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# A World Political Trial.

By Béla Kun.

Moscow, 30th November 1930.

The trial of the Industrial Party today acquired the character of a world political trial. The day before yesterday, only the leaders of the Industrial Party were exposed. It transpired that the "Ministerial Candidates" who wanted to overthrow the firm proletarian power, have been tools in the hands of Poincaré, Briand, and General Jeannin. They were of blind tools, for they clearly saw whither their conspiracy, disguised by the ideology of the "rule of the engineers", by the slogan of the democratic republic, led. Nor were they unconscious tools, as they deliberately sold themselves to the imperialists for the purpose of espionage, for organising reason, for inner preparation of war. They sold themselves to the imperialists, who, as they knew, possessed the financial power and the armed forces for carrying out intervention against the Soviet Union, and who assured them that they would set up capitalism again in the Soviet Union by military force.

The trial has already completely revealed the main driving forces of counter-revolutionary intervention. There have been three such main forces: The Industrial Party in the interior of the country, French imperialism, led by Poincaré and Briand, and, as a connecting link between them, the émigré's organisation of big Russian capitalist exploiters, the Paris Industrial and Trade Committee.

In the year 1927 the Industrial and Trade Committee was uncertain whether the time for intervention had come or whether it were better to wait before immediately preparing military operations. The representative of the Union of Engineers Organisations showed less vacillation on this question, and it was Poincaré's representative who urged the most that intervention-plans should be immediately prepared. All this was clearly stated by Ramzin on November 1930:

"At this moment the strongest initiative forces which urged this question and exercised a pressure after their own manner were the French government circles."

"The centre of the whole movement, of the whole work," said Professor Fyedorov on November 27, "was transferred to the French General Staff; the direction of the activity was changed."

The sabotage organisation of the engineers, which up to that time strove to undermine the Soviet Power from within by their sabotage work in the sphere of economy and expected that the N.E.P. would degenerate into capitalism, was transformed by Poincaré and the officers of his General Staff into a political party. As the Industrial Party it received the new tasks, the new directives for its activity prescribed by Poincaré and his General Staff: Preparation for armed intervention within the Soviet Union, to spy on the Red Army, preparation of treachery in the Red Army in the event of

war, to carry out acts of diversion and to reduce the defensive power of the land of socialism by sabotage in the plan work and in the carrying out of economic plans.

It was not by chance that they wanted to fix on the year 1928 as the time for the intervention. Poincaré, who rightly calculated the latest possible time of the Ruhr occupation, unerringly sensed beforehand the commencement of the shaking of the relative stabilisation of capitalism. He wished to anticipate this shaking and at the same time to secure by war the capitalist solution of the creeping, general post-war crisis of capitalism. He knew that the only capitalist solution of the post-war crisis of capitalism and the only possibility of averting the extreme accentuation of this crisis is war against the Soviet Union, which means at the time the crushing of the whole of the international working class.

Already since 1927 Poincaré's "travelling generals", Le Rond, Jeanin, Franchet d'Esperay, have been visiting East and South East Europe, the Baltic countries and the Balkan States. Since this time when Poincaré and Briand assisted at the birth of the industrial Party, there commenced the forced armaments in all the states bordering the Soviet Union—in the first place Rumania and Poland. In Rumania, the war budget which in 1927 accounted for 22 per cent of the total state expenditure, in 1930 absorbed 52 per cent. In Poland the war budget in 1923 amounted to 68 million and in 1930 to 95 million dollars. Although it was the intention of France to conduct the war in the first place at the cost of Poland and Rumania, "to the last drop of blood of the last Polish and Rumanian soldier", by the passing of the Law introduced by the social democrat Paul Boncour the entire nation, including the women and children, have been militarised while the expenditure on armaments by France has increased from 19 per cent of the state budget in the year 1927 to 23 per cent in the year 1930.

There soon commenced the new capitalist offensive against the standard of living of the working class. A broad offensive was launched on all fronts: wage cuts in the factories, whereby the standard of living of the workers in employment was to be approximated to the standard of the unemployed; taxation offensive against the working class, for instance in France the indirect taxes, customs duties and monopoly burdens were increased from 286 francs per head of the population in 1926 to 324 francs in 1930, in order to be able in the same period to increase the expenditure on armaments per head of the population from 159 francs to 304 francs.

While the Industrial Party did not receive large subsidies directly out of these monies, all the more was spent on increasing the armaments of the countries adjoining the Soviet Union, on strengthening the Polish and Rumanian armies and, not least, on preparing new advances by Polish, Rumanian and Finnish fascism. France organised and financed King Carol's ascent to the throne of Rumania in order through him to secure still further the participation of Rumania in a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The coup carried out by the Lappo movement was preceded by a visit to Finland of members of the French General Staff. The French General Staff Officers also had a share in the adventurous plan of the Finnish General Staff officer Vallenius, according to which war was to break out this year. Pilsudski's elections are also to be regarded as part of the war preparations of French imperialism.

In this trial the leaders of the sabotage and espionage organisation have revealed that in the event of intervention in Russia being successful, power was to be in the hands of the French generals. The representative of the party of working peasants (counter-revolutionary Kondratiev group) Professor Jurovsky declared, on the basis of information received from Miljukov, that the white-guardist General Lukomsky was formally appointed leader of the intervention-war only because Poincaré and Briand and the general staff officers wished to create the impression that the war of intervention against the Soviet Union was not "purely a war from without but a war of the Russians".

Ossadshy, the leader of the saboteurs, former deputy chairman of the Economic Planning Commission of the Soviet Union and member of the central committee of the Industrial party, relates today, as a witness before the Court, that he personally estimated the chances of intervention also for the year 1931 as favourable from the point of view of the development of the inner policy of the Soviet Union, and that there-

upon Poincaré's agent indignantly replied: "How comes it that the central committee spoke of the year 1930."

Poincaré war better able to work in the bourgeois State than in the socialist State of the workers. By fresh fascist advances he succeeded in rendering Rumania, Poland and Finland more ready for war than they were formerly. The proletariat of the Soviet Union however, in alliance with the broadest strata of the peasantry, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, prevented the agents of M. Poincaré in carrying out the orders of the French government under the control of Messrs. K. and R. in Moscow. The 16th Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. was, as Ossadshy declared, a decisive blow to the Industrial Party and its espionage and sabotage work as it annihilated all hopes that the representatives of Right opportunism would be able seriously to shake the unity and fighting ability of the Bolshevik Party.

There has taken place that which Poincaré's agent, the Russian white-guardist Denissov, hinted at. When opposing the postponement of the intervention he declared in a conversation with Ossadshy: "You see yourself what is happening in Germany! Regroupings are taking place in the proletariat which will result in strengthening the role and importance of the Communist Party."

The strengthening of the revolutionary activity of the proletarian masses, the strengthening of the influence of the Communist Parties among the broad strata of the population of the capitalist countries — this is what frightened the agents of Poincaré and the Industrial Party and drove them to increase their counter-revolutionary activity in order to facilitate the realisation of the plan of armed intervention. Poincaré was afraid that the proletariat of the capitalist countries would not calmly look on and permit Poincaré to carry out the intervention against the Soviet Union.

This insistence on intervention in the year 1931 shows that Poincaré is not resting on the laurels which he won in the world war. He wishes to win fresh laurels. He wants a new war. He wants a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. And he wants it as soon as possible, as the world crisis of capitalism is developing into a political crisis and renders it urgently necessary for the bourgeoisie. Having failed to carry out intervention in 1930, according to Poincaré plans war is begun in the year 1931.

The proceedings have also revealed the part played by M. Miljukov, the leader of the Republican democratic emigration in Paris, and with him also the French social democracy, in preparing intervention. Professor Jurovsky states that in a conversation he had with Miljukov the latter told him that M. Briand would eagerly advocate intervention.

Jurovsky said: "Regarding his (Miljukov's) personal opinion and the attitude of the republican-democratic centre to the question of intervention, Miljukov said there appeared in him little hope of the possibility of changing the State Constitution or of an overthrow of the Soviet Power and of the dictatorship of the proletariat by a movement of the so-called forces in the Soviet Union. He, just as the republican-democratic centre, was an advocate of armed intervention abroad."

"To my question as to the chances and possibilities of such an intervention and especially the attitude of the political circles in France to this question, he told me that in his opinion the idea of an intervention was popular among leading circles in France. And especially to the question which I put as to the attitude of the Socialist Party of France to intervention, he declared he believed that although the workers of France would be opposed to every war, especially however to such a war, nevertheless the leaders of the Socialist Party, if openly, would in any case support such an intervention."

The representative of the II. International, M. Vandervelde, proclaimed not only his sympathies for Chiang-Kai-shek this hangman of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry, but also his agreement with the political programme of this hangman. Why should not M. Leon Blum, Renaudel and Boncour even their solidarity with the chosen leaders of a military dictatorship in Russia, the more so as these leaders will be the saviours of their own French imperialism.

The trial has not only exposed Poincaré, Briand, Jeanin, Le Rond, Franchet d'Esperay, and Richard; it has torn the pacifist mask from the face of M. Blum.

The international working class must clearly realise:

The intervention-war against the Soviet Union is being prepared at the cost of the standard of living of the working class of the capitalist countries.

The intervention-war is being prepared at the price of the fascist enslavement of the working class and of the peasantry in all the States bordering the Soviet Union.

The intervention-war is being planned at the cost of the blood of the international working class and of the peasantry.

The intervention-war is being planned in order, by the enslavement of the working class of the whole world, to make

sure of a capitalist solution of the world crisis of imperialism.

The intervention-war against the Soviet Union is not only the affair of the proletariat and of the peasantry of the Soviet Union; the intervention-war is the concern of the world proletariat; it depends upon it whether or not this war will be commenced in the year 1931.

The proletariat of the Soviet Union will be able to deal with its own saboteurs. The war of intervention which was fixed for the year 1931, can however only be averted by means of the united forces of the whole of the international working class, of the Soviet Union, of the workers and peasants of the capitalist and of the colonial countries.

## Only the Increased Revolutionary Activity of the International Proletariat Can Call a Halt to the Imperialists

By R. Page Arnot.

War is being prepared at this moment — not in the general sense that military and naval forces are being maintained — nor in the sense that war is inevitable under capitalism — but in the sense that exact, detailed, conscious and deliberate preparations are being made for the launching of a new war. By whom are these preparations being made? By those who are publicly preaching peace, by Briand and the whole gallery of Geneva diplomats. Mr. Briand never ceases to expound his "lofty ideals" for a United States of Europe, and makes speeches that bring tears to the eyes of his fascinated audiences. At the same time, this foul hypocrite is deliberately planning out the strategy, the armaments, transport, the arrangements of the high command, and, last but not least, the price to be paid for a new war. This war is directed to overthrow the Soviet Government of the workers and peasants and to set up a capitalist government in Russia. Of this reality a glimpse is given by the trial of the counter-revolutionaries which began at Moscow this week.

The story of this trial throws a light on the preparations that are being made. These preparations have not stopped. They are going right ahead now; but the glimpse given by this trial may enable the workers to understand how, under a **Labour Government**, full freedom is given to great trust magnates, like **Deterding** and the heads of **Vickers** to carry on their plots for waging war and carrying fire and slaughter into the land of the Soviets, with which the Labour Government pretends to be on friendly relations. It will also enable the workers to understand how it was that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the head of the State church, was let loose to spout out his venom in the so-called Christian protest campaign last spring. It will show what it means when Lloyd George proclaims that he too is against Soviet "dumping" of grain at the same moment as he proclaims his close friendship with the Labour Government. All these are preparations for war.

Day after day, as the trial has gone on more revelations are given. It would be worth while for every working man and for every working woman in Britain to be able to read a full account of this trial so that they may be forewarned of the danger that is hanging over their lives and the lives of every member of the working class; so that they may know that within a few months they may be torn from their present way of life and sent to die, as the workers were sent to the slaughter in Flanders mud fifteen years ago.

### The First Phase.

In 1926 the conspiracy first began to take a definite shape. A secret group of engineers, functioning openly as the "Council of United Engineering Organisations", ostensibly a purely technical organisation, began their wrecking operations. These engineers were in a particularly favourable position to carry out the wrecking. For they included the technical heads of all the strategic positions in the economy of the Soviet Union. They were on the boards controlling the most vital centres of production, especially of power and machine production, inside Soviet Russia. In the first phase, their programme was simply to retard the industrialisation of the Soviet Union. For this purpose they operated along two lines. These were: 1. To prevent **minimum** plans; 2. to carry on sabotage from above.

Thus, the possibilities of the expansion of Soviet Socialist industry were continually cramped, while, at the same time, they planned and carried out measures of sabotage with the view to creating a crisis in 1930, in which year, they were told, on the authority of Briand and Churchill, a war of intervention would be possible.

They were in a position to learn the views of Briand in France and Churchill in Britain, because, in their capacity as technical heads of Soviet industry they were making very frequent trips to chief European capitals, especially to Paris. There, in Paris, they met regularly with the expropriated capitalists, the owners, before the revolution, of the mines and factories of czarist Russia, who now were gathered together in what was called the "Commercial and Industrial Party", or, as it put shortly in Russian, "Torgprom". These former bosses of Russian industry once more became the bosses of these highly skilled technicians holding posts inside Soviet industry. Their old bosses were able to put these engineers in contact with such magnates as **Deterding** of the oil trust, the Royal Dutch Shell on the one hand, and, on the other hand, with politicians and soldiers both in France and England.

In the summer of this year the "Daily Worker" published the statement of Sir Henri Deterding this multi-millionaire onponent of Rockefeller, subsidiser of the plots, conspiracies and risings in Georgia, which was made to a meeting of white guard Russians in Paris. Sir Henri said to them: "the hour of liberation is nearer than you may think". By liberation we now know he meant precisely this conspiracy and preparation for war on the Soviet Union.

In the meantime, in this first phase of 1926—27, through the Torgprom in Paris, a connection was formed with the French Government and the French General Staff. The General Staff of the French Army, during this phase of the conspiracy, formed an international committee on which there were representatives from Britain, France and Poland. The names of these representatives are unknown as yet. We do not know who was sent from the British Army or from Britain, but it is definitely known that General Jeanin, one of the leading figures of French militarism, was the chairman of this international committee.

Naturally, this international military committee kept stressing the necessity of work being carried on **from inside** as preliminary to intervention from outside. In the evidence available so far it appears that the need of inside work was also being impressed on them in England by those with whom they came in contact there. **Winston Churchill** laid special stress on this, and so did **Colonel Lawrence**, with whom they were in very close connection.

### The Second Phase:

The second phase of the conspiracy began to develop in 1928 when the Central Committee of the Communist Party was beginning to develop the Five Year Plan, and was overriding the timorous and hesitating proposals that had been put before them. Consequently, the situation inside the Soviet Union was taking a new turn which demanded a change in policy. At the same time, their foreign paymasters were dissatisfied with the progress of the conspiracy and pressed for more immediate results. It was in this year that the extensive plan for wrecking the coal industry of the Donetz Basin came to light in the

famous Shakhly case. It is known now that Rabinovich, the head of the Shakhly sabotage organisation, now serving a 16-year sentence, was a member of this group.

But apart from Shakhly, it became clear from the new rate of development and Bolshevik drive for work of the Communist Party Central Committee that it would be dangerous to carry forward any longer the policy of devising minimum plans. It would have run counter to the whole drive of the working class and would expose the authors of minimum plans to suspicion. Accordingly, the schemers, with a great deal of ability, executed a complete turn about and adopted an entirely new tactic. This was to produce what might be called super-maximum plans, plans so huge, requiring so many years for their completion, that they would freeze-up enormous quantities of the available capital of the Soviet Union. After discussion, the Paris bosses agreed to the new tactics of the second phase.

During this second phase the organisation of the conspiracy developed considerably. The heads of the conspiracy met as a body; they were able to do this, because, as the technical heads of government departments, they could meet and appear to be some government committee. Below this central body, the organisation was carried out on what has been called the chain system, that is, each member of this central body was responsible for a particular industry, i. e. responsible for wrecking it. Under him would be a lieutenant, and this lieutenant knew nothing of the existence of this central body, knew only the man to whom he was responsible. In this way they gathered together no less than 2,000 men throughout the Socialist industry of Russia, men who were there in order to wreck the efforts of the working class; whose purpose was to plunge Russia and the world into a new imperialist war, with the aim of restoring the rule of rent, interest and profit and of thrusting the workers back into wage slavery. These men were the advance guard of wreckers and of spies for the French General Staff.

In the latter part of this second phase, the plans for the intervention became very definite. They part to be played by each of the European powers concerned took on more and more definite shape in the course of the committee's meetings and conversations. In particular the strategy for the opening of the intervention was worked out in some detail. It was agreed that Rumania would seize on some frontier incident, and on the basis of this would declare war. Poland, allied at the moment with Rumania in close military alliance, would immediately join in and would march right up the Dnieper and make straight for Moscow, while, at the same time, an attack would be made simultaneously on Leningrad by the landing troops. The Leningrad attack was not worked out in the same detail at this stage as were the plans for the Rumanian-Polish sector. The whole of the Wrangel army, that is, the army of Russian white guards which has been kept in being for over ten years, and comprises throughout the whole world a force of about 100,000 skilled anti-Bolshevik troops, was to be made available with General Lukhowsky at their head. The difficulty about exact details on the Leningrad front was a certain inability to reach an immediate agreement between the English and French sides of the conspiracy. There was at this stage sufficient cooling-off between the allies to leave it rather uncertain as to how exactly they would operate on the Leningrad sector, and the exact part that would be played by the British fleet. That British forces would seize the oil fields of Baku and of Grozny in the Caucasus was generally agreed, but, whether in addition to blockading the Black Sea, they were prepared to land troops in the Baltic, was still under discussion during this phase. But these discussions did not hinder the driving forward of the plans. Up to this point of the second phase the plans were all for a war of intervention in 1930. The strategy was worked out for this year and the calculations of the conspirators inside were that their freezing policy would bring difficulties, if not collapse, in the Five-Year Plan at just this time.

