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# TROTSKYISM

In the Service of  
Fascism Against  
Socialism and Peace

By A. Y. VYSHINSKY

FROM THE COURT  
PROCEEDINGS IN THE CASE  
OF THE TROTSKY-ZINOVIEV  
TERRORIST CENTER

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*The materials in this pamphlet are taken from the official court proceedings in the case of the Trotsky-Zinoviev Terrorist Center, held August 19-24, 1936.*

## Indictment

*in the case of G. E. Zinoviev, L. B. Kamenev, G. E. Evdokimov, I. N. Smirnov, I. P. Bakayev, V. A. Ter-Vaganyan, S. V. Mrachkovsky, E. A. Dreitzer, E. S. Holtzman, I. I. Reingold, R. V. Pickel, V. P. Olberg, K. B. Berman-Yurin, Fritz David (I. I. Kruglyansky), M. Lurye and N. Lurye, accused of crimes covered by Articles 58<sup>8</sup>, 19 and 58<sup>8</sup>, 58<sup>11</sup> of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.*

On January 15-16, 1935, the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. at a special session in the city of Leningrad tried the case of the underground counter-revolutionary group of Zinovievites calling itself the "Moscow center", the principal leaders of which among the others convicted in that case were G. E. Zinoviev, L. B. Kamenev, G. E. Evdokimov and I. P. Bakayev.

The preliminary and the Court investigation of that case established that for a number of years this so-called "Moscow center" guided the counter-revolutionary activities of diverse underground groups of Zinovievites, including the counter-revolutionary activities of the Leningrad group of Nikolayev-Kotolynov which on December 1, 1934, foully murdered Comrade S. M. Kirov.

The trial established that the so-called "Moscow center", being the ideological and political leader of the Leningrad group of Zinovievites, knew that this group was inclined towards terrorism and did all it could to fan this inclination.

This had to be admitted also by the accused Zinoviev and Kamenev, who denied that they took any part in the murder of Comrade S. M. Kirov, hypocritically stating at the trial that they bore only moral and political responsibility for the assassination of Comrade Kirov.

It now transpires that eighteen months ago, during the investigation of the case of the assassination of Comrade S. M. Kirov, the investigating and judicial authorities were not in possession of all the facts revealing the true role of the Zinovievite leaders of the so-called "Moscow center" on the one hand and the leaders of the Trotskyite underground organization on the other, in the white-guard, terroristic underground activities.

On the strength of newly revealed circumstances ascertained by the investigating authorities in 1936 in connection with the discovery of a number of terrorist groups of Trotskyites and Zinovievites, the investigation has established that Zinoviev, Kamenev, Evdokimov and Bakayev, who were convicted in the "Moscow center" case,

actually not only knew that their adherents in Leningrad were inclined towards terrorism, but were the direct organizers of the assassination of Comrade S. M. Kirov.

The investigation also established that Zinoviev, Kamenev, Evdokimov, Bakayev, and a number of other accused in the present case, who will be mentioned later, were the initiators and organizers of attempts which were being prepared on the lives of other leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet government as well.

The investigation has also established that the Zinovievites pursued their criminal terroristic practices in a direct bloc with the Trotskyites and with L. Trotsky, who is abroad.

These newly revealed circumstances establish without a doubt that:

1. At the end of 1932 the Trotskyite and Zinovievite groups united and formed a united center consisting of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Evdokimov, Bakayev (from the Zinovievites) and I. N. Smirnov, Ter-Vaganyan and Mrachkovsky (from the Trotskyites), all charged in the present case.

2. The principal condition for the union of these counter-revolutionary groups was their common recognition of individual terrorism against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government.

3. Precisely from that time onwards (end of 1932) the Trotskyites and Zinovievites, acting on direct instructions from L. Trotsky, received by the united center through special agents, concentrated their hostile activities against the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government mainly on the organization of terrorism against the most prominent leaders of the Party and the government.

4. With this end in view the united center organized special terrorist groups, which prepared a number of practical measures for the assassination of Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Kirov, Orjonikidze, Zhdanov, Kossior, Postyshev and others.

5. One of these terrorist groups, consisting of Nikolayev, Rumyantsev, Mandelstamm, Levin, Kotolynov and others, who were convicted by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. on December 28-29, 1934, carried out the foul murder of Comrade S. M. Kirov on December 1, 1934, on the direct instructions from Zinoviev and L. Trotsky, and under the direct guidance of the united center.

#### *1. The Trotskyite-Zinovievite United Terrorist Center*

The testimonies of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Evdokimov, Mrachkovsky, Bakayev and a number of other accused in the present case, have established beyond doubt that the only motive for organizing the

Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc was their striving to seize power at all costs, and that the sole and decisive means chosen for this purpose was the organization of terroristic acts against the most prominent leaders of the Party and the government.

Lacking all support in the working class and the toiling masses of the people of the U.S.S.R., having lost all their ideological possessions, having no political program and imbued with bitter hatred toward the Socialist victories of our country, the leaders of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite counter-revolutionary bloc, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, sank definitely into the swamp of white-guardism, joined forces and merged with the most inveterate enemies of the Soviet Power, and became the organizing force of the last remnants of the exploiting classes which had been routed in the U.S.S.R. In their desperation and hatred they resorted to the most despicable means of fighting the Soviet government and the leaders of the C.P.S.U., namely, political assassinations.

At first, in the face of the first successes of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., they held to their hopes that difficulties would arise, with which, in their calculations, the Soviet Power would not be able to cope. But later, seeing that these difficulties were being successfully overcome and that our country was emerging victorious from these difficulties, they frankly banked on the complication of international relations, on war and the defeat of the Soviet Power.

Seeing no favorable prospects for themselves, they resorted to the gun; they organized underground terroristic groups and made use of the most detestable method of fighting, namely terrorism.

At present the Trotskyite-Zinovievite conspirators, as a reason for their fight against the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government, no longer advance the claim that the Party and the Soviet government are pursuing an allegedly wrong policy, or that the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government are leading the country to its doom, as they lyingly and slanderously asserted in the past. As their principal motive for resorting to terrorism they now advance the successes of the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., the successes in the cultural and economic growth of the country, which successes, demonstrating the ideological and political bankruptcy of the Trotskyites-Zinovievites, fan their hatred of the Soviet government still more and intensify their desire to avenge themselves on the Soviet government for their political failure by resorting to terrorism.

In spite of obdurate denials, the accused Zinoviev was compelled by the weight of evidence which was laid before him by the investigating authorities to admit that:

“ . . . The main object which the Trotskyite-Zinovievite center pursued was the assassination of the leaders of the C.P.S.U., and in the first place the assassination of Stalin and Kirov.” (Vol. XII, p. 16.)

Another member of this center, the accused Reingold, during examination on July 3, 1936, testified:

"... The main thing on which all the members of the bloc agreed was ... the recognition of the necessity of consolidating all forces to capture the Party leadership. I must admit that the fundamental aim of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc was to remove by violence the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government, and Stalin in the first place. At the end of 1932 the center adopted a decision to organize the fight against the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and the government by terroristic means. I know that the Trotskyite section of the bloc received instructions from L. D. Trotsky to adopt the path of terrorism and to prepare attempts on the life of Stalin." (Vol. XXVII, p. 52.)

Exhaustive evidence on the same point was also given during the examination on July 23, 1936, by the accused Kamenev. The accused Kamenev stated:

"The emergence from the difficulties, the victory of the policy of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. caused in us a new wave of animosity and hatred towards the leadership of the Party, and primarily towards Stalin."

"... We, i.e., the Zinovievite center of the counter-revolutionary organization, the members of which I have enumerated above, and the Trotskyite counter-revolutionary organization in the persons of Smirnov, Mrachkovsky and Ter-Vaganyan, negotiated in 1932 to unite both the Zinovievite and Trotskyite counter-revolutionary organizations for joint preparation of terroristic acts against the leaders of the Central Committee and in the first place against Stalin and Kirov."

"... The main thing is that in 1932 both Zinoviev and we, namely, myself (Kamenev), Evdokimov, Bakayev and the Trotskyite leaders, Smirnov, Mrachkovsky and Ter-Vaganyan, decided that the only means by which we could hope to come to power was to organize terroristic acts against the leaders of the C.P.S.U., and primarily against Stalin. It was precisely on this basis of a terroristic struggle against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. that negotiations for the union were conducted between ourselves and the Trotskyites." (Vol. XV, pp. 10, 12, 13.)

The accused Kamenev further stated that:

"... However, our banking on the insuperability of the difficulties which the country was experiencing, on the state of crisis of its economy, on the collapse of the economic policy of the Party leadership had obviously failed by the second half of 1932.

"Overcoming the difficulties, the country, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., was successfully advancing along the road of economic growth. We could not help seeing this.

"One would have thought that we should have stopped fighting. But the logic of the counter-revolutionary struggle, the nakedly unprincipled striving to seize power led us in the other direction. The emergence from the difficulties, the victory of the policy of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., caused in us a new wave of animosity and hatred towards the leaders of the Party, and primarily towards Stalin." (Vol. XV, p. 27.)

This was confirmed also by the accused Evdokimov who, on August 10 this year, gave detailed evidence on the organization of the united center and the terroristic position adopted by it. In reply

to the question put to him by the investigating authorities on what basis the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc arose, the accused Evdokimov stated:

"... Mrachkovsky said: 'The hopes we have placed on the collapse of the Party's policy must be considered doomed. The methods of struggle used up to now have not produced any positive results. There remains only one path of struggle, and that is the removal of the leadership of the Party and the Government by violence. . . . ' Seeing that I agreed with him, Mrachkovsky, no longer having any fear that I would not support him, went on to say: 'Stalin and the other leaders of the Party and the Government must be removed. This is the principal task.'

"Right there, Mrachkovsky informed me that the Trotskyites had received instructions from Trotsky on the necessity of organizing terroristic attempts on the lives of the leaders of the Party and the Government, that Trotsky, being outside the Soviet Union, correctly defined the tasks of the fight against the leadership of the C.P.S.U. At the same time, by the logic of the struggle, Mrachkovsky himself and other Trotskyites had come to the conclusion that terrorism was the only road of struggle remaining. . . . Smirnov expressed the same views as Mrachkovsky. . . . In conclusion Mrachkovsky and Smirnov proposed to unite the forces of the Trotskyites and Zinovievites and to proceed to create secret terrorist groups for the purpose of committing terroristic acts against the leaders of the Party and the Government." (Vol. XXXVI, p. 10.)

Similar evidence was also given by a member of the Moscow terrorist center, I. I. Reingold, who testified as follows:

"... I met Kamenev in the second half of 1933 and also in 1934 in his apartment in Karmanitsky Pereulok, in Moscow. Kamenev appraised the situation in approximately the same way as Zinoviev and backed his conclusions by an analysis of the economic and political situation in the country. Kamenev arrived at the conclusion that after all, things were not moving toward catastrophe but were on the upgrade; therefore, all expectations of an automatic collapse were groundless, and the leadership that had grown up was made of too hard a granite to expect that it would split of itself. From this Kamenev drew the conclusion that the 'leadership will have to be split.'

"Kamenev repeatedly quoted Trotsky as saying: 'the whole matter is in the top, therefore the top must be removed.'

"Kamenev advocated the necessity of a terrorist struggle and primarily the necessity of killing Stalin, pointing out that this was the only way of coming to power. I particularly remember his cynical remark that 'heads are peculiar in that they do not grow on again.'

"Kamenev proposed that terrorist gunmen be trained. He said that the distinguishing feature of the new bloc compared with the previous opposition bloc was the adoption of energetic terrorist action." (Vol. XXVII, p. 61.)

He further said:

"... I have already stated above that the Trotskyite-Zinovievite united bloc had no new political program. It based itself upon the old threadbare platform, and none of the leaders of the bloc occupied themselves with, or were interested in the question of drawing up any kind of political program that was to any degree complete and consistent. The only thing that united this heterogeneous bloc was the idea of a terrorist fight against the leaders of the Party and the Government.

"As a matter of fact the bloc was a counter-revolutionary terrorist gang of

assassins who strove to seize power in the country by any means whatever." (Vol. XXVII, pp. 72-73.)

The accused I. N. Smirnov, during examination on August 5, 1936, also admitted that he had met Sedov, L. Trotsky's son, while he was in Berlin as far back as 1931.

I. N. Smirnov stated:

"... In the course of our conversation, L. Sedov, analyzing the situation in the Soviet Union, expressed the opinion that under the present conditions only the removal by violence of the leading persons in the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government could bring about a change in the general situation in the country. . . ."

"... I admit that the attitude which regarded terrorism as the only way of changing the situation in the Soviet Union was known to me from a conversation with Sedov in Berlin in 1931 as his own personal position. I admit that this line on terrorism was confirmed by L. Trotsky in 1932 in his personal instructions conveyed to me through Y. Gaven.

"I admit that Ter-Vaganyan, who with my knowledge conducted negotiations with the Leftists and the Zinovievites in the name of the Trotskyite group, formed in 1932 a bloc with Kamenev, Zinoviev and the Lominadze group for joint struggle against the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government, and that L. Trotsky's instructions regarding terror against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet state were made the basis of this bloc." (Vol. XXIX, pp. 93, 104.)

The accused V. A. Ter-Vaganyan confirmed this evidence of the accused Smirnov, admitting his participation in the united center, as well as the participation in this center of the accused I. N. Smirnov, Mrachkovsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev.

The accused Ter-Vaganyan admitted that:

"The Trotskyite organization headed by I. N. Smirnov, in its counter-revolutionary activities, particularly fostered hatred and animosity against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. . . . It was on this hatred that the bloc was founded. . . ." (Vol. XXXVIII, p. 11.)

The accused Ter-Vaganyan also admitted that as far back as 1931:

"Sedov received from Trotsky special instructions for I. N. Smirnov and the underground Trotskyites in the U.S.S.R. to adopt the most active and sharp methods of struggle against the Party and its leadership." (Vol. XXXVIII, p. 27.)

Confirming the evidence of the accused Mrachkovsky on this point, the accused Ter-Vaganyan testified:

"Mrachkovsky is right when he says that the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc itself was really organized on the basis of the recognition that it was necessary to fight the leadership of the Party and the Government by terroristic methods." (Vol. XXXVIII, p. 32.)

Thus, there is no doubt left that the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc had turned into a group of unprincipled, political adventurers and

assassins striving at only one thing, namely, to make their way to power even through terrorism.

Such is the sole and exhaustive "program" of this association of political assassins.

Concerning terrorism as the sole basis on which the union of the Trotskyites and Zinovievites took place in 1932, evidence was given at the preliminary investigation also by the accused R. V. Pickel. During the examination on July 23, Pickel testified:

"According to the information conveyed to us by Reingold in the beginning of 1934, the all-Union united counter-revolutionary center of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc decided by the efforts of the Trotskyites and Zinovievites to strike a crushing blow at the C.P.S.U. by committing a number of terroristic acts with the aim of beheading the leadership and seizing power.

"The all-Union center of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc then bluntly raised the question of the necessity of 'surgical intervention' (meaning terrorism) in order to bring about a decisive change in the situation in the country. For this purpose the center gave instructions to start selecting people who nursed particularly bitter feelings against the Party leadership, who had very strong will power and were capable of carrying out terroristic attempts on the lives of the leaders of the C.P.S.U." (Vol. XXV, p. 65.)

In conformity with the course taken by the Trotskyite-Zinovievite underground bloc of seizing power by any means, the members of this bloc widely practiced double-dealing as the special and main method in their relations towards the Party and the government. They brought this double-dealing to monstrous dimensions, and transformed it into a system that might rouse the envy of any Azef and Malinovsky, of any secret service with all its spies, provocateurs and agents for diversive activities.

One of the principal aims of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc was in every possible way to conceal and mask its counter-revolutionary activities and the organization of terroristic acts.

On this point the accused Reingold testified:

"... In 1933-34 Zinoviev told me when I was alone with him in his apartment that: '... The principal practical task is to organize the terroristic work so secretly as to preclude our being compromised in any way. . . .'"

"... When under examination the main thing is persistently to deny any connection with the organization. If accused of terroristic activities, you must emphatically deny it and argue that terror is incompatible with the views of Bolsheviks-Marxists.'" (Vol. XXVII, pp. 110, 112.)

Similar instructions were given by L. Trotsky, who recommended that when terroristic acts were committed they should be disavowed and "a position should be taken up analogous to that taken up by the Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionaries toward Madame Kaplan" who shot at V. I. Lenin.

Another reason why the united center resorted to profound secrecy and carefully masked its terroristic activities was that one

of its aims was to betray the vigilance of the working class and the masses of the toilers. While preparing the assassination of Comrade Stalin and other leaders of the C.P.S.U., the united center simultaneously strove by all means in its power to give assurances of its loyalty and even devotion to the Party and the Soviet Power, of its repentance of past mistakes and of its readiness to serve the proletarian revolution honestly. The leaders of the united center figured that having been "forgiven" they could, after killing Comrade Stalin, utilize this "forgiveness" to come into power. On this point the accused Reingold testified:

"... They believed—I am speaking of the leaders of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite center—that the fact that we were forgiven while Stalin was still alive, the fact that confidence was placed in us, would ensure our coming nearer to the leadership and to power; and following this, after Zinoviev, Kamenev and their supporters had come into power, they would ensure the return also of Trotsky to the leadership and to power." (Vol. XXVII, p. 168.)

This was also testified to during examination by the accused Kamenev:

"... We discussed this question more than once. We outlined and decided on two possible ways for the leaders of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc to come to power.

"The first, and what seemed to us to be the most feasible way, was that after a terroristic act had been committed against Stalin, there would ensue confusion in the leadership of the Party and the Government, and negotiations would be opened with us, the leaders of the Zinovievite bloc and in the first place with Zinoviev, Kamenev and Trotsky.

"We assumed that in these negotiations, myself and Zinoviev would occupy the leading positions in the Party and the country, for even with Stalin we, by our policy of double-dealing, had obtained, after all, forgiveness of our mistakes by the Party and had been taken back into its ranks, while our participation, that is mine, Zinoviev's and Trotsky's, in the terroristic acts would remain secret from the Party and the country.

"The second way by which we could seize power, and which seemed to us to be less reliable, was that after a terroristic act had been committed against Stalin, the leadership of the Party and the country would be thrown into a state of uncertainty and disorganization.

"The leaders of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc would be able to take advantage of the confusion to compel the remaining leaders of the Party to admit us to power or else to yield to us their places.

"Trotsky's appearance and his active participation in the struggle for power were taken as a matter of course." (Vol. XV, pp. 33-34.)

The united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center took the path of terrorism under the direct influence of L. D. Trotsky, who personally gave the members of the united center a number of verbal and written instructions to this effect.

During examination on July 20, 1936, the accused S. V. Mrachkovsky testified:

"... We Trotskyites adopted the policy of terrorism long before the bloc with Zinoviev and Kamenev was formed. In 1931, when I. N. Smirnov was in

Berlin and established contact with L. Trotsky, instructions were received from the latter to proceed to the organization of action groups of Trotskyites." (Vol. XVIII, pp. 40, 41.)

This same Mrachkovsky stated:

"... According to the instructions of L. Trotsky received in 1931 by I. N. Smirnov, we were to kill Stalin, Voroshilov and Kaganovich. Stalin was to be killed first." (Vol. XVIII, p. 42.)

On Trotsky's attitude towards forming a united Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc and adopting terroristic methods of struggle, the accused Mrachkovsky testified as follows:

"... In the middle of 1932, I. N. Smirnov put before our leading trio the question of the necessity of uniting our organization with the Zinoviev-Kamenev and Shatskin-Lominadze groups. ... It was then decided to consult L. Trotsky on this question and to obtain his directions. L. Trotsky replied, agreeing to the formation of a bloc on the condition that the groups uniting in the bloc would agree to the necessity of removing by violence the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and Stalin in the first place." (Vol. XVIII, pp. 44, 45.)

This evidence of Mrachkovsky was fully confirmed by the accused Dreitzer who during examination testified:

"... On the direct instructions of L. Trotsky, our all-Union center of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc was to prepare and carry out the assassination of Stalin and Voroshilov for the purpose of beheading the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and the Red Army." (Vol. X, p. 99.)

In 1934, the accused Dreitzer personally received written instructions from Trotsky, through L. Trotsky's son, Sedov, to prepare and carry out a terroristic act against Comrade Stalin. This letter was written personally by Trotsky. According to Dreitzer's testimony the contents of this letter were as follows:

"Dear friend. Convey that today we have the following main tasks before us:

"1. To remove Stalin and Voroshilov.

"2. To unfold work for organizing nuclei in the army.

"3. In the event of war, to take advantage of every setback and confusion to capture the leadership."

The accused Dreitzer stated that "the letter ended with instructions to keep Trotsky informed of the progress of the work done in fulfillment of the above instructions. I must add that these instructions of Trotsky fully confirmed the instructions I received from Mrachkovsky in May, 1934." (Vol. X, pp. 102-103.)

This letter was addressed by Trotsky to Dreitzer personally as to one of the people most devoted to him, and who at one time was chief of his personal bodyguard.

Dreitzer handed this letter to Mrachkovsky, who, according to

the testimony of Dreitzer and of Mrachkovsky himself, eventually destroyed it for reasons of secrecy.

In addition to the above-mentioned letter, Trotsky sent to the Trotskyite-Zinovievite center a number of other verbal and written instructions concerning terrorism. In particular, he handed to the accused Holtzman instructions of this nature when he met him personally. Holtzman served as a liaison man between L. Trotsky and the Trotskyite-Zinovievite center.

The investigation has established that after the smash-up of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite center in connection with the murder of Comrade Kirov, L. Trotsky himself assumed the leadership of terroristic activities in the U.S.S.R. and began strongly to press forward the organization of the assassinations of Comrades Stalin and Voroshilov. For this purpose he took steps to restore the terrorist groups in the U.S.S.R. and to stimulate their activity by sending a number of his tried agents to the U.S.S.R. from abroad and also by using for this purpose persons belonging to underground Trotskyite organizations in the U.S.S.R. who went abroad ostensibly on official business.

The investigation has established that at various times the following accused persons were sent from Berlin to Moscow as such agents: V. Olberg, Berman-Yurin, Fritz David (Kruglyansky), Moissei Lurye, Nathan Lurye, and several others who received directly from L. D. Trotsky and his son Sedov (L. L. Trotsky) instructions to organize at all costs the assassinations of Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov, Kaganovich and other leaders of the Party.

One of these Trotskyite agents, V. Olberg, who arrived in the U.S.S.R. with the passport of a citizen of the Republic of Honduras, stated when arrested and examined:

"... As I have already testified, I began active Trotskyite work at the beginning of 1930. In addition to the persons I have enumerated, I was personally connected with Trotsky and his son Lev Sedov; I carried out a number of assignments given to me personally by Trotsky in connection with the Trotskyite organization, and I was his emissary in Germany. As Trotsky's emissary in Germany, I carried on work in the Trotskyite organization in Berlin and also maintained secret connections with the Soviet Union. I maintained connections with the Soviet Union using addresses and places which Lev Sedov indicated to me." (Vol. XXI, p. 24.)

V. Olberg admitted that he arrived in the U.S.S.R. illegally for the purpose of carrying on Trotskyite counter-revolutionary work and of organizing a terroristic act against Comrade Stalin.

During examination on February 21 of this year, V. Olberg testified that during one of his meetings with L. Trotsky's son, Sedov, the latter showed him a letter from Trotsky in which Trotsky proposed that Olberg be sent to the Soviet Union with a group of Ger-

man Trotskyites for the purpose of preparing and organizing the murder of Stalin.

"... In this letter", V. Olberg goes on to say, "Trotsky wrote to Sedov stating that he fully agreed with his proposal that I be sent to the Soviet Union. Trotsky wrote that he considered me to be an absolutely suitable person who could be fully relied upon in so perilous a matter."

To this Olberg added:

"Sedov said to me it was my duty to conceal by every possible means Trotsky's role in the organization of a terroristic act against Stalin, and that even if I were arrested in circumstances in which my role of a terrorist would be absolutely obvious, I was to conceal the fact that I was a Trotskyite and was committing the terroristic act on Trotsky's instructions." (Vol. XXI, pp. 77, 78.)

As the investigation has established, V. Olberg arrived in the U.S.S.R. with the passport of a citizen of the Republic of Honduras obtained with the aid of the German secret police (Gestapo).

On this point V. Olberg, during examination in the office of the State Attorney of the U.S.S.R., testified:

"... Sedov promised to help me to obtain a passport to return to the U.S.S.R. once more. But I succeeded in obtaining a passport with the help of my younger brother, Paul Olberg. Thanks to my connections with the German police and their agent in Prague, V. P. Tukalevsky, I, by means of a bribe, obtained the passport of a citizen of the Republic of Honduras. The money for the passport—13,000 Czechoslovakian kronen—I obtained from Sedov, or rather, from the Trotskyite organization on Sedov's instructions." (Vol. XXI, p. 262.)

Re-examined on the question of his connection with the Gestapo, V. Olberg on July 31 of this year testified:

"Confirming also my testimony of May 9 of this year, I emphasize that my connection with the Gestapo was not at all an exception, of which one could speak as of the fall of an individual Trotskyite. It was the line of the Trotskyites in conformity with the instructions of L. Trotsky given through Sedov. The connection with the Gestapo followed the line of organizing terrorism in the U.S.S.R. against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government.

"... Several times I met a prominent official of the Gestapo, whose name was not mentioned to me, and I did not consider it convenient to inquire. With this official I discussed my first journey to Moscow and my plans concerning the preparation of a terroristic act. This official knew my brother as an agent of the Gestapo to whom he advised me to apply for help whenever necessary." (Vol. XXI, p. 263-264.)

This testimony of V. Olberg was fully confirmed by Paul Olberg, also an agent of the German secret police, arrested in connection with another case. It was Paul Olberg who put his brother V. Olberg, as both of them testify, in touch with the Gestapo and helped V. Olberg to obtain from the Gestapo the passport of a citizen of the Republic of Honduras, which figures as an exhibit in the present case.

Paul Olberg also confirmed the fact that V. Olberg's journey to the U.S.S.R. was organized with terroristic purposes. During examination on May 16 this year, Paul Olberg testifies:

"... Valentine Olberg informed me that an official of the German Secret Police told him that all persons taking part in preparing and committing terroristic acts would be given refuge in Germany." (Vol. XXIV, p. 231.)

Another Trotskyite agent, sent to the U.S.S.R. with terroristic tasks, namely Berman-Yurin, testified:

"My own role was that I arrived in the U.S.S.R. as a person particularly trusted by Lev Davidovich Trotsky with a special mission and instructions from him." (Vol. IV, p. 30.)

As the investigation has established, this "special mission and instructions" were to organize the assassination of Comrade Stalin. This was admitted by the accused Berman-Yurin, who testified that, on meeting L. Trotsky in Copenhagen, he received from Trotsky directions to kill Comrade Stalin.

"... During this conversation", said the accused Berman-Yurin, "Trotsky openly said to me that in the fight against Stalin, one must not hesitate to resort to extreme measures, and that Stalin must be physically destroyed." (Vol. IV, p. 36.)

"... Trotsky emphasized that the attempt must be prepared very carefully and circumspectly and should be timed with some big political event of international importance. It would be most preferable, if the opportunity arose, to make the attempt coincide with some plenum or the congress of the Comintern. Trotsky stated that such a terroristic act committed at a congress or plenum would immediately assume the nature of an international political event; it would rouse the masses far beyond the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. and would give rise to a powerful movement.

"Trotsky told me that this terroristic act against Stalin must not be committed secretly, on the quiet, but that the assassination must be committed publicly, before an international forum." (Vol. IV, pp. 38, 39.)

Simultaneously with Berman-Yurin, L. Trotsky sent also the accused Fritz David (I. I. Kruglyansky) to the U.S.S.R. to prepare terroristic acts.

In the autumn of 1932, Fritz David (I. I. Kruglyansky) also had a meeting with L. Trotsky, arranged for him by Sedov. In conversation with him, Trotsky proposed that Fritz David (I. I. Kruglyansky) undertake, as he expressed it, the "historic mission" of killing Stalin.

Fritz David (I. I. Kruglyansky) testified:

"... When proposing that I go to the U.S.S.R. to kill Stalin, Trotsky advised me, for the sake of secrecy, not to maintain open connections with the Trotskyites but outwardly to adhere to the policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

"This conversation with Trotsky took place in November, 1932, and I accepted his proposal to kill Stalin." (Vol. VIII, p. 73.)

On arriving in the U.S.S.R. Berman-Yurin found Fritz David (I. I. Kruglyansky) at an address given him by Sedov. Fritz David (I. I. Kruglyansky) and Berman-Yurin decided to carry out the assassination of Comrade Stalin at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. This, however, they failed to do owing to the fact that Berman-Yurin was unable to get into the Congress, while Fritz David (I. I. Kruglyansky), although he got into the Congress, could not carry out his criminal intention because he sat far away from the presidium and had no opportunity of getting near to Comrade Stalin.

As both of the accused admitted during the investigation, Fritz David (I. I. Kruglyansky) was to have shot Comrade Stalin at the Seventh Congress with a Browning pistol which he had received from Berman-Yurin. (Vol. VIII, p. 77.)

The investigation has also established that the terrorist group headed by Trotsky's agent, Moissei Lurye, whom Trotsky sent into the U.S.S.R. from abroad, was actually organized by the active German fascist Franz Weitz, the representative of Himmler, at that time the leader of the fascist S.S. detachments and now the director of the German secret police (Gestapo).

On this point M. Lurye, examined on July 21, stated:

"Nathan Lurye replied that he was still, as before, a convinced Trotskyite, and he reported that a terrorist group, small in number, but very reliable, had been organized here in Moscow in April, 1932. . . .

"... When I asked on whose instructions and at whose initiative this action group had been organized, N. Lurye answered that the action group was created by a certain Franz Weitz. . . .

"... When I asked who was Franz Weitz, N. Lurye, at first very unwillingly, answered as follows: Franz Weitz is an active member of the National-Socialist Party in Germany and a trusted man of Himmler (the present director of the Gestapo in Germany). At that time Himmler was the leader of the 'SS'—Blackshirt Guards. . . ."

"... The main task of the group, according to Weitz, was to prepare terroristic acts against Stalin, Kaganovich, Voroshilov and Orjonikidze. . . ." (Vol. XXXII, pp. 243, 244.)

The accused M. Lurye communicated to Zinoviev in detail N. Lurye's report, desiring to ascertain Zinoviev's attitude towards connections with the fascists and the German secret police.

After listening to M. Lurye's communication, Zinoviev replied:

"What is there in this to disturb you? You are a historian, Moissei Ilyich, you know the case of Lassalle and Bismarck, when Lassalle wanted to use Bismarck in the interests of the revolution."

"... By means of this historical parallel", added M. Lurye, "Zinoviev wanted to prove the possibility and the necessity of utilizing an alliance with the National-Socialists in the fight against the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government." (Vol. XXXII, p. 252.)

M. Lurye's testimony was fully confirmed by N. Lurye, who, during examination on July 21 testified as follows:



"I must admit that from the autumn of 1932 to the end of 1933 the terrorist action group of which I was the head was actively preparing a terroristic act against the People's Commissar of Defense, Voroshilov. . . ."

" . . . I was commissioned to do this by Franz Weitz, a German engineer-architect, member of the National-Socialist Party of Germany, representative of Himmler, now director of the Gestapo."

" . . . In August, 1932, leaving for Germany for his vacation, Franz Weitz put me in charge of the terrorist action group and set before me the task of preparing and carrying out terroristic acts against Stalin, Kaganovich and Voroshilov." (Vol. XXXIII, pp. 141-142.)

Thus the accused M. Lurye and N. Lurye, by establishing direct organizational contact with the German fascists and the German secret police, betrayed the interests of the Soviet state and committed treason against their country.

Finally, the circumstances established by the investigation show that L. Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and others, the leaders of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc, in their fight against the Soviet government sank so low that their morals proved to be more contemptible than those of gangs of the most hardened criminals. While organizing terroristic acts against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet state, the leaders of the united center simultaneously were preparing to exterminate their own terrorist agents in order completely to wipe out all traces of their crimes.

On this point the accused Reingold testified as follows:

"Zinoviev and Kamenev did not exclude the possibility that the O.G.P.U. was in possession of the threads of the conspiracy against the State which was being prepared by them. Therefore they regarded it as their most important task to destroy every possible trace of the crimes committed. For this purpose it was proposed to appoint Bakayev chairman of the O.G.P.U. He was to be charged with the function of physically exterminating the persons who directly carried out terroristic acts against Stalin and Kirov, as well as those workers of the O.G.P.U. who might be in possession of the threads of the crimes committed." (Vol. XXVII, pp. 163-164.)

## *II. The United Trotskyite-Zinovievite Center and the Assassination of Comrade S. M. Kirov*

It was already established in the case of Nikolayev, Rumyantsev, Kotolynov and others shot by sentence of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. on the charge of murdering Comrade S. M. Kirov on December 1, 1934, that direct connections existed between the group of Zinovievites in Leningrad who committed the murder, and the accused Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bakayev, already convicted in the case of the so-called "Moscow center".

At the present time, the investigating authorities are in possession of facts establishing beyond doubt that the murder of S. M. Kirov was committed in accordance with the decision of the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center.

This was admitted at the preliminary investigation by the majority of active members of various terrorist Trotskyite-Zinovievite groups, including the accused Zinoviev, Kamenev, Evdokimov, Bakayev, Mrachkovsky and others.

The accused Evdokimov fully confirmed this by declaring at the examination on August 10 of this year the following:

" . . . At the trial of the Kirov murder case, I—Evdokimov, with Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bakayev, Gertik and others, deceived the government authorities and the court by concealing that the murder of Kirov was prepared and carried out by us, the members of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc.

"The murder of Kirov was committed by the Leningrad terrorist center on the direct instructions of the united center of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc. (Vol. XXXVI, p. 6.)

" . . . In 1934, Zinoviev, acting in the name of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite organization, gave Bakayev direct instructions to organize the murder of Kirov.

"In addition to Zinoviev those taking part in the decision to murder Kirov, included Kamenev, myself—Evdokimov, Bakayev, and also representatives of the Trotskyites in the persons of Mrachkovsky and Ter-Vaganyan. In order to prepare the murder, Bakayev went to Leningrad in the autumn of 1934 and there established contact with the active members of our organization: Kotolynov, Levin, Rumyantsev, Mandelstamm and Myasnikov, who formed the so-called Leningrad terrorist center. The Leningrad center had an active group of terrorists, directly engaged in preparations for the murder of Kirov." (Vol. XXXVI, p. 6.)

After obdurate denials, the accused Zinoviev, convicted by the testimony of a number of other accused, had to admit that as far back as 1932 the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center had decided to organize terroristic acts against Comrade Stalin in Moscow and against Comrade Kirov in Leningrad.

"In the autumn of 1932", stated the accused Zinoviev, "in my villa at Ilyinskoye, in the presence of Kamenev, Bakayev, Evdokimov and Karev, I instructed Bakayev to prepare a terroristic act against Stalin, and Karev to prepare a terroristic act against Kirov." (Vol. XII, p. 36.)

The accused Zinoviev testified:

"In 1934, I do not remember the exact month, in the middle of the year, Evdokimov informed me of one of Gertik's trips to Leningrad during which Gertik established contact with Kotolynov. As a result of this meeting Kotolynov told Gertik that he was taking a direct part in the preparations for the assassination of Kirov." (Vol. XII, pp. 37, 38.)

This was also testified by the accused Kamenev, who confirmed the fact that a conference had taken place in Ilyinskoye at which it was decided to commit terroristic acts against Comrades Stalin and Kirov. The accused Kamenev testified:

"I must admit that before the conference in Ilyinskoye, Zinoviev informed me of the proposed decisions of the center of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc to organize terroristic acts against Stalin and Kirov, declaring that the repre-

sentatives of the Trotskyites in the center of the bloc, Smirnov, Mrachkovsky and Ter-Vaganyan, emphatically insisted on this decision, that they had direct instructions on this matter from Trotsky, and that they demanded that a start be made in putting these measures into practice in pursuance of those principles which formed the basis of the bloc." (Vol. XV, pp. 15, 16.)

To this the accused Kamenev added:

"I joined in this decision being in full agreement with it." (Vol. XV, p. 16.)

As the investigation has established, the practical fulfillment of the plan to organize the murder of Comrade Kirov was assigned by the united center to I. P. Bakayev, a member of that center.

Direct evidence on this is given by the accused Zinoviev, who admitted that it was precisely Bakayev who had been instructed by Zinoviev, in the name of the united center, to organize the terroristic acts against Comrade Stalin in Moscow and against Comrade Kirov in Leningrad. (Vol. XII, p. 36.)

Detailed evidence on the role played by Zinoviev, Bakayev and the whole of the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center in the murder of Comrade S. M. Kirov was given by the accused Reingold, who stated the following:

"I learned personally from Zinoviev that the assassination of Kirov in Leningrad was prepared on his direct instructions and on the instructions of the center of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc. During this conversation with Zinoviev, which took place in his apartment in August, 1934, he, as I have already stated, reproached the Moscow action group for being slow and not sufficiently active.

"In giving the reasons for the necessity of committing a terroristic act against Kirov, Zinoviev said that Kirov must be physically destroyed as Stalin's closest assistant. He also added: 'It is not enough to fell the oak; all the young oaks growing around it must be felled too'. Another argument Zinoviev used in support of the necessity of murdering Kirov was that Kirov was the leader of the Leningrad organization and was personally responsible for the rout of the opposition in Leningrad.

"As I have already stated, the Leningrad fighting organization was under the direct leadership of Bakayev. Organizational connection with this organization was also maintained by Faivilovich." (Vol. XXVII, p. 70.)

After persistent denials of his participation in the organization of the assassination of Comrade Kirov, the accused Bakayev, under the weight of evidence brought against him, testified:

"I admit that Zinoviev personally instructed me to organize the assassination of Stalin in Moscow, and Karev to organize the assassination of Kirov in Leningrad. For this purpose I instructed Karev to establish contact in Leningrad with Vladimir Levin and Anishev, members of the organization, while Zinoviev instructed me to put Karev in touch also with Rummyantsev in Leningrad." (Vol. I, p. 89.)

Evidence on the role played by Bakayev as one of the principal organizers of the assassination of Comrade Kirov was also given by

N. A. Karev, who is under arrest in connection with another case. At the examination held on July 5, 1936, N. A. Karev stated:

"Zinoviev said that Bakayev had been charged with the preparation of terroristic acts against Stalin and Kirov and that for this purpose he was to utilize his connections with the Zinovievite groups in Leningrad and Moscow."

To this Karev added:

"In conversation with Bakayev, I learned that the latter intended to utilize the Zinovievite groups of Rummyantsev and Kotolynov in Leningrad with which he, Bakayev, had contact, for the organization of a terroristic act against Kirov." (Vol. III, p. 11.)

This was also fully confirmed during the investigation by the accused Evdokimov, who stated the following:

"I learned from Bakayev that in the autumn of 1934, he, Bakayev, together with one Trotskyite terrorist, whose name I do not know, went to Leningrad to establish contact with the Leningrad terrorist center and to organize the assassination of Kirov.

"While in Leningrad, Bakayev and the above-mentioned Trotskyite terrorist met Nikolayev and arranged with him that he would assassinate Kirov." (Vol. XXXVI, pp. 7, 8.)

And further:

"Bakayev stated that the terrorists had expressed confidence in the success of the terroristic act; they considered themselves to be safe. The reason for this was that all of them, including such active Zinovievites as Rummyantsev, Levin, Myasnikov, Mandelstamm and others, enjoyed the confidence of a number of leading Party workers and officials of Soviet organizations in Leningrad. This ensured them every possibility of pursuing their preparations for a terroristic act against Kirov without the least fear of being discovered." (Vol. XXXVI, p. 9.)

The investigation has established that after the united Zinovievite-Trotskyite center had adopted the decision to assassinate Comrade S. M. Kirov, Kamenev made a special journey to Leningrad in June, 1934, for checking up on the progress of the work of organizing the terroristic act against Comrade Kirov.

Zinoviev also pressed forward in every way the assassination of Comrade Kirov and, as testified by N. M. Matorin, formerly Zinoviev's private secretary, who is now under arrest in connection with another case, Zinoviev reproached the members of the terrorist group for being slow and irresolute.

Matorin testified:

"Zinoviev told me that the preparations for the terroristic act must be pressed forward to the utmost and that Kirov must be killed by the winter. Zinoviev reproached me for not displaying sufficient determination and energy. He said that with regard to terroristic methods of struggle prejudices must be dropped." (Vol. XIV, pp. 63, 64.)

*III. Organization by the United Trotskyite-Zinovievite Center of Terroristic Acts Against Comrades Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Kaganovich, Kossior, Orjonikidze and Postyshev*

The materials of the investigation have established that the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorist center, after it had killed Comrade Kirov, did not confine itself to organizing the assassination of Comrade Stalin alone. The terrorist Trotskyite-Zinovievite center simultaneously carried on work to organize assassinations of other leaders of the Party, namely, Comrades Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Kaganovich, Kossior, Orjonikidze and Postyshev.

The accused Reingold testified that Zinoviev, while speaking of the necessity of assassinating Comrade Kirov as Comrade Stalin's closest assistant, added:

"It is not enough to fell the oak; all the young oaks growing around it must be felled too." (Vol. XXVII, p. 70.)

According to Reingold's testimony:

"Zinoviev's main instructions amounted to the following: the blow must be directed against Stalin, Kaganovich and Kirov." (Vol. XXVII, p. 63.)

The accused Reingold confirmed that:

"The expectations of the united center were based on a plan to cause complete confusion in the Party and in the country by a stunning simultaneous blow in Moscow and Leningrad." (Vol. XXVII, p. 163.)

Various terrorist groups operating under the general leadership of the united center attempted to carry out the assassinations of Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Zhdanov, Kossior, Orjonikidze and Postyshev.

Thus, the organization of the terroristic act against Comrade Voroshilov was the work of Dreitzer's group, which received instructions to murder Voroshilov directly from Trotsky, and of the group of the Trotskyite M. Lurye, which was sent over from Germany for the same purpose.

In regard to the preparations for the assassination of Comrade Voroshilov, the accused Mrachkovsky, one of the members of the united center, testified:

"In the middle of 1934, E. Dreitzer reported to me that simultaneously he was organizing the assassination of Voroshilov, for which purpose Dimitri Schmidt, who was a commander in the army and under no suspicion in the Party, was to be prepared. It was presumed that he would kill Voroshilov either while reporting to him on service matters, or during the next maneuvers at which Voroshilov would be present." (Vol. XVIII, p. 49.)

The accused Dreitzer, examined at the office of the State Attorney of the Soviet Union on July 31, testified on this point:

"For the purpose of committing the terroristic act I recruited Esterman and Gayevsky, and in 1935 Schmidt and Kuzmichev. The latter two undertook to kill Voroshilov." (Vol. X, p. 195.)

The testimony of Mrachkovsky and Dreitzer was also confirmed by the accused Reingold, who testified as follows:

"I learned from Mrachkovsky and Dreitzer that in the summer of 1933 a Trotskyite group of military men was organized under the leadership of Dreitzer. The group consisted of Schmidt, commander of a brigade of the Red Army, Kuzmichev, chief of staff of a military unit, and a number of other persons whose names I do not know. I learned from Dreitzer that Schmidt and Kuzmichev were to carry out personally the terroristic act against Voroshilov and that they had agreed to do so. It was planned that for this purpose they would either take advantage of an official reception by Voroshilov, or of Voroshilov's visit to one of their military units." (Vol. XXVII, pp. 165, 166.)

The investigation has also established that in the same period, a number of terrorist groups (those of Dreitzer, M. Lurye and others) were organizing attempts on the lives of Comrades Zhdanov, Kaganovich, Orjonikidze, Kossior and Postyshev.

*Definition of the Charge*

Analyzing the above, the investigating authorities consider it established:

1. That in the period of 1932-1936 a united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center was organized in the city of Moscow with the object of committing a number of terroristic acts against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government for the purpose of seizing power.

2. That of those accused in the present case, G. E. Zinoviev, L. B. Kamenev, G. E. Evdokimov and I. P. Bakayev entered the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center from the Zinovievites, and I. N. Smirnov, V. A. Ter-Vaganyan and S. V. Mrachkovsky from the Trotskyites.

3. That, during this period, the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center organized a number of terrorist groups and prepared a number of practical measures to assassinate Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Kaganovich, Kirov, Kossior, Orjonikidze and Postyshev.

4. That one of these terrorist groups, operating on the direct instructions of Zinoviev and L. Trotsky and of the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center, and under the immediate direction of the accused Bakayev, carried out the foul murder of Comrade S. M. Kirov on December 1, 1934.

The accused in this case: G. E. Zinoviev, L. B. Kamenev, G. E. Evdokimov, I. P. Bakayev, V. A. Ter-Vaganyan, S. V. Mrachkovsky, E. A. Dreitzer, V. P. Olberg, Fritz David (I. I. Kruglyansky), E. S. Holtzman, R. V. Pickel, I. I. Reingold, K. B. Berman-Yurin, M. Lurye and N. Lurye have fully admitted their guilt of the charges preferred against them.

The accused I. N. Smirnov, acknowledging his participation in the united center of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc, his personal connection with L. Trotsky and his meetings with L. Sedov while abroad in 1931, and also the fact that he maintained connection with Trotsky right up to the time of his arrest in 1933, admitted that in 1931 instructions were conveyed to him by Sedov, and confirmed in 1932 by Trotsky to organize terror against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet state and that these instructions served as the basis of the organization of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc.

At the same time, the accused I. N. Smirnov categorically denies that he took part in the terroristic activities of the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center. However, the accused I. N. Smirnov is proved to have participated in the terroristic activities of the united center by the evidence of the accused S. V. Mrachkovsky (Vol. XXIX, pp. 76-84), E. A. Dreitzer (Vol. XXXI, p. 63), A. N. Safonova (Vol. XXXI, p. 295) I. I. Reingold (Vol. XXXI, pp. 138, 284), G. E. Zinoviev (Vol. XII, p. 35), L. B. Kamenev (Vol. XV, p. 28), G. E. Evdokimov (Vol. XXXVI, pp. 9, 10), R. V. Pickel (Vol. XXXI, p. 78).

On the basis of the above:

1. Zinoviev, Grigori Evseyevich, born in 1883, employee, convicted in 1935 in the Zinovievite "Moscow center" case;

2. Kamenev, Lev Borisovich, born in 1883, employee, convicted in 1935 in the same "Moscow center" case;

3. Evdokimov, Grigori Eremeyevich, born in 1884, employee, convicted in 1935 in the same "Moscow center" case;

4. Bakayev, Ivan Petrovich, born in 1887, employee, convicted in 1935 in the same "Moscow center" case;

5. Mrachkovsky, Sergei Vitalevich, born in 1888, employee;

6. Ter-Vaganyan, Vagarshak Arutyunovich, born in 1893, employee;

7. Smirnov, Ivan Nikitich, born in 1880, employee  
—are accused of having, the first six on the period of 1932 to 1936, and I. N. Smirnov since 1931,

(a) organized a number of terrorist groups which were making preparations to assassinate Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Kaganovich, Kirov, Kossior, Orjonikidze and Postyshev;

(b) organized and carried out on December 1, 1934, the foul murder of Comrade S. M. Kirov, through the Leningrad underground terrorist group of Nikolayev-Kotolynov and others;

*i.e.*, of crimes covered by Articles 58<sup>s</sup> and 58<sup>11</sup> of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

8. Dreitzer, Ephim Alexandrovich, born in 1894, employee;

9. Reingold, Isak Isayevich, born in 1897, employee;

10. Pickel, Richard Vitoldovich, born in 1896, employee;

11. Holtzman, Edouard Solomonovich, born in 1882, employee;

12. David, Fritz, alias Kruglyansky, Ilya-David Israilevich, born in 1897, employee;

13. Olberg, Valentine Pavlovich, born in 1907, employee;

14. Berman-Yurin, Konon Borisovich (alias Alexander Fomich), born in 1901, employee;

15. Lurye, Moissei Ilyich (alias Alexander Emel), born in 1897, employee;

16. Lurye, Nathan Lazarevich, born in 1901, employee  
—are accused of that, being members of the underground terrorist Trotskyite-Zinovievite organization, they took part in the preparations to assassinate Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Kaganovich, Kossior, Orjonikidze and Postyshev;

*i.e.*, crimes covered by Articles 19 and 58<sup>s</sup>, 58<sup>11</sup> of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

L. Trotsky and his son L. L. Sedov, both of whom are abroad, having been exposed by the materials in the present case as having directly prepared and personally guided the work of organizing in the U.S.S.R. terroristic acts against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and of the Soviet state, in the event of their being discovered on the territory of the U.S.S.R., are subject to immediate arrest and trial by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

The cases of Gertik, Grinberg, Y. Gaven, Karev, Kuzmichev, Konstant, Matorin, Paul Olberg, Radin, Safonova, Faivilovich, D. Schmidt, and Esterman, in view of the fact that investigation is still proceeding, have been set aside for separate trial.

In view of the above and in accordance with the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. of August 11, 1936, all the above-mentioned persons are subject to trial by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. in open court session.

The present indictment was drawn up in the city of Moscow on August 14, 1936.

A. VYSHINSKY

State Attorney of the U.S.S.R.

## Speech for the Prosecution

VYSHINSKY: Comrade judges, comrade members of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union: For three days you have very carefully and with the greatest attention examined the evidence and proof submitted to you by the state prosecution against the people sitting here in the dock charged with having committed the gravest crimes against the state. With the greatest possible care you have subjected to investigation and judicial scrutiny every one of these proofs, every fact, every event, every step taken by the accused, who in the course of many years added crime to crime in their struggle against the Soviet state, against the Soviet power, against our Party and against the whole of our Soviet people.

Horrible and monstrous is the chain of these crimes against our socialist fatherland; and each one of these crimes deserves the severest condemnation and severest punishment. Horrible and monstrous is the guilt of these criminals and murderers, who raised their hand against the leaders of our Party, against Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Kaganovich, Orjonikidze, Kossior and Postyshev, against our leaders, the leaders of the Soviet state. Monstrous are the crimes perpetrated by this gang which not only made preparations to commit terroristic acts, but actually murdered one of the best sons of the working class, one of the most devoted to the cause of socialism, one of the most beloved disciples of the great Stalin, the fiery tribune of the proletarian revolution, the unforgettable Sergei Mironovich Kirov.

But monstrous as these crimes are, and however profoundly we may have been stirred and disgusted by this nightmare of horrible crime, you, comrade judges, as befits a Soviet court and Soviet justice, have been weighing and appraising very calmly the facts which came before you in connection with the criminal activities of these persons whose names have long ago been covered with contempt and disgrace in the eyes of the whole people.

We have now come to the end of our judicial proceedings. We are making the final summary. We are drawing our last deductions in preparation, within a few hours, perhaps, to hear your verdict, the verdict of the court of the land of Soviets which demands and expects from you a just, unfaltering and implacably stern decision concerning the fate of these people, these contemptible murderers, these vile and insolent enemies of the land of Soviets, of the Soviet people.

We are building a new, socialist society, a new, Soviet state,

under the difficult conditions of class struggle, amidst the fierce resistance of the last remnants of the exploiting classes which we have routed and utterly crushed.

Every step in our progress is accompanied by desperate resistance on the part of our enemies who rouse against us all the forces of the old world, all the filth, all the scum of the old society, who mobilize and throw into the struggle against us the most criminal, the most hardened, the most incorrigible, decayed and dishonest elements.

Lenin taught us that "there has never been a single deep and mighty popular movement in history without filthy scum",\* without the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois element fighting against the Soviet government, and resorting not only to the methods of the Savinkovs, the Gotzes, the Gegechkoris and Kornilovs, of plots and rebellions, of floods of lies and slander, but also utilizing all the elements of decay, and embarking upon every possible sordid and shameful crime.

Comrade Stalin warned us that:

"We must bear in mind that the growth of the power of the Soviet state will increase the resistance of the last remnants of the dying classes. It is precisely because they are dying, and living their last days, that they will pass from one form of attack to another, to sharper forms of attack, appealing to the backward strata of the population, and mobilizing them against the Soviet power. There is no foul lie or slander that these 'have-beens' would not use against the Soviet power and around which they would not try to mobilize the backward elements. This may give ground for the revival of the activities of the defeated groups of the old counter-revolutionary parties: the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, the bourgeois nationalists in the center and in the outlying regions; it may give grounds also for the revival of the activities of the fragments of counter-revolutionary opposition elements from among the Trotskyites and the Right deviationists. Of course, there is nothing terrible in this. But we must bear all this in mind if we want to put an end to these elements quickly and without great loss." \*\*

Three years ago Comrade Stalin not only foretold the inevitable resistance of elements hostile to the cause of socialism, but also foretold the possibility of the revival of Trotskyite counter-revolutionary groups. This trial has fully and distinctly proved the great wisdom of this forecast.

The "heroes" of this trial have linked their fate with the fascists,

\* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, p. 457, Russian edition, "Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government".

\*\* Stalin, *The Results of the First Five-Year Plan*, end of Section VII.

with the agents of secret police departments; these "heroes" have lost all scruples and gone to the uttermost limits of duplicity and deceit, elevated perfidy and treachery to a system, to the law of their struggle against the Soviet state.

This trial has completely revealed and has once again proved how great and boundless are the rage and hatred of our enemies toward the great cause of socialism; this trial has shown how insignificant are these enemies who rushed headlong from one crime to another. A contemptible, insignificant, impotent group of traitors and murderers thought that by means of their sordid crimes they could cause the heart of our great people to cease to beat! This contemptible, insignificant group of adventurers tried with their mud-stained feet to trample upon the most fragrant flowers in our socialist garden.

These mad dogs of capitalism tried to tear limb from limb the best of the best of our Soviet land. They killed one of the men of the revolution who was most dear to us, that admirable and wonderful man, bright and joyous as the smile on his lips was always bright and joyous, as our new life is bright and joyous. They killed our Kirov; they wounded us close to our very heart. They thought they could sow confusion and consternation in our ranks.

To the murderers' treacherous shot of December 1, 1934, the whole country replied with unanimous execration. The whole country, millions and tens of millions of people, were aroused and once again proved their solidarity, their unity, their loyalty to the great banner of the Party of Lenin-Stalin. The land of Soviets rose up like an unshakable iron wall in defense of its leaders, its guides, for every hair of whose heads these criminal madmen will answer with their lives. In this boundless love of millions of toilers for our Party, for its Central Committee, and for our Stalin and his glorious comrades-in-arms, in this infinite love of the people lies the strength of the defense and protection of our leaders, the guides of our country and Party, against traitors, murderers and bandits.

Our great fatherland is joyously flourishing and growing. The fields of innumerable collective farms are rich with a golden harvest. Thousands of new socialist Stakhanov factories and works are pulsating with life. Harmoniously and wonderfully our railways are working for the welfare of our fatherland, and from end to end of the country Krivonoss passenger and freight trains are speeding over the glistening ribbons of steel. Firm as granite stands our Red Army, surrounded with the love of the people, guarding the frontiers of our native land. The names of our wonderful Bolsheviks, the tireless and gifted builders of our state—Sergo Orjonikidze, Klim Voroshilov, Lazar Moissevich Kaganovich, the leaders of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks—Kossior and Postyshev, and the leader of the Leningrad Bolsheviks, Zhdanov, are near and dear to the

hearts of us and all those who are filled with filial love for their motherland. With great and unsurpassed love, the toilers of the whole world utter the name of the great teacher and leader of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.—Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin!

Under the leadership of the Soviet government and our Party, headed by Stalin, Socialism has finally and irrevocably triumphed in our country. Under the leadership of our Party the proletariat of our country took the implements and means of production from the capitalists, abolished the capitalist system which is based on private property, on exploitation, on poverty and slavery.

Under the leadership of our Party and the Soviet government the peoples of the U.S.S.R. brought about the great industrialization of our country, increased its means of production tenfold, multiplied its national wealth and thereby created the conditions for a happy and joyous life for all the toilers of the Soviet land of Socialism. The victory of Socialism is first and foremost the victory of our own Bolshevik Party, of its Leninist-Stalinist general line, of its Leninist-Stalinist leadership, of its Central Committee, headed by the great Stalin.

On the basis of these victories there has been created the indestructible union of all the toilers for the further reinforcement and development of Socialism; there has been created and cemented the union and friendship of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. for the building of socialism, for defense against our enemies, against the enemies of Socialism. These victories have completely changed the entire face of our country, which has been raised to an unprecedented level of economic and cultural development.

These victories have brought the working class of the U.S.S.R. enormous improvement in their material well-being. It is now many years since unemployment has been eliminated and the seven-hour day, against which the "heroes" now in the dock always persistently and treacherously fought, has been introduced. Our country has achieved unprecedented successes, impossible in any capitalist country, in developing a new, really human, socialist culture.

These victories have brought our whole country, every factory worker and collective farmer, every office worker and intellectual, a happy and a well-to-do life. And these victories are the guarantee of the unity of all the Soviet people with our government, with our Party and with its Central Committee. Are not the wide, mass, popular conferences, conceivable only in our country, of the leading people of our factories and works, of our transport system, of our cotton and sugar beet fields, of live-stock breeders, of combine and tractor drivers, of Stakhanovites and Krivonossites with the leaders of the Party and the government the best proof of this indestructible, genuine unity and solidarity of the masses of the people with the

great Stalin, with our Central Committee, with our Soviet government? This is a manifestation of genuine Soviet, true democracy! And is not the mighty wave of popular wrath, now sweeping from one end of the country to the other against these despicable murderers, a striking evidence of this unity?

*The Trotskyite-Zinovievite Center—A Gang of Contemptible Terrorists*

During the preceding days of the trial these gentlemen tried to strike a "noble" attitude. They, or at all events their leaders, spoke about their terroristic plot with a certain pose; they sought and expected a political evaluation of their crimes, they talked about political struggle, about some kind of political agreements with some kind of alleged political parties. And although they admitted that in reality they had no political platform, that they did not even feel the need to draw up a political platform because, on their own admission, their platform could be written at one sitting, in a couple of hours, nevertheless, they tried to pose as genuine political figures. They do all they can to make it appear that they are standing on some political position, bespattered and battered, perhaps, but political none the less. These efforts are merely a false screen to conceal their political emptiness and lack of principle. And when they spoke about the interests of the working class, about the interests of the people, when they will speak about this, in their speeches in their defense and in their last pleas, they will lie as they have lied hitherto, as they are lying now, for they fought against the only people's policy, against the policy of our country, against our Soviet policy. Liars and clowns, insignificant pigmies, little dogs snarling at an elephant, this is what this gang represents!

But they know how to use guns, and therein lies the danger to society. This makes it necessary to adopt special and most severe measures against them. To chain them is not enough. We must adopt more determined and radical measures against them. Not political figures, but a gang of murderers and criminals, thieves who tried to rob the state, this is what this gang represents!

These gentlemen admitted that they had no program; but they did have some sort of a "program". They had a program both in home and foreign policy. In their home policy their program could be put in one word—murder. It is true that they prefer to speak not of murder but of terror. But we must call things by their proper names. These gentlemen chose murder as a means of fighting for power. They were compelled to admit this here themselves, cynically and openly.

How did these gentlemen reconcile their alleged Marxism with the

preaching of terror and terroristic activity? In no wise! And yet these people called themselves Marxists at one time! Probably the accused Zinoviev still considers himself a Marxist. He said here that Marxism could not be reconciled with terrorism; but Marxism can explain how they came to terrorism.

During this trial I asked the accused Reingold how they reconciled Marxism with the preaching of terror and terroristic activities, and he said: "In 1932, Zinoviev, in Kamenev's apartment, in the presence of a number of members of the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center, argued in favor of resorting to terror as follows: although terror is incompatible with Marxism, at the present moment these considerations must be abandoned. There are no other methods available of fighting the leaders of the Party and the government at the present time. Stalin combines in himself all the strength and firmness of the Party leadership. Therefore Stalin must be put out of the way in the first place." Here you have a reply, frankly cynical, insolent, but absolutely logical. Here you have the sum and substance of Zinoviev's new "philosophy of the epoch".

Reingold said: "Kamenev enlarged on this theory and said that the former methods of fighting, namely, attempts to win the masses, combinations with the leaders of the Rightists, and banking on economic difficulties, have failed. That is why the only method of struggle available is terrorism, terroristic acts against Stalin and his closest comrades-in-arms, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Orjonikidze, Kossior, Postyshev and Zhdanov."

This is frank and insolent, but at the same time it is logical from the point of view of the logic of the class struggle, from the point of view of the logic of our enemy who is fighting against the land of socialism.

Without the masses, against the masses, but for power, power at all costs, thirst for personal power—this is the whole ideology of the gang that is now in the dock.

The whole cynical unprincipledness of these people was frankly avowed here by Kamenev. In his explanations before the court he stated how and on what basis this terroristic conspiracy, as he called it, was organized.

Kamenev said: "I became convinced that the policy of the Party, the policy of its leadership, had been victorious in the only sense in which the political victory in the land of socialism is possible, that this policy was recognized by the masses of the toilers."

This statement is remarkable for its lack of principle and for its insolent cynicism: just because "the policy of the Party had been victorious," they fought against its leaders.

Kamenev said: "Our banking on the possibility of a split in the

Party also proved groundless. Two paths remained: either honestly and completely to put a stop to the struggle against the Party, or to continue this struggle, but without any hope of obtaining any mass support whatsoever, without a political platform, without a banner, that is to say, by means of individual terror. We chose the second path."

The accused Kamenev should have been more consistent: if he called the first path the path of honest renunciation of the struggle, then he should have called the second path the path of dishonest struggle with dishonest weapons.

He admitted: "We chose this second path. In this we were guided by our boundless hatred of the leaders of the Party and the country, and by a thirst for power, with which we were once closely associated and from which we were cast aside by the course of historical development."

The accused Zinoviev said: "At the end of 1932 it became evident that our hopes had proved false . . . the fact was that the general line of the Party was winning." "Here," said Zinoviev, "the complete lack of principle and ideals which brought us to the bare and unprincipled struggle for power became strikingly apparent." (Vol. XII, p. 34.)

After this, can we speak with these people in any sort of political language? Have we not the right to say that we can speak with these people in one language only, the language of the Criminal Code, and regard them as common criminals, as incorrigible and hardened murderers?

Such was their "program" in the sphere of home policy, if one may so express it. Formerly, if only out of shame, they gave as grounds for their struggle against the leaders of the Soviet government and the Party, shortcomings, defects and difficulties. Now they have already thrown off this mask. Now they admit that they had become convinced that socialism in our country was victorious. They came to terrorism, to murder, because their position had become hopeless, because they realized that they were isolated from power, from the working class. They came to terrorism because of the complete absence of favorable prospects for them in the fight for power by other methods and by other means.

Kamenev admitted that the organization of terror was the only means by which they hoped to come to power and that it was precisely on this basis of terroristic struggle that negotiations which finally resulted in the union of the Trotskyites and Zinovievites were conducted and successfully concluded. Terrorism was the real basis on which the Trotskyites and Zinovievites united.

Not all of them want to admit that.

Comrade judges, in drawing up your verdict in your council

chamber, you will carefully—I have no doubt about that—once again go over not only the material of the court investigation but also the records of the preliminary investigation and you will become convinced of the animal fear with which the accused tried to avoid admitting that terrorism was precisely the basis of their criminal activities.

That is why Smirnov wriggled so much here. He admits that he was a member of the center, he admits that this center had adopted a terroristic line of struggle, he admits that he himself received from Trotsky the instructions about this terroristic struggle. But at the same time he tries by every means in his power to prove that he, Smirnov personally, did not adopt terror, did not agree with it, and he even went so far as to say that he had left the Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorist center or *bloc*.

I will come back to each one of the accused, including Smirnov, and try as fully, carefully and objectively as possible to analyze the evidence which proves that they committed the gravest crimes against the state. At present I merely wish to emphasize once again that the accused are not political infants, that they are hardened players in the political struggle; they know perfectly well that they must answer not only for recognizing terror "theoretically"—for this alone they should have paid with their heads—but for having translated this "theoretical" program into the language of terroristic practice, into the language of practical, criminal activity.

#### *Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev—Sworn Enemies of the Soviet Union*

Terror was the basis of all their activities, was the basis of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite union. This was quite unanimously testified to by people who were not directly connected with each other in their underground work. This was not only admitted here by Zinoviev and Kamenev, Smirnov and Ter-Vaganyan, Reingold and Pickel; it was stated also by Berman-Yurin, Fritz David and Valentine Olberg, that peculiar citizen of the Republic of Honduras, paid agent of Trotsky and simultaneously of the German secret police—the Gestapo.

All these persons, under the weight of evidence against them, could no longer deny and had to admit that the main, in fact the only means of struggle against the Soviet government and the Party which united their criminal activity was terror, murder.

Reingold said: "The Trotskyites and all the members of the *bloc* insisted and agreed on this." It was precisely the removal through violence of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government that was the fundamental aim of this Trotskyite-Zinovievite *bloc*, which can be quite fairly called, as I called it in the indictment, an association of political assassins.



These terroristic sentiments which formed the basis of the organization of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite *bloc* in 1932-36 were perhaps most distinctly and characteristically expressed by the accused Mrachkovsky, who stated both at the preliminary investigation and at this trial:

"Hopes for the collapse of the policy of the Party must be regarded as doomed. The methods of struggle applied up to now have not produced positive results. Only one path of struggle remained, and that was the path of removing by violence the leaders of the Party and the government."

Mrachkovsky said: "The principal task is to put Stalin and the other leaders of the Party and the Government out of the way."

All their bestial rage and hatred were directed against the leaders of our Party, against the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, against Comrade Stalin, against his glorious comrades-in-arms.

It was upon them, headed by Comrade Stalin, that the main burden of the struggle against the Zinovievite-Trotskyite underground organization lay. It was under their leadership, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, that great executor and keeper of Lenin's will and testament, that the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite organization was routed. It was under their leadership, amidst fierce battles against Trotskyite counter-revolution that Trotskyite counter-revolution was finally crushed.

In the fighting against this Trotskyite counter-revolution, Comrade Stalin developed and undeviatingly carried out Lenin's teachings on the building of socialism in our country, having armed the vast millions of workers and collective farmers with these teachings.

That is why the Trotskyites and Zinovievites, as well as the other most frenzied counter-revolutionary elements, concentrated all their efforts and their hatred and rage against socialism on the leaders of our Party. That is why in March 1932, in a fit of counter-revolutionary fury, Trotsky burst out in an open letter with an appeal to "put Stalin out of the way" (this letter was found between the double walls of Holtzman's suit case and figured as an exhibit in this case).

Trotsky addressed this despicable appeal with still greater frankness to a number of his disciples abroad whom he had recruited as assassins to be sent to the U.S.S.R. for the purpose of organizing terroristic acts and attempts on the lives of the leaders of our Soviet state and our Party. This was related in detail here by the accused Fritz David. He stated that in November 1932 he had a conversation with Trotsky during which Trotsky said literally the following: "Now there is no other way out except the removal by violence of Stalin and his adherents. Terror against Stalin—that is the revolutionary task. Whoever is a revolutionary—his hand will not

tremble." (Vol. VIII, p. 62.) For this purpose Trotsky recruited high-strung persons, impressing upon them that they must commit this counter-revolutionary act as if it were some sort of "historic mission".

Berman-Yurin testified here that Trotsky systematically and repeatedly said: "Until Stalin is removed by violence, there will be no possibility of changing the policy of the Party; in the fight against Stalin we must not hesitate to adopt extreme measures—Stalin must be physically destroyed."

Fritz David and Berman-Yurin discussed with Trotsky the assassination of Stalin. They accepted Trotsky's commission and took a number of practical steps to carry it out. Does not this in itself deserve the sternest punishment provided for by our law—death by shooting?

Fritz David, Berman-Yurin, Reingold, V. Olberg, and I. N. Smirnov himself have in fact utterly exposed Trotsky's role in this matter. Even Smirnov, who stubbornly denied that he took any part in the terroristic activities of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite center, could not help admitting that he personally had received the directions on individual terror against the leaders of the Soviet government and the C.P.S.U. in 1931 from Trotsky's son, Sedov, that these directions on terror were confirmed by Trotsky in 1932 in the instructions brought from abroad by Gaven and conveyed to Smirnov. Smirnov tried to alleviate the gravity of his own position by stating that the instruction on terror which he had received from Sedov was Sedov's personal attitude. But this is a worthless explanation. It is obvious to everyone that Sedov was no authority whatever for Smirnov. Ter-Vaganyan and Mrachkovsky corroborated this here when they said that had they thought that the direction on terror came from Sedov they would have spat upon it with supreme contempt.

The accused Ter-Vaganyan, one of the principal organizers of the united center, confirmed that Smirnov, while abroad, really did receive from Trotsky instructions to adopt terror. Ter-Vaganyan merely veiled his evidence by substituting for the word terror the phrase: "sharp struggle against the leaders of the C.P.S.U.". Later, however, he had to decipher this and to admit that these were instructions, the content of which was terrorism and terrorism alone.

Finally, you heard the witness Safonova whose confrontation with the accused has probably left a deep impression upon the memories of everyone present in this court. At this confrontation, Safonova, whose case is being taken up separately because the investigation is still continuing, fully confirmed that Smirnov received from Trotsky instructions on individual terror through Sedov in 1931, and later through Gaven.

On the basis of these facts we can take it as absolutely established that it was precisely Trotsky's instructions on terrorism that served as the basis for the development of the terroristic activities of the united center. Trotsky's instructions to organize a united center and to adopt terrorism were accepted by the Trotskyite underground organization. Zinoviev and Kamenev, the leaders of the Zinovievite section of the *bloc*, arrived at the same idea and also accepted Trotsky's instructions as the basis of the activities of the united center and underground organizations.

These bitter and ingrained enemies could not look calmly on the growing prosperity of our people, of our country, which had emerged onto the highroad of socialism.

The U.S.S.R. is achieving victory. The U.S.S.R. is building socialism, in the U.S.S.R. socialism is triumphant, and because of that their hatred towards the Central Committee, towards Stalin and the government to whom the country owes this victory, of whom the country is proud, grows more and more.

From their gloomy underworld Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev issue the despicable call: Put out of the way, kill! The underground machinery begins to work, knives are sharpened, revolvers are loaded, bombs are charged, false documents are written and fabricated, secret connections are established with the German political police, people are sent to their posts, they engage in revolver practice, and finally they shoot and kill.

That is the main thing! The counter-revolutionaries not only dream of terror, they not only devise plans for a terroristic plot, or for terroristic attempts, they not only prepare to commit these foul crimes, they commit them, they shoot and kill!

The main thing in this trial is that they transformed their counter-revolutionary thoughts into counter-revolutionary deeds, their counter-revolutionary theory into counter-revolutionary terroristic practice; they not only talk about shooting, they shoot, shoot and kill!

That is the main thing. They killed Comrade Kirov, they were getting ready to kill Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Orjonikidze, Zhdanov, Kossior and Postyshev. This is what we are trying these people for, these organizers of secret murder, these certified murderers.

And that is why we demand that the Court judge them as severely as our Soviet law commands, judge them as our socialist conscience demands.

Murder—this is the whole “program” of the home policy of these people.

What was their foreign policy?

Here the shades of the dead arise, here the old “Clemenceau

theses” are revived, here the cloven hoof of Trotsky again becomes visible.

Trotsky's letter received by Dreitzer contained three brief points: (1) put Stalin and Voroshilov out of the way; (2) unfold work of organizing nuclei in the army; (3) in the event of war, take advantage of every setback and possible confusion to seize the leadership.

This is avowed banking on defeat.

This is the old Clemenceau thesis, but in a new version, edited by the united center of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite terroristic *bloc*.

Fritz David stated during the preliminary investigation and confirmed it in this Court (and it fully conforms with a number of historical documents, the evidence of other accused and the very nature of the task which confronted Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev), that in one of his conversations with Trotsky the latter asked him: “Do you think this discontent will disappear in the event of a war between the Soviet Union and the Japanese?” (He referred to the discontent which he thought existed in our country.) “No, on the contrary,” said Trotsky, “under these conditions the forces hostile to the regime will try to unite, and in that case our task will be to unite and take the lead of these discontented masses, to arm them and lead them against the ruling bureaucrats” (Vol. VIII, p. 61).

Trotsky repeated this in his letter of 1932 (evidently this is his *idée fixe*) and in a conversation with Berman-Yurin.

Berman-Yurin stated: “In connection with the international situation at that time Trotsky told me that the task of demoralizing our military forces was of particular importance, for in the event of a war against the Soviet Union large masses would be called up to the army.” Trotsky and the Trotskyites together with the Zinovievites calculated on being able to influence these masses very easily. “Trotsky said to me literally the following,” added Berman-Yurin: “We will defend the Soviet Union provided the Stalin leadership is overthrown” (Vol. IV, p. 100).

Such was their program in foreign policy!

Perhaps this is all an invention? Perhaps Fritz David and Berman-Yurin just gave rein to their fantasy? Perhaps this is all a pack of lies, an invention, the irresponsible chatter of the accused who are trying to say as much as they can against the others in order to mitigate their own ultimate fate? No! This is not an invention, not fantasy! It is the truth! Who does not know that Trotsky, together with the accused Kamenev and Zinoviev now in the dock, several years ago proclaimed the “Clemenceau thesis”, that they said that it was necessary, in the event of war, to wait until the enemy had got within a distance of 80 kilometers of Mos-

cow and then to rise in arms against the Soviet government, to overthrow it. This is an historical fact. It cannot be denied. And that is why it must be admitted that the evidence given by Berman-Yurin and Fritz David in this connection corresponds to the truth.

Such was the "foreign policy" program of these people. For this program alone our Soviet people will hang these traitors on the very first gates! And it will serve them right!

*Double-Dealing, Deception and Provocation—The Principal Methods of the Trotskyites-Zinovievites*

Let us now turn to the methods by which these people operated.

This, perhaps, is one of the most shameful pages in the story of their shameful criminal activities.

In conformity with the "principle" of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite underground *bloc* to seize power by any means, the members of this *bloc* widely practiced double-dealing as their principal method in their relations with the Party and the Government. They transformed this double-dealing into a system which all the Azefs and Malinovskys, all the secret police, with all their spies, provocateurs and agents for diversive activities, might well envy.

Reingold stated that in 1933-34 Zinoviev told him in a private conversation—and Zinoviev corroborated this before the whole world at this trial—that "the principal, practical task that confronted their underground organization was to organize their terroristic work so secretly as not to compromise themselves in any way".

Perhaps this is an exaggeration? Of course not. What Reingold said conforms to the logic of things.

"The main thing during an investigation," said Zinoviev in instructing his accomplices, "is to deny all connection with the organization, arguing that terror is incompatible with the views of Bolsheviks-Marxists" (Vol. XXVII, p. 112).

Trotsky also recommended that in the event of a terroristic act being committed, they should dissociate themselves from the Trotskyite organization and take up a position analogous to that taken by the Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionaries toward Madam Kaplan who shot at Vladimir Ilyich (Lenin). We know what that means. We remember that after Kaplan fired her treacherous bullet at Lenin, the Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionaries issued a leaflet in which they categorically declared that they had nothing to do with this terroristic act. Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev adopted the same tactics.

Zinoviev said: "We took the path of a carefully considered and profoundly secret plot, we regarded ourselves as Marxists, and remembering the formula 'insurrection is an art', altered it to suit our purposes and declared that 'plotting against the Party, against Stalin, is an art.'"

The masters of this "art" are now sitting in the dock. I will not say that they are highly skilled masters. They are unskilled masters. Nevertheless, they managed to do their despicable work. What did their "art" consist of? The foremost part of their plan was by every possible means to mask their truly criminal faces.

This perhaps is one of the most striking cases in history when the word mask acquired its real meaning: these people put masks on their faces, adopted the pose of repentant sinners who had broken with the past, who had abandoned their old erring ways and mistakes which grew into crime.

It is characteristic that precisely at the time when the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center was intensifying its activities to the utmost, when these terroristic activities reached their highest point of development, when they were advancing to the consummation of the despicable murder of Comrade Kirov, it was precisely at that period that Zinoviev sent a letter of repentance to the Central Committee. In this letter dated May 8, 1933, that is to say, when the preparations for terroristic acts were at their height, Zinoviev not only renounced all his past mistakes, but hypocritically vowed his loyalty to socialism and to the Party.

During the very days in which he was preparing to strike a treacherous blow at the very heart of the Party, preparing a terroristic act against Comrade Stalin, this criminal who, like all those sitting in the dock at the present time, had lost every semblance of a human being, ended his letter with the following words:

"I ask you to believe me that I am speaking the truth and nothing but the truth. I ask you to restore me to the ranks of the Party and to give me an opportunity of working for the common cause. I give my word as a revolutionary that I will be the most devoted member of the Party, and will do all I possibly can at least to some extent to atone for my guilt before the Party and its Central Committee."

We know now what these words were worth, we know that Zinoviev did all he possibly could to damage the Party and the work of building socialism in our country, to damage the cause of the whole international Communist movement.

On June 16, 1933, he published an article in *Pravda* entitled "Two Parties". He publishes an article in the Central Organ of our Party in which he does everything to prove his loyalty to the Party, roundly condemns opportunism and sings hallelujahs to the victories achieved by the Party.

This was on May 8 and June 16, that is to say, in the summer of 1933. And in that very summer of 1933, as has now been definitely established, at a conference of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite center, Zinoviev instructs Bakayev to start the practical realization of measures of terrorism.

Zinoviev was indignant with Smirnov here when the latter reproached him for telling lies. Smirnov himself did not utter a single word of truth here, but he reproached Zinoviev for telling lies. Zinoviev was offended and said that the difference between him and Smirnov was that he, Zinoviev, "had firmly decided at this last moment to speak the whole truth, whereas Smirnov had evidently taken a different decision".

Permit me, comrade judges, to warn you against this statement of Zinoviev's. Do not believe that he is really speaking the whole truth here.

At the Leningrad trial on January 15-16 Zinoviev and Kamenev performed not at all badly in one of the scenes of their cunning, perfidious masquerade. While giving evidence at the trial on January 15-16, 1935, Kamenev wanted to create the impression that he was an enemy who had finally and sincerely laid down his arms and was telling all that was in his heart against the government and the Party. He then recalled some episode in which Zinoviev concealed something of what was said in a conversation with Trotsky. In a voice of pathos and "unfeigned" indignation Kamenev reproached Zinoviev for having concealed this fact, for not speaking the truth.

But at that very time Kamenev himself, and Zinoviev, tried to deceive us, to deceive the Court and the whole country by stating that they had had no connection whatever with the murder of Sergei Mironovich Kirov. Then, as now, literally in the same words that were uttered yesterday, Zinoviev and Kamenev vowed that they were speaking the whole truth. It may be said that for Kamenev and Zinoviev the trial of January 15-16, 1935, was a sort of rehearsal of the present trial, which they did not expect, perhaps, but which they did not escape any more than they could escape from fate.

I will come back to the "remarkable" evidence given at the trial in Leningrad. I mention it now only in order to warn you, and through you, through the Court, to warn the whole country, not only against Kamenev and Zinoviev, but against all other double-dealers, all other traitors whom unfortunately we still have in our ranks and who talk about their repentance, who dissociate themselves, and mask themselves, in order the better to thrust their knife into the back of the Party, of our country, of our great cause.

Not the slightest confidence must be placed in these certified and hardened deceivers!

They themselves understand that they do not deserve any confidence. While examining Zinoviev I asked him: "Are you speaking the whole truth now?" And he answered: "Now I am speaking the whole truth to the very end."

But what proof is there of this? How can we believe them when

they have surpassed all conceptions of perfidy, cunning, deceit and treachery?

Zinoviev carried this perfidy to such lengths that after the murder of Sergei Mironovich Kirov he sent an obituary notice to *Pravda*. The only thing he said here about that was: "That obituary was not published as far as I remember." And that is all.

Here is the obituary; I have it in my hand. Zinoviev dated it, if I am not mistaken, the 4th or 7th of December, most probably the 4th of December.

You, Zinoviev, gave this obituary notice on Comrade Kirov the title "The Beacon Man". How did you start the obituary notice which you intended for the press, and which, consequently, was to become public property?

"This could be observed throughout the 17 years of our revolution, at every moment when the enemy contrived to strike a blow at the Bolsheviks. . . . That is what happened when the enemy succeeded in striking a palpable blow on the battlefields of the Civil War, that is what happened . . ." etc., etc.

And further Zinoviev writes: "The grief of the Party is the grief of the whole people, of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The Party's mourning is the mourning of the whole of our great country. . . . The whole people have felt the bitterness of bereavement."

It is true that the bitterness of bereavement and anger against the treacherous shot was felt by the whole country. That feeling was really shared by the whole country, young and old.

But to what extent does this concern you?

"The foul murder of Sergei Mironovich Kirov has in truth roused the whole Party, the whole of the Soviet Union." "The loss of this beloved and dear man has been felt by all as the loss of one who is nearest and dearest of all. . . ."

This is what you, the accused Zinoviev, wrote in this terrible and disgraceful article. Why did the Party lose this near and infinitely dear S. M. Kirov, accused Zinoviev? The Party lost this man who was so near and dear to us because you, the accused Zinoviev, killed him, you killed him with your own hands, your hands are stained with Kirov's blood! . . .

"Beloved son of the Party," you wrote. What insolent sacrilege!

"A son of the working class—this is what this Beacon Man was," "our dear, deep, strong. . . . One could not help believing him, one could not help loving him, one could not help being proud of him."

This is what Zinoviev wrote, exceeding all bounds of cynicism!

Such is this man. He loved him, he was proud of him, and he killed him! The miscreant, the murderer, mourns over his victim! Has anything like it ever occurred before?

What can one say, what words can one use fully to describe the

utter baseness and loathsomeness of this: Sacrilege! Perfidy! Duplicity! Cunning!

It was you, Zinoviev, you who with your sacrilegious hand extinguished this beacon, and you began publicly and hypocritically to tear your hair in order to deceive the people.

Whom did you kill? You killed a magnificent Bolshevik, a passionate tribune, a man who was dangerous to you, a man who fought devotedly for Lenin's testament and against you. You killed this man in a flash of time by the bullet fired by the despicable hand of Nikolayev, and two or three days afterwards you sent an article to the *Pravda* in which you wrote about the "extinguished beacon". Where shall we find the word with which to appraise this despicable trick! I can not find the words in my vocabulary!

We will now pass to Kamenev, the second pillar of the so-called Zinovievite group, this hypocrite "in an ass's skin," as he himself expressed it at the Seventeenth Congress of the Party.

I ask the Court to pay attention to the articles Kamenev published in 1933. Kamenev wrote these articles almost simultaneously with those written by Zinoviev by mutual agreement. Kamenev published an article in *Pravda* in which he, like Zinoviev, renounced his past erring ways, condemned his own mistakes and said that "the man who had fought Lenin for decades became the most important figure in the opposition," etc., etc. "It is clear," wrote Kamenev in this article of May 25, 1933, "that the resistance to the policy headed by Comrade Stalin was based on the premises which made members of the Party in October 1917 come out as the opponents of the policy of Lenin." Weeping and groaning, Kamenev tried to prove that he had broken off relations with his old friends and concluded his article with an appeal to all of them to abandon all resistance which was interfering with the work of building socialism.

This was in May 1933. And in the summer of 1933, after the return of Kamenev and Zinoviev from exile, a meeting of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite center was held in Zinoviev's apartment for the purpose of organizing terroristic acts against the leaders of the Party and the Soviet government.

When Kamenev was asked about this here, his replies were curt. The following dialogue took place between me and him, which I will take the liberty to repeat. I asked:

"What appraisal should be given the articles and statements you wrote in 1933, in which you expressed loyalty to the Party? Deception?"

"Kamenev: 'No, worse than deception.'

"Vyshinsky: 'Perfidy?'"

"Kamenev: 'Worse!'"

"Vyshinsky: 'Worse than deception; worse than perfidy—find the word. Treason?'"

"Kamenev: 'You have found the word!'"

Later on he said that he not only did this in agreement with Zinoviev, but that it was all done in fulfillment of the plan to seize power that had been drawn up beforehand, which plan was combined with the necessity of winning confidence.

There is a small detail which is of some importance for defining the moral, or, if you will, the ideological level of the accused Kamenev, for characterizing his interests at the time, for characterizing some of his moral premises.

I would like to mention one of the books of Machiavelli (Vol. I). It was published in 1934 by the "Academia" Publishing House, of which Kamenev was then the head, and has a preface by Kamenev. It is a very interesting book. It was written in the 16th century. The author wrote it for a prince in order to instruct him in the art of governing the state in accordance with his princely interests. Machiavelli wrote: "You must know that there are two ways of contending, by law and by force: the first is proper to men; the second to beasts.

"But because many times the first is insufficient, recourse must be had to the second. A prince must possess the nature of both beast and man."

This pleased Kamenev very much, and in his short preface to this book he wrote the following interesting words: "A master of political aphorism and a brilliant dialectician. . . ." (According to Kamenev Machiavelli was a dialectician! This hardened schemer turns out to be a dialectician!) "A master of political aphorism. . . ." A fine aphorism indeed! Machiavelli wrote: to fight by means of laws is characteristic of men, to fight by means of force is characteristic of the beast; pursue this bestial policy and you, says Machiavelli, will achieve your goal. And this the accused Kamenev calls being a "master of political aphorism".

Let us hear what Kamenev writes further: ". . . A dialectician who from his observations had formed the firm opinion that all concepts of the criteria of good and evil, of the permissible and impermissible, of the lawful and criminal were relative. . . ." Evidently, according to Kamenev, this is dialectics: mixing up what is criminal with what is not criminal, the lawful with the unlawful, good with evil is a new "Marxian" interpretation of dialectics à la Machiavelli.

"Machiavelli," wrote Kamenev in 1934, "made his treatise into an astonishingly sharp and expressive catalogue of the rules by which the ruler of his time was to be guided in order to win power, to hold it and victoriously to withstand any attacks upon

it." You had a good teacher, Kamenev, but you, and you must be given credit for this, have excelled your teacher.

Further on you write in this preface: "This is far from being the sociology of power, but from this prescription there magnificently stand out the zoological features of the struggle for power in the society of slave owners based on the rules of the rich minority over the toiling majority."

That is so. But you wanted to employ in our society the methods of struggle and the principles of struggle that were worthy of slave owners; you wanted to apply them against our society, against socialism. You write: "Thus, this secretary of the Florentine bankers and their ambassador at the Pope's Court, by accident or design, created a shell of tremendous explosive force which disturbed the minds of rulers for centuries. . . ." You, Kamenev, adopted the rules of Machiavelli, you developed them to the utmost point of unscrupulousness and immorality, you modernized them and perfected them.

I do not ask you, comrade judges, to regard this book as material evidence in this case. I am not using this book to prove that the accused are guilty of the crimes of which they are charged. I simply thought it necessary to devote a few minutes of attention to this circumstance, in order to show the ideological source from which Kamenev and Zinoviev obtained their sustenance at that time—these men who even now, at this trial, try to preserve their noble pose of Marxists capable of thinking and arguing in conformity with the principles of Marxism.

Drop this clownish farce! Tear the mask from your faces once and for all! Here Kamenev calls Machiavelli's book a shell of enormous explosive force. Evidently Kamenev and Zinoviev wanted to use this shell to blow up our socialist fatherland. They miscalculated! And although Machiavelli was a puppy and a yokel compared with them, nevertheless, he was their spiritual preceptor. "Machiavellism," and Azevism served you as the source of your activities and your crimes. Now this has been exposed by Zinoviev and Kamenev themselves: murder, cunning, perