In the explosions at the Voskresensk chemical combinat, organized by this Rataichak, seventeen workers were killed and fifteen injured.

This low beast wormed his way by lies and deceit into one of the most important positions in the Soviet Union, the chief of all of the chemical industries. He used this trust in a campaign of murder and wreckage against workers who earnestly exerted their efforts to improve their industries and raise the standard of their living conditions.

These are the allies of that devotee of "principle", Leon Trotsky.

## CHAPTER VI

### Careers of Crime

**WE ARE** forced to speak at least briefly about the remaining defendants in the trial of the Parallel Center: Livshitz, Muralov, Drobnis, Boguslavsky, Norkin and Arnold. These creatures were the "aggrieved" group. Most of them claimed to have been betrayed by the leaders because they were not told about the deals with the foreign powers. In at least the case of one of them the complaint turned out to be false, that is the case of Livshitz, who up to the very day of the trial systematically and with great energy and indignation denied he had anything to do with the foreign espionage services. In the evening session of January 26, 1937, however, he arose and declared:

"I want to inform the court of the following: At the preliminary investigation I denied . . . [pause, with the expression of great inner emotion] denied one of the very heinous things [another pause] . . . questions of espionage. For the same reasons I denied at the preliminary examination my connections with defendant Turok. I now want to tell the court everything to the end, notwithstanding the fact that this is the gravest crime called treason to the fatherland. To tell the court that I knew of this connection of Kniazev and Turok with agents of one of the foreign powers. . . . I was chief of the Moscow-Kursk railway. Later I was appointed Assistant People's Commissar of Railways. . . . In 1936 he asked me for material for the Japanese intelligence service. I gave him material."

How many of the others listed in this chapter really did know about espionage, but only bluffed through to the end and did not break down in court, it is difficult to tell. But if they were not guilty of espionage, this group of bloody

assassins were guilty of so many other crimes that it would take an eternity to atone for them.

Consider Drobnis, for example. He has the appearance of Landru, the "blue-beard" and his inner character is not significantly different. He was the director of the explosion at the Central Mine at Kemerovo in which ten workers lost their lives and fourteen others suffered grave injuries. (This is another "accident" we spoke of in Chapter I.) In connection with this explosion, Piatakov had previously said:

"We took into account that in case it became necessary to resort to subversive acts, for the purpose of achieving the wrecking of plants, casualties would be inevitable. We took this into account and expected it as inevitable."

Drobnis wasn't satisfied with this presentation of Piatakov. He added:

"It is even better if there are human victims in the mine since that will certainly arouse the anger of the workers and that is what we need."

And to protect himself and his co-assassins should suspicion fall on them, they decided, according to his testimony in open court in the morning session of January 25, to:

"Put the whole blame on non-Party specialists."

PRESIDING JUDGE: "Even if they had nothing to do with it?"

DROBNIS: "Well, it goes without saying."

Or consider the defendant Muralov, an old, hard-boiled Trotskyite, a former army officer. When Radek in one part of his testimony was saying that their group had to go over from the methods of killing one at a time (that is, guerilla terror) to organized mass terror, and how he, Radek, had favored such organized mass terror, Muralov was asked how he stood on this question. He answered:

"I am not a 'guerilla' fighter and have taken measures to prevent 'guerilla' methods [in his terrorist group in Western Siberia] and to have organized planned action."

He said this boastfully in his testimony on January 24. This did not prevent him from admitting in the evening court session of January 25, however, to an attempt he made to murder the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, V. Molotov, in the fulfilment of orders he received in a letter from Sedov (Trotsky's son) in 1936 for terrorist acts against Stalin, Kaganovich, Voroshilov and Kirov. And the type of assassin that Muralov is is evident from the fact that in his testimony he stated that he was surprised to hear that Tomsy, Rykov and Bukharin agreed to terrorism.

"First, I consider them [Tomsy, Bukharin and Rykov] opportunists and secondly because they were cowardly people incapable of sharp action."

Thus, to enter the ranks of the assassins of the leaders of a people is apparently "bravery" in this Trotskyite "hero's" eyes. However, subsequent evidence established that Tomsy, Bukharin and Rykov were also involved up to their necks in terrorist activity in separate groups which they organized and led on their own. Especially Radek's confession brought this out.

Norkin was a budding young Trotskyite superman appointed by Piatakov to head the Kemerovo combinat construction trust. In February, 1936, he organized three explosions in an effort to put the state district power station out of order, and further explosions resulted from using coal for burning, which it is dangerous to do at power stations. This was done against the protests of the labor inspector with consequent loss of life.

"This is the chief subversive act which I personally carried out," Norkin said—as if it were a mitigating circumstance.

Boguslavsky, another of these defendants, was a character who in our American idiom "could dish it out, but couldn't take it". After being responsible for the murder of scores

of devoted workers this scoundrel came before the court and in a whining voice begged for his life. He admitted in his testimony before the court in the morning session of January 25, 1937, that:

“. . . fulfilling Trotsky's directives we returned to the Party in 1928 for the purpose of double-dealing maneuvering.”

He participated in the attempt to assassinate the secretary of the Siberian territorial district Party Committee, Comrade Eiche.

“In 1933,” he said, “I created a number of Trotskyite wrecking nuclei on railways, on the Omsk and Tomsk lines.”

He continued in his testimony to give the same sordid picture of wrecking, cold-blooded assassination that had been given by the trigger men of the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Radek counter-revolutionary gangs.

In this and in the previous two chapters, we have hardly scratched the surface in describing the inhuman and monstrous work of this elegantly styled Trotskyite Parallel Center. Nor have we traced each criminal to his crimes, nor each crime to all of the criminals involved in it. But certainly we have recounted, concerning each one, enough to satiate any human being.

The complete record of their criminal activity is contained in the transcript of the testimony in the court, as well as in the transcript of testimony in the preliminary hearings which occupy numerous volumes.

Sitting in court and listening to the confessions of the egomaniacs in the dock, one's emotions run a gamut from nausea to anger, and more than once threaten to break the bounds of court propriety.

## CHAPTER VII

### Judgment

THE world by now knows the judgment of the court. Thirteen of the defendants were condemned to be shot; three of the defendants, Radek, Sokolnikov and Arnold, were given ten years each; and Stroilov, eight years.

But the judgment of the court could hardly have reached the severity of the judgment of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Such a wave of indignation as swept the country has hardly ever been matched. Workers in factories, mills, mines, offices and on the collective farms met to demand the death penalty.

The Soviet government tried also to give simultaneously some measure of justice to the victims of the assassins.

Workers injured in the disasters were sent to sanatoriums. The families of the men killed in the explosions were granted amounts by the Soviet government ranging from 3,500 to 4,500 rubles each. Those suffering effects of gas and burns were sent to sanatoriums with provisions made for the care of their families by the trade unions. The permanently invalided miners were put on pensions while the wives of the deceased miners were sent to rest homes.

## CHAPTER VIII

### The Road to Confession

**I**N A capitalist world where the "third degree", beatings, torture and similar methods of extorting confessions are used, it is not easy for people to picture to themselves the road which the accused traveled, which led them to confess to the murders and their treasonable acts.

Several of the accused who took the stand on their own behalf have either explained, or stated the facts which themselves explained, how they came to confess. These explanations are of various categories. One type is shown by Radek.

Radek was a rather unwilling witness on this subject. This was because he had been among the last to confess. He tried at first to present his confession as the result of political conviction. He stated that, with the arrival of Trotsky's letter of December, 1935, instructing him on their agreement with German fascism and Japanese militarism and making demands for acts in the Soviet Union in accordance with this agreement, he began to have doubts as to the correctness of the road they were traveling. He tried to present himself in a better light, saying that the monstrosity of working as an agent of the Nazis began to trouble his conscience. (This was at the end of three years of murder and wrecking.)

The Soviet prosecutor, Vishinsky, was obviously outraged by this hypocritical pretense of Radek's to a virtuous conscience. He asked Radek, who was testifying in his own behalf, why he did not go to the Central Committee of the Party, or to the Department of Internal Affairs of the government, to tell the truth and ask help to leave this path. Radek's answer was that he was still wavering on the question up to the time of his arrest.

Vishinsky then asked Radek if, when he was arrested, he immediately told the truth, to which Radek answered, "No". Vishinsky then asked him whether he had been asked to tell the truth in the preliminary investigation of September 22, 1936. Radek admitted that he had been asked but that he had refused to tell anything and had denied all the facts already in evidence against him. He also admitted that when Sokolnikov (a leading co-defendant with Radek who had at that time already confessed) was brought into the room and told the facts about Radek's activity, he, Radek, had called him a liar and he denied his guilt. He did the same to Tivel, Friedland and other terrorists who worked directly under Radek's instructions. This process was repeated with other prisoners who had confessed. Vishinsky then asked him in court: Do you now admit that it was you, Radek, who were lying in the preliminary investigation? To this Radek answered, "Yes, I admit it".

In the examination, it came out quite clearly that Radek resisted confessing because he knew what sentence had been meted out to Zinoviev-Kamenev but that he finally arrived to the point of confession, not essentially by any political wavering, but because the investigation into his activities was so thorough, and the information unearthed and supplied by the other defendants so completely exposed him, that the only way he could hope for any "face" in court was to confess everything and try to brazen it out.

Radek did not make a confession until December, about three months after his arrest.

Boguslavsky, who was one of those who organized the explosion at Kemerovo which killed ten workers and maimed fourteen, had been among the first to confess. He said that he began to waver as to their political program early in 1936.

"Of course," he declared, "I was obliged to understand that which is understood by every worker and collective farmer in our country—what this is all leading to. We were standing on the



platform of the impossibility of building socialism in one country, taking the road of terror and wrecking, and should have thought what are we intending to build if not socialism, for there exist only socialism and capitalism."

In the first eight days after his arrest, Boguslavsky said, these doubts bothered him still more, especially when he remembered the scores of workers who had been murdered and maimed through his terrorist activity. And so he finally made a partial confession.

When Boguslavsky took the stand on the third day of the trial (after Piatakov and Radek had already testified), he spoke in a rage against Piatakov and Radek, accusing them of having hidden part of their program. He dramatically pointed to them and shouted:

"They already stated here that they particularly concealed Trotsky's last instructions, received in 1935, telling nobody about this—including myself."

Boguslavsky tried to convince the court that he had already begun to waver but did not leave the terrorists because he did not know Trotsky's full program. All facts, however, point to this—Boguslavsky, as well as the rest of the accused, realized after their arrest that the jig was up and consequently made full confessions. One must remember that the people who are on trial here are Trotskyites of anywhere from five to at least fifteen years standing. Boguslavsky was a Trotskyite since 1923.

Vishinsky asked Boguslavsky, as well as others, whether they confessed of their own free will, or was there any type of pressure upon them. They all denied pressure.

Norkin, another of the assassins at Kemerovo, now on trial, who had already been tried previously at Novosibirsk, was asked why he did not make his confession at his first trial. He said it was because he still hoped for the success of the group. He pointed out that the cynical Piatakov had written an article in *Pravda*, leading paper in the U.S.S.R., condemning the Kamenev-Zinoviev-Trotsky group in their

first trial, though he was one of its chief co-workers. Norkin said that he understood the article to be a signal to all the terrorists still not arrested that "there are still means to continue the struggle". He understood the article to mean that those not arrested should not expose themselves, should even publicly join the indignation against their criminal partners, but should continue the work.

"With this understanding of Pyatakov's article," Norkin declared, "I kept on as long as possible."

Vishinsky then asked him:

"Why did you finally speak up?"

"Because there was a limit," answered Norkin. "It is easier to explain that, than to explain why I did not speak." Vishinsky then asked him was there any pressure brought upon him, such as, maybe, he "was not given enough food, or the people who arrested him were rough with him, etc.?" "On the contrary," Norkin said, "I was very much embarrassed and it made me feel all the more depressed because of the attention I got, the politeness of the people who arrested me. I could get anything I wanted to eat. It was not that," Norkin said, "I began to understand that it was useless to continue on the old line. All events made me think it over."

Then there was Muralov, obviously a hard-boiled person, many years ago a commander of the Moscow Military District. Vishinsky asked him how he had been treated during the investigation, and "why, after fighting against the Party since 1923, did you decide after all to give testimony? Why, after eight months after your arrest, did you keep silent, denying everything?" Muralov said that he "had been treated in a very polite manner", and then explained in great detail, answering the second part of Vishinsky's question.

"I was angry because I was imprisoned personally; also, I was always a very close friend of Trotsky's and morally considered it impossible to give Trotsky away. Finally, I decided to speak and reveal all because I understood that, with the course of events, I was falling under the banner of counter-revolution. . . . This frightened me terribly. . . . I am not blind and such a

fanatic that I could not see the truth about the improvement in conditions. I said to myself nearly eight months after my arrest that it is necessary to submit to the interests of the state for which I had fought."

The truth is that even now all is not yet told. This was shown at one session of the court when Livshitz, one of the defendants, arose to tell the incident we have already reported; that there was one thing that he had concealed up till now. "It was such a low dirty piece of work that I could not get myself to admit it, but now I want to say to the court that I want to tell everything." Livshitz then revealed that, in his post as Vice Commissar of Railroads, he had turned over to Japanese spies, through Kniazev, another of the defendants who was connected with the Japanese espionage service, detailed material about the position of the railroads and their serviceability for military purposes.

Most of the defendants tried to convince the court that they confessed because of waverings concerning the program of their group. By bringing out the history of the confessions the able prosecutor, Vishinsky, showed the hypocrisy of such pretenses.

There is no doubt but that the letters Trotsky sent his followers, in which he said that "poverty is bound to increase" and that "industry will not grow" in the Soviet Union, when they could see that the contrary was in fact true, undoubtedly began to undermine their faith in their leader. That this, however, did not change them basically can be seen from this—they all confessed that up until the moment of their arrest they continued committing murder, arson and wrecking.

These Trotskyite counter-revolutionaries, who could dish out murder and commit espionage as light-mindedly as they would throw away an old shoe, now that their counter-revolutionary careers were over, when they were arrested, like the rats they were, each hoped to save himself while their ship was sinking.

## CHAPTER IX

### The Conduct of the Trial

THE trial was marked by the utmost fairness of procedure, aimed to help the accused make any defense they wanted to and to bring any necessary facts. Following the reading of the indictment, each of the accused was asked how he pleaded. One after another they rose and said: "Yes, I admit my guilt." Immediately upon calling of the case, Chief Justice Ulrich announced the names of the members of the court and asked all present whether they have anything to say to disqualify the competence of the court. Ulrich then addressed each accused separately asking whether they had received and read the indictment. When each replied in the affirmative, he asked each one again separately whether they wanted to be defended by counsel. Only three of the defendants announced they had chosen counsel, the rest declared they would defend themselves. Thereupon the Judge instructed the defendants as to their rights.

He said every one of the accused would have the right to put questions to witnesses or to any of the other defendants in addition to the right to make the final speech after all evidence was in. Also that every defendant would have the right to make a second concluding speech after the Prosecutor's summary which would give the defendants the last word in the trial. Above all, that all the accused had the right to speak fully and freely and without hindrance in the course of the trial. They could refuse to answer any question put to them and even the court could not force them to answer. The attorneys had their usual rights. With this

made clear, Judge Ulrich announced the list of witnesses and asked the defendants whether they wished to add witnesses to the list.

This entire procedure, so characteristic of proletarian justice and unknown to capitalist courts such as in the United States, avoids the use of lawyers' tricks in the conduct of the trial and assures that the case will be decided on its own merits. Attorneys on both sides then stipulated with the judge as to the order in which witnesses were to be called.

Most of the first session was taken up by Piatakov, who was the first of the accused to be called. He spoke freely for a whole day. Frequently he spoke for considerably more than an hour with but few question from the prosecutor, and the aim of these few was to clarify some obscure statements in the course of Piatakov's testimony. Both he and the prosecutor frequently called upon one or another of the accused to corroborate or deny statements made in which they were involved. Occasionally the accused themselves interrupted the proceedings to volunteer or to challenge statements, all this being freely allowed by the court.

Judge Ulrich, a round-faced, dignified, kindly appearing man of about fifty, spoke in short business-like sentences to guide the procedure. The conduct of the presiding judges and the prosecutor strikes the eye of an American particularly by the fact that there is a complete absence of an atmosphere of officiousness, "bull-dozing" or moral pressure. In the first session, the sum total of remarks of the presiding judge and his two associates did not consume more than three to five minutes.

State Attorney Vishinsky is a tall, impressive, scholarly looking man. He spoke in a soft pleasant voice and acted with utmost consideration toward the accused. For example, when Piatakov had spoken for about a half hour, confessing to the most contemptible deeds which would stir the blood of every decent person, Vishinsky not only appeared

calm, but arose and suggested to Piatakov that he would suggest a recess if he (Piatakov) was getting tired.

The loudspeakers in the courtroom made every sound audible to the spectators. The prisoners' dock was equipped with four loudspeakers, the judges' table with two, the defense attorneys with two, the prosecutor with one, etc. The sessions of the court, which were held in the "October Room" of the Moscow House of Trade Unions, were filled with spectators, including American and other ambassadors and assistants, foreign correspondents from numerous newspapers and news agencies as well as representatives of the Soviet press, and Soviet citizens.

The accused came into the courtroom as a group, but none looked toward the spectators. They had their eyes fixed on the floor or at distant points on the ceiling or walls. There seemed to be no cordiality among them. Even during recess they hardly had anything to do with one another. It was not until most of the indictment had been read, when the courtroom was thoroughly absorbed in the reading, that some of the accused looked about, apparently for familiar faces.

## EPILOGUE

**I**N INTENSE historical moments, such as revolutions or wars, people's emotions go far deeper than normally. Human beings rise to the greatest heroic heights. Sometimes they sink to the lowest acts.

It is only so that we can understand the revolt against Caesar's legions twenty centuries ago; the times could produce a Jesus, but also a Judas. It is only so that we can understand how our American Revolution could produce Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson, but also Benedict Arnold; how the French Revolution could produce a Manat, but also a Fouche; how the struggle to liberate the slaves could produce a John Brown, but also the makers of a Dred Scott decision; how the revolution of the Spanish people against the monarchy could produce Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasionaria), but also Franco.

We must say, however, that among those who have fallen the lowest the Trotskyites hardly have a peer.

There are superficial phrase-lovers who repeat the old trite untruth "that the revolution devours its children". This is false. The history of Radek, Piatakov, Kamenev, Zinoviev and Trotsky is the history not of the children, but of the enemies of the revolution. Lenin, on the eve of the Revolution in November, 1917, was forced to characterize Kamenev and Zinoviev as "scabs" and "traitors" because at the critical moment, although they were members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, they deserted their posts and wrote articles in the hostile press betraying the Party and its decisions to the enemy. Many times Lenin characterized Trotsky as a "shameless liar", as "Judas Trotsky" and as a follower of the "adventurist path", as a "vacillating petty bourgeois", as a "man of inflated phrases", as a "double-dealer of the lowest order".

In a speech in the spring of 1918 against the so-called "Lefts"—Bukharin, Piatakov, Radek and Muralov—Lenin, with his wonderful and rare insight, warned them that their tactics are those of the "tools of imperialist provocation".

Out of thirty-five years' connection with the labor movement in Russia, Trotsky fought the Communists from the outside for twenty-nine years. In 1917, when the Bolsheviks were becoming victorious, Trotsky joined them, using all his doubtful attempts of publicity (with which he previously vilified the Bolsheviks) to advertise himself now as a Bolshevik leader. For six years following, he was formally connected with the Communists. But there was not a single period during this time, however, that he was not in a struggle against the Communist Party.

Immediately Trotsky and his group joined the Communist Party, Lenin and the Communist leaders, hoping to win them over to more active participation in real Communist work and to encourage them to abandon their previous false position, gave them leading posts in the movement. Immediately, however, Trotsky began to organize against Lenin. In 1918, he fought against Lenin for making peace at Brest-Litovsk. In the course of the civil war, with the Machiavellian gestures which always characterized his conduct, he ordered several score of officers shot on the Tsaritsin front in October "in order to re-establish discipline". The order, of course, was countermanded. Numerous times Comrade Stalin and others on behalf of the Central Committee had to intervene to countermand Trotsky's orders during the civil war.

That Lenin never trusted Trotsky can be seen from the fact that in appointing the committee to organize the revolutionary uprising, Trotsky (who now writes numerous volumes to prove that he was the leader of the revolution) was never even chosen by the Communist Central Committee. During Lenin's life, following the revolution, he had to fight Trotsky on almost every question that arose. When



Lenin died in January, 1924, Trotsky thought this was "his chance". He began an unprecedented campaign of factionalism and vilification against the old Bolsheviks in an indecent and unjustified mania for power. The struggle of Trotsky against Lenin and the old Bolsheviks began in 1903. The harm that Trotsky has done to the world labor movement since that time is evident at every point where he appeared.

Karl Radek struggled against Lenin beginning with the eve of the war. In the paper *Berner Tagwacht*, writing under the name of Parabellum, in 1915, he fought Lenin for defending the right of nations to self-determination. On this question Radek had the support of Piatakov and Bukharin. Lenin wrote at that time that Radek "offers help to the imperialists". He characterized Radek as "a hypocritical adherent of the principle of equal rights to nations".

During this trial, Radek, in trying to explain how he came to his conclusion to use terrorism, cited the lessons of the Sinn Fein uprising in Ireland. But he forgot to say that he had called the glorious Easter, 1916, uprising of the Irish a "putsch" (this organizer of assassins) and Lenin had estimated Radek's theories about this struggle for Irish independence as "monstrous on account of his [Radek's] doctrinarism and pedantry". Radek was opposed to the Party ever since the revolution on the Brest-Litovsk peace question, the trade union question, on the New Economic Policy, on industrialization and collectivization and on building socialism. Radek helped Paul Levy to fight Clara Zetkin in the German Party in 1923, for which he was condemned at the Thirteenth Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in January, 1924.

This same Party conference condemned Radek for flirting with German fascists, especially Count Reventlow, at that time one of their figures. Radek had hailed the fascist Leo Schlageter as a national German hero. Schlageter had blown

up trains in the Ruhr during the French occupation. It later turned out that Schlageter was a spy who got money both from the Germans and the French intelligence services. Radek's sympathy to spies and fascists does not seem to be so recent, after all.

Nor can Piatakov by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as an old Bolshevik. He was the son of a proprietor of a sugar factory who began his political activity as an Anarchist. He, too, joined with Radek, Bukharin and others in the struggle against Lenin on the national question. Piatakov wrote a pamphlet against Lenin on the national question about twenty years ago which Lenin characterized as a "caricature of Marxism". Lenin wrote at that time that Piatakov "didn't understand Marxism at all", that Piatakov "descends to the level of a petty bourgeois", that there is "nothing but confusion in all his reasoning", that he is "incapable of logical thinking", that his "view on the national question is a theoretical, nonsensical chauvinist view". His career from then on approximately parallels that of Radek.

Drobnis, for example, who posed as an old Bolshevik, did not fail to join every single group that was created against the Party in his career. He was a supporter of the "Left" Communists. He joined the anti-Party group which styled itself "Group of Democratic Centralism". He had twice previously been expelled from the Communist Party. Unfortunately, the Party was influenced by his crocodile tears to take him back.

Sokolnikov fought against the Party as early as 1922, he opposed the foreign trade monopoly and wrote a lengthy thesis three years later proving that it is impossible to build up industry in the Soviet Union.

He advocated at the Fourteenth Party Congress in the U.S.S.R. held December, 1925, that the Soviet Union should limit itself to exporting agricultural products and importing factory equipment. It should adopt a "division of labor

in the world economic system" where the Soviet Union accepts the role of an agrarian hinterland to the capitalist world. Stalin called this the "Dawes Plan" for the U.S.S.R. Stalin fought that the Soviet Union should not only make calico with imported machinery, but should manufacture the machinery itself. Sokolnikov opposed this.

Arnold gave the impression in court of being a semi-skilled idiot who continually explained his actions by a desire to "get up into higher society".

Muralov was a lot stubborn and a good deal stupid, who measured everything by whether he established himself as a brave man or a coward. He confessed that Trotsky's "flash" completely captured him.

Their allies in the Zinoviev-Kamenev center are of a similar stripe. We have already spoken about their waverings in 1917 when faced with the revolution which brought them to the camp of the enemy. It was ironic to see that in their pleas before the court they urged clemency because they had doubts—they were not really firm Trotskyites. Thus they wavered when confronted with the revolution and they wavered when confronted with the counter-revolution, and out of these waverings they tried to forge a platform from which to struggle for power.

These are the "old Bolsheviks"—the "old Bolsheviks" over whom the worst haters of Bolsheviks, the Right-wing reactionary leaders of the Second International and the Socialist Parties, are trying to set up such a howl. The defendants, in their pleas for mercy, recalled their twenty and thirty years' participation in the movement. Unfortunately, it is true that many of them were in or near the movement for that length of time, but they forgot to say that they were in the movement as thorns in its side, not as supporters. Some of them gained attention for a while because they stood within the circle of the brilliant light shed by the genius Lenin.

What brought these elements to such a conclusion? Many writers of the unpolitical bourgeois literary type have tried

to explain the actions of these defendants on a psychological basis. The only psychological characteristics one can find in all the defendants is their infinite egomania. Maybe that is a sort of explanation. But a more certain ground for explaining their actions is their political platform. Trotsky put forward the thesis that the Soviet government is a "Thermidorian regime", that is, a government which, according to him, has no mass support behind it and which holds power by sheer force. The action of the masses of the Soviet Union in connection with this trial has properly answered this idiotic calumny.

But with such an estimate of the workers' and farmers' government in the U.S.S.R., to what conclusions could he have come as to the tactics he should use against the U.S. S.R.? We don't have to guess these conclusions.

He now tries to deny that he issued instructions for the terrorist acts. He needs only to read his own miserable apology for a newspaper that he published, the *New Militant* (issue of May 9, 1936), where he himself wrote approvingly and in defense of terrorism against the Soviet Union as follows:

"The terrorists of recent years are recruited exclusively from among the Soviet youth, from the ranks of the Y.C.L., and the Party. While utterly impotent to solve those tasks which it sets itself, individual terror, however, is of the greatest symptomatic importance because it characterizes the sharpness of the antagonism between the bureaucracy and the wide masses of the people, especially the younger generation. Terrorism is the tragic supplement of Bonapartism."

Can anyone doubt that these words were written in the expectation and to prepare all people for the public announcement of the fulfilment of the secret instructions for assassinations that he issued and that his satellites attempted to execute?

A journal of one of the Trotskyist groups in France, *The Commune*, published a series of articles calling for the

military defeat of the U.S.S.R. In its number of December 18, *The Commune* proposes to end "whatever waverings there are" in this regard. The Trotskyites attempt to suggest to the French workers the idea that the U.S.S.R. is just such an imperialist country as the others, and therefore, in the struggle against the U.S.S.R., "all means are permissible".

Trotsky in Mexico claims he can prove his innocence. If that is so, it is his duty to return to the first workers' republic to do so. Dimitroff, when falsely accused in Bulgaria, did not hesitate to offer to return—and Bulgaria has a fascist, not a workers' government. But Trotsky is lying. He knows he is guilty and therefore will never voluntarily return.

How shall we American workers understand this trial?

First of all, *this was a trial of the most monstrous criminals. They murdered*: ten miners dead, and fourteen wounded at Kemerovo; ten children dead in the same region, blown to bits by dynamite, planted at the opening of the mine, which prematurely exploded; twenty-nine Red Army men killed, and twenty-nine wounded at Shumikha station; the murder of Boyarshimov at Prokopievsk (former wrecker who was regenerating himself for the sake of his country and his family) because he first warned that the numerous catastrophic accidents were the work of the wreckers.

There has not yet been time to compile a complete list of casualties resulting from the crimes to which they confessed during the trial. The attempt on the life of Molotov; the accumulation of 50,000,000 rubles worth of raw materials at sidings, to prevent the operation of industry; the fifteen deliberately organized wrecks, and the 1,500 minor wrecks, resulting from sabotage, such as sending out locomotives with faulty pressure gauges so that locomotive engineers were blown to bits by exploding boilers.

*They robbed*: 164,000 rubles from the bank at Anzhero-

Sujensky, which was distributed amongst their criminal gangs.

*They committed espionage:* not only gathering information for German and Japanese spies, but carrying through explosions and wrecking activities, which resulted in numerous deaths, at the request of these spy chiefs.

*They committed treason:* their Moscow Center came to agreements with the Japanese and German embassies for the partition of the Soviet Union, for the granting of concessions to foreign capitalism, for the return of capitalism to the U.S.S.R. They agreed to a series of treasonable measures in time of war, including the destruction of military trains and the infection of the Red Army with bacteria in the event of the outbreak of war.

This was indeed a trial of the most monstrous criminals.

*This was the fairest of all trials,* as we have already shown.

Whose trial was this?

*This was a trial for the international working class.*

This was a trial against the unholy trinity of fascist powers—and their tools, the murderers, deceived and political intriguers, who aimed to strengthen the enemies of the workers of every country in the world. They hid their aims and commitments from their own followers, in the U.S.S.R. and abroad. Even the defendants, who were near the leaders, accused their central committee, and the leaders of the central committee admitted that they hid some of their aims, connections and commitments from their followers in their own organizations.

They used their followers abroad in an effort to disrupt and split the labor movement of all countries, to prevent united working class action, to prevent a People's Front, with demagoguery, hypocrisy and "Leftist" phrases, to cover with a smokescreen their intrigues with the Nazis and with the Japanese militarists. They recruited many doubtful elements to their ranks who have done great harm to the inter-

national labor movement. *This has been proved by incontrovertible evidence in court.*

They tried to disrupt the defense of Spain; they tried to bring back capitalism to the Soviet Union. While pretending that they considered impossible the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, they organized as yet uncounted crimes against the efforts of the workers and farmers to build their socialist industry and agriculture. They intrigued against the unity of Socialist, Communist and workers of other beliefs of the entire world. They aided the most reactionary leaders among the Socialists, who were also opposed to world working class unity and who now are protecting these Trotskyist murderers, to prevent unity of the workers of the Second and Third Internationals.

The struggle against these criminals is not only the concern of the Soviet workers; it is the concern of the American workers and of the workers of the entire world.

This was indeed a trial against the enemies of the international proletariat.

*This was a trial against fascism.*

It was first of all a trial to prevent the use of the methods of fascism—terror, assassination and murder—as political weapons.

This was a trial against the alliance of a secondary unholy trinity—Trotsky in the employ of Hess; Hess in alliance with Rosenberg; Rosenberg, the employer of Hearst.

These criminals tried to prevent the spread of Soviet democracy by committing terror and making exercise of the great democratic new Soviet Constitution difficult. They smuggled fascist agents into the Soviet Union. *This has been proved in court.*

In many countries, including the U.S. (as shown in the Sacramento, California, trial of 1935), they incited their followers to cooperate with the police and victimized scores of workers. They tried, and sometimes succeeded, in disrupting the united front against fascism, especially joining

the Socialist Party for this purpose. They wrought havoc in trade unions as they did with the Minneapolis teamsters. They agreed with the German fascists to try to strengthen French fascism in order to weaken France, thereby making it possible for the Nazis quickly to put France out of commission and then to concentrate their military attacks on the Soviet Union. Let those who prattle about the "prestige of the Soviet Union being hurt by this trial" remember that the U.S.S.R. showed up powerful, true and just by the proceedings—the intrigues of the fascist warmakers, especially Germany and Japan, were exposed in the U.S.S.R. and all countries for the sinister and threatening menace they are.

*This was a trial for democracy.*

The millions of workers in the factories, mines and offices who suffered because of the activities of these contemptible criminals; the dead and maimed victims of their crimes; the wives and children who have been widowed and orphaned by these murderers, are all stern evidence as to who suffered by the Trotskyite activities.

The workers honestly toiled to make their industries better so that they could raise their own standard of living and strengthen the country as a whole, only to have their efforts frustrated by a few egomaniacs.

This trial has established that the fires of revolution have not cooled, that they will burn out the Trotskyist conception that masses exist only to exalt their egos and fulfil their counter-revolutionary, maniacal hunger for power; that the masses are not animals or manure which exist only to serve them, but that, on the contrary, the country and all it has belongs to the masses, and that neither state nor industry nor anything else shall be changed by intrigue, "putsch" or the terrorist activities of a small handful of conspirators. The facts brought out in this trial proved that Trotsky made his usual mistake of overestimating Trotsky and underestimating the masses.

This was a trial against the attempt of the Trotskyites to



strengthen the position of German fascism and Japanese imperialism against that of world democracy. *This has been proved in court.*

This was a trial to defend the democracy established by the new Soviet Constitution against the efforts of the Trotskyites to institute their own rule of terror.

*This was a trial against war.*

It was a trial against the efforts of the Trotskyites to make the U.S.S.R. an ally of Japan to attack America, against their agreement with the Japanese militarists and the Nazis to partition the U.S.S.R. by war, against Trotsky's insane conception that after the war to partition the U.S.S.R. they must then rely upon a second world war between the fascist countries and the democratic countries, by which the Trotsky regime will benefit. His conception of war after war, all to gratify his lust for power and his aims to fulfil his counter-revolutionary program, was given tremendous blows by this trial.

It was a trial against leaving China, Czechoslovakia and other weaker countries at the mercy of fascist aggression; it was a trial against the Trotskyist efforts to weaken the army of peace, the Red Army of the Soviet Union; it was a trial to strengthen the united front against war, which the Trotskyites tried to disrupt.

*This was a trial of the triumph of socialism.*

Despite everything they did, socialist economy, politics and social welfare are triumphant. Their efforts to bring back capitalism to the U.S.S.R. have ended in disastrous failure for them. The very industries they tried to disrupt have made tremendous progress.

Trotsky wrote in his letter to his agents in the Soviet Union that the railroads must collapse, but during 1935 alone railroad car-loadings rose from 57,000 in January to 75,000 in December, and railroad loading plans were fulfilled on an average of approximately 113 per cent. In 1936 they reached close to 100,000 cars loaded each day.

Despite the widespread wreckage and terror in the coal and coke industry, socialist industrialization has so far triumphed that, in the ten years from 1925 to 1935, coke production rose from a daily output of 6,400 tons to 49,400 tons daily, and a daily output of 67,500 tons in the coal industry to 365,900 tons.

So it is with every branch of industry—even those which the Trotskyites tried to wreck.

This Trotsky-Radek-Zinoviev group in whole or in part has opposed the Soviet government and the Communist Party on every important question that has arisen in the last twenty and more years of the life of the Russian people, and on each question they have been proven wrong.

Yet, at every turn of events, they fought for power on a platform based on their own waverings, errors and misdeeds.

As against these elements, which have always been a thorn in the side of the Russian people in their march to a better life, the Communist Party, led by Stalin, the best pupil of Lenin, has achieved the triumph of socialism. With these counter-revolutionaries cleaned out of the important posts into which they managed to sneak in Soviet life, the peoples of the U.S.S.R. will now be able to march forward much more rapidly to even greater achievements than they have gained up till now.

The people of America, opposed to his vicious intrigues with the fascists against the U.S.S.R. and against his alliance with Japanese militarism for war on the American people, must not remain passive but eliminate Trotsky and his agents root and branch out of America.

The peoples of the world must in each country stand vigilantly against fascism and these tools of fascism. Fascism can only be defeated if its agent Trotsky is defeated. That must be done for progress, better life, peace and freedom.

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