### The Third Phase.

The year 1929 saw the development of the third phase in the conspiracy. Again a change was caused by events both internal and external. The policy of the second phase was not working as well as had been expected, and accordingly, at the meetings in Paris, the conspirators were urged to supplement their economic policy with certain political, military moves. They were instructed first of all to attempt to organise groups inside the Red Army, both for purposes of receiving military information and to serve as nuclei for organised minorities, at

the moment of intervention. Secondly, to organise in advance what, in military parlance, is sometimes called rear diversions, that is, the organisation in advance of the blowing up of bridges, the wrecking of pivotal points on the railroads, etc. At the same time, as we shall see, certain external events were compelling a change in the exact dated plans of intervention.

In the meantime, throughout these four years, this group of engineers engaged in this political, military, economic conspiracy, were developing political ideas, and, in the course of the meetings, finally elaborated a definite political programme. They discussed the future from every possible angle, worked out the several variations of political plans according to circumstances, and finally developed both an internal policy and foreign policy.

What was their programme? First, the overthrow of Bolshevism; secondly, the establishment of a military dictatorship as a transitional stage to, thirdly, the development of a bourgeois democratic republic. While their programme was in restoration of private property to its former owners, they laid it down that in those cases where the original property was no longer in its original shape, the government would form a trust out of which the former owners would receive part share amounting to the value of their property as it stood in 1917, the remainder of the shares would be sold on the stock exchange or otherwise, to the highest bidder. Thus, they provided themselves with an assured income in the best manner of South American Republics; and contemplated quite a lot of State Capitalism along lines which should surely gladden the heart of Herbert Morrison and Philip Snowden. As regards the land, while they were in favour of the former landlords receiving back their property, they mainly looked to a development of rich-peasant economy.

Their foreign policy was also worked out in detail, and was, of course, the thing most discussed with Briand and Poincaré. First of all, France stipulated that the old czarist debts were to be paid in full and in gold. That is, they were not to be funded as every other war debt has been, nor were they, like the French war debts, to be paid in a four-fifths depreciated currency, but in gold. Secondly, France was to obtain the most extensive mining concessions; thirdly, England's price was oil, oil to be used in the world struggle between Britain and America; fourthly, Poland was to get Kiev and the whole territory around the right bank of the Dnieper. The share of the spoil that was to fall to Rumania was not worked out and possibly they reckoned on the superior vultures, France, England, and Poland, driving away Rumania from the carcass.

All of these negotiations were carried through by Palchinsky who was the head of the organisation, and by Ramzin, the leader of the eight men now in the dock in the present trial in Moscow. But when Palchinsky and Ramzin bartered away Russia to the imperialists as the price of destroying the Bolsheviks, the others felt that too hard a bargain had been struck, and, in consequence, there was a certain friction inside the organisation or rather, the Party, as it should now be called. For by 1929 the conspirators, becoming more and more conscious of their high political role, had begun to regard themselves as a political party; to call themselves by the name of the "Industrial Party", to work out their future cabinet, — who was to be the Prime Minister, who was to be their President of the Board of Trade, who was to be their Chancellor of the Exchequer, and so on and so forth.

In 1929 they learned from abroad that after all it would be impossible to carry out the intervention in 1930 and that it was postponed to the following year.

While the robbers were quarreling events were moving rapidly inside the Soviet Union. Palchinsky, who had been the head of the organisation, was arrested and shot, and his place was taken by Ramzin. The only change in the situation, favorable to the conspirators, was that they could now count on Finland joining in and becoming the base for the landing of troops in the attack on Leningrad. This was the third phase of the conspiracy, with intensified sabotage, attempts at creation of groups in the Red Army for purposes of espionage, and a revised strategic plan whose operation was postponed till 1931 but whose scope was amplified by the inclusion of Finland and the Baltic States. The ring around the western borders of the Soviet Union was complete.

The unravelling of the threads of this plot is now taking place in Moscow, before the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, in the presence of thousands of workers and amid demonstrations reckoned in the press by competent observers to amount to a

## POLITICS

### Government by Emergency Decree in Germany.

Berlin, 1st December 1930.

At a meeting of the Reichs cabinet which lasted from 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon to 4 o'clock this morning the negotiations on the laws relating to the financial plan were concluded. It was decided to put through all parts of the financial plan which do not involve a change of the Constitution by means of an emergency order under article 48 of the Constitution. In this emergency decree there is also to be included an alteration of the old order of 26th July 1930. The Reichstag is to meet at 3 o'clock on Wednesday, in order to discuss the budget and then to be prorogued after a few days. The Communist fraction will submit a motion calling for the cancellation of the emergency orders and also move a vote of no-confidence in the government.

The "*Rote Fahne*" of 2nd December writes:

Hindenburg has signed the emergency decree. The exceptional laws of the Brüning government are to come into force. Parliament has no say in the matter. The poll tax is to be carried out. The robbery of the unemployed is to be accomplished. New taxes on articles of necessity are announced. The salaries of the civil servants and officials are to be cut down. Twenty-five new laws are to be issued, each one of which constitutes a bare-faced robbery of the masses of the working people.

Yesterday there commenced a development which will have the most serious consequences. The semi-fascist Brüning government has taken the decisive step to the setting up of a fascist dictatorship over Germany. The fascist dictatorship no longer threatens; it is already here. The bourgeois-democratic State form of the German Republic has ceased to exist. We have a fascist Republic.

In this historical hour it is necessary to brand the inexcusable, the unbounded responsibility of the social democracy before the whole of the working class. The social democracy, including all its Left demagogues, unanimously approved the emergency orders of the 18th October. Right up to the last hour the social democratic leaders and Ministers did everything in order to set up the fascist dictatorship. "The representatives of the people", exclaimed the social democratic Prime Minister Braun a few days ago in his speech at Bielefeld, "must not be surprised if the government does its duty and extends very widely the bounds of its constitutional authority". That is not only a mere toleration, but a direct instigation, a formal incitement to set up the fascist dictatorship. "There is no fascist danger, the Communists are the danger", cried the social democratic Police president Grzesinski at a meeting of the Reichsbanner in Berlin. What Hermann Müller prepared, what Hörsing promoted, what Wels proclaimed and what Severing—above all Severing—has done, was right from the beginning to the end lackey service for the fascist dictatorship.

The whole consequences of this development, the whole shame, the whole responsibility rests upon the social democracy. The social democratic leaders are still allowed to retain their ministerial jobs in Prussia. They are only docile employees, executive organs, policemen of the fascist dictatorship in the Reich. But events are now developing and cannot be checked. The first stage of the fascist dictatorship is Brüning's state of emergency with the co-operation of the social democratic leaders. The next and the following stage will be the military dictatorship, the entry of Hugenberg and Hitler into the government. Only children can believe that the Brüning dictatorship is only a means of "preventing" the Nazi government. The national socialists are still allowed to continue their sham opposition for a few weeks in order to mislead the radicalised petty bourgeois masses. Then they also will formally enter the Reichs government. For the objective character, the economic and political content of the Brüning dictatorship is already out and out fascist.

The working class must not for a moment deceive itself regarding the deadly seriousness of the development which

to over a million working men and women thronging through the streets, angered at the attempt of the world capitalists to wreck the Five-Year Plan and in their anger, all the more determined to carry it through successfully; and to repel every assault of the imperialists upon the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

But the unravelling of these threads in Moscow, though it reveals the activities of the enemy, or some of them, by no means puts a stop to these activities. Let no-one be so simple-minded as to think that this discovery means the end of intervention.

Did the discovery and nipping-in-the-bud of the Jameson Raid in 1896 prevent the further assault of imperialist Britain upon the South African republics at the earliest moment possible? It did not. The revelation in the spring of 1921 of the fact that Scotland Yard, at the very moment when the British Government was concluding a trade agreement with the Soviet Government "as a preliminary to a general treaty of peace", was printing a forged edition of "Pravda" for distribution inside Russia, did not prevent the furnishing of assistance to the conspirators in the so-called Georgian rising three years later.

Owing to the big demand on our space entailed by the reports of the trial of the Industrial Party in Moscow we are compelled to hold over the publication of the conclusion of the Resolution: "On the Immediate Tasks of the Agitprop Work of the Mid-European Parties of the Comintern", the first part of which appeared in our last number, until next week.

Editor.

To take another example, the revelations made about Churchill's subservience to Admiral Kolchak in 1919 did not prevent the British Government from aiding the Polish attack on the Soviet Union in the spring of 1920—his ministers were negotiating with the late Comrade Krassin on terms of apparent friendliness, that his Majesty, King George sent his encouraging telegram to Pilsudski, at the moment when the Polish armies were marching on Kiev. Anyone, therefore, who spreads the brief that the danger is over is only spreading an illusion of the most dangerous kind amongst the working class of western Europe; and is actually aiding the capitalist press in the systematic attempt it has made to hide the news of this plot for a new war, or to minimise it, or pretend it is a "fake".

If there is one fact which the workers must realise when they hear about this trial, it is that the danger of war is terribly near, and that it can only be averted by the action of the workers themselves.

What did Ramzin himself say in his statement? What did he give as the first cause of the postponement of the intervention from 1930 to 1931? It was "increased revolutionary activity of the working masses". Staggering under the world economic crisis, capitalism fiercely turns upon the working class, upon the exploited classes throughout the whole world, demanding wage cuts, from railwaymen and from miners, from sheltered and unsheltered trades alike, cuts down the unemployment benefit, plans to lower real wages by tariffs (or alternatively, by Labour Party import boards and wheat quotas), beats down the resistance of the masses in the colonies, by every ferocious and murderous means, imprisoning 23,000 Indians, killing and flogging in all Asia, Africa and South America; developing more and more towards fascist forms of government; and backed in that development by every bourgeois political party, liberal, labour and conservative; and at length as all its measures to find a way out of the crisis are futile, finally drives towards war as its last "way out". War against the Soviet Union gives them the vision of the end of the Five-Year Plan and of the progress towards Socialism, an end of the great advance of the revolutionary working class, and the opening of a new market over one-sixth of the globe. What can stop them? Only "increased revolutionary activities of the masses". Ten years ago, at the time of the Polish War, the British workers and French workers, by their action, were able to help the Red Army to stem the onrush of the counter-revolutionary forces. This year again the workers of Britain must act knowing that it depends on them alone to ward off the coming war against the revolutionary working class, not only of the Soviet Union, but of the whole world. Only if the workers take action against the warmongers will the war be prevented.

has now commenced. We are at the greatest turning point since 1918.

Brüning already announces through his press a change in foreign policy. That means a policy of war against the Soviet Union. The events on the Upper Silesian frontier speak a plain language. The war-mongers on both sides of the German-Polish frontier can at any moment come to an agreement through the League of Nations in order to join in the common war against the Soviet Union on the side of French imperialism. The trial of the saboteurs in Moscow is an alarm signal. The establishment of a fascist dictatorship in Germany is the greatest conceivable accentuation of the danger of war and intervention in the whole of Europe.

The bourgeoisie is playing its last card. Fascism means the most cruel employment of force against the subjugated majority of the people; it means letting loose civil war against the rebelling masses of the people.

The German working class is not and will not allow itself to be beaten. The Communist Party is marching victoriously forward at the head of the millions of toilers. Ever fresh masses are joining the front of the fight for a Soviet Germany. The chief enemy now is the fascist dictatorship. The fascist dictatorship must be overthrown by the mass of the people. From now on to overthrow the fascist dictatorship means to overthrow capitalism. Nobody, no force except the proletarian dictatorship, except Soviet Germany, can liquidate and take the place of the fascist dictatorship.

The Communist Party is now the only, the revolutionary opposition to the Brüning government. The social democracy is now reaping the results of its twelve years betrayal of the proletariat. It is rotting while still alive; it is doomed to perish.

Never was the clan of the working class, their profound determination, their conscious will to set up the proletarian united front so great as at the present time. Never has the revolutionary proletariat had greater prospects than now to become the true leader of a people's revolution in the sense of Karl Marx.

## Political and Financial Scandals in France.

By Berlioz (Paris).

The Tardieu Ministry had everywhere proclaimed that it would be a ministry of Prosperity. At the present moment it is the government of Unemployment, which is rapidly spreading, of the Stock Exchange which is collapsing, of the banking houses, which are being swept away by the storm of panic, of bankruptcies, which are becoming more and more frequent. Only a few days ago Tardieu cynically announced that he intended to remain in office until the elections in 1932. But already three members of his government have had to be thrown overboard because they are all too deeply involved in the repeated political-financial scandals and because his majority was obviously crumbling.

The position of the Paris money market had become so bad that it was obvious to everybody that France has also been drawn into the world crisis. The index of French securities without a fixed rate of interest sank from 496 in January 1930 to 440 in July, 395 in October and about 375 in November (the index reached its highest point in February 1929 when it stood at 548). The big customers forsook the Stock Exchange. In the middle of October the Government attempted to check the panic by instituting legal proceedings against the "unknown instigators of manoeuvres and originators of rumours" calculated to disturb the market.

But it was already much more than a question of rumours. A number of banks collapsed, among them being the **Vasseur Bank**, one of the oldest in Paris. On October 31st, the monthly settlement day, the **Oustric Bank** was unable to meet its obligations.

M. Oustric amassed his fortune in the period of unbridled speculation which accompanied the violent fluctuations of the franc in 1926. At that time he obtained at a very low price the control of a great number of industrial works and undertakings, including the **Peugeot automobile factory** and the majority of the boot and shoe factories in the Paris district, which employ more than 40,000 workers.

When, however, the businesses deteriorated, the rival combinations of "bear" speculators who aimed at getting hold

of his shares, aided by the collapse of his Italian business friend **Guallino** and in spite of the repeated support afforded him by the **Bank of France**, won the upper hand.

The Oustric group was seized by the catastrophe; but this had other and very great effects. A dozen stock jobbers were rendered bankrupt. The **Adam Bank**, an old deposit bank under control of which had been taken over by Oustric, had to cease payment on 2nd November. As a result of the direct and indirect effects the **Crédit de Rhône** in Lyons, the **French African Bank** and a dozen provincial banks had to do the same. Depositors were seized with panic. They began to withdraw their deposits, and even the biggest banks were compelled for weeks on end to pay out some hundred millions of francs. The Government tried to check the panic by issuing numerous reassuring statements and requesting the big banks and the Bank of France to co-operate in aiding certain banks and preventing the collapse of others, and also hastily introduced various Bills which should grant protection to the depositors.

The position on the Stock Exchange is still exceedingly bad. In spite of the efforts of the union of stock jobbers several of their members failed as a result of the crisis. In **Bordeaux** one stock exchange agent is being arrested after another. The Finance Minister, the Polish Ambassador in Paris and the Governor of the Bank of France are obliged to make every effort in order to save the **Crédit Général des Pétrole** group, which controls almost the entire mineral oil output of Poland. Credits are being sought everywhere in order to avoid the threatened insolvency of all the wholesale diamond dealers of Paris.

Among the causes of this panic there must also be mentioned the fear, which has seized all sections of the population of France, of an immediately approaching war.

The capitalist rottenness is becoming apparent. The intrigues and manoeuvres of the speculators against their rivals are increasing. Oustric and some other stock exchange sharks are arrested. The accused reply, however, by exposing the misdeeds of their accusers.

But Parliament itself is also splashed with some of the mud which all these scandals have stirred up. The machinations of the Oustric group, especially the introduction of a number of doubtful securities on the Paris market, could only be carried out thanks to government favours, and promises by parliamentary deputies belonging to various parties.

The names of prominent persons are mentioned as being among those involved in the scandals. They include the Minister for Justice **Raoul Péret** and four other members of the government, as well as 33 deputies, all of whom are said to have received bribes. The Opposition seized on the affair, but Tardieu, on his part, caused rumours to be spread that he had the names of a whole number of members of the Opposition who are equally compromised.

On November 14 the socialists and radicals brought in an interpellation, which however related only to the case of **Péret**, who confessed to having been the paid legal adviser of M. Oustric. Tardieu shielded his colleague in the most shameless manner, and demanded of his already somewhat reduced majority a vote of confidence, which was granted to him with a majority of 47 votes. But three days later he replaced **Péret**, who had become impossible and in the meantime had resigned, by **Chéron**. The Opposition reacted by demanding a parliamentary committee of investigation which should examine the facts regarding the collaboration between, finance, politics and justice.

After long hesitation Tardieu agreed to the setting up of the committee of investigation, but on condition that the actual Oustric affair should be relegated to the background and all the more or less scandalous assaurs of the post-war time should be dealt with along with it. The Chamber accepted this proposal unanimously and with enthusiasm. Only the Communists voted against it, as they refused to lend their support to such a comedy.

The Committee has been appointed. Two thirds of its members are supporters of the government majority. Nobody has any illusions regarding it, in spite of the fact that a great fuss is being made about it in order to divert public attention from the trial of the Industrial Party now taking place in Moscow.

Two Under-Secretaries of State, **Falcoz** and **Lautier**, have been called upon by Tardieu to resign as both of them had

"advised" Oustric and been "customers of his bank". On November 28th, there was a stormy meeting of the Chamber and it was only with the greatest difficulty that Fardien succeeded in obtaining a majority of 14 votes. The Left-Centre are abandoning him and there is not the least doubt that the days of the government are numbered.

These scandals will in turn help to accelerate the economic crisis, for French industry has hitherto been able to maintain a relatively favourable position owing to the abundance of cheap capital it had at its disposal, of which it will now be deprived as a result of the withdrawal of bank deposits.

The big bourgeoisie is very much concerned about this. The old "democrat" **Charles Dulot**, in his paper the "**Information Sociale**" of November 20, explains the underlying reasons for his consternation as follows:

"Does not a parliamentary sitting, such as that of last Friday, during the course of which we witnessed the collapse of nearly the whole facade of traditional civil rectitude, represent a most terrible danger to the social stability of the ruling class of this country?"

## CHINA

### The White and Red Front in China.

By Chie Hua.

The apparently calm development of the political situation in China after the subsidence of the fight between Chiang Kai-shek and the northern Generals cannot hide the fact that the crisis is becoming steadily more acute and that the chaos is assuming ever larger proportions. It is true there is again heard lot of talk by the Kuomintang about peace and the unity of China, but we can still very well remember how often these high-sounding words have been repeated in the past three years of the bloody rule of this party. Whilst Chiang-Kai-Shek returned as victor from the North, Chang-Hsue-liang, who a few weeks previously had been won as a "faithful follower of Nanking", is eagerly continuing his endeavours to extend his sphere of power in the North. He has forbidden any activity of the Kuomintang in his sphere and refused to recognise the officials for the North appointed by Nanking. The excess revenue from the customs office in Tientsin has been sent to Mukden instead of Nanking. Chang-Hsue-liang's attitude towards Nanking reminds one of the attitude which Yen Si-shen and Feng-Yu-hsiang adopted six months ago against Chiang-kai-shek. Neither the reports from the North nor the imperialist press in Shanghai are able any longer to deny this fact. Our estimate after the march of Mukden troops to Peking, that Chang-Hsue-liang's intervention, which many people regarded as an act of friendship towards Nanking, means an aggravation of the war of the generals and a hostile attitude towards Chiang-Kai-shek in the future, is more and more confirmed by the facts.

Simultaneously with the preparations for the new fight against the North, the Nanking Government is now eagerly drawing up a plan to "exterminate the Communists" and "unite the village". At the Conference of military rulers of the provinces of Hunan, Hupeh and Kiangsi, which was held in Wuhan, it was decided that each province should supply 6 to 8 military aeroplanes, 8 to 10 warships, and 3 to 8 divisions of troops for the purpose of carrying out this campaign. In other provinces commissars were appointed to supervise the fighting measures against the Communists. It is heard from reliable sources that Chiang-Kai-shek intends first to remove the red danger in the territory under his rule before proceeding against Chang-Hsue-liang. Chiang-Kai-shek has learnt something from the experiences in the fight against Yen and Feng. The sudden capture of Changsha by the Red Army just at the moment when the fight on the Tientsin-Pukow railway broke out, caused a serious shaking of his position in the interior of his territory and also had a strong political influence on the soldiers of his army.

But while the counter-revolutionary front is planning measures for combating the Reds, while it is concentrating its troops on the provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi and Fukien, the Red Armies are victoriously advancing. The town of Kiang in the South of Kiangsi still remains in the hands of the Red

Army under the leadership of Chude and Mactsedung. A short time ago the town of Pengtse on the Yangtse in the North East of Kiangsi was taken by a red army numbering 3,000 under the leadership of Fangdesming. At the same time the town of Chindedsen in North Kiangsi, the centre of the pottery industry of China, fell for the sixth time into the hands of the Red Army. Nanchang, the capital of Kiangsi, is also threatened. The eastern district of Pingkiang in the province of Hunan, an important strategical point, is in the possession of the Soviets. Liuyanghs, a northern country town, is surrounded by a red army 7000 strong. A part of the red army which has just occupied Pengtse is now advancing on Kiukiang on the Yangtse, while another part is marching on the province of Anhwei. The Kuomintang troops which were sent to the town of Kiang proved to be too weak and were unable to achieve anything. On the other hand, however, the Red Army is proceeding systematically according to a well-thought out plan.

In spite of every assistance given by the imperialists to the Kuomintang in the form of munitions and military advisers (especially German), the Kuomintang troops have often been put to flight by the Red Army. It is reported from Kiangsi that the Kuomintang troops sent there to fight the Communists only remain in those places where there is no red army in his neighbourhood, and do not dare to undertake any attack against the Red Army. The fact that over 60 of the 86 districts of the province of Kiangsi are either besieged or already occupied, by revolutionary forces proves the weakness of the Kuomintang troops. The incapability of the Kuomintang in face of the Red Army is causing the imperialists to proceed directly with their own gun-boats against the insurgent workers and peasants. The gun-boats of the English, American and Japanese imperialists are stationed along the whole length of the Yangtse, and bombard the Red Army on both sides of the river. Thus, for instance, on 17th October the Japanese warship Tali Maru bombarded the Red Army in Pengtse. On the following day it continued the bombardment, in which a Chinese warship also joined, to which however the guns of the Red Army gave an effective reply. At Hosue on the Yangtse machine guns and heavy guns kept up a drum-fire for half an hour. Recently the American warship near Sanchaivan fired 270 shots at the Red Army.

The fighters for the Soviets are replying to the imperialist interventionists not only with energetic defensive measures but at the same time are organising an extensive work of enlightenment among the foreign sailors and marines. The seamen of the foreign cargo boats which come from Shanghai relate that for 400 miles, from Shasi to Pengtse, on both sides of the Yangtse river red flags are to be seen waving at 20 different places, while huge posters bear the inscriptions, "Support the Red Army", "Long live the Soviets". Leaflets printed in English are often secretly distributed among the foreign imperialist troops in order to awaken the sympathy of the class brothers in soldiers' uniform for the Red Army and to call upon them to turn their rifles against their own officers. Recently an appeal in English, signed by the Central Committee of the C.P. of China, was distributed by illegal means among the sailors on foreign warships. This fact was known to the imperialist naval authorities, but they are keeping the matter quiet. This appeal stated: "We Chinese workers, peasants and exploited masses are conducting a life and death struggle against our common enemy, the imperialists and the Kuomintang, for our emancipation and for the setting up of the Soviet power, the power of the workers, peasants and soldiers in China. All of you are sons of workers and peasants in Europe and America. On the one hand the imperialists oppress you and on the other hand they make use of you and compel you to fight against the Chinese workers, peasants and red army. This means that you have to slaughter your own class brothers for the benefit of your enemies. . . . We know very well that it is not your will, but that you are compelled by your officers to fire on the red army and the revolutionary masses. Unite and fight for the immediate withdrawal of the imperialist warships from China, for the abolition of the unequal treaties, and the handing back of the concessions to China. Defend the Chinese Revolution! Fight at the same time for the revolution and for the establishment of the Soviet Power in your own country! Turn your weapons against your enemies who are also our enemies — the imperialists and your officers. . . ."

The whole of the world proletariat which is awaiting with eager expectation the All-China Soviet Congress to be held

on 11th of December, the anniversary of the Canton Soviet revolt, will certainly regard the contents of the illegal appeal to the foreign soldiers as addressed to itself and energetically and with all means defend the Chinese Soviet revolution. Then the Soviet banner of the Chinese revolution will be held aloft and carried forward to new victories, until the final establishment of the All-China Soviet Republic.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Recent Strikes in Spain.

By Juan Perez.

For some months past strikes and strike movements have been following one after the other in Spain. The general strikes of Seville and of Bilbao in June last were the expression of the growing class struggle in Spain and were rightly regarded as a signal for more extensive struggles.

Far from Seville and Bilbao, where the Communists possess great influence over the proletariat and lead its fights, far from Barcelona, where a big proletariat is concentrated, which is deceived by the anarchist leaders, the government of Spain enjoyed peace and calm in its peaceful capital town in which street fighting was unknown.

But this calm and peace have now disappeared. The proletariat of Madrid has joined in the fights of the workers which are shaking the whole of Spain, from North to South and from East to West. Following the collapse of a house which was being built, which caused the death of four workers, the building workers organised a street demonstration on the occasion of the burial of these victims, during the course of which it came to collisions with the civil-guard who killed three workers and wounded over fifty others. This crime on the part of the police became a signal for a general strike. Pushed on by the masses, the reformist leaders were compelled to issue the strike slogan, but at the same time they continually exhorted the workers to remain calm and orderly, whilst the militant spirit of the masses found expression in numerous collisions with the police.

For a whole day the life of the city was at a complete standstill. The Ministers, trembling with fear, were not to be found, whilst King Alfonso deemed it advisable to go on a journey. To the government of the royal murderer the strength of the labour movement in Madrid came as a surprise. They were not the only ones to be surprised. The reformist leaders were astonished and frightened by the movement of the masses and hastened to bring the strike to an end by sending the workers back to work in small groups, one trade after the other.

The order to resume work was not obeyed. In numerous factories the workers remained on strike, thereby following the slogans of the Communist Party, whilst the treachery of the reformist leaders became so glaringly obvious that the indignation of the workers was expressed in the following formula: "In order to do what they have done the socialists have certainly received money from Berenguer."

For the rest, the comments of the bourgeois press on the events only served to show to the workers the treachery of the reformist leaders. In fact the press has praised the moderation of the reformist leaders, and Berenguer, in an interview which is rather compromising for Caballero and the other reformist scoundrels as well as for the socialist leaders, even spoke of the necessity of the socialist party, which "defends" the workers' interests.

The general strike in Madrid has had a great effect upon the whole of the proletariat of Spain. Solidarity strikes broke out in various towns. In Seville the Communists succeeded in bringing nearly the whole proletariat of the town out in a 24-hour strike, which was connected with fierce street fighting. In Barcelona the anarchist leaders issued the strike slogan. It came to collisions with the police and the members of the "free" trade unions (fascists) of the notorious Martinez Anido; there were killed and wounded. Here also as in Madrid the masses acted over the heads of the leaders.

The Communist Party, which is still weak in Barcelona, nevertheless led the fight of the workers in the streets while the anarchist leaders, terrified by the character of the movement, issued the order to resume work, giving as a reason that they

did not wish to endanger national economy. Finally, solidarity strikes with the workers in Madrid took place in several towns in Catalonia and in Alicante, which led to fierce collisions with the police. In Valencia the workers seized possession of a cement factory, formed a "Soviet" and began to run the factory on their own, when the police came and drove them out.

The economic crisis in Spain is beginning to bear its fruits in the radicalisation of the masses, and it is certain that the results of the crisis, which are already painfully felt by the working class, will become more serious.

Quesnay, the director of the Bank for International Payments, who was recently called to Madrid in order to give his advice on the restoration of the shaky Spanish currency, has worked out a whole plan to increase the exploitation of the workers. Unemployment has reached considerable dimensions and the position of the land workers of Andalusia is one of extreme misery. The agrarian crisis in Andalusia is so serious that the Ministerial Council was compelled to prepare a plan of public works in order to relieve the unemployment prevailing among the land workers.

In such a situation the anxiety which the mass movement of the proletariat is causing to the bourgeoisie of Spain is quite understandable. The strike in Seville, which the Republicans with their anarchist and socialist agents had attempted to make use of and to conduct in accordance with their own interests, showed that the proletariat is not remaining at that point at which the "Lefts" wish them to stop.

That certain sections of the industrial and bank bourgeoisie thought to free the State from a whole number of hindrances arising out of the existence of numerous remnants of feudalism, is beyond doubt. The work done by the Republicans among the officers proves that they thought of a military coup d'état which should overthrow the monarchy and facilitate the development of capitalism in Spain, and thereby at the same time save the capitalist regime and harness the working class to the chariot of the bourgeois Republic.

In their efforts to secure the leadership of the masses the bourgeois republicans are supported by the existence of a very considerable anarcho-syndicalist tendency, as well as a social democracy and a reformist trade union centre which wield great influence. Also the weaknesses and the political confusion existing in the Communist Party work in their favour.

Meanwhile, the radicalisation of the masses is proceeding at such a rate that it is becoming more and more difficult to draw the labour movement into the wake of the republican bourgeoisie. The objective conditions for the orientation of the labour struggles on the basis of the class war are extraordinarily favourable. The essential tasks of the moment consists in freeing the proletarian movement from all bourgeois influences and mobilising the workers on the basis of their class interests.

The Communist Party of Spain is devoting itself to this work. It already exercises great influence over the masses. It is now necessary to organise this influence and to devote every effort to organising the workers in the factories, mines, docks, and on the big landed estates in order to prepare them for the mass fights which will deliver severe blows to the existing State power and be preliminary fights for the setting up of a workers' and peasants' government.

### The International Propaganda Committee of the Miners as Leader of the Miners' Struggles.

By G. Sobottka (Berlin).

On Sunday 30th November the secretariat of the International Propaganda Committee of the Miners met in Berlin. As is known, the seat of the International Propaganda Committee of the Miners has been transferred to Berlin, which fact is of great importance to the miners, as the latter will now have a better international preparation for and leadership of their struggles.

The meeting of the secretariat, at which representatives of the most important mining countries such as Great Britain, France and Germany were present, mainly dealt with the approaching struggles in the mining industry of Great Britain and in the Ruhr district. The attempts of the British mineowners to prevent by every means the introduction of

shorter working day and instead to introduce the spread-over system and thereby a 8½ hour shift, clearly reveal the intentions of the mining capitalists. The offensive of the British mineowners also shows that the manoeuvres of the Macdonald government and of the reformist trade union bureaucracy are only intended to mislead the miners. The introduction of the spread-over system, to which the reformist bureaucrats in a number of coal fields had already agreed, means nothing else but the practical carrying out of the 8½-hour shift.

The secretariat laid down the following most important tasks of the revolutionary British miners:

Organisation of the struggle to prevent the introduction of the spread-over system. Ruthless struggle for the immediate introduction of the seven-hour shift from bank to bank. Only by this means will it be possible to prevent the further dismissal of miners and to bring about the re-engagement of unemployed miners. It is necessary by setting up fighting committees in all pits to organise the struggle and strike for higher wages. The wages of the miners in Great Britain have already been considerably lowered in the course of the last twelvemonth. The proposal of the mineowners to reduce wages by a further 1 sh 4 d would mean that the miners would be plunged into absolute misery.

In this connection the Secretariat considers it necessary to wage a ruthless struggle against the reformist bureaucracy and to expose the treacherous role which the social fascist international miners' federation is playing in all the international struggles of the miners. The struggles in Great Britain, in Germany and in the other countries have shown that the reformist bureaucracy always defends the interests of the mineowners and approves of the lengthening of the working day and the cutting down of wages by agreeing to the spread-over system in Great Britain and to the recognition of the arbitration awards in Germany.

The Secretariat decided to send a delegation of members of the Secretariat and of German miners to Great Britain in order to express their international solidarity and to support effectively the struggle of the British miners.

In addition, an appeal is being issued to the miners of all countries, and in particular to the miners of the Ruhr district, to support the struggle of the British miners by their active struggle for their own demands. In the Ruhr district Stegerwald, the christian trade union leader and Minister for Labour, has declared binding the award which provides for the further maintenance of the eight-hour shift and which was agreed to by the mineowners and the reformist trade union bureaucrats. In addition, the mineowners have announced a wages cut of 10 per cent and are proceeding to carry this out. The best way to repel the attack of the mineowners will be to launch the strike of the Ruhr mine workers together with the miners of Great Britain for higher wages and shorter working hours.

This fighting alliance of the miners of Great Britain and Germany and of all other countries will be more firmly welded at the International Miner, Conference convened for 20th December in Essen. It is necessary to make timely preparations for this Conference and elect delegates from all pits.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. on Comrade Bukharin's Declaration.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has resolved:

1. To regard Comrade Bukharin's declaration, which was published in the "Pravda" of 20th November, as satisfactory on the whole.

2. To declare as a decidedly wrong and anti-Party Left deviation the editorial article in the newspaper "Sa Industrializatsiu" of 21st November: "Double-facedness plus policy of hiding one's time", which designates Comrade Bukharin's declaration in which he recognises his Right mistakes as a

"sort of double-facedness", as well as the article in "Trud" of 21st November: "On Bukharin's declaration", which appraises Comrade Bukharin's declaration in the same manner.

3. To reprimand severely Comrade Bogushevsky the responsible editor of "Sa Industrializatsiu", and Comrade Abolin, the responsible editor of "Trud", for publishing the two editorial articles mentioned in point 2 of this decision.

### Decision of the C. C. and C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. on the Fraction Work of Comrades Syrzov, Lominadze etc.

Moscow, 1st December 1930.

The Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have adopted the following resolution concerning the fractional activity of comrades Syrzov, Lominadze and Shatzkin:

The C. C. and the C. C. C. have heard the report of the C. C. C. concerning the fractional activity of comrades Syrzov, Lominadze and Shatzkin, and have listened to the statements of these comrades. Comrade Syrzov organised an illegal anti-party group led by Nussinov, Kravraiski, Galperin, Kurs and others. Comrade Lominadze was the head of an anti-party fractional group to which Shatzkin, Resnik and others belonged. This group organised a right-wing "left-wing" block on the basis of a common political platform whose essentials were those of the right-wing opportunists. This platform, which was produced by the panic of the opportunists in face of the difficulties and by a desire to speculate with these difficulties, demands fundamentally the rejection of the bolshevist constructive tempo and proclaims the necessity for "a limitation of the front of constructive work" (Lominadze). In order to justify their own opportunist platform, comrades Syrzov, Lominadze and others have adopted such clumsy, menshevist and slanderous fighting methods against the Party as the terming of our successes "swindle" (Syrzov) and the Stalingrad tractor works as a "Potemkin village" (Syrzov), as the declaration that the Soviet apparatus in Transcaucasia adopts "an aristocratic-feudal attitude towards the needs and interests of the workers and peasants" (Lominadze). Both groups betrayed the secret decisions of the Party in their fractional work. Both groups adopted a policy of hypocrisy and deception in their relations with the Party leadership, and made false statements before the C. C. C.

The C. C. and the C. C. C. of the C. P. of the S. U. declare that comrades Syrzov, Lominadze and Shatzkin have violated the decision of the tenth Party Congress concerning Party unity which reads as follows:

"In order to maintain the strictest discipline in the Party, to maintain the greatest possible unity and to abolish all forms of fractionalism, the Party Congress empowers the Central Committee in cases where discipline is violated or fractionalism resorted to or revived, to employ organisational measures, including if necessary, expulsion from the Party. Members of the Central Committee may be removed from the C. C. and placed amongst the substitute members."

The comrades in question have also violated the decision of the joint plenary session of the C. C. and the C. C. C. in April 1929 which reads as follows:

"The C. C. is empowered to adopt special organisational measures, including, if necessary, expulsion from the C. C. and expulsion from the Party, in order to guarantee the secrecy of the decisions of the C. C., and of the Political Bureau of the C. C."

Further, they have violated the decision of the XV. Party Congress which reads as follows:

"Members of the Party who refuse to answer the questions of the Control Commissions truthfully, are liable to immediate expulsion from the Party."

On the basis of all these facts the C. C. and the C. C. C. have decided to remove Comrades Syrzov and Lominadze from the C. C. of the C. P. of the S. U. and Comrade Shatzkin from the C. C. C. of the C. P. of the S. U.

## **The Trial of the Counter-Revolutionary Sabotagers in Moscow**

# **The Trial of the Industrial Party and French Imperialism.**

**By Marcel Cachin.**

**Moscow, 27th November, 1930.**

Whilst the foreign press is represented at the trial of the counter-revolutionary sabotagers by correspondents of all the big newspapers of the capitalist countries, not a single representative of a French newspaper, apart from "l'Humanité", is present. This proves that the French bourgeoisie is determined to smother up this scandalous affair. It is absolutely necessary to frustrate this tactic of maintaining silence which M. Tardieu recommended in his speech at Montbrison.

In the hall in which the trial is taking place there prevails a peculiar atmosphere. In the boxes reserved for the ambassadors, in which several representatives of foreign Powers are seated, there are two observers sent by the French embassy in Moscow. In the huge hall there are 1500 worker delegates from the factories of Moscow and other industrial towns, as well as peasants, members of the Red Army and of the Red Fleet. They follow with impressive silence the statements of the accused, which are rendered audible to each of them by the loud-speakers. Besides many immobile faces of workers there are others who smoke while listening to the words of the accused. Krylenko makes notes on a big sheet of paper. We remember that the accused are Engineers and University Professors. Yesterday they occupied high positions in the Soviet economy; they enjoyed the (unfortunately) too great confidence of the working class; they were assured of a material situation which one might envy. At this trial they have all spoken at great length. They have been allowed to speak quite freely, and their statements have only been interrupted by police questions of the president of the Court. Bourgeois and social-democratic newspapers venture to assert that the confessions have been extorted from these people by means of torture. To those who are present at the trial, who listen for hours to the statements of the accused, the attitude of the eight persons who sit there before them is much more eloquent than even their words.

There is not one of them who does not accuse himself of the most abominable crimes, who does not conclude his statements by openly expressing his regret. It is simply absurd to maintain that these engineers, professors and highly qualified technicians have made their statements as a result of torture. Each one of the accused, although in different ways, gives what is at bottom the same explanation. They were members of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party. They worked together for several years to overthrow the communist regime, to prepare a foreign intervention against the Soviet Union. Everyone of them confesses these crimes, each according to his temperament: the one in a calm, self-controlled, cynical manner, while others display a certain agitation or dramatic remorse.

All recognise the enormity of their crime and of their behaviour in the past. One was at the head of the Fuel Section. The importance of the role that was allotted to him is obvious. He explains how he set to work in order to prevent with every means the realisation of the Five-Year Plan. He describes all the details of his activity whereby he hampered the branch of economy entrusted to him. Another describes how the same methods were employed in the heavy industry. A third, who occupied a leading position in the

textile industry, enumerates all the attempts which were made for years to retard and hamper production in the works and factories which were under his control.

One hears these detailed statements with horror and indignation. The accused declare that there were 2000 technicians who cold-bloodedly and methodically carried out sabotage work. The masses of workers hear all this, and one can very well understand the feelings which stir them. Why this shameful work of the engineers? Because they acted on the orders and with the support of white-guardist organisations in Paris. There exists in Paris a "Union of Russian Commercial and Industrial Capitalists", called for short the "Torgprom". The heads of this Union, Denissow, Nobel, Tretyakov and others, have for the past thirteen years been preparing for their return to Russia from which they were driven by the workers. Their only programme was the overthrow of the Soviet regime. They do not conceal the object of their efforts and the purpose of their organisations: it is war to the knife against the workers and peasants.

The members of the "Torgprom" were at one time the employers of several of the engineers who today are being tried and who carried out their orders and received their support. With undeniable exactitude the accused show the connections which existed with these robbers, who are ready for anything. The accused engineers tell of the meetings they had with the leaders of the "Torgprom" from year to year. And these leaders — may they lie never so shamefully — are branded. They have not shrunk from preparing military intervention against the Soviet Union.

On this point the accused give direct and consistent testimony. They give the exact time and place of their meetings with the Whites in Paris. They mention the names of the agents and officers with whom they maintained treasonable relations: they give the names of Ministers who were visited by white-guardist Russians and in whom these white-guardist found supporters of the armed intervention which was to be undertaken against the Soviet Union in 1930 or 1931. It is unnecessary to stress the extraordinary seriousness of these mutually corroborative declarations. War against the Soviet Union was prepared and is still being prepared in all imperialist circles. That is not only a war against the Soviet Union, it is a world-war which the war against the Soviet Union would let loose.

The importance of the trial, which exposes such shameful acts, is enormous. Everybody must understand that to assert that the Soviet Union organised the trial in order to cover up the alleged failure of the Five-Year Plan is sheer nonsense. Every impartial observer must recognise that the Five-Year Plan is being carried out with élan, in spite of all the sabotage, thanks to the enthusiasm and the iron energy of the Soviet proletariat. It is our wish that the amazing exposures in this trial, the exceedingly great danger of war which they reveal, the war danger which immediately threatens, be recognised by all. The French proletariat must by increased action bring to naught the military conspiracy against the Soviet Union. The accomplices of the accused, who defend themselves with innumerable lies, cannot hide the obvious truth, and the proletariat will be at its post and prepared for the fight.

# In the Hall and in the Street.

By Michael Koltzov (Moscow).

The prisoners at the bar... or rather not at the bar but in the theatre box, are a number of important looking, well-dressed, clean shaved, European people of prosperous appearance.

Without bustle they take their seats, sit quietly in stubborn silence and coolly look around.

All eyes are fixed on them — the military guard, the Soviet and international Communist press reporters on the left side and the foreign bourgeois press reporters on the right, photographers, searchlights, movie camera men, talkie men, and all the public in the partiere and the balconies of the Hall of the Columns.

Everyone makes preparations to listen to them. The stenographers sharpen their pencils for the last time, the correspondents smooth out their notebooks, the microphones expectantly glitter on their stands, the black loud speakers impatiently gape. The telegraph operators take their seats by their apparatus to send out lightning dispatches to all parts of the country, to all countries, to all the world.

The miners in the pits of the Don Basin and the Ministers in the Cabinet of Paris, the night editors of a hundred thousand newspapers in Europe, America and Australia — all are listening, all are awaiting the first words of this little group sitting on the dais of the Dom Soyusov (Trade Union Hall), this handful that has made itself so prominent in all parts of the world and has riveted on itself the attention of hundreds of millions of people.

The secretary of the court long and monotonously reads out the voluminous indictment. The public begin to whisper, to discuss under their breath the startling details, the unparalleled circumstances of the plot which was foiled.

The correspondent of a German paper speaks in the sophisticated tone of a crack reporter.

"Until I hear it with my own ears, I don't believe anything. That is my rule."

"Until you hear what?"

"Until I hear them plead guilty themselves, until I hear them relate all these incredible facts, I shall not believe anything. And you can't convince me. That's the sort of chap I am."

"Very well. You can be that sort of chap. I have no time to convince you and no need either. Just wait half an hour."

We have to wait half an hour before the monotonous reading of the indictment is finished. What will happen next? Who knows what will happen in half an hour! There are all kinds of indictments in the world and all sorts of things are written in them.

Here for instance is what appears in the Parisian white guard paper "Latest News", written with furious energy and fierce indignation.

"The savage fantasies of Krylenko, typed on the 80 pages of the indictment, surpasses everything that might have been expected even from a Soviet prosecutor. The indictment consists of such a capricious tangle of baseless fantasies, provocation efforts, direct lies and a complete confusion of the happenings of the last ten years that no person in his right mind could possibly read its pages without indignation and feelings of fastidious aversion towards its author."

Poincaré howls in unison with the Russian White Guards that the indictment is just the delirium of a madman.

But the prisoners gave this testimony at the preliminary investigation... Well, they might say a lot of things behind the bars, when alone before the examining judge, and in face of the searching questions of the G.P.U. Its one thing to have a preliminary investigation and another matter to have an open public trial where it is possible to speak out, to query, to oppose. Thus writes the social democratic press: *Populaire*, *Vorwärts*, *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and *Deutsche Herald*.

But here, in face of the whole world, in face of the diplomatic corps of the great powers, in the face of hundreds of correspondents from the biggest newspapers and the telegraph agencies of Europe and America, these eight men may talk in another manner.

The reading of the indictment is finished. In the huge hall there is a dead silence. Slowly, distinctly, the presiding judge puts the question "guilty or not guilty" to each of the prisoners. Now we shall hear. Now the thunderous voices of the venerable Professors Fyedorov and Sitin will be heard, now the reticent aged Laritchev will burst out, in a moment we shall hear the energetic and youthful looking Ramzin storming forth.

But no. Nothing of the sort happened. One after the other, the eight men approach the judge, bow, and rapidly, without any hesitation, answer:

"I confess."

"Guilty."

"I confess my guilt."

These are no longer respected persons with a confident professorial appearance. They are scoundrels. Old scoundrels and young scoundrels. Scoundrels with moustaches and scoundrels without.

They are criminals caught red handed. They are villains, bought with foreign money.

They are hired murderers. Not the coarse and ignorant murderers of the underworld, who rob their victims of their fur coats. These are cold blooded, educated murderers, who were preparing to attack and plunder the whole country, a frightful attack which meant the slaughter of millions of people by bombs and airplanes, by poison gases, and a monstrous looting of factories, workshops and peasant fields.

For money these people undertook to drown our country in a blood bath and to open the gates, by treachery to admit the ravaging hordes of foreign soldiers, manufacturers, land-owners, generals, police. They strove to conceal their crimes, but now that they have been discovered and secured in the prisoners box, they bow their heads and with white lips mutter:

"Yes, I am guilty, I confess..."

Where is that German correspondent who wanted to hear with his own ears? Well, he has heard it now. Like a whirlwind he burst from his chair. All the foreign journalists have sprung from their places. They crowd by the telephones, call up their messengers, send out their first, urgent, burning and incisive telegrams to Paris, to New York, to Berlin, to London:

"All the prisoners pleaded guilty immediately."

"Ramzin pleads guilty."

Yes, Ramzin has pleaded guilty. He stands there, but no longer youthful looking and energetic, but broken down, pale, bent, and with slowly moving lips makes his statement. His trusted secretary, Otchkin, now no longer trusted and no longer a secretary, stands with a white face, tears running from his eyes, a pitiable, downtrodden puppy.

Ramzin fumbles with his papers. He has still a great deal to say.

A big detailed report of the central committee of the bourgeois Industrial Party. Where? In Russia. In the U.S.S.R. In nineteen hundred and thirty! In the Dom Soyusov! What does it all mean? Are we awake or asleep?

We are awake. It is really true. It is awful. But there is something to reassure us.

The speaker for the Central Committee is surrounded by strong guards with rifles. On the rifles there are bayonets, on the guards there are Red Stars.

Every time the speaker lowers his voice, music can be heard in the hall. If we go to the window, there we see the numberless columns of **workers demonstrations**, marching in unending lines with crowded ranks, in the glare of the blinding searchlights, their banners waving. A couple of paces from this stuffy hall, in the frozen air, **Kaganovitch**, the Secretary of another Central Committee stands on a motor truck and greets the angry and happy Moscow proletarians.

Of course every class has its Parties and they have their Central Committees. And every party does what is necessary for its class.

But in our country — for 13 years already and now forever, until classes are completely destroyed, — only one

Party and one Central Committee can even be contemplated. Any other . . . just look in here, in the prisoners box, among the guards and answer for yourself!

The trial of the Engineering Centre has begun. The tangle is being unravelled. Look at it. Look at it with fear, you who prepared the greatest of crimes, the vilest of robbery.

Look at it with anger, you friends of the workers in all countries. We are crushing a snake, the remains of what once was the ruling class in Russia. Our strength is sufficient for this. But you, you must take care of the rest, of the danger of an imperialist attack on the first Workers State in the world.

## The Hoax-Exchange.

By Michael Koltzow (Moscow).

The world war and revolution upset many things in the world. Not only was the centre of the universe dislocated, but localities found themselves in another place. Here is food for thought for the idle and curious mind.

For instance, take this question: "From what place, according to European newspapers, can you get the best and fullest informing regarding the Soviet Union?"

Simple people, with a naive and inexperienced character, will shrug their shoulders and answer without thinking:

"From the Soviet Union, of course."

But more experienced and sophisticated people, especially people who read the foreign press and the White Guard press, will not shrug their shoulders, but will smile and say:

"From Riga, of course."

And they will be right

Other will say Reval, and they will also be right.

Ever since the civil war, Riga has been the central manufactory for supplying the bourgeois and White Guard press with mare's nests and every other kind of queer thing dealing with the Soviet country, the Soviet government, or anything else that is Soviet.

80 per cent. of all the unrepeatable, inimitable, unbelievable, infamous, disgusting and criminal lies that have flourished during these years beyond the fence of our republic, originated in Riga.

There was a time when we were blockaded. Nobody was let in. At the gateway of a great country, in the little courtyard of Latvia, accumulated all the vermin of the press in hopes of profit.

The buyers were spies, provocateurs, agents of the staffs and the bankers of almost all Europe, with America into the bargain, lying back idly on the divans, drinking cups of coffee, sipping liqueurs.

The sellers were local journalist speculators, editorial pimps, all the filth of the newspaper world, running about fussily among the chairs, importunately offering their strange wares on greasy papers.

Here they did not even talk in whispers. Anyhow, the orchestra overpowered the noise of the hoax market. And why should they be shy among their own kin?

At the commencement, the price of mare's nests from Riga held up well. However you look at it, this was the only place where you could buy anything about Russia, even though it was all piffle.

Wandering about the cafe, there was a man by the name of Karachevtsev. He proudly called himself the special correspondent of the Parisian paper "The Common Cause". This smart fellow had brought off here, before the very eyes of the public, not less than five rebellions a day, not less than a thousand murders of innocent children and at least 2 or 3 flagrant scandals in the Soviet of Peoples Commissars or in the Political Bureau.

It was amusing to see how not only the little yellow newspapers, but also the respected and venerable "Times" from day to day bought from the good Karachevtsev his journalistic sewage, so that they could serve up this odorous food for breakfast next day to their gentlemen readers.

But later business began to be slack.

The civil war and the blockade ended. Most of the big bourgeois papers and the telegraph agencies obtained access to Moscow and began to keep permanent correspondents and representatives there. What was the point of using Riga then?

Complete depression ruled in the Mare's Nest market in Latvia. Poor Karachevtsev, now grown very thin, together with his competitors, wandered around the empty cafe, forcing themselves on the few customers:

"Would you like the newest and most authoritative information from Russia? A rebellion of four million Tartars under the leadership of Narim Khan! The Red Army has evacuated Stalingrad and is falling back on Tsaritsin! Father Durov has been appointed Commissar of Agriculture! Maxim Gorky is leading an army of abandoned children on Kharkov!"

The visitors paid for their coffee in silence, and without glancing at the desperate speculators, hurried out to catch the train to Moscow. But plaintive voices followed them as they left:

"All genuine facts, with documents and seals on them! Fighting and shooting at the Presidium of the Soviet of Commissars! Semashko expelled from the Polit-Bureau! A love letter from Karl Radek to the Duchess of Devonshire! Flight of Stalin to Arzamas."

The bottom dropped right out of the Mare's Nest market. But not for long. When the English Conservative Government broke off relations with Moscow, the newspapers of the big European capitals once more applied to their old dealers. Karachevtsev bought himself a new hat and began even to dream of a bicycle on the installment system. But his joy was short lived. MacDonald came into power and, feeling that scandals were growing around him, hastened to repudiate his informants from Riga. He even wrote a whole article about them. He moralised that you can't judge Russia by lying telegrams from Riga.

The newspaper sharks left the cafe which had once been so comfortable for them. They scattered to all parts and took up other professions just as honourable but worse paid. Some of them sold pornographic pictures, some took pleasant jobs in stud farms, some of them took up their stand in the beggars lines in the lobbies of orthodox Russian churches.

And suddenly—once more the sun came out!

Panting gentlemen rushed straight from the railway station to the cafe of the Mare's Nests and asked the doorman what had become of those journalists who used to sell information about Russia.

They sought out the good old Karachevtsev, came to him in his flat!

"Give us something about Russia! Something real strong!"

"Well you see, I'm out of practice . . . I'm working now in a billiard hall."

That does not matter! Rake up your old papers, find us something of the sort we want. Its urgently needed!"

Yes, in the editorial offices of the papers of Paris and London, in the bankers offices, in the staffs and the ministers cabinets, they were urgently demanding information from Riga.

When the Ramzin trial commenced, many people felt unwell. To recover their health, they took a trip to Riga.

In answer to the pitiless information which was coming from the Hall of the Columns in Moscow, a new bombardment was urgently necessary in answer. A defensive smoke screen.

The Riga correspondents are working again. They have received "public contracts". But you can't say that they are lying. They are being made to lie. And how they lie!

A marvellous fountain of the beastliest lies that ever had to be branded. A most repugnant volcano of evil smelling falsities.

"Stalin killed, and it is unknown where he is hiding."

"The Red Square covered with the corpses of rebels."

"Bloody fighting in Moscow."

"Blücher arrested and sentenced to be shot."

Is this all that the clique of militarists, capitalists and interventionists can put up in opposition to the terrible truths which have been revealed and are being revealed, and which are exposing the governments of Europe and their bloody work?

# The Spies of French Imperialism.

## A Few Facts from the History of the Espionage and Conspiracies against the Land of the Soviets.

By N. Simonov (Moscow).

Who are these people really — these leaders of the Russian "Industrial Party", these candidates for positions in the "All-Russian Government", who have plotted to overthrow the Soviet power and to rule the country with its many millions? To this question the indictment gives a fully substantiated reply, excluding all possibility of doubt — these people are simply the **paid spies** and agents of the French General Staff. They differ from spies of an ordinary "calibre" in possessing a somewhat higher "idealistic standpoint", and in enjoying scientific qualifications of which the ordinary spy cannot boast. These qualities have of course raised the value of such spies in the eyes of the French General Staff. Therefore, they have further differed from ordinary spies in that their sounding scientific names have ensured for them the punctual payment of their pieces of silver, and in that they have insisted on this payment, knowing whence it came. They conscientiously kept the French General Staff supplied with news, compiling their information with the accuracy of men of science. The indictment against the "Industrial Party" states clearly and unequivocally: "The Industrial Party, during the last two years of its existence, completely changed its original character of a counter-revolutionary sabotage organisation composed solely of Russian citizens, and became transformed not only into a **typical espionage** agency, but into a typical military agency of the ruling circles of foreign Powers. Its activities were now completely controlled by the foreign intervention Powers, upon whom everything depended. These powers now gave the orders and insisted upon their execution."

The Russian counter-revolutionists have actually become the spies and agents of foreign Powers. The "Industrial Party", acting on the immediate commands of the military General Staff of France, organised firstly a military and secondly a diversion organisation in its own ranks.

Ramzin, Laritchev and their companions, are not the first agents of the French General Staff, and probably they will not be the last. The experience gained in the struggle against sabotage and against counter-revolutionary conspiracy, from the time of the establishment of the Soviet power onwards, has invariably shown all threads to lead in one direction. Financial aid has flowed as a rule from the same sources. The directive organisation paying so generously for espionage work, **the hand of French imperialism**, has invariably been distinctly felt in all these affairs.

The experience won in the civil war showed us that the Russian bourgeoisie, what is left of it, is incapable of organising a campaign against the Soviet Union without outside aid. Again and again French capital has come to the aid of the White Guard generals, and has only occasionally abandoned to other capitalist states its place in the front rank of the fight against the Soviet Union. The names of the most prominent leaders of capitalist France are at the same time the names of the most **savage haters** of the land of the Soviets, the names of the organisers of war and intervention. Clemenceau and Foch, Poincaré and Briand, all the leading names in capitalist France have not only had their hand in the game of anti-Soviet campaigns, but have actually inspired them.

At this moment, when the indictment against the "Industrial Party" is laid before the public, we involuntarily recall two other trials possessing much essential similarity with this trial of the "Industrial Party". It is true that these conspiracies — we refer to the insurrection in Yaroslav and the Lockhart affair — took place 12 years ago, at a time when the Soviet Union was considerably weaker than it is today. But the rôle played by French imperialism in these conspiracies reminds us strikingly of its rôle in this "Industrial Party" plot.

"The summer of 1919" — stated Lenin at the Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and of the Moscow Soviet, in 1919 — "has witnessed the great conspiracy of Yaroslav, which, as is now proved and admitted by its participants, was instigated by the French consul Noulens, who incited Savinkov to this conspiracy, and guaranteed that the French troops landing in Archangel would come to the aid of

Yaroslav, and that communication with the Allies and consequently the fall of Moscow would take place in the immediate future. At that time the enemy approaching from the East had succeeded in taking Samara, Kasan, Simbirsk, Sysran and Saratov. In the South the German troops received reinforcements from German imperialism. This was the situation at that time, when it appeared as if the Soviet Republic were surrounded without hope of escape, and unprecedented food-supply difficulties arose."

Today, many years after the Yaroslav rising, we have in our hands documents which were not available at the time when Lenin made this speech. Boris Savinkov, the organiser and leader of the Yaroslav insurrection, who fell subsequently into the hands of the Soviet power, and who had maintained direct communication with the representatives of French capitalism, furnished a detailed account of the part played by French imperialism in the risings in Yaroslav and Rybinsk.

"When the organisation was formed" — stated Savinkov during his examination before the court — "I had originally thought of striking a blow in Moscow with the forces of this organisation. Perhaps I should have decided finally in favour of this plan, had the French not declared to me, through Consul Grénard and the military attaché General Laverne, who acted on behalf of the French ambassador Noulens, that the Allies assumed that there was a possibility of continuing the war against Germany on the Russian front. I was told that with this object in view a considerable force of Anglo-French troops was to be landed at Archangel. It was proposed that the landing of these troops should be **supported by armed action within the country**. The plan was as follows: The upper course of the Volga was to be occupied, and the insurgents aided by the Anglo-French troops. In this manner the upper course of the Volga was to be occupied, as also Rybinsk, Kostroma, and Murom. The French declared that they themselves would occupy Vologda."

"The French" — continued Savinkov — "advised me to adopt the following plan: I should take Yaroslav, Rybinsk, and Kostroma. But I hesitated. It seemed to me that our forces were insufficient, and for a time I deemed it more advisable to take my whole organisation over to the Czechs, and had even already given orders for a number of the members of the organisation to be sent to Kasan in order that they might join the rising at the approach of the Czechs. But a **telegram was sent me from Vologda from Noulens, through Grénard**. This telegram categorically confirmed the statement that the troops were to be landed between 5th and 10th or between 3rd and 8th July, and it was demanded categorically that the insurrection on the upper Volga should take place precisely at this juncture. This telegram forced me to begin the rising in Yaroslav or Rybinsk on 5th July."

What were the financial means at the disposal of the White Guard organisations organising the counter-revolutionary conspiracies in 1918? The source of these financial means is one and the same as that enjoyed by the "Industrial Party". Just as French imperialism gave the Czechoslovaks the money enabling them to stage their rebellion against the Soviet power, in the same manner it gave systematic financial support to every other counter-revolutionary organisation.

"The French knew" — states Savinkov — "exactly what money we had at our disposal. I myself consulted personally twice, or it may be four times, with Grénard and Laverne, the French military representatives. **The French put the money at my disposal**. As a rule the money was remitted to me by the French through a French official, who brought it to me where I wanted it, and handed it to me personally. At first I received only small amounts from the French: from 44,000 to 100,000, etc. But as soon as the insurrection was concerned, they gave a considerable sum for this at once — 2 millions, if I am not mistaken."

"I did not apply to the French" — Savinkov tells us — "I did not go to them, but they applied to me, they came to me. I do not know how they managed this, but they found me,

and began negotiations on the question what I intended doing, what was the strength of my organisation, and whether I had means. **They gave me financial aid without the slightest request on my part.** They declared that they wanted this money to be used for a **terrorist struggle.** They knew — and I made no secret of it — that I intended to use terrorist methods in the fight. They knew this, and emphasised, when giving me the money, that they wanted it to be used chiefly for the terrorist fight."

Thus Boris Savinkov describes the rôle played by French imperialism in the preparation of the counter-revolutionary rising of 1918. At that time too the counter-revolutionary organisations of the Russian White Guards were, as they are today, paid agents of French imperialism. At that time too the Russian White Guards, as today, obeyed only the commands issued by the representatives of the French General Staff. And at that time too, as today, the Russian White Guards were merely the willing tools and executive organs of the French bankers. In many points even the details coincide. In 1918 the French brought the money to Savinkov to his house, and ten years later — to Ramzin. But there is an **enormous difference** between Boris Savinkov and Professor Ramzin. Boris Savinkov was an open opponent of the Soviet power. He accepted money from French imperialism, but he made no pretences, he played no part as friend of the Soviet power; he did not enter its service, nor strive to maintain the appearance of co-operating in the building up of the proletarian state. He was an enemy who did not pretend to be a friend. Both Savinkov and Ramzin have been the paid agents of foreign capital. But Ramzin and his companions have acted in a manner immeasurably more blackguardly, for they have been servants of the Soviet state, and have betrayed it wholesale and retail.

Whilst Savinkov and his friends could still hope, at that time, to defeat the Soviet power in open battle, and whilst they could still set their stakes on the organisation of insurrections in the land of the Soviets itself, the saboteurs and spies of the Ramzin and Laritchev type realised that this method was completely hopeless and impossible for them. They became an even more open and undisguised espionage agency of the French General Staff.

It need not be said that the underground and espionage work of the representatives of the French General Staff did not cease with the case of Boris Savinkov. They had a hand in the game in every great counter-revolutionary conspiracy among the Russian White Guards. They themselves organised these conspiracies.

An especially interesting and characteristic affair was what is known as the Lockhart plot, organised by the English ambassador in Russia, with the immediate participation, with equal rights, of the representatives of the French embassy and the French military agents.

In August 1918 Mr. Lockhart, with the aid of his agents, made the acquaintance of Comrade Bersin, the then commander of the Latvian rifle regiment in garrison in the Kremlin. The agents recommended Bersin as a person with whom it was possible to speak perfectly openly.

On 14th August 1919, when the English representative Lockhart met Comrade Bersin, Lockhart declared his affection for the Russian people.

"Efforts should be made" — Lockhart declared to Bersin — **"to induce the Latvian riflemen to rise up against the Soviet government and overthrow it. We shall see that there is no difficulty about money."** The method suggested by Lockhart was that the Latvians should cut off the food supplies, and this at a time when the food shortage was already acute.

In the evening of 5th August Lockhart made Bersin acquainted with the French General Consul in Moscow, Grénard, his agent (Constantin), who proved to be a lieutenant in the English army, **Sidney Riley.**

Grénard observed: "To judge by your yesterday's conversation with the ambassador, you take a great interest in the fate of Latvia. Should we, the Allies, succeed in taking away from Germany, we can promise you — although we are not specially empowered by our governments — complete self-determination as a reward for your co-operation."

After this the representatives of Anglo-French imperialism advised Bersin **"to take care that the Latvian soldiers were not sent from Moscow to the front again"**. They then asked Bersin what sums would be required to bribe the commanders of the Latvian forces."

Bersin declared that the money question did not interest him. A smile passed over Lockhart's face. In his anxiety to buy Bersin at any price, he said: **"I will give 5 millions if necessary, and can get even more."**

On 17th August Riley initiated Bersin into the plans for the annihilation of the Workers' and Peasants' government. According to this plan **two Latvian regiments were to be sent to the town of Volodga, occupy this central point at a given signal, hasten to the aid of the English and French, and help these to occupy the Northern territory.** The Latvian troops stationed in Moscow were for their part to arrest the Plenary Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, with its president Lenin, whereby Lenin was to be shot. At the same time the state bank, the telephone exchange, and the telegraph office were to be seized. After this all former officers were to be called together, and divisions formed for the restoration and maintenance of order in Moscow and for conveying the arrested Bolsheviks to Archangel. Lockhart's plan also included the blowing up of the railway bridges at the Svanka station and near Cherepovitz.

This plan failed. Comrade Bersin informed the Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) of it, and delivered up to the Commission the money received from the imperialists.

About twelve years have passed since these two conspiracies. But French imperialism still does not lay down its weapons in the fight against the Soviet Union. And again, as in 1918, the trial of the "Industrial Party" will expose the plans of French imperialism. The White Guard conspirators and wreckers will not succeed in destroying the land of Socialism. And if French imperialism should again contrive fresh anti-Soviet campaigns, then the international proletariat may inflict upon it a punishment even severer than that dealt the French intervention army in South Russia in 1918/19.

## The Imperialists "Disarm."

By P. Ogín (Moscow).

Concealed beneath the cloak of Geneva, and aided by the disarmament swindle enabling them to lull the awakening consciousness of the backward strata of the workers and the peasantry, the capitalists of all countries are preparing a fresh war-massacre, more frightful than even the war of 1914/18.

Comrade Litvinov, People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, declared at the last session of the Preparatory Commission at Geneva that during the time in which the Commission has been working, that is, during the last five years, the military budgets of the great Powers have increased, by 500 million roubles, or 27%. Never before has the world witnessed such a feverish piling up of armaments. As Comrade Vorochilov pointed out at the 16th Party Congress, the United States alone are preparing for the coming war an army of

3,250,000 men, with 15,000 guns, 6,000 tanks, 5,000 aeroplanes, and 200,000 automobiles.

At the present time five leading imperialist States possess over 20 millions of trained reserves, whilst before the great war these reserves were only 8 million.

The Disarmament Conferences, no matter where they have been held — whether by the Thames or on the shores of the Lake of Geneva — have not allayed the armament fever. After the London Naval Conference, Hoover declared that new war ships were to be built in the United States to the value of 650 million dollars. And the London conference had hardly ended when France began with the re-equipment of its old war ships at an accelerated speed. The cruiser "Algier", for instance, received new armour plating capable of resisting 230 millimetre pro-

jeetiles, and was fitted with new engines raising its speed to 32 knots. Armoured cruisers of a new type are being built, attaining a speed of 28 knots, equipped with eight 305 millimetre guns and six 340 millimetre guns. France has already built six cruisers since the Washington Conference.

The new Japanese naval programme envisages the construction of 247 units within six years, these including 227 for the immediate reinforcement of the navy, and 20 for the air-fleet forces.

In 1930 the number of aircraft possessed by the imperialist great Powers is as follows: England 1450, France 2500, United States 2000. But these figures give no comprehensive idea of the air forces which could be mobilised by the imperialist Powers in the event of war. The United States, for instance, possesses 9614 aircraft in use in civil aviation, but quite capable of rapid transformation for military purposes.

The number of automobiles is extremely characteristic. At the end of 1918 the total number of motor cars owned by the belligerent countries was 30,000. At the present time the United States, England, France, and Germany, have a total of 29 million automobiles, a very considerable number of which can be used for war purposes.

Whilst the acute economic crisis is pressing heavily upon all capitalist countries, whilst it penetrates into every branch of economics, and involves every description of stock in the great exchange crashes, the shares in the war industries are continually rising. The shares of the English firm of Vickers, for instance, have risen from 6.6 to 7.5 between 1st July and 7th October of this year, those of the firm of Hotchkiss from 1980 to 1995, those of Schneider-Creuzot from 1934 to 1945.

The rising value of shares in the war industry, and the acute crisis in every branch of economics, bear additional witness to the raging armaments fever.

Inflated by this leaven, these feverish armaments intensify from day to day, and the antagonisms in the camp of imperialism intensify correspondingly. Military-political groupings and combinations form and dissolve with kaleidoscopic rapidity. The foreign political fronts of the imperialist countries are constantly changing, although the fundamental line of demarcation in the camp of the imperialists — the Anglo-American antagonism — preserves its definite outline. One sole front only is indestructible. One country only is calling forth the unanimous rage of international capital. This country is the Soviet Union. The anti-Soviet front is the most constant of all. Were it not for the inner antagonisms of capitalism, were it not for the enormous successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the "pause for breath" would have been over long since.

We must not, however, for one moment lose sight of the anti-Soviet front of the imperialist Powers who are seeking the opportunity to march on our Red frontiers. Special attention must be accorded to that section of the armed anti-Soviet front extending some thousands of kilometres from the Black Sea to the Arctic, along the Western frontier of the Soviet Union. Here the greatest danger threatens the Soviet Union, for the imperialist war against the Soviet Union will exploit first of all the armed forces of our Western neighbours. This fact is especially stressed in a candid article appearing in the Rumanian newspaper "Neamul Romanesk". This paper demands a further extension of the military, economic, and political relations between Rumania and Poland. It states:

"The political interests of the two countries are mutual. In case of war the German submarine fleet will again make its appearance at Danzig and Gdynia, and cut off Poland's connection with France via the Baltic. Two of the most important strategic points — Galatz on the Danube and Constanza on the Black Sea — will however remain open. These two points are to be developed in good time, so that they may be ready for the rôle which they will have to play in the case of war against the Soviet Union."

In order to prepare for war, the newspaper proposes that a number of railway lines should be constructed, dams built, and great military arsenals erected on the whole line Gdansk — Marsaw — Galatz. The paper emphasises that French warships with war material and supplies for Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, may put in in the Rumanian ports.

"Neamul Romanesk" considers necessary the formation of an army, on a uniform pattern and with a uniform structure, with a joint general staff, for Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. The Polish-Rumanian military alliance is not merely a wish on the part of the Fascist newspapers, but a well established fact. Information has been received from various sources regarding the Polish-Rumanian military agreement, which lays down in detail the obligations imposed on both parties in the event of an armed attack on the Soviet Union.

All this information tallies absolutely with the statements made by the saboteurs of the "Industrial Party", to the effect that the imperialists had allocated to Rumania and Poland the "honourable" rôle of opening the attack in the anti-Soviet campaign. Viewed in the light of these statements, the preparations made by France and England for war on the Western frontier of the Soviet Union acquire greater significance. We see the exact distribution of the various tasks. Whilst France undertakes "patronage" over the land and air forces of our neighbours, England prepares to deal a blow at the Soviet Union in the Black Sea and in the Baltic.

The "friendly visit" paid by the English squadron to Rumania this summer was followed by a significant and by no means accidental circumstance — the Rumanian government commenced rebuilding the harbour of Constanza. North of Constanza, in the Bay of Tasa, the construction of a thoroughly up-to-date harbour is planned, enabling English warships to lie here, and forming a powerful Anglo-Rumanian base in the Black Sea. Another project closely bound up with this is that of the construction of a bridge over the Danube and of a canal from Cherno-Voda to Constanza. The building of this base will cost about 100 million roubles, which sum will of course be granted by the imperialists to their Rumanian vassals.

Exactly the same motives are to be found behind the visit paid by the British fleet to Greece, and to the utterly disproportionate armaments of this small and impoverished country. The Greek government, after increasing its military budget at the expense of the workers, recently placed huge orders with English factories for the construction of hydroplanes. Besides this, Greece has ordered 24 bombing planes from France.

The tour made by the English military attaché Stewart Cox, who has visited the Baltic border states and made topographical studies of the territory upon which the battles of the civil war were fought, forms another link in the uninterrupted chain of preparations for the armed campaign against the Soviet Union.

Our neighbours are unceasingly reinforcing their regular armies by all manner of technical equipment, by the building of aircraft, tanks, motor-cars, by the construction of new bases for the navies — all with the aid of the imperialists. Whilst in the Soviet Union there are three Red Army soldiers to every thousand inhabitants, in the states adjoining us, there are eleven soldiers to every 1000 persons. The standing armies of our neighbouring states have increased by 100,000 men since 1923, to say nothing of the trained reserves and semi-military organisations which are growing numerically at an even more rapid rate.

The result of all this is that all along the Western frontier of the Soviet Union the armed anti-Soviet front is taking firmer shape and form — actively aided by the imperialists. We must hold ourselves in constant readiness to deal an energetic counter-blow against each and every attack planned against the land of socialist construction.

# Report of the Proceedings at the Trial.

## Ramzin's Confession.

Moscow, 26th November 1930.

The proceedings on the **second day of the trial** of the counter-revolutionary saboteurs began at 10 a. m. to-day. The accused **Professor Ramzin** continued his statement.

He described the military plans made for the intervention by the Trade and Industrial Committee in conjunction with the French General Staff. In order to avoid the errors of the intervention in the years 1918-1920 it was decided to pay close attention to the arming and equipping of the intervention forces. The total strength of the intervention forces was set at from 600,000 to 800,000. The main drive was to be made at Moscow and Leningrad with a southern army operating in Ukraina.

In reply to a question of Ramzin, Densov, the chairman of the Trade and Industrial Committee, declared that the funds for the financing of the intervention would come from the oil industry, particularly Deterding, from the governments of France and Great Britain and from the Trade and Industrial Committee. The day after this meeting with Densov a conference took place with the tsarist General Lukomsky and the French Colonel Joinville. Lukomsky proposed that the Industrial Party should organise a military apparatus and that it should maintain close connections with the French General Staff. Two days later a meeting took place with Colonels Richard and Nobel. The former requested information concerning the state of the chemical and war industries in the Soviet Union.

Ramzin then described the conference in London with the representatives of the British firm of Vickers, the engineer Simon and "Sir Philipp". Laritchev also met a representative of the oil industry named Parker. The third conversation between Ramzin, Laritchev and Simon took place at the Automobile Club, the notorious English agent, Colonel Lawrence being also present. This conversation served more to get the parties mutually acquainted, but it strengthened the impression of England's interest in intervention. The result of the October conversations, declares Ramzin, was the following: France played the leading role in the preparation for intervention. At first England, too, was actively interested, but later, after diplomatic relations had been established with Moscow, France took over the leading role. As France laid claim to the military leadership and also insisted that she should supply weapons, England's interest cooled off. The first communication regarding France's plans for intervention was made already in 1927 through Palchinsky. Ribuslinsky reported to him regarding conversations with Loucheur and a member of the French Cabinet. In 1928 Fyodotov informed him of what took place at a conversation with Karpov and Konovalow and of their reception by Poincaré and Briand. Poincaré and Briand promised France's support for the intervention. These statements were also confirmed by other members of the Industrial and Trade Committee.

The co-operation with the French had concrete results: the formation of the military commission under the chairmanship of General Jeanin; the connection with the French General Staff; and assistance on the part of French agents in Moscow. The main troops for the intervention were to be supplied by Rumania, Poland and the Baltic States, to which were to be added Wrangel's army and the Krassnow Cossacks. It was the intention of France to supply instructors and to support the intervention by its air fleet and naval forces, as well as by supplying weapons and munitions. England promised financial aid and also to support the intervention with its fleet. The attitude of Germany was for a long time unknown. Poland was afraid of German troops marching through its territory. The only information regarding the attitude of Germany came from an unreliable source, from the engineer Zenker and had only a declarative value. Engineer Zenker reported that German circles were prepared to co-operate in the intervention and that it was possible that the "Stahlhelm" organisation could be won to supply auxiliaries.

The first date fixed for the intervention was 1928, but the discussions mentioned above it was decided to postpone it until 1930. The reasons for this decision were that interventionists calculated that the greatest difficulties would arise in the second year of the Five-Year Plan and that great capital investments would be held tied up in various undertakings. Further, the sabotage of the members of the Industrial Party promised to aggravate the crisis, and further weaken the defensive forces of the Soviet Union. It was hoped to organise peasant revolts, and to this end connections were taken up with the Tchayanov group.

In addition the time gained by the postponement permitted a thorough diplomatic and military preparation for the intervention. In the second half of 1929 information came from abroad that it would be necessary to postpone the date fixed for the intervention once again. The reasons advanced for this new postponement were that in connection with the world crisis the revolutionary activity of the working class in all countries had increased, and particularly in Germany, that the powers had been unable to agree amongst themselves with regard to the intervention; that the work of the Industrial Party had not met with the desired success; and that the rapid settlement of the Far Eastern question by the Red Army had given evidence of its strength and efficiency.

The intervention was then fixed for 1931. It was said that this would be irrevocably the last postponement, as at that date it was to be feared that the Soviet Union would be too strong. The military tactic to be followed was provocation of a frontier conflict by Rumania, to be followed by war in which Poland and the Baltic States would intervene. The British fleet would operate in the Black Sea with a view to cutting off the oil supplies of the Soviet Union. An insurrection was to be organised in the Don district of the Cossack army of General Krasnov was to be landed in support, thus cutting off Moscow from the coal and metal supplies of the Don. Simultaneously drives would be made against Leningrad and Moscow. The British fleet was to support the land forces against Leningrad by operating in the Gulf of Finland. The 1931 plan had very little hope of insurrections within the Soviet Union and it was therefore arranged that the Industrial Party should accelerate its sabotage activities for the bringing about of a crisis. A supplementary measure was to be an economic blockade.

The interventionists were not prepared to do the work merely for the "defence of civilisation"; they all demanded enormous rewards. Poland demanded the territory of Ukraina up to the Don. Great Britain wanted enormous concessions with regard to Caucasian oil, whilst France wanted an immense share of the spoils. The total represented nothing less than the dismemberment of Russia.

Ramzin then dealt with the relations between the Industrial Party and the French agents in Moscow. The first touch was established by Ribuslinsky through Palchinsky. Towards the end of 1927 Palchinsky introduced Ramzin to the French agent Mr. K. in the building of the Learned Professors in Moscow. In the spring of 1928 a conference took place in Ramzin's home with Mr. K. in the presence of Laritchev and Kalinnikov. Various detailed questions connected with the coming intervention were discussed.

A further meeting with Mr. K. took place in the beginning of 1929 at the house of Laritchev and the results of the Paris negotiations were discussed. Mr. K. requested detailed information concerning the situation of various branches of the Soviet industry. This information was given to him by Ramzin later. The first meeting with the second French Agent Mr. R. took place in the presence of Ramzin, Otchkin and the engineer Gordon.

A second meeting with Mr. R. took place in the middle of 1929 in Kalinnikov's house, when Mr. R. informed them of the reasons for the postponement of the date of the intervention.

The main subject of this conversation was the preparation

of sabotage acts in the event of war. Ramzin submitted a plan for bringing the electric works in Leningrad, Moscow and the Don Basin to a standstill, as well as for the sabotage of the electric and war industry. They discussed the difficulties of these sabotage acts in view of the present structure of the Industrial Party. Kalinnikov elaborated a plan for a series of sabotage acts in the works and factories producing war material. R... asked for a report on aviation for the Industrial and Trade Committee. The third conversation took place at the end of 1929 in Otchkin's rooms. R... gave the reasons for the postponement of the intervention. He emphasised the necessity of having direct contact with Colonel Richard of the French General Staff. On this occasion Ramzin handed R... a confidential report on the situation of the Soviet air service.

Of late the central committee had increased its espionage work. The reports delivered concerned the electrical industry, agriculture, aviation and war industry. The latter had been drawn up by General Michailov. Kalinnikov and

Charnowsky supplied supplementary material on the metal works which would come into question for the armament industry in the event of war. Ramzin ended his statement with the following declaration:

I am aware of the seriousness of the crime committed and plainly and honestly acknowledge my guilt. The activity of the Industrial Party aimed at the overthrow of the Soviet Power with the aid of intervention. That meant not only betrayal of the Soviet State but also betrayal of my native country which would have been plunged into famine and misery by war. The activity of the Industrial Party aimed at creating a crisis and food shortage and aggravating the difficult situation of the masses. The Industrial Party intended to increase the economic difficulties into a general crisis. In the period of accentuated class struggles, of the attacks of the imperialist powers, our hostility to Socialism converted us into instruments of French imperialism. The whole responsibility rests with the central committee of the Industrial Party and myself as its leader.

## "Obedient Instrument of the Imperialists".

### Laritschev's Confession.

Moscow, 26th November 1930.

The second accused, the engineer **Laritschev**, was then called. His evidence was given in the same calm and collected fashion. He admitted the truth of the charges made against him and declared that he now considered it to be his duty to expose as far as possible the details of the criminal activity for the preparation of an intervention.

Laritschev was an active collaborator of the engineers' centre already before the founding of the "Industrial Party". After the October Revolution the old engineers were hostile to the Soviet Power; and this can be said not only of the upper strata which was closely connected with the bourgeoisie, but also of those broader sections which were permeated with the ideology of bourgeois democracy. The majority of the engineers was incapable of understanding the basis of the proletarian dictatorship. After the failure of the first sabotage attempts they maintained their hostile attitude, even after they began to collaborate with the Soviet Power. The introduction of the "New Economic Policy" aroused new hopes in them. The engineers considered the N.E.P. to represent the basis for the readmission of the old employers. It was their first hope of a speedy restoration of capitalist economy. They therefore aimed at "keeping up" the old factories. They further hoped that the investment of foreign capital would lead to the formation of numerous concessions. Working alongside of the Soviet factories, the concession-under takings would prove the superiority of the capitalist methods. In addition, they hoped that the Soviet government would not be able to restore economy, with the result that it would have to have recourse to the aid of the old employers and to restore their property.

Proceeding from these hopes they started the sabotage work in industry and in transport. At first it was intended to carry on an isolated sabotage activity, by means of placing obstacles in the way of reconstruction. Later the anti-Soviet saboteurs united into a "Union of the Engineers' organisations". The organisers of this union were: Paltchinsky, Rabinovitch, Fyedorovitch. A circle of old specialists gathered round them. The Union endeavoured to win such people as possessed authority and public prestige. At that time many old engineers who enjoyed great confidence were entrusted with leading positions by the government. Paltchinsky, who was an outspoken monarchist, did not for long enjoy the confidence of the government. Matters were different with Rabinovitch, who was given a leading position, enjoyed great authority and confidence, and had the possibility of working intensively.

Another example is Schein, who was even the chairman of the Engineers' trade union and the representative of the pro-Soviet engineers at the Shakhty trial, at a time when he was already actively collaborating in the sabotage centre. Laritschev himself was won for sabotage work by Rabinovitch,

This is important in order to explain the methods of recruiting the saboteurs. The aim was the founding of an engineers' centre for organising the saboteurs on a broad scale.

In the year 1927 the first stage of their organisation was concluded. Experience showed that economic means were not sufficient in the struggle against the Soviet Power. At that time the idea of intervention as a means to restore capitalism arose. The engineers association developed from a caste organisation into a class party representing the interests of the bourgeoisie. The engineers opposed the efforts of the Communist Party to build up socialism, by working to restore capitalism. The development of the engineers' organisation into a secret political party was hastened by the existence of other secret political parties, the Kulak organisation and the Menshevik Gromann group.

A government was put forward in order to guarantee the ascendancy of the industrialists after the overthrow of the Soviet power. A military dictatorship was planned in the beginning to break the resistance of the working class and peasant masses. It was intended to put up as dictator Paltchinsky and later General Lukomsky. The old engineers' centre became the central committee of the new party. The central committee was constantly extended and its composition changed as a result of the arrest of some of its members. Schein and Ossatchy belonged to the last central committee. The former was important as a public figure, the latter served to restore the connections which were destroyed as a result of the discovery of the former sabotage groups.

The Industrial Party based itself upon the higher engineers occupying leading positions, particularly in the State Planning Commission and in the Supreme Economic Council. The organisation remained secluded like a caste. When formerly there was talk of organising "broad circles of engineers", this did not mean that all the old engineers were organised in the Industrial Party. The central committee itself overestimated its influence on the engineers. "The engineers who worked at the periphery in closer touch with the masses were not inclined to collaborate with us. When in 1929 I travelled through the coal and iron industrial district of Kusnetz, I observed an optimistic mood among the engineers in regard to the socialist development and at the same time a disinclination to collaborate with the Industrial Party."

As the basis of the Industrial Party was not broad enough to be able to overthrow the Soviet Government from within, the Party took up connections with the former owners. Later on a direct connection was established with the Industrial and Trade Committee, which more and more became the leading organ of the activity of the Industrial Party.

The second support was a foreign government and its armed forces. These foreign connections granted material help and strengthened the plans for an accelerated overthrow of the Soviet power.

The initiative for the preparation for intervention came from the foreign Powers. The Industrial Party became more and more an obedient tool in the hands of the imperialist Powers. The connections with the latter were established by journeys abroad and by letter. As a result of these journeys and letters we clearly realised that the preparation for intervention was not empty talk but a practical plan. The French government showed particular readiness in this respect.

The central committee received a report of a conference between representatives of the Industrial and Trade Committee with Poincaré and Briand, at which the latter emphasised the necessity of elaborating the practical details. It became clear that the Industrial Party must endeavour to extend its influence over the masses.

Laritchev confirmed completely the evidence given yesterday by Ramzin concerning the nature of the Paris discussions. Laritchev reported in Paris on the state of the central organisation, which was not discovered at the time of the Schacht trial. This was chiefly due to the fact that two of the most active members of the organisation, the engineers Schein and Ossatchy, gave evidence at the trial on behalf of the Soviet engineers.

Laritchev declared: From Denisov's reports of the discussions with Briand, Poincaré and Loucheur we observed that despite formal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, the French government was its deadliest enemy. France not only supported the preparations for intervention, but took the initiative, encouraged and directed these preparations. We returned from France absolutely convinced that the intervention was a real factor. After that the French pressure on the Industrial Party increased in order to secure greater military and espionage activity.

We were also informed of the claims of the Great Powers for compensation. After the overthrow the Russian industrial undertakings would for the greater part be seized by foreign capitalists. In this period close relations were established with the French General Staff through the French agents Mr. R. and Mr. K.

The connection with Mr. K. was arranged by me. Out of 6 meetings with Mr. K. four of them were very short and served to receive money or hand over espionage reports. A longer meeting took place at my house in 1929 in the presence of Kalinnikov. The chief reason for this meeting was to inform us of the reasons for the postponement of the intervention until 1931. The main reason was the failure of the provocation on the Chinese Eastern Railway. France is deeply interested in this railway. This conflict was a sort of trial balloon and the result was that the Red Army proved its efficiency.

Laritchev then confirmed the contents of the indictment regarding the sums they received. He also mentioned that a certain portion of this money was given as compensation

for dispatched reports and the financing of the activity of Gromann-Suchanow group.

After our return to Moscow we concentrated our action on the organs of the State Planning Commission. We issued instructions to all our collaborators to falsify the plans in order to bring about a very slow rate of development, disproportions in the metal industry, in the fuel industry, in the generation of electricity, which are most important for the intervention. We soon realised that the forces of the Industrial Party were insufficient for bringing about a crisis in view of the activity of the working class. We therefore established connections with the secret party of Chayanov and the "economic group" of Gromann. Particular attention was devoted to the question of capital accumulation and capital investment.

The collaboration with Chayanov aimed at extending the crisis to agriculture by retarding the mechanisation. At the same time all the counter-revolutionary forces were concentrated on the planned work. Laritchev himself personally conducted the sabotage work in the sphere of the fuel industry. Since 1928 comprehensive reports from the material of the State Planning Commission were dispatched to France with the collaboration of the "economic group".

Beginning with the second half of 1929, special reports on the war industry were demanded. We received these instructions through R. . . . At a meeting with R. . . . at the end of 1929, our work in this direction was described as inadequate. The results of the first year of the Plan showed that a higher tempo of development was possible. By the end of 1930 there was revealed that which the sabotage work was to have concealed.

Laritchev then seems to have forgotten where he is. He suddenly becomes impassioned and begins to polemicise against the president of the court and partly against Ramzin on special questions of oil output. Practice has shown that thanks to the activity of the working class, much greater achievements were possible. Soviet economy has enormous possibilities. He considers to be incorrect Ramzin's assertion that an increase in the oil output to 42 million tons is objectively impossible. He is sure that this figure can be reached without great difficulty. Falling back into the calm tone, "objective" exposition, even into a depressed mood, Laritchev draws the conclusion from the results of the Five-Year Plan. The carrying out of this plan destroyed the hopes of the saboteurs. Our plans collapsed. Even abroad this was noted and increased pressure was exerted to carry out espionage work and the preparation for sabotage. In fact we did not recognise our actions as having been treasonable. This is the more heinous, as this treason is directed against the State in which the proletariat is building up Socialism.

Laritchev concludes his statements with a trembling voice, fully recognising his crimes.

## Undermining the Proletarian Defence Force.

### Kalinnikov's Statements.

Moscow, 27th November 1930.

Professor Kalinnikov, a typical white-haired learned, bourgeois professor, speaks with emotion. He wants to create the impression that he is endeavouring to show to the old engineers and to the Soviet Power the path of overcoming the shortcomings in the plan work. He also sometimes forgets where he is, particularly when he reveals the weaknesses in plan work.

He confirms the former statements in regard to the changes in the mood of the old engineers after the revolution. In the year 1927 he joined the engineers' centre. He names all his collaborators in the various branches of industry. On behalf of the Centre he, as vice-chairman of the Industrial Section of the State Planning Commission, conducted the whole sabotage work with the aim of retarding the rate of development and creating a disproportion. The original setting up of the Five-Year-Plan in two variants: "Basic plan", based on the former rate of development, and "optimal plan", based on the greatest possible rate of development, was used by the saboteurs to falsify the economic plans. The total plan was prepared by the setting up of partial plans for different spheres.

The heads of these different spheres, such as Taube, Kausch, Petrov etc. belonged to the saboteurs. The food section was headed by Gramsin.

Kalinnikov guided the sabotage activity of the heads of the individual sections. The individual plans were combined in the "montage office" in the State Planning Commission. This office was likewise headed by Kalinnikov. The weakness existing in plan work gave the members of the Industrial Party their opportunity. A further weak point was the unbalanced deliveries over to the "Council for Labour and Defence". These balances cannot exhaustively register actual consumption and the production of metals and for this reason they are an incorrect basis for the setting up of perspectives for the next year. The plan-figures were deliberately placed too low. A further weakness of the plan was the so-called "quality index" (fixing of the increase in the productivity of labour, lowering of the prime costs and of the prices). The permanent lagging behind of these factors is the result of their sabotage work.

Kalinnikov then dealt in detail with the possibility of increasing the output of metals by methods of inner rationalisation.

lisation. The purchase of factory equipment from abroad for 5 million dollars, provided for in the plan of the saboteurs, was for the greater part superfluous. The increase of production by 50 per cent. was achieved mostly by inner measures.

Kalinnikov then gave advice on the reorganisation of the smelting industry and the output of steel by a correct treatment of Russian ore to achieve a uniform quality of the steel. The plans of the machine-industry were falsified.

Kalinnikov explained in detail the motives for the conversion of the engineers' centre into the Industrial Party. He maintained that the main reason was the magnificent achievements of socialist construction in spite of sabotage work. The rapid growth of industry destroyed all hopes of an overthrow by inner forces. At the meetings of the centre anxiety was expressed over the continual strengthening of economy and the defensive capacity of the Soviet Union. It was thereupon decided to increase the sabotage work in the Planning Commission. The Industrial and Trade Committee developed more and more into a mere "mediator" of the directives of the French General Staff.

In order to ascertain the most appropriate time for intervention, Conferences took place at which Gromann reported on the "economic" perspectives of the crisis in 1930. At a meeting of the Central Committee at the beginning of 1930, the question of postponing the date for the intervention to 1931 was discussed. One of the reasons for this postponement was the failure to set up a military organisation within the Red Army. Towards the end only a few meetings of the Central Committee took place, as the leading organs of the Industrial Party developed more and more into mere executive organs of the instructions of the French General Staff which were handed over by R.... and K....

Kalinnikov then dealt with the espionage reports which he drew up together with Laritchev and Ossatchin for France. These reports were firstly general economic reports on the basis of the secret material of the State Planning Commission, and secondly reports on the war industry. This work was difficult, as a direct connection with these industries was lacking. Thirdly the plan for the preparation of acts of

sabotage in the event of war. Whilst Ramzin proposed to prepare acts of sabotage in the power industries, I elaborated a plan to bring the war industries to a standstill by means of a temporary sabotage of important parts of the factories. R.... approved of both plans and urgently demanded an accelerated development of the military organisation.

Kalinnikov then summed up his statements, in the course of which he was repeatedly overcome by his emotions and had to interrupt his speech.

Despite all our efforts, the soviet economic system made rapid progress. Our efforts were useless and we gave up hope. However, we were unable to go back, and finally we were arrested. In prison I came to a realisation of how criminal my activity was (At this point the accused broke down and cried.)

I grew up among the bourgeoisie and attained a very high influential position. After the revolution it would have been necessary to establish a contact with the proletariat and to work under its leadership.

Under the proletarian dictatorship I could only have held my position if I had maintained close personal relations with the workers, or if I had enjoyed a thorough Marxist training. I had neither the one nor the other. My apparent neutrality and non-political attitude were nothing but a mask for my hatred. From this court I appeal to the soviet engineers. My errors were typical. I would like to save the young engineers from the horrors of the path I have pursued (The accused paused and his voice was almost choked with sobs).

More than words are necessary for a change of heart. Deeds are necessary. I appeal to those engineers who nurse their hatred under a neutral and non-political exterior, to abandon their hatred and to come out openly and work with the masses for the building up of socialism."

The conclusion of Kalinnikov's speech caused a great sensation in the hall. For the first time one could understand the motives which prompted the saboteurs to make their full confessions.

## Intervention Plans and the Smelting Industry.

### Charnovsky Defends Himself.

The accused Charnovsky is quite different from Kalinnikov. He spoke in a theatrical manner. He cynically attempted to shift responsibility from himself. He maintained that he was tempted to do sabotage work by the forces abroad. His praise for the working class does not sound genuine.

He admitted his part in the work of the Industrial Party, which aimed at bringing about a crisis of the whole Soviet economic system by systematic sabotage. Considerable forces were at the disposal of the central engineer organisation. The Moscow group consisted of from 50 to 60 men. The real leader of the practical work was the engineer Chrennikow who gave out the special concrete sabotage tasks. The main aim of the organisation was to disorganise the State planning work.

Charnovsky then dealt in detail with the practical sabotage work. In the foundry industry the saboteurs aimed at persuading the State to invest enormous sums without any appreciable productive return. They also strove to cause currency difficulties by placing large and unnecessary orders abroad. In the chemical industry numerous modern processes were deliberately ignored. The locomotive-building industry was also deliberately throttled. The work for the standardisation of production was also sabotaged.

The wreckers deliberately delayed the construction of two very important machine factories so that the latter could only be completed at the end of the Five-Year plan, instead of at present. The systematic delay in the production of iron frustrated the working plans of many important engineering works. The sabotage work was organised in such a manner that by means of small measures huge factories were completely paralysed.

He then confirmed the statements of Ramzin and Laritchev concerning the meetings with Poincaré and Briand and the

discussion of the intervention plans, but did his best to minimise and improve his own role in the matter.

The transition to sabotage work in the munition factories and the preparation of acts of sabotage was only provoked by elements abroad. The measures in the munition factories did not aim at destroying but temporarily paralysing them. The postponement of the date of intervention to 1931 was chiefly due to the fact that the forces abroad were not sufficiently prepared. At the end of 1929 Ossatchkin delivered a report on the outer preparation of the intervention. The sabotage work remained unnoticed solely owing to the great number of actual achievements. It was a hopeless effort to prepare the intervention with a small group of 2,000 engineers. The admirable efforts of the working class wrecked their plans. This was recognised even by the Industrial Party.

The old offence of the engineers against the Soviet State was that they refused to understand the demands of Soviet industry and its reconstruction. The constructive work was something of no personal interest to them. If the engineers had had the interests of the country as a whole at heart, they would never have carried out their sabotage work. They would then have worked, as Djerjinski once advised them during a visit to a factory in the Don Basin, as though the factories were their own property. The engineers could not grasp this point of view.

He admitted his guilt, also in the sense that he had failed to work honestly for the carrying out of the economic plans. That, however, was not alone his fault. Wide circles of the engineers were also responsible. In order to excuse himself in part, the accused reproached the Soviet authorities for sometimes having put forward impossible demands, demands which were technically and economically impossible of execution. The result had been that the engineers had also offered resistance in cases where the plans were really

possible of execution. They took cover behind a wall of bureaucracy. He denied having taken part in the sessions of the Committee of Five.

He then described the sabotage work of the members of the Industrial Party in the engineering and metallurgical industries. The fundamental practical aim of the saboteurs here had been to produce a deficit in the supply of all sorts of metals and half-finished products in order to threaten directly the development of all industries using these commodities, and in particular the transport industry, which was one of the most important industries for the defence of the country. His work was chiefly directed towards disorganising the engineering industry. Through Kalinnikow he had

despatched important information concerning the engineering industry abroad. He also took part in the distribution of the money which came from abroad for the financing of the work of sabotage.

He declared that he had taken the fatal path of sabotage as a result of outside influence and promises. In conclusion he declared that he had committed a crime against the working class, and he would like to make amends as far as possible. It was a great relief to him to be able to make an end of the double life he had been leading. He appealed to all engineers in the Soviet Union to subordinate their work wholeheartedly to the general interests of the country. He would gladly submit to the verdict of the court.

## The Sabotage Work in the Textile Industry and the Espionage in the Armament Works.

### Kuprianov's Statements.

(Morning Session of November 27.)

The accused Kuprianov is one of the saboteurs in the textile industry. The accused supplements Ramzin's statements regarding Lopatin, who was not the head of a section but of the whole of the sabotage work in the textile industry. Kuprianov's connection with the wreckers in the textile industry dates from 1919. From 1925 the wreckers, having lost their hopes of big concessions being given to foreigners, started to sabotage the production. They aimed firstly at accelerating the construction of new factories, secondly at causing an irrational utilisation of the raw materials and the manufacture of goods which are not needed, thirdly at restricting the output of textile machinery and increasing the import of same; fourthly at favouring the production of those forms of textiles which demanded the import of cotton from abroad.

The head in the first sphere of activity was Lopatin, and later Fyedotov. The new factories were laid out with excessive luxury and squandering of money. The head of the second sphere of activity was Kuprianov. The plans for textile production were drawn up without regard to the actual requirements. In order to delay production long discussions took place. The third sphere of activity was headed by engineer Schein, who was proposed as chairman of the intended Bureau for the distribution of the textile machines. This Bureau was meant to cover up the sabotage work. The saboteurs aimed at reducing the plans for the production of woollen and linen goods. The plans for the importation of new machines were drawn up

in London with the supplying firms by Chrennik. The excessive manufacture of cotton cloth served to increase the imports, by which the saboteurs received bribes.

In the year 1927 the accused received the first information from Fyedotov regarding the planned intervention. Karpov's recommendation to get into touch with the French agents in Moscow was likewise handed over by Fyedotov. On the occasion of the approaching journey of Sitnin to America, Kuprianov asked him to pay a visit to M. Konovalow in Paris in order to get detailed information as to the intervention. Sitnin reported the conversations he had, from which it appeared that Konovalow had lost his property but still possessed influence. Sitnin also passed on Konovalow's suggestion to form a sabotage nucleus at the textile high school, where many old officers of Koltschak, Wrangel and Denikin were working. Kuprianov initiated this work through the mediation of Deviakov, later through Nisalew. Owing to his arrest Kuprianov did not receive any information regarding the results of these endeavours.

In conclusion the accused declared: I hope that our open confession and the exposure of the interventionists will destroy the latter's hopes of success of their intentions and will frustrate the attempts to form an inner basis of the intervention by means of the engineers. If there exists no inner basis, intervention is impossible.

## "Entry into Moscow on a White Horse" — Further Details of the Preparations for Intervention.

### Fyedotov's Revelations.

The accused Fyedotov gave full details of the beginning of sabotage work in the textile industry. At the first conversations he received the impression that the object of the engineers' association was to represent the interests of the engineers, provide educational facilities for their children, improvement of housing, discussions on professional questions. Only later did he become aware of the real aims of the association: to represent the interests of the old employers.

In the development of the saboteurs organisation and the adoption of more radical methods, the Right-Wing opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union played a great role. The saboteurs had no direct connection with the right-Wing opposition, but they considered the ideas of this opposition to be very useful. They considered that these ideas promised a great utilisation of the N.E.P. and the development of bourgeois ideas. Therefore the support and utilisation of these ideas was considered desirable. The saboteurs aimed at exercising influence on persons who put these ideas into practice. It was also decided to utilise the

press. Practical sabotage work was to demonstrate the correctness of the ideas of the right-wing opposition and the incorrectness of the general policy of the Communist Party. The policy of the Communist Party was to be artificially rendered bankrupt.

In this connection they began in accordance with instructions from abroad, to attempt to disturb the plan work, to create disproportions, to close down factories and unchain the discontent of the masses.

Various groups of saboteurs worked in the textile industry, at first under the direction of Lopatin and later of the speaker, in order to falsify the plans and the control figures. The textile group received its share of the money which came from abroad. Foreign monies were received even before 1925 in the form of palm oil when textile machinery was purchased. Between 1927 and the beginning of 1929 no money was received from the emigrants. The connection of the textile wreckers with the central committee of the Industrial Party was established by Lopatin, who

actively participated in the work of the central committee. When Lopatin fell ill he suggested to Fyedotov, at the beginning of 1927, that he, Fyedotov, should succeed to his position. After Lopatin's death in 1927 Fyedotov actually took over this work.

Fyedotov then dealt with the question of intervention. The idea of the intervention was always cherished by the emigrés. Already in 1923 at a meeting abroad Karpov expressed the hope of soon being able "to march into Moscow on a white horse". At that time this utterance seemed funny to Fyedotov. In London in the year 1927 Chrestownikov spoke more plainly about intervention. He told him of the activity of the Commercial and Industrial Committee, which was engaged in persuading public opinion of the necessity of an intervention. For this purpose newspapers were bribed (in which respect the French newspapers proved to be particularly venal) and they supplied the press with lying reports regarding the Soviet Union.

Fyedotov then described in detail the conversations which he had with the former industrialist Karpov in Berlin in August 1929. Karpov gave him a detailed report of the interviews given to the representatives of the Trade and Industrial Committee in Paris by Poincaré and Briand. Lianosov, Riabushinsky and Tretyakov were present at these interviews. Karpov informed him of the preparations for intervention being made by the French government and the setting up of a Special Commission for this purpose headed by Colonel Joinville. Further particulars were then given by Ramzin after his Paris journey. At the Berlin meeting Karpov elaborated in every detail the necessary preconditions for the intervention. The latter would be impossible unless in the Soviet Union the ground were prepared by rousing the discontent of the masses of workers and peasants. The Moscow information service of Colonel Joinville had already reported of unrest among the population. Capitalist circles in Western Europe were getting anxious in view of the growing strength of the Soviet Union. Urquhardt and Deterding were afraid of the competition of Soviet Oil. Other circles were getting uneasy in view of the influence of Soviet textile goods on the markets of the Far East. Even capitalist economists were beginning to realise that the Soviet Union was making progress. Therefore it was considered necessary to accelerate the intervention otherwise it would be too late.

These reports proved that the relations between the emigrés and the imperialist governments had completely changed and that the initiative was passing into the hands of the French imperialists. A proof of this fact was Poincaré's invitation to representatives of the Trade and Industrial Committee. Fyedotov designated this as the most important fact in the development of the idea of the intervention. He then described the former differences of opinion among the emigrés. The differences between the industrialists and the monarchists on the one hand, and the "Left" democrat Milinkov with the Menshevik Abramovitch on the other hand were settled later. Fyedotov confirmed the statements of the other accused concerning the dates for the intervention.

Karpov's proposals showed that he was completely ignorant of the situation in the Soviet Union. After the Shakhriyal the old methods of destructive sabotage work had become impossible. Karpov demanded that propaganda be conducted in the high schools by pointing to the historical role of the

students in the revolution. He completely forgot the different composition and the mood of the high school students in the Soviet Union. The formation of nuclei at the high schools was quite impossible. Continuing, Fyedotov stated that at one of his courses, out of 36 students 30 were members of the Communist Party and possessed high political training. It was impossible to win these people for the reaction.

Karpov also informed them of the demands of the imperialists in regard to compensation. England and France demanded great concessions in the form of annexations. Poland demanded, in addition to a portion of the Ukraine, the opening of a market for its textile goods. Karpov declared that the imperialists demanded the recognition of the Tsarist debts only to the amount of 5 kopeks per Rouble, but the principle of recognition was demanded. In the first half of 1929 Fyedotov learned that Ramzin had agreed to these compensations. In reply to his objection Ramzin ironically asked whether he thought that the interventionists would work for nothing. Fyedotov was so naive as to believe that they would be able to maintain the freedom of Russia. He now realises that after the occupation of Moscow the interventionists would have driven the Karpovs and consorts to the wall and would have enforced any concession by means of a military dictatorship.

Kupriakov and Fyedotov did not belong to the central committee of the Industrial Party but they maintained connections with this central committee. He received instructions to prepare plans for acts of sabotage in the textile industry in case of an intervention and for the organisation of counter-revolutionary groups in the Red Army. He began this work, but it was interrupted by his arrest.

Since the end of 1928 the chief methods of sabotage work were the attempts to destroy the economic plans and in addition to carry out the instructions of the General Staff. Thus the path led from the representation of the engineers' interests to intervention and espionage.

The accused explained in detail how it was that they were unable to abandon their work even after they had recognised its uselessness. He spoke of a "group instinct" which he declared had throttled the voice of reason. Even before his arrest he had recognised finally that the Soviet power was the real representation of the Russian people and was leading the masses to a better life. The socialist regime made possible a much quicker development of the economic system; it improved the material situation of the masses and raised the level of culture.

Under the Soviet Power Russia had enormous possibilities of development. There is no other system which supports science to such a degree as the Soviet Power. Whilst our textile institute received a 2 million subsidy, he saw that in England and Germany the scientific institutions are very miserably supported. He declared that his guilt as leader of the criminal work of the Industrial Party in the textile industry was particularly heavy because he was a professor of economy and understood the works of Marx and Lenin.

The accused was obliged to interrupt his speech, being overcome by emotion. He concluded by saying: Any verdict pronounced by the court will be correct. If I am allowed to work again I shall assist in the building up of Socialism. If not, I shall accept it as being deserved.

## Connection With the French Agents in Moscow. Statements of Otchkin and Sitnin.

The accused Otchkin spoke with spurious pathos and presumption. He pleads guilty to the charges brought against him. It was the fate of the engineers that they proved incapable of understanding socialist construction. The beginning of the Five-Year Plan startled the engineers. The organisers Paltschinsky and Riabinovitch played an evil role. They induced the engineers to use a new weapon: the sabotage work which can be discarded only with great difficulty. The Industrial Party aimed at the overthrow of the Soviet Government and the establishment of a bourgeois Republic by means of sabotage work. He had been Ramzin's secretary in the Thermal Technical Institute. He mentioned a new field of

sabotage which had not previously been dealt with, the sabotage on the field of the training of directing forces. He gave exact details concerning the time, place, etc., of the meetings with the French agents Mr. K. and Mr. R. for the purpose of receiving espionage material from the members of the Industrial Party. The preparation of the war of intervention was the last card played by the Industrial Party. It was intended to create a general crisis by means of combined work in all spheres. In spite of all the efforts of the Party this deep crisis did not ensue. The Industrial Party realised the hopelessness of its position and was looking for an outer point of support.

## Sitnin.

The last accused Sitnin also created the impression that he was keeping back many things. After the revolution he at first welcomed the new Power, but the collapse of industry during the civil-war aroused his doubts. At that time Lopatin described the formation of trusts by the Soviet government to be its last attempt to save its power. If this attempt failed, the old proprietors would be called back. This caused him to take up connection with the engineers' association. But a closer collaboration only took place in 1927. Sitnin then described the already known stages in the development of the sabotage work. Before the decisive Paris negotiations it was mainly intended to create financial difficulties and a disproportion between the raw materials and production. Work

was then concentrated on espionage and preparation of sabotage.

He confirmed the previous statement of Kuprianov concerning his, Sitnin's, meeting with Kononov in Paris when the latter gave him detailed information about the interview given to the representatives of the Trade and Industrial Committee in Paris by Poincaré and Briand. He took no part in the military and espionage activity of the Industrial Party.

Already before his arrest his standpoint, that Russia is to pass through a stage of capitalism, had been greatly shaken. But indulgence prevented him from severing the connection with the saboteurs. Kalinnikov had quite correctly described how the stay in prison has caused them finally to abandon their false hopes and ideas. He was prepared honestly to atone for his guilt.

## Supplementary Statements of the Accused.

After the hearing of the accused was concluded, **Ramzin, Charnovsky and Kalinnikov** again spoke in order to supplement their statements.

Ramzin declared that the last meeting of the representatives of the Central Committee with Denisov took place in Paris in July 1930. Ossatchi was the representative of the Central Committee and at that time he was the Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Union. (Ossatchi has been arrested and will be examined).

A further statement of importance was that Professor Schein also maintained connections through him with K. in order to supply material concerning the Benzol supply.

The initiative of the workers in the factories to establish a revised plan had frustrated the sabotage of the plan. Ramzin corrected his statements regarding the influence of the Industrial Party by saying that the Party had influenced only a small portion of the engineers; about 5 per cent.

**Charnovsky** supplemented his former statements to the effect that the group of five held no meetings, but that several conferences had taken place with the secret party of Chayanov. His name was included in the list of candidates for the future government without his knowledge.

**Kalinnikov** made detailed statements regarding the receipt of money by himself and that he had had four meetings with

K., at which he had observed that Laritchev had handled over material.

In reply to a question of the court, the Public Prosecutor **Krylenko** declared that in his opinion it was not desirable to refrain from an examination of the accused as was permitted in cases where the accused had confessed to the charges made against them. In this case important points were omitted or wrongly represented. On the basis of the evidence it was of the opinion that it would be possible to extend the indictment.

In order to obtain further light on the fact he moved the 10 witnesses he called, including representatives of the secret "Working Peasants" party, Yurovsky and Krassovsky, Michalenko for transport, Zeidler, Bauer and Sirotrinsky, and also Ossatchi and Schein who are in prison awaiting trial, and members of the Central Committee of the Industrial Party, but whose examination was not yet concluded.

Ossatchkin's evidence would be very important as likely to throw further light on the last meeting with Denisov. He also proposed that various documents should be read. He would be in a position to present the plan of the further examination to-morrow. The court decided to accept Krylenko's proposals. The session was then closed.

## Cross-Examination of the Accused.

(Session of November 29).

Moscow, 29th November 1930.

The morning session of the fifth day of the trial was occupied by the cross-examination of the accused Charnovsky and Kuprianov.

The accused **Charnovsky** tried to maintain the role of a naive and passive instrument of higher forces. His aim was the maintenance of industry. The cross-examination and in particular the statements of Kalinnikov, however, revealed Charnovsky to be as conscious a counter-revolutionary as his fellow accused. He regarded even the March revolution with anxiety because he feared that it would weaken the defensive capacities of the country. He was completely hostile to the November revolution. His attitude towards Czarism was neutral and even friendly. He did nothing against the sabotage work which he recognised in 1927, because that would have "exceeded his competence". He was aware of the plans for an intervention as early as 1927. In answer to his question as to how the intervention was to be carried out Chrennikov had answered him, that question will be decided abroad, in France. It is not our affair to draw up plans for the intervention.

As a student of history he had realised that the intervention would be bloody, but he had not considered it necessary to oppose the intervention at all. He regarded himself as a passive instrument for the carrying out of the instructions of the French General Staff.

To the question of the second Public Prosecutor Friedberg, whether it was true that the economic figures given in the lectures of the Technical High School were deliberately

falsified, Charnovsky admitted this after having denied it at first.

After the accused had refused to appear before the Commission to purge the teaching staff, because he had refused to give way to "pressure", he was removed from his position as teacher. The accused obstinately denied his active role in the sabotage work in the metal industry, but had finally to admit that he played the role of an "adviser", i. e. he had decisively influenced the whole sabotage work.

With regard to the preparation of sabotage actions in the event of war which was discussed at a meeting of the central committee of the Industrial Party, he kept silent because he was not responsible for this work. He finally admitted that on the instructions of the Central Committee he actively collaborated in the drawing up of plans for the wrecking of the metal industry. Charnovsky further attempted to exculpate himself by maintaining that already in the Spring of 1927 he had dropped sabotage work. In support of this assertion he referred to an alleged discussion he had had with Kalinnikov. In answer to a question the accused **Kalinnikov** declared that his plan was to prepare acts of sabotage in the power supply industry at the instructions of the French General Staff with a view to causing a breakdown at the moment of intervention and paralysing the war industries, but in such a way that in case of a successful intervention industry could be brought into order quickly and placed at the disposal of the French General Staff. Charnovsky took over the drawing up of the special plans of the metal works according to the French directives. After Chrennikov's arrest Charnovsky

took over the leadership of sabotage work in the metal industry.

**Comrade Krylenko** (to Charnovsky): "You were thus not only the adviser but also the leader?"

**Charnovsky:** My task was to advise while participating in the leadership. The disproportions aimed at increasing the existing difficulties caused by former slacking. Public Prosecutor Friedberg then read the former statements of Charnovsky regarding the collection of material from the engineering industry on behalf of the Commercial and Industrial Committee and of the French General Staff, whereupon Charnovsky at last admitted his role as leader of sabotage work in the metal industry after Chrennikov's arrest.

Defender **Ozep** asked Kalinnikov whether Charnovsky's statement, according to which he had dropped sabotage work already in the Spring of 1930, is true.

Kalinnikov: "I have not heard any such statement". (Sensation in the hall.)

The accused **Kuprianov** who was then cross-examined, worked for 17 years as a leading engineer for the former textile industrialist Konovalov. Before the revolution he had directed three factories and drawn a wage of 1,000 roubles a month. He declared that since the establishment of the Soviet power the leadership of the counter-revolution had been in the hands of Lopatin. He reported how in 1919 Lopatin and other managers sold obligations of the Konovalov concern on the illegal exchange to the value of 50,000 pounds sterling, turning the money to their own account. The connection with Lopatin was broken after this was discovered.

Up till his arrest Kuprianov held an extremely responsible position as the leader of the whole syndicate of the textile industry in the Soviet Union. He misused his position and carried out systematic sabotage work in the textile industry. He first heard of the intervention plans in 1927. His information in 1928 was absolutely positive. In 1929 the Industrial Party began to organise military groups in accordance with the instructions of the French General Staff. He admitted having organised groups of former Tsarist officers in the interests of French imperialism. According to the instructions of the French General Staff such counter-revolutionary groups were to be formed in all branches of industry

and directed centrally. In reply to a question of one of the defending lawyers he declared that the personal interest shown by Briand and Poincaré in the intervention and their firm promise to organise French assistance, had strengthened the activity of the saboteurs and turned their attentions to military espionage.

To the further question of the defending lawyer Brando as to his attitude to the promises of the Commercial and Industrial Committee that the "intervention would not be very bloody" Kuprianov replied: "I did not believe these assertions. Russia is a country which is not so easy to conquer. One had to expect heavy sacrifices. This was the reason why I asked Sitin, on the occasion of his journey abroad, to visit Konovalov and to get from him further particulars regarding the intervention plans.

In regard to the date of the commencement of the practical preparation for the intervention, Kuprianov declared that Lopatin had already organised his group in the textile industry on the basis of an intervention.

Chairman **Vishinsky:** "What part did you take in the formation of the military nuclei?"

**Kuprianov:** "In the year 1929 I was instructed by the central committee to form military nuclei out of the former white-guardist officers in the textile institutes. I entrusted engineer Dewjakov with this organisation. It was intended, according to the French instructions, to unite the nuclei outside of the Industrial Party.

Comrade **Vishinsky:** "What was the aim of the military nuclei?"

**Kuprianov:** "I considered it a matter of course that the organisation of the white officers aimed at assisting the interventionists in the rear of the Red Army and carrying out sabotage work.

From the cross-examination it further became clear that attempts were made to organise counter-revolutionary nuclei at the high schools. The accused **Fyedotov** admitted that the emigré Kartop had suggested this. Charnovsky's assertion that he had not participated in this activity was refuted by Fyedotov's statement, according to which Charnovsky had received instructions, to this effect and had accepted them.

## Continuation of Cross-Examination.

Moscow, 28th November 1930.

There was no morning session in the trial to-day. In the afternoon session **Krylenko's** suspicion that the accused were concealing important points was confirmed. Under cross-examination by Krylenko and examined by the President of the court the final aims of the saboteurs were revealed in all their cynicism and brutality. The accused, and in particular Ramzin, were compelled to admit that they realised what the consequences of their actions would be for the workers and peasants even whilst they were carrying out the instructions of their imperialist masters, and that this realisation did not come to them only after they were arrested and had had time to think over their activities in prison. The political programme of "bourgeois democracy" and "concessions" to the workers and peasants after the overthrow of the Soviet power, they admitted to be a demagogic cloak for their real aim: "the annihilation of the advance guard of the working class" and a brutal regime of suppression against the masses directed by the French militarists and the most reactionary wing of the counterrevolutionary engineers and emigrants.

The cross-examination of the accused **Ramzin** revealed the fact that he had developed from the standpoint of bolshevism in 1907 to menshevism with regard to his attitude to the development of Russia. As a Menshevik he had been opposed to the November revolution. A short period at the beginning of the N.E.P. when he supported the soviet power, represented no fundamental change of opinion. He accepted the N.E.P. as the beginning of the restoration of capitalism. When the strong socialist attack against the capitalist elements was launched in 1927 he once again became actively hostile to the Soviet power and joined the saboteurs. He then developed consistently into a supporter of the reactionary

programme of a "military dictatorship". Ramzin admitted the real character of this "military dictatorship", when he was called to give evidence on the point, during the cross-examination, of the accused **Laritschev** who attempted to present himself as a political innocent who did not thoroughly grasp the meaning of bolshevism or the meaning of the plans of the reactionary emigrants and imperialists. Replying to Krylenko's questions concerning the military dictatorship, Laritschev answered evasively. He also avoided the ironical question of Krylenko as to whether General Lukomski and the industrialists Denisov and Nobel had promised to introduce democracy into the Soviet Union with liberal rights for the workers and peasants. Ramzin was then called and after much twisting admitted under the combined questioning of Krylenko, Vishinski and Antonov, the terrible results the military dictatorship would have had for the workers and peasants.

**Ramzin** declared that the aim of the military dictatorship was to defend and consolidate the new power. As it was assumed that the resistance would come chiefly from the workers, this military dictatorship was directed mainly against them. In reply to a question he declared that naturally there had been no question of exterminating the working class, but only its revolutionary advance guard. The bitterness and the extent of the repressive measures would have varied according to the strength of the working class resistance. Finally Ramzin admitted frankly that he had not believed in the possibility of introducing democracy. After the overthrow of the Soviet power, the reactionary wing of the engineers and the emigrants, as the instrument of French imperialism, would have squeezed out the "left-wing" which planned a military dictatorship, the maintenance of the eight hour day and the

import of large quantities of commodities in order to soothe the masses.

Further cross-examination revealed the fact that the saboteurs were very well aware of the meaning of the military dictatorship. Under the impression of Ramzin's evidence, **Laritchev** also admitted that they had been in favour of the military dictatorship and thoroughly understood and agreed with the repressive measures which would inevitably have accompanied it.

The accused **Kalinnikov** declared that prior to the November revolution he had been a Constitutional Democrat. When the N.E.P. was introduced he had entertained hopes that the proletarian dictatorship would gradually weaken. The successful work of socialist construction which followed the period of reconstruction, had once again resuscitated his hostility and he had joined the saboteurs. He also attempted to mitigate the military dictatorship for the workers and peasants, and declared that this dictatorship had been insisted on by outside forces. He finally admitted that this military dictatorship would have been equivalent to the white terror. Replying to a question of Krylenko he agreed that it was "political hypocrisy" to deny, as Ramzin had done, that this dictatorship would be equivalent to the white terror.

In reply to question by the judge Antonov-Saratovski, the accused Ramzin, Laritschev and Kalinnikov described the

methods used by the Industrial Party to recruit new members. The recruiting methods were promises of support for the career of the intended recruit, financial support and threats that the engineers loyal to the Soviet power would be severely punished after the overthrow of the Soviet regime. The accused admitted that they had deliberately prevented progress and promotion of young and capable engineers, in far as these latter were communists or loyal to the Soviet power.

The whole course of the trial, the atmosphere created by the statements of the accused, their whole moral and mental attitude disposes of the lying declarations of the bourgeois press that the trial is a frame up with divided roles. The men in the dock are not "little fellows". They are counter-revolutionaries of moment. The attempts of some of the accused to present themselves as "lost sheep" have collapsed utterly under Krylenko's cross-examination. It proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the men in the dock deliberately and cynically planned the establishment of a reign of white terror, and that they knew and accepted the fact that the overthrow of the Soviet power under the leadership of French imperialism would have been an incredibly savage and bloody undertaking.

After the completion of the cross-examination of Kalinnikov, the session was closed.

## ✓ "Physical Annihilation of the Proletarian Advance-Guard."

### What the Counter-Revolutionaries Planned.

Moscow, 29th November 1930.

The cross-examination of the chief accused in the trial of the saboteurs has thrown a glaring light on the nature of the regime planned to be established after the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship. Under merciless cross-examination the accused abandoned finally their attempts at evasion and concealment and poured out clear wine. They described in detail the regime which was to have been established by the army of intervention in case of its success. A military dictatorship, a regime of mass slaughter of workers and peasants, was their aim. A regime of "democracy and freedom" supported on French bayonets was to be established. Here are extracts from the admission of Ramzin, Laritschev and Kalinnikov:

Laritschev: "We were assured that no mass slaughter would take place, because military methods alone could never be successful."

Krylenko: "And you believed this assurance?"

Laritschev: "We believed that General Lukonski, who was to be the military dictator, would himself be controlled by others."

Krylenko: "Who was to control him?"

Laritschev: "The bourgeoisie and the French military powers."

Ramzin declared under cross-examination that the military dictatorship was intended as a temporary measure.

The President of the Court: "Against whom was this military dictatorship to be directed?"

Ramzin: "Against those who attempted to oppose the new power, that is to say, above all against the working class."

Krylenko: "And what means were to be used to crush this resistance?"

Ramzin: "The only feasible means for a military dictatorship are punitive expeditions and armed repression."

The President of the Court: "In other words the progressive sections of the working class were to be physically annihilated?"

Ramzin: "There was never any question of the extermination of the whole working class."

The President of the Court: "But of a section of the working class?"

Ramzin: "Yes, that section which embodies the initiative and leadership of the working class. In any case, we were all of the opinion that in the beginning the repressive measures would not be particularly strong. It was intended to make gradual progress in order to overcome the working class and consolidate the positions of the new power."

Krylenko to Kalinnikov: "And how did you imagine capitalism was to be restored?"

Kalinnikov: "The methods of the dictatorship would have been white terror of course. There was no doubt about that. The armed foreign intervention meant that the victorious armies of the bourgeoisie would have instituted merciless repressive measures against all those who had helped to bring up the Soviet power."

Krylenko: "Ramzin has declared here that he did not realise the necessity of repressive measures. Did you?"

Kalinnikov: "Yes. It was quite clear that once foreign troops were in Russia they would decide the methods of the dictatorship."

Krylenko: "Would you agree with me if I said that no other opinion would be political hypocrisy?"

Kalinnikov: "Yes I agree with you."

The Supreme Court then decided to deal with the question of espionage and the sabotage of the defences of the country and the role played by the employees of the French Embassy in Moscow in closed sessions. In these sessions the real names of the French agents Mr. R. and Mr. K. will be named.

But the names of those who are chiefly guilty, the initiators of the intervention plans against the revolution who make these diplomatic employees, did not live within the territory of the Soviet Union, are already known.

These names are: Poincaré, Briand, General Jeanin and Colonel Joinville and Colonel Richard of the French General Staff.