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**THE  
MEANING  
OF THE  
SOVIET  
TRIALS**

**BY E. YAROSLAVSKY**

*Yaroslavskii, Emel'ian*

**INCLUDING THE OFFICIAL TEXT  
OF THE INDICTMENT OF THE  
BUKHARIN-TROTSKYITE BLOC**

**INTRODUCTION**

**BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER**

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## INTRODUCTION

THE sound and the fury set up by the enemies of the Soviet Union around the Trotskyite-Bukharin trials should confuse no one. The first workers' and farmers' government is today bringing to justice the last of the leading groups of pro-fascist plotters, promoters of war, and saboteurs of socialist progress. The Soviet people are building a great, new, free society, instead of the old society where the rich exploit the poor; they are uniting the nations of one-sixth of the earth's surface into a single classless commonwealth. Those who are trying to stop this progress by treason and assassination, to betray the Soviet people into the hands of the fascist barbarians, must expect to pay the price of their treachery when caught.

When Aaron Burr, one-time Vice-President of the United States, together with some army officers and about 2,000 co-conspirators, attempted to betray the young United States republic and was properly crushed, Thomas Jefferson declared concerning the ensuing furore:

"On the whole, this squall, by showing with what ease our government suppresses movements which in other countries requires armies, has greatly increased its strength by increasing the public confidence in it."

This well applies to the Soviet government today. The crushing of the Trotskyist-Bukharinist unprincipled and careerist plotters is a gain for humanity. To yield to the misguided liberals—who, under the

illusion that they are demanding democracy, want to give a free hand to these wretched conspiracies—would be to endanger the safety of 173,000,000 Soviet people, not to speak of the peace of the world. The terrible toll of lives in Spain today, where the plotters did have a free hand, will convince all except the mentally blind and the friends of the plotting murderers of the correctness of the Soviet government's action.

No matter what their possible liberal pretenses, those who in any way aid the fascist Trotskyite-Bukharinite plotters are merely uncovering their enmity to the first Workers' Republic. Such a situation is not new. Aaron Burr's betrayal similarly forced the hand of the Federalists. Jefferson wrote on April 20, 1807, that:

"The Federalists, too, give all their aid, making Burr's cause their own, mortified only that he did not separate the Union, or overturn the Government, and proving, that had he had a little dawn of success, they would have joined him to introduce his object, their favorite monarchy, as they would any other enemy, foreign or domestic, who could rid them of this hateful republic for any other government in exchange."

The mass of the American people should not be moved by the lying, slanderous ravings of the capitalist press against the U.S.S.R. Nor should we be confused by a few erstwhile liberals who, under pressure from reaction on a thousand issues, gave way at this point and were stampeded into the anti-Soviet lynch mob. The people and government of the U.S.S.R. are our friends. The Trotsky-fascist-Bukharinite plotters are our enemies. The latter, by their own confessions, wanted to give to Japan the Far Eastern provinces of the Soviet Union, which

would give Japan a better base from which to attack the U. S. We also know that if their betrayal of the U.S.S.R. had been successful it would have been a terrible defeat for world democracy and socialism.

The capitalist press is overselling its falsifications. For what reason are these trials being held? In the earlier trials the anti-Soviet slanderers said it was to make the defendants the culprits in covering up economic failure of the U.S.S.R. But time has shown that there was no such economic failure. The Soviet Union is making the greatest economic advances of any country in any period of history. Then the reactionaries said the trials were to give more power to a few individuals and take it away from the Soviet peoples. This was also shown as false by the adoption, at the initiative of Stalin himself, of the most democratic constitution in the world. Now they shout that it is all "incredible" that such crimes as charged could have been committed. May we again borrow Jefferson's words in a similar situation?

"Burr's enterprise is the most extraordinary since the days of Don Quixote. It is so extravagant that those who know his understanding, would not believe it if the proofs admitted doubt."

Herein are published two documents—the legal indictment against the criminals in the March, 1938, trial, and a descriptive article by Comrade Yaroslavsky showing the long record of reactionary and stool-pigeon plotting of the defendants and its purposes. While the notorious United States tory press pours out its lies and slanders against the noble people of the U.S.S.R., every American can serve peace and progress by spreading the truth here contained.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

March 4, 1938

## THE MEANING OF THE SOVIET TRIALS

By E. YAROSLAVSKY

**M**EMBERS of a criminal conspiratorial group of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists are appearing today before the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

Among the accused listed in the statement of the office of the Public Prosecutor of the U.S.S.R., the first five names—Nikolai Bukharin, Alexei Rykov, Henry Yagoda, Nikolai Krestinsky and Christian Rakovsky—are more widely known. Trotsky is not listed among the accused. He has long since been condemned by the Soviet people, and only the protection of the fascists saves this scoundrel from being brought to justice.

In the prisoners' dock sits Rykov, one-time leader of the "Left Communists," who later, together with Bukharin, Tomsky and other traitors, became an organizer of the Rights who sought to restore capitalism in the U.S.S.R.

In the dock sit the bourgeois-nationalists Ikramov, Faizulla Khodjajev and others; former Mensheviks like Chernov and former S-Rs\* like Grinko; the past and present agents-provocateurs of the tsarist se-

\* Members of the party of so-called "Socialist-Revolutionaries."

cret police, Zelensky and Ivanov; and people who took advantage of their diplomas as doctors and professors to poison some of the best people of the proletarian revolution—Valerian Kuibyshev, Menzhinsky, Maxim Gorky.

Trotskyism links up with any group whatsoever as long as it is a foe of Bolshevism, of the Soviet power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of Communism. "Lefts" seeking to restore capitalism, Right traitors, bourgeois-nationalists, S-Rs and Mensheviks, ordinary criminal elements, provocateurs in the service of the tsarist secret police who betrayed many persons under tsarism and wormed their way into the ranks of the Communist Party in order to betray the land of Soviets to fascism—all these are suitable material for the espionage, bandit and diversionist organization of the Trotskyists; for the ringleader of this organization has himself long been an agent-provocateur linked to foreign secret services, going back as far as the period of the Civil War—and very probably under tsarism as well, for this super-traitor has not hesitated to resort to the most monstrous crimes to serve his masters.

All of these people are united by their hatred of the Bolshevik Party, their belief in the might of the bourgeoisie and their hatred of the young Soviet state which over a period of twenty years has fulfilled in the most difficult conditions a gigantic historical task by maintaining the integrity and the mighty development of the land of socialism over one-sixth of the globe.

It is no accident that they united, for long before the proletarian revolution all those participants in the

Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists fought in one way or another against Lenin, against Bolshevism, and defended views alien to the interests of the proletariat, expressing the interests and outlook of classes and groups alien to the proletariat.

#### BUKHARIN

During the imperialist war Lenin already characterized Bukharin as being "devilishly unstable in politics." Bukharin justified this brilliant characterization throughout the whole of his life. During the imperialist war, Lenin spoke up against Bukharin on more than one occasion, exposing his non-Marxist views and his anarchist attitude towards the state. At that time Lenin characterized Bukharin's viewpoint as "confused, non-Marxist and non-Socialist." On more than one occasion Lenin pointed out that Bukharin was no Marxist.

In 1917 Bukharin defended at bottom a Trotskyist view of the proletarian revolution, according to which the proletarian revolution must take place not only without the peasantry, but against the peasantry. Bukharin was the organizer of the group of "Left Communists," which was an organization hostile to Bolshevism. This hostility reached such a point that, as has now been established, Bukharin, together with Gregory Piatakov, the enemy of the people who has already been executed, and Trotsky, organized in 1918 a plot against the Soviet power in league with the Left S-Rs with the intention of assassinating Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov and placing Piatakov at the head of the government.

It is not surprising that *Znamya Truda* [Banner

of Labor], the organ of the Left S-Rs, proudly declared in its issue of April 2, 1918: "The present position of our party harmonizes with the other trend in Bolshevism (Bukharin, Pokrovsky and others)." While Lenin and the entire Bolshevik Party were exerting all their forces in an exceptionally difficult situation to establish a new labor discipline, to raise the productivity of labor which had fallen during the war, Bukharin and his associates among the Mensheviks and S-Rs took a stand against Lenin, against the Bolshevik Party. Bukharin paraded as a "Left." He declared it to be a compromise on the part of Lenin and the Soviet Government to draw outstanding bourgeois experts into work in Soviet institutions. At that time Lenin said of Bukharin that he was "looking at the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship with his face turned to the past and not to the future."

When in 1918 the Soviet Government published a decree designed to put the railway service in order, Bukharin, jointly with the Menshevik Martov and the Anarchist Ge, came out with the most infamous attacks upon this decree of the Soviet Government.

The treacherous role played by Bukharin during the period of the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations is well-known. It is known how, hiding behind the cloak of revolutionary phrases, he disorganized the ranks of the Party in order to disrupt these peace negotiations.

Bukharin and a group of other "Left Communists"—Yakovleva, Stukov, Ossinsky—adopted a decision declaring that it was possible to agree to the "temporary loss" of Soviet power because the Soviet

power was only of "*formal significance*." Lenin called this decision "*strange and monstrous*," seeing in it an extreme expression of confusion, pessimism, lack of perspective and lack of faith in the forces of the revolution.

The activities of the "Left Communists" did tremendous harm to the Party and the Soviet power, to the entire people of the land of Soviets, for the Soviet Government was compelled as the result of these activities to sign a peace treaty which imposed more difficult conditions and involved the loss of a vast amount of territory and a tremendous amount of property seized by the Germans.

In 1920-1921 Bukharin, together with Serebriakov, the enemy of the people already executed, and Sokolnikov, sentenced at a previous trial, organized a "buffer" group which was in reality a branch of Trotskyism, and together with Trotsky conducted a furious struggle against Lenin and Stalin, against the Bolshevik Party. Later he established contacts with the Right S-R terrorists and became closely connected with them, particularly during the Right-S-R trial in 1922—in the struggle against Bolshevism any ally was good enough for Bukharin.

At the same time Bukharin meanwhile began to gather together his "school" of young professors, training them in the spirit of Right-wing opportunism, training ideologists for the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R., future members of illegal anti-Soviet counter-revolutionary terrorist groups like Slepikov, Moretzky, Eichenwald and others. It was at that time that he began nursing the idea that the kulak would develop peacefully into socialism, and

then already he echoed Trotsky's view that the land of Soviets must take the road of capitalist development in agriculture.

Temporarily, for the purpose of winning the confidence of the Party membership, the Rights posed as enemies of the Trotskyists, but as soon as the Trotskyists as an organized body were expelled from the Party by the Fifteenth Party Congress and were crushed, the Rights raised their head, their leaders being Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsy. Tomsy preferred suicide to avoid punishment by the people's court, for he was guilty of the self-same foul crimes as Bukharin and Rykov. In agreement with the S-Rs, Trotskyists, bourgeois-nationalists and Mensheviks, they organized a furious campaign against the Party with the aim of restoring capitalism in the U.S.S.R. It was no difficult matter for the arch-Rightist Bukharin to come to an understanding with the arch-Leftist Rykov for they had long since been united by a lack of faith in the victory of socialism, by their admiration of the might of "organized capitalism."

#### RYKOV

While the first revolution of 1905 was in the process of preparation Rykov displayed his sympathies for the S-Rs when in Saratov he organized a joint organization of Social-Democrats and S-Rs. He never believed in the victory of the proletarian revolution and was a conciliator and opportunist for decades prior to the proletarian revolution. Lenin took a stand against him on more than one occasion, branding him an individual who attempted to hinder the war operation of the Bolshevik line.

At the April Party Conference in 1917, Rykov bluntly took a stand against the seizure of power and opposed the socialist revolution. He repeated the Menshevik argument that the "sun of socialism cannot rise in the East, but must rise in the West." In the Moscow Soviet during the days of the October Revolution, Rykov hindered the operation of a resolute line designed to crush the enemy, because he dreamed together with other Right-wingers of establishing a coalition with the bourgeois Right-wing S-Rs and Mensheviks. Together with other opportunists, he deserted from the Council of People's Commissars on the very day after the Soviets had taken power. With tongue in cheek and disagreeing with the Party's policy, he participated in its work, revealing his disagreement from time to time.

This was the case when the Party set about drafting the first plan to industrialize the country, the ten-year electrification plan. Rykov and Trotsky opposed this plan of Lenin and Stalin; later he defended his contemptible two-year plan as against Stalin's Five-Year Plan.

While Bukharin gathered together his cadres of people seeking to restore capitalism in the U.S.S.R. from among young students of petty-bourgeois origin, Rykov enrolled into Soviet state departments the most bureaucratic and non-Bolshevik elements and from them enlisted future participants in illegal espionage, disruptive and provocative activity.

Is it surprising that a bee-line for these people was made by the former agents-provocateurs of the tsarist secret police like Zelensky and Ivanov who were afraid that should the Soviet power live on,

their crimes would be discovered, and dreamed of the return to the days of yore when their treacherous work as agents-provocateurs were looked upon as a service.

It is difficult to describe the feeling of revulsion evoked by these two organizers of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists when the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union already possessed information of their treacherous activities, when it became known that they were the authors of a so-called "Rutin Platform," a terrorist document which strove to provide theoretical foundation for the necessity to restore capitalism in the U.S.S.R. They swore "by all that is sacred"—and it is notorious how much that is "sacred" belongs to provocateurs and traitors—that they were loyal to the Party, and denied facts that had been firmly established. These pitiful comedians tried once again to play upon the confidence they had abused so criminally and so long—for the Party had actually trusted them for a number of years.

#### YAGODA

The third participant in this vile affair is Yagoda, in whom considerable confidence was also placed. This individual also knew how to camouflage himself with great cunning. Under an outer mask of modesty, he lived the life of a moral degenerate, and was ambitious to the extreme and filthy to the supreme degree. He had become a traitor long ago, and also feared that the day would come when his treachery would be discovered. Therefore he urged his accomplices on and did everything possible to hasten

the fall of the Soviet power. He made it possible for the now exposed counter-revolutionaries and foreign secret service agents to conduct their work. He knew of the preparations to assassinate Kirov and issued direct orders to his subordinates not to interfere in the carrying out of this vile deed. He is a provocateur who helped to cover up the chief culprits.

The Party and the Government made a careful check of the suspicions against him before preferring any charges against him. When Yagoda was removed from his high post and the iron Bolshevik Yezhov was placed at the head of the People's Commissariat of Home Affairs, Yagoda's crimes were brought to light, and only then did it become possible to uncover a whole series of counter-revolutionary groups, to expose and crush the organizations of the foreign intelligence services.

#### KRESTINSKY AND RAKOVSKY

In this group, Krestinsky and Rakovsky were the connecting link between these Right-wing leaders and Trotsky. Krestinsky is an old lawyer who was long united to Trotsky by his unbelief in the victory of socialism. Already during the years of the Civil War, Krestinsky knew of Trotsky's contacts with a foreign secret service, was himself on the payroll of a foreign secret service, and cunningly deceived the Soviet Government—and not only the Soviet Government—over the course of many years. His position as a diplomat helped him to cover up the espionage work of Trotskyists and Right-wingers.

Rakovsky's name was very likely highly valued in this contemptible group because this outright

traitor and agent of several foreign intelligence services—like Rosengoltz, another of the accused in this case—always adhered to the rule, “Even in your foul play, maintain some shadow of nobility.”

This sly double-dealer declared in the press that he had severed all connections with Trotskyism, and the Party returned him to its confidence; it assigned him to important work and he turned out to be one of the foulest of traitors. Long, long ago he knew, as did Krestinsky, of Trotsky's treason, and remained silent because, had he revealed this, Trotsky would not have been followed by many people misled by him not only in the U.S.S.R. but also in other countries, who believed that Trotsky had some sort of ideological arguments, some special program of his own.

The previous trials of Trotskyists and Zinovievists have already shown the value to be attached to this ideological program of restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. When one now turns back to the discussions in the Party with these people there becomes quite clear what was not clear during the discussions, namely, that the Trotskyists as well as the Rightists used “ideological” motives to cover up their scoundrelly agreement with foreign secret services, with parties hostile to the Soviet power.

Their programs, their stand against the Anglo-Russian Committee, against the alliance of the workers and peasants in China (the bloc with the Kuomintang)—all these were taken at the orders of one or another foreign secret service of an imperialist country interested in having the Trotskyist policy pursued.

Is it surprising that bourgeois-nationalists like Ikramov and Khodjayev, who were also in the employ of secret services of imperialist powers interested in the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R. and the severance from it of the Ukraine, White Russia, Trans-Caucasia, the Far East, the Central Asiatic Republics of the U.S.S.R., Karelia, and so on, were attracted to this group?

The court will expose to the entire world the details of the work of this band of infamous traitors. Among the great mass of people who perhaps do not always find their bearings in Party programs, and even among many honest bourgeois people throughout the world, there is bound to arise a feeling of deepest indignation of contempt for this gang who, in order to achieve their vile aims, resorted to such methods of struggle as the assassination of Sergei Kirov and the poisoning of Comrades Kuibyshev and Menzhinsky and of that supreme genius of human thought, the great writer, Maxim Gorky.

At this trial the whole world will see where the truth lies. And we have no doubt that the trial will rally the Soviet people still more firmly around their Party and the Soviet Government. The working people of all countries will see that the Trotskyists, Right opportunists, Mensheviks, S-Rs and bourgeois-nationalists in the Soviet Union were not only preparing the death of the best people in the Soviet Union, but were also preparing aid to fascism which would have tremendously increased its power had they succeeded in their infamous designs.



But the enemies of Communism, the enemies of Soviet power, will never succeed in carrying out those designs. No matter how cunning their camouflage, no matter how generously they are paid for their work by their capitalist masters, the Communist Party of Bolsheviks and the Soviet Government are sufficiently strong to crush all these organizations, to bring to naught the plans of all their enemies and to defend the U.S.S.R., the bulwark of socialism.

## THE OFFICIAL TEXT OF THE INDICTMENT OF THE BLOC OF RIGHTS AND TROTSKYITES

**T**HE investigation effected by the organs of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs established that, upon instructions from the intelligence services of foreign states hostile to the U.S.S.R., the accused organized a group of plotters under the name, "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists," aiming at the overthrow of the socialist social and state system in the U.S.S.R., the restoration of capitalism and the power of the bourgeoisie in the U.S.S.R., the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R. and the separation from it of the Ukraine, White Russia, the Central Asiatic Republics, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidjan and the Maritime Provinces for the benefit of the above-mentioned states.

The bloc of Rights and Trotskyists united in its ranks the underground anti-Soviet groups of Trotskyists, Rights, Zinovievists, Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, bourgeois nationalists of the Ukraine, White Russia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, and the Central Asiatic Republics, which fact is confirmed by material from the trial, which took place in various localities of the U.S.S.R. and in particular the court trials of the group of military plotters, Tukhachevsky and others, and the group of Georgian

bourgeois nationalists, Mdivani, Okudzhava and others.

Having no support whatever within the U.S.S.R., the participants in the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, in their struggle against the socialist social and state system in the U.S.S.R. and for seizure of power, placed all their hopes exclusively in armed assistance of foreign aggressors who promised to render the plotters this assistance on condition of the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R. and the separation of the Ukraine, the Maritime Provinces, White Russia, the Central Asiatic Republics, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidjan from the U.S.S.R.

This agreement was facilitated by the fact that many of the leading participants in this plot had long since been agents of foreign intelligence services and in the course of many years had carried out espionage activities for these intelligence services. This refers in the first place to one of the inspirers of the plot, the enemy of the people, Trotsky. His connections with the Gestapo were exhaustively proved at the trials of the Trotskyist-Zinovievist Terrorist Center in August, 1936, and of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyist Center in January, 1937. The investigation definitely established that Trotsky had been connected with the German Intelligence Service since 1921 and with the British Intelligence Service since 1926.

The accused Krestinsky upon direct instructions of the enemy of the people, Trotsky, entered into treasonable connections with the German Intelligence in 1921. The accused Rosengoltz, one of the leaders of the Trotskyist underground organization, commenced his espionage work for the German General Staff in

1923 and for the British Intelligence Service in 1926. The accused Rakovsky, one of Trotsky's closest and particularly trusted men, had been an agent of the British Intelligence Service since 1924 and of the Japanese Intelligence Service since 1934. The accused Chernov commenced his espionage work for Germany in 1928, having established connections with the German Intelligence Service upon the initiative and with the assistance of the notorious Menshevik émigré, Dan. The accused Sharangovich was enlisted by the Polish Intelligence Service and sent to the U.S.S.R. for espionage work in 1921. The accused Grinko became a spy for the German and Polish Intelligence Services in 1932.

The leaders of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyists, among them the accused Rykov, Bukharin and others, were fully informed about the espionage connections of their accomplices and in every way encouraged the extension of these espionage connections.

The agreement of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyists with foreign intelligence services was also facilitated by the fact that some of the accused were provocateurs and agents of the tsarist secret police. Constantly in fear of exposure, these plotters saw their only salvation in overthrowing the Soviet government, the liquidation of the Soviet regime and the restoration of the power of the landlords and capitalists in whose interest they had sold themselves to the tsarist secret police, and under whose power alone they could feel safe. The accused Zelensky had been an agent of Samara police headquarters since 1911. The accused Ivanov commenced his activities as a provocateur in 1911 when he was enlisted by secret

police in Tula. The accused Zubarev was enlisted by tsarist police in 1908.

Upon the direct instruction of foreign secret services, the plotters carried out extensive espionage work for these intelligence services, organized and carried out wrecking and diversion acts with the object of securing the defeat of the U.S.S.R. in the forthcoming attack of the fascist aggressors upon the U.S.S.R. and did everything to provoke acceleration of this attack of the fascist aggressors. They also organized and carried out a number of terroristic acts against the leaders of the Party and the government and against prominent Soviet public men.

The majority of the ringleaders of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyists carried out their criminal activities upon the direct instructions of Trotsky and in accordance with plans widely conceived and elaborated in the general staffs of certain foreign countries. The accused Krestinsky, an agent of the German Intelligence Service, and a prominent Trotskyist, stated:

“I entered into espionage connections with the Germans upon direct instructions from Trotsky, who instructed me to begin negotiations on this matter with General Seeckt.”

Krestinsky further testified that in the winter of 1921:

“We arranged with Generals Seeckt and Hasse that we would help the Reichswehr to organize a number of espionage bases in the territory of the U.S.S.R., allowing unhindered passage into the

U.S.S.R. of spies sent by the Reichswehr, and that we would supply the Reichswehr with secret information—putting it simply, that we would be German spies.

“In return for this, the Reichswehr undertook to pay an annual subsidy of 250,000 reichsmarks for counter-revolutionary Trotskyite work. These subsidies were paid in regular installments several times a year, chiefly in Moscow, but sometimes in Berlin. If for some reason the money was not paid in Moscow, I received it myself in Berlin from Seeckt and usually took it to Moscow myself and handed it to Trotsky.”

The accused Rosengoltz testified:

“My espionage activities commenced back in 1923 when upon Trotsky’s instructions, I communicated secret information to the commander of the Reichswehr, Seeckt, and to the Chief of the German General Staff, Hasse. Subsequently a certain Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., Mr. N., established direct contact with me and I periodically communicated to him information of a secret nature. After the departure of Mr. N., I continued espionage connections with the new Ambassador, Mr. N.”

After the fascist coup in Germany, the espionage work of the Trotskyists assumed a still more extensive and sharply expressed defeatist nature. The accused Bessonov, by his own confession, not only personally conducted negotiations with Daitz—Rosenberg’s closest collaborator in the foreign politics

department of the fascist party—with the view of obtaining assistance for the anti-Soviet plot, but was also well informed about Trotsky's meetings and negotiations with Hess, Nidermeyer and Professor Haushover, with whom Trotsky had reached an agreement on terms which Piatakov mentioned at the trial of the anti-Soviet Trotskyite Center.

In conformity with Trotsky's line, the anti-Soviet plotters also looked for assistance to another fascist aggressor—Japan. The accused Krestinsky testified that when he met Trotsky in Meran in October, 1933, Trotsky urged the necessity of establishing closer contact with the Japanese Intelligence Service. Krestinsky conveyed Trotsky's instructions to Piatakov and the other ringleaders of the plot who, through the accused Rakovsky and other participants in the plot, entered into treasonable connections with representatives of Japan who undertook to render the plot armed assistance in the overthrow of the Soviet power, in return for which the plotters promised to surrender the Soviet Maritime Provinces to Japan.

The investigation established that in the summer of 1934, while in Tokyo, the accused Rakovsky, on Piatakov's instructions, established criminal connections with certain circles. About this matter the accused Rakovsky testified:

“After the visit to Tokyo I became the direct agent-spy of a certain government, being enlisted for this purpose on instructions of the certain government by Mr. N., a highly influential statesman of capitalist-feudal Japan and one of her biggest plutocrats.”

The same accused Rakovsky testified also that Trotsky had been an agent of the British Intelligence Service since the end of 1926. “Trotsky himself told me about it,” he said.

The groups of bourgeois nationalists which belonged to the bloc of Rights and Trotskyists were also very closely connected with foreign intelligence services. Thus the accused Grinko, who was an agent of the German and Polish Intelligence Services, referring to the anti-Soviet activities of the Ukrainian nationalist fascist organization, of which he was one of the leaders, testified:

“The question of the necessity for reaching an agreement with Poland regarding military assistance for a rebellion in the Ukraine against the Soviet Government was discussed in 1930. As a result of these negotiations with Poland, an agreement was reached and the Polish General Staff increased the transportation of arms and diversion agents and emissaries of Petlura to the Ukraine.

“At the end of 1932, in connection with my nationalistic activities, I entered into treasonable connections with Mr. N. We used to meet in my office, where Mr. N. used to come on matters concerning a German concession. In the second half of 1933 Mr. N. frankly told me that the German fascists wished to collaborate with the Ukrainian nationalists in the Ukrainian question. I answered Mr. N. that I agreed to this collaboration. Later, in the course of the years 1933 and 1934, I met Mr. N. several times and, before his departure from the U.S.S.R., he put me in touch with Mr. N.,

with whom I continued my treasonable connections."

The accused Sharangovich, an agent of the Polish Intelligence Service and one of the leaders of the anti-Soviet organization of White Russian nationalist fascists, testified:

"By that time [1933] all differences between the Rights and the Trotskyists and the nationalist fascists were smoothed out. We all set ourselves a single aim—the aim to struggle against the Soviet power by any methods whatever including terrorism, acts of diversion and wrecking activities. Despite the fact that our instructions came from Moscow, from the headquarters of the Rights and Trotskyists, and also from Warsaw, from certain Polish circles, there was no difference between them whatever; they were identical and we carried them out."

The accused Rykov fully confirmed the existence of the treasonable connections of the Rights with fascist Poland testifying:

"In conformity with the instructions of headquarters of the Rights, and my personal instruction, with the object of carrying out our treasonable plot, a group of members of the Right organization established contact with fascist Poland and, in particular, with organs of the Polish Intelligence Service. The general formula on which we then agreed was that, in negotiations with the Poles, we will agree to the separation of the White Russian Soviet Republic from the U.S.S.R. and

the creation of an 'independent' White Russia under Polish protectorate."

The investigation established that the entire criminal activities of the anti-Soviet group of the Rights in the bloc of Rights and Trotskyists prove that the Rights were agents of foreign general staffs equally with other participants in this plot. This is fully admitted by the accused Bukharin, who testified:

"At the time when Trotsky was negotiating with German fascists and promising territorial concessions, we Rights were already in the bloc with the Trotskyists. Radek told me that Trotsky considered that the main chance of the bloc coming into power depended on the defeat of the U.S.S.R. in a war with Germany and Japan, and he proposed, after this defeat, to surrender the Ukraine to Germany and the Far East to Japan. Radek told me this in 1934."

On this matter the accused Khodjajev testified:

"Bukharin urged that Uzbekistan and Turkmenia be separated from the U.S.S.R. and become protectorates of Japan and Germany. But it would be impossible to ignore England, and therefore it was necessary to establish connections with England. An English protectorate was considered most practical and therefore most reliance was placed on England."

On this question the accused Rykov testified:

"As for our defeatist position, Bukharin also fully agreed with it and spoke in favor of it even more sharply than we did. In particular, it was

he who proposed and formulated the idea of opening the frontier to the Germans in event of war. Like other members of the Rights' headquarters, I was aware of the treasonable negotiations between representatives of our counter-revolutionary organization and the German fascists, whose support we sought. Naturally, such support was dependent upon making concessions to the German fascists, and to this we agreed."

On direct instructions of foreign fascist intelligence services, the anti-Soviet plotters created a widely ramified system of cells of diversion agents and wreckers in industrial, transport, agricultural and distributing enterprises in a number of republics, territories and regions of the Soviet Union. After entering into agreement with the fascist governments treacherously to open the Soviet frontiers to the armies of these fascist governments in time of war, the participants in the plot of the Rights and Trotskyists prepared to undermine the material and technical base of the Red Army—the defense industry.

The plotters planned to blow up and destroy key enterprises in the defense industry of the socialist country in time of war. They also made preparations to wreck troop trains and to cause great loss of life. They set themselves the aim of paralyzing the entire economic life of the country as well as the food and munitions supplies of the army. The plotters have already committed a number of such acts of diversion and wrecking in various branches of the national economy.

The hireling of foreign intelligence services, the

enemy of the people, Trotsky, in a number of letters and personal instructions to the leading participants in the anti-Soviet plot, demanded that wrecking and diversion activities in the Soviet Union be intensified. The accused Krestinsky testified that in 1933, in Meran, Trotsky told him personally that "it would be much easier for him, Trotsky, to negotiate with the Germans if he could tell them that serious work was really being done along line of acts of diversion and wrecking and preparation of terroristic acts."

A number of acts of diversion committed in the Far Eastern territory were prepared and carried out by participants in the anti-Soviet plot on direct instructions of the organs of the Japanese Intelligence Service and of the enemy of the people, Trotsky. For instance, upon the instruction of the Japanese Intelligence Service they organized the wreck of a military freight train at Volochayevka and train No. 501 in the Hor-Dormidontovka section, where twenty-one persons were killed and forty-five injured. On the same Japanese instructions acts of diversion were committed in pits Nos. 10 and 20 in Suchan.

Detailed testimony as to similar instructions emanating from Trotsky was given by the accused Rosengoltz, who stated:

"In addition to the instructions I received from Trotsky through Krestinsky and Sedov to carry on wrecking activities in the Commissariat of Foreign Trade for the purpose of rendering direct assistance to Germany and Japan, the character of my wrecking activities was determined by instructions from certain Ambassadors in the U.S.S.R., Mr. N. and

Mr. N., connections with whom were very important in this matter, as I had to be guided in my work by their definite instructions.

"After establishing contact with Tukhachevsky and Rykov, I informed the former through Krestinsky, and the latter personally, about Trotsky's instructions concerning wrecking work, and they both approved what I had done. As a result of all this, wrecking activities in foreign trade proceeded along the following three lines: First, economic assistance to Germany and Japan at the expense of the U.S.S.R.; second, causing economic loss and damage to the U.S.S.R.; third, causing political damage to the U.S.S.R."

On the instructions of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyists, the accused Sharangovich carried on extensive wrecking activities in agriculture and industry in the White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The accused Chernov, a German spy, testifying on his criminal connections with the German spy Scheffer, correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, and on his own wrecking activities in agriculture, states:

"When I started work on the committee for agricultural purchases, Scheffer communicated to me instructions from the Germans to carry out wrecking activities in connection with the work of the committee for agricultural purchases, especially in the matter of mobilization stores. The instructions of the intelligence service concerning wrecking activities coincided with the instructions which I, as a member of the organization of the Rights, was receiving from Rykov.

I was all the more ready for this reason to put them into execution."

The investigation disclosed considerable undermining wrecking activities in agriculture also in Uzbekistan. The nationalist organizations which operated there had entered into a bloc with the headquarters of the anti-Soviet plot through the medium of their leaders, the accused Ikramov and Khodjajev. The accused Ikramov testified that the Rights and Trotskyist bloc set them the following tasks:

"To carry on extensive work in preparation for an armed rebellion in Uzbekistan to break out at the moment of intervention; vigorously to carry on wrecking and diversion activities in all branches of the national economy, so that the results may cause resentment against the Soviet power among the toilers and thus create favorable grounds for armed rebellion at the proper moment. Furthermore, our idea was that our undermining wrecking activities would hinder the strengthening of the defense of the U.S.S.R."

The accused Grinko conducted wrecking activities in the field of finance. The accused Grinko testified:

"The main object in undermining the work of the People's Commissariat of Finance was to weaken the Soviet ruble, weaken the financial power of the U.S.S.R., dislocate Soviet economy, cause dissatisfaction among the population with the financial policy of the Soviet government, dissatisfaction with taxes, with bad savings banks service, with delays in payment of wages, etc., for the pur-

pose of causing wide, organized discontent with the Soviet government and to help the plotters recruit adherents and stimulate rebellious activities."

The accused Zelensky and the wrecking groups which he organized in the Centrosoyuz and the cooperative societies dislocated planning of such commodities as sugar, butter, eggs, tobacco, etc.; deliberately delayed dispatch of goods to the villages, muddled accounts and thus facilitated stealing and squandering of state resources with impunity, and encouraged the cheating and robbing of consumers. The accused Rosengoltz also carried out treasonable, wrecking activities on a wide scale.

At the same time, on the order of the fascist intelligence services, the plotters set themselves the task of arousing bandit rebel movements in the country and these rebel anti-Soviet bands were to rise in armed rebellion in the rear of the Red Army simultaneously with the beginning of intervention against the U.S.S.R. The accused Rykov testified as follows:

"We took the course of forcible overthrow of the leadership of the Party and of the Soviet Government, and decided to carry out this by organizing kulak uprisings."

The investigation established that these kulak rebel uprisings in the rear of the Red Army were part and parcel of plans and calculations of the fascist governments which are preparing to attack the U.S.S.R. and that the Rights and Trotskyist plotters were to call these rebellions at a signal from the general staffs of the fascist countries.

The accused Ikramov testified as follows:

"We preserved the necessary men who were to be used for armed struggle against the Soviet Government. These men were primarily kulaks, priests and former Basmach (bandits). We instructed members of our organization who were in leading district posts to preserve these men. We also expected that during the armed rising the remnants of the Basmach bands, which had formerly fled from the Soviet Union, would cross the border and enter Soviet territory."

In order to enlarge the rebel base to the utmost, the ringleaders of the plot established contact with the underground Socialist-Revolutionary organization. For instance, the accused Bukharin testified:

"Connections with Socialist-Revolutionaries were established when the organizations of the Rights were basing their hopes on kulak uprisings. In view of the fact that the Rights were in favor of organizing these uprisings, the necessity arose of establishing connections with Socialist-Revolutionaries who had their roots in the kulak strata of the rural districts. I personally established through Semyonov contact with the underground Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionaries in the U.S.S.R., and through Chlenov with the Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionaries in Paris."

Having no hopes of overthrowing the Soviet system by means of espionage, wrecking, diversion and kulak rebellions, the Right and Trotskyist plotters,



filled with rage and hatred against the U.S.S.R., began to prepare and commit terroristic acts against the leaders of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In direct conspiracy with the Japanese and German Intelligence Services, and on instructions from the enemy of the people, Trotsky, they organized and committed a number of terroristic acts against the finest people of the country. The accused Rykov gave the following reasons why the Right and Trotskyist bloc began to resort to terrorism:

“In view of the illegal conspiratorial character of the Rights’ counter-revolutionary organization, and in the absence of a mass base for its counter-revolutionary work and the absence of any hope of coming to power by other means, the adoption of terrorism and ‘palace revolution’ seemed to headquarters to present some sort of prospect.”

The accused Bukharin testified as follows:

“In 1932, in meeting and conversation with Piatakov, I learned that he had met Sedov and had received from him Trotsky’s direct instructions to proceed to commit terroristic acts against the leaders of the Party and the Soviet government. I must confess that actually we then agreed to come to an arrangement with the terrorists, and my conversation with Piatakov was an agreement to coordinate our activities with Trotsky’s with the aim of violently overthrowing the leadership of the Party and of the Soviet government.”

The accused Ivanov testified that:

“Talking of terrorism, Bukharin said that the ‘liquidation,’ as he expressed it, of the leaders of the Communist Party and of the Soviet government will be very important for our accession to power and will facilitate the defeat of the U.S.S.R. in war.”

The accused Rykov testified as follows:

“We took the course of terrorism as one of the methods of our struggle against the Soviet government. This position assumed very definite shape in our activities, and particularly in my activities, in preparing for terroristic acts against members of the Political Bureau, leaders of the Party and government, first of all against Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovich and Voroshilov. In 1934 I gave instructions to the Artemenko terrorist group, which I had formed, to watch for the automobiles of the leaders of the Party and government.”

The accused Bukharin testified as follows:

“I want to tell the truth and I say that I communicated this proposal to a meeting of the headquarters and we decided to instruct Semyonov to organize terroristic groups.”

The investigation established that the foul murder of Kirov was also committed by decision of the Right and Trotskyist bloc. One of the participants in this foul murder was the accused Yagoda who testified:

“I had been informed by Yenukidze that the murder of Kirov was being prepared in accordance with the decision of the headquarters of the conspiracy. Yenukidze requested me to place no ob-

stacles in the way of this terroristic act and I agreed. For this purpose I summoned Zaporozhets from Leningrad and instructed him to place no obstacle in the way of a terroristic act being prepared against Kirov."

This was corroborated during the investigation by Zaporozhets and Yenukidze.

As was established by the investigation Gorky, Menzhinsky and Kuibyshev fell victims to terrorist acts committed on instructions from the United Center of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyists. The accused Yagoda testified:

"The United Center of the organization of Rights and Trotskyists tried for a long time to induce Gorky to break his intimacy with Stalin. With this object, Kamenev, Tomsy and a number of others were assigned to influence Gorky. But this produced no tangible result. Gorky remained faithful to Stalin and an ardent supporter and champion of his policy. Seriously considering the question of overthrowing the Stalinist leadership and capturing power, the Center of Rights and Trotskyists could not but take into account Gorky's exceptional influence in the country and his prestige abroad. If Gorky lived he would raise his voice in protest against us. We could not allow this. Consequently, having become convinced that it was impossible to separate Gorky from Stalin, the United Center was compelled to adopt a decision to liquidate Gorky."

This testimony of the accused Yagoda was fully corroborated by the accused Rykov, who testified:

"I know that Trotsky, through his representatives in contact with the Center, did his utmost to rouse ill feeling against Gorky. Naturally this was due to the fact that Trotsky knew very well that Gorky regarded him as a rogue and an adventurer. On the other hand, the intimacy between Gorky and Stalin was universally known and the fact that he was a steadfast political supporter of Stalin roused the hatred of our organization. In 1935 I had a conversation with Yenukidze, who bluntly told me that the Trotskyist-Zinovievist section of the bloc insisted upon the liquidation of Gorky's political activity and would stop at nothing in attaining this end. From this conversation it became clear to me that terrorist methods might also be used to liquidate Gorky."

This evidence was also corroborated by the accused Bukharin, who testified that, beginning in 1935, Tomsy informed him that "the Trotskyist section of the United Center bloc had proposed organizing a hostile act against Gorky as supporter of Stalin's policy."

The accused Bessonov personally received such a "line" directly from Trotsky when he met him at the end of July, 1934. At that meeting, as accused Bessonov testified, Trotsky declared that:

"... it would be unpardonable prudery if we did not consistently proceed forthwith physically to eliminate Stalin and all his closest colleagues. Gorky is very intimate with Stalin. He plays an exceptional role in winning the sympathies of world democratic public opinion for the U.S.S.R.,

especially in Western Europe. Gorky is widely popular as Stalin's closest friend and a champion of the Party line. Largely owing to Gorky's influence, our quondam supporters among the intellectuals are deserting us. Under these circumstances, my conclusion is that Gorky must be removed. Convey this instruction to Piatakov in the most categorical form: Gorky must be physically destroyed at all costs."

On the basis of this instruction of the enemy of the people Trotsky, the bloc of Rights and Trotskyists adopted its monstrous decision to kill Gorky. "The execution of this decision was entrusted to me," testified the accused Yagoda. As the direct executors of this dastardly scheme, the accused Yagoda enlisted the accused Dr. Levin—former family physician of Gorky, Professor Pletnev, Kryuchkov—Gorky's secretary—and his own secretary, Bulanov.

The accused Bulanov testified as follows:

"I personally witnessed how Yagoda more than once summoned Kryuchkov and advised him to cause Gorky to catch cold, to cause him to fall ill in one way or another. Yagoda emphasized that the state of Gorky's lungs was such that any ailment due to a cold would accelerate his death. The rest would be done by Pletnev and Levin, who had received appropriate instructions."

The accused Pletnev, who took a direct part in the murders of Gorky and Kuibyshev, testified:

"Yagoda told me that I must help him in the

physical elimination of certain political leaders of the country. He bluntly proposed that I take advantage of my position as physician to Kuibyshev and Gorky and hasten their deaths by applying wrong methods of treatment. I tried to refuse, but at last was forced to agree. After this Yagoda informed me that Dr. Levin would be my accomplice, while, in regard to Gorky, the latter's secretary, Kryuchkov, would also be an accomplice. Having accepted this frightful commission from Yagoda, I, together with Dr. Levin, worked out a plan to kill Gorky and Kuibyshev."

This is corroborated by the accused Levin, who testified as follows:

"I plead guilty to having deliberately adopted wrong methods of treatment and having prescribed medicines unsuited for the given complaint, and thereby, in conjunction with my accomplices and by agreement with Yagoda, I am responsible for the premature death of Maxim Gorky and Kuibyshev."

As established by the investigation, Kuibyshev's secretary, the accused Maximov, took an active part in the plot to kill Kuibyshev. Maximov testified:

"I agreed to commit this crime as a member of the counter-revolutionary organization of Rights, which I joined in 1928. Yagoda also knew that I belonged to a counter-revolutionary organization and was present at one of my conversations with Yenukidze when we drew up a plan to remove Kuibyshev."

At Yagoda's direct instructions, the accused Dr. Levin and Dr. Kazakov also killed Menzhinsky, the chairman of the O.G.P.U. The accused Kazakov testified as follows:

"Yagoda gave me the following instructions: I must, in conjunction with Dr. Levin, devise a method of treatment for Menzhinsky that will accelerate his death. After this conversation with Yagoda, I, in conjunction with Levin, devised a method of treating Menzhinsky that actually destroyed his remaining strength and caused his speedy death. In this way Levin and I, in fact, killed Menzhinsky. I gave Dr. Levin a mixture of lysates prepared by myself, which, in combination with alcoloids, led to the results we wanted, that is, the actual murder of Menzhinsky."

This is fully corroborated by the accused Levin and Bulanov. The accused Bulanov testified as follows:

"Yagoda had planned the physical removal of Menzhinsky long ago. More than once in my presence he expressed resentment at the fact that Menzhinsky continued to live and occupy the post of head of the O.G.P.U. Subsequently he said point-blank that Menzhinsky must be removed. It was difficult to organize this through Dr. Levin because Menzhinsky disliked Levin and did not want to be treated by him. I then suggested to Yagoda that some other physician be 'attached' to Menzhinsky. This was done. With Dr. Levin's assistance, Dr. Kazakov was attached to Menzhinsky and he finished the job; to put it plainly, he hastened

Menzhinsky's death by manifestly wrong treatment."

Besides the murder of Gorky and Kuibyshev, the accused Levin and Kryuchkov, on direct instructions from the accused Yagoda, also killed Gorky's son, Maxim Peshkov Gorky, in 1934. The accused Kryuchkov testified:

"It was from Yagoda that I received instructions forcibly to get rid of Maxim Peshkov and later also of Gorky. Besides myself, Yagoda also enlisted the physicians Levin and Vinogradov and Professor Pletnev for the purpose of committing these crimes."

The accused Yagoda, after he was dismissed from the post of People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the U.S.S.R., also took measures to secure the murder of Yezhov, the present People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the U.S.S.R. The accused Yagoda testified:

"My dismissal from the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs and Yezhov's appointment in my place signified complete collapse of our plot, for it would be impossible to prevent the smashing of the anti-Soviet organization. Yezhov would unearth everything. Yezhov had to be got rid of. This was the only decision I arrived at and the one I began vigorously to carry out."

Yagoda tried to carry out his scheme through his accomplices, among whom the accused Bulanov played the most prominent role. As the accused Ya-

goda and Bulanov confessed, it was their intention to murder Yezhov by poisoning him with a special poison prepared for this purpose. After describing in detail the methods by which the accused Yagoda tried to murder Yezhov, the accused Bulanov testified that he, Bulanov himself, made a mixture of poisons intended for poisoning Yezhov. The accused Yagoda fully confessed his crime, testifying:

“Yes, I must admit that I organized this crime. I organized arrangements to kill Yezhov as a man who is dangerous to the counter-revolutionary plot and capable of disclosing our counter-revolutionary organization.”

The investigation has established that already in 1918, immediately after the October Revolution, at the time when the Brest peace was being concluded, Bukharin and his group of so-called “Left” Communists and Trotsky and his group, jointly with the “Left” Socialist-Revolutionaries, organized a plot against the life of Lenin as the head of the Soviet government.

As seen from the materials of the investigation, the object of Bukharin and the other conspirators was to prevent the conclusion of the Brest peace, to overthrow the Soviet government, to arrest and kill Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov and to form a new government of Bukharinites who, for purposes of camouflage, called themselves “Left” Communists, of Trotskyists and “Left” Socialist-Revolutionaries. Karelin, a former member of the Central Committee of the party of “Left” Socialist-Revolutionaries, testified:

“We reached a final agreement with the “Left” Communists in the struggle against the Soviet Government headed by Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov after the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party. On instructions from the Central Committee, the “Left” Socialist-Revolutionaries, Kamkov, Proshyan and I conducted negotiations with the “Left” Communists. Bukharin’s proposal was not to confine ourselves to arresting the government, but to destroy physically the leaders of the Soviet government—in the first place, Lenin and Stalin.”

Kamkov, one of the former leaders of the Central Committee of the “Left” Socialist-Revolutionaries, testified as follows:

“I personally had a conversation with Bukharin, who said approximately the following: ‘The struggle in our party against Lenin’s position on the question of the Brest peace is assuming acute forms. The question is being debated in our ranks of forming a new government consisting of ‘Left’ Socialist-Revolutionaries and ‘Left’ Communists.’”

Bukharin mentioned Piatakov as a possible candidate for leadership in the new government and said that it was contemplated changing the government by arresting its members, including Lenin. Subsequent negotiations with Bukharin were conducted by Karelin and Proshyan.

By the end of March a final agreement was reached between the “Left” Communists and the “Left” Socialist-Revolutionaries on the following terms: First,

the "Left" Communists would render organizational and political assistance to the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries in the struggle against the Bolsheviks and the Soviet government. Second, Lenin's government to be overthrown by joint action of the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries and "Left" Communists and a new government to be formed, consisting of "Left" Communists and "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries. After this, "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries organized the murder of Mirbach and the July insurrection. The "Left" Communists were fully informed of the preparations for the murder of Mirbach and the July insurrection.

Examined as witnesses, Yakovleva, Ossinsky, Mantsev, former leaders and active members of the group of "Left" Communists, fully corroborated the existence of the 1918 plot, organized on the initiative of the accused Bukharin by the Bloc of "Left" Communists and "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries against Lenin as head of the Soviet government. Yakovleva testified as follows:

"Bukharin unfolded to me the idea that the political struggle was assuming ever sharper forms and that things cannot be limited to the mere political formulation of lack of confidence in the Central Committee of the Party. Bukharin said that there must be an inevitable change in the leadership in connection with which there was the question of arresting Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov, and even their physical destruction."

Regarding Trotsky's role in the plot against Lenin in 1918, the accused Bukharin testified as follows:

"By this time the idea again arose of a *coup d'état* and the arrest of Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov as key figures in the Party and Soviet leadership. This time it was on Trotsky's initiative; evidently he learned of the proposal of the 'Left' Socialist-Revolutionaries, I think from Piatakov."

Mantsev, one of the leaders of the group of "Left" Communists, testified as follows:

"A few days after the conversation with Yakovleva, Trotsky asked me to come and see him. I had a long conversation with him at his home, during which he spoke at length on the necessity of killing Lenin and Stalin."

The investigating authorities now have at their disposal incontestable evidence that the dastardly attempt on Lenin's life, committed by the Socialist-Revolutionary terrorist, Kaplan, on August 30, 1918, was the direct outcome of the criminal designs of the "Left" Communists, headed by Bukharin, and their accomplices, the "Left" and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, and was carried out on the initiative of the accused Bukharin. Karelin testified as follows:

"I must also confess to the gravest crime, the participation of the 'Left' Socialist-Revolutionaries and 'Left' Communists in the organization of an attempt on Lenin's life. This fact has been concealed from the Soviet people for twenty years. It has been concealed that we, jointly with Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, on Bukharin's insistence, attempted to murder Lenin. The trial of the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries did not reveal the real

circumstances of this crime and did not bring to light the role which the 'Left' Socialist-Revolutionaries and 'Left' Communists played in it.

"After the July insurrection, the Central Committee of the 'Left' Socialist-Revolutionaries decided to adopt terrorist methods in the struggle against the Soviet government. It must be observed that, even after the insurrection, Proshyan met Bukharin, who openly put the question to him of physically destroying Lenin. More precisely, the question of committing a terrorist act against Lenin was raised by Bukharin in the second half of July, 1918. Proshyan reported this to us, the members of the Central Committee of the 'Left' Socialist-Revolutionaries."

This was also confirmed by Ossinsky. When the accused Bukharin was confronted with the witnesses Ossinsky, Yakovleva, Mantsev, Karelin and Kamkov at the office of the Procurator of the U.S.S.R., the witnesses fully confirmed their evidence summarized above. Under the weight of this evidence, the accused Bukharin admitted a number of criminal facts and testified as follows:

"I must admit that we maintained direct contact with the 'Left' Socialist-Revolutionaries who adopted a platform of forcible overthrow of the Soviet government, headed by Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov, with the subsequent arrest of Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov and the establishment of a new government of 'Left' Communists and 'Left' Socialist-Revolutionaries."

The investigating authorities consider as established:

1. In 1932-1933, on orders of intelligence services of foreign states hostile to the U.S.S.R., the accused in this case formed a group of plotters called the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists, with the object of spying on behalf of foreign states, wrecking, diversions, terrorism, undermining the military power of the U.S.S.R., provoking military attacks of the aforesaid states against the U.S.S.R., defeat of the U.S.S.R., dismemberment of the U.S.S.R., and wresting from it the Ukraine, White Russia, the Central Asiatic Republics, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidjan and the Maritime Provinces of the Far East—on behalf of aforesaid foreign states and, finally, overthrowing the existing socialist social and state system in the U.S.S.R. and restoring capitalism and the power of the bourgeoisie in the U.S.S.R.

2. The Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists entered into communication with certain foreign states with the object of receiving from them armed assistance for the realization of their criminal designs.

3. The Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists systematically engaged in espionage and supplied foreign intelligence services with state secret information of the utmost importance.

4. The Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists systematically carried on wrecking and diversion activities in various branches of socialist construction (industry, agriculture, railways, finance, municipal services, etc.).

5. The Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists organized a number of terrorist acts against the leaders of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet government and carried out terrorist acts against Kirov, Menzhinsky, Kuibyshev and Gorky.

All the accused stand convicted by the evidence of witnesses, as well as by the documents in the case and by material proofs, and have fully confessed their guilt of charges preferred against them.

On aforementioned grounds, the following persons: Nikolai Bukharin, born 1888; Alexei Rykov, born 1881; Henry G. Yagoda, born 1891; Nikolai Krestinsky, born 1883; Christian Rakovsky, born 1873; A. P. Rosengoltz, 1889; Vladimir I. Ivanov, 1893; Mikhail Chernov, 1891; Gregory T. Grinko, 1890; Isaak Zelensky, 1890; Sergei Bessonov, 1892; Akmal Ikramov, 1898; Faysulla Khodjajev, 1896; V. F. Sharangovich, 1897; Prokopi Zubarev, 1886; Pavel Bulanov, 1895; Lev Levin, 1870; D. D. Pletnev, 1872; Ignati Kazakov, 1891; Benjamin Maximov-Dikovsky, 1900, and Peter Kryuchkov, 1889, are accused of having, as active participants in an anti-Soviet plot, committed the heinous crimes against the state enumerated in paragraphs 1 to 5 of the definition of the charge, that is, crimes covered by Articles 58-1A; 58-2; 58-7; 58-8; 58-9 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R., and the accused Zelensky and Zubarev have, in addition, committed crimes covered by Article 58-13 of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

In view of the foregoing, all the aforementioned accused are subject to trial by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S. S.R. The cases of Ossinsky, Yakovleva, Mantsev, Karelin, Kamkov, Stukov, Artemenko, Zaporozhets,

Savolainen, Semyonov and Chlenov have been set aside for separate trial. The case of Dr. Vinogradov has been dropped in view of his demise. The case of Yenukidze was tried by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., on December 15, 1937.

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# Behind the Trotsky-Bukharin Plot

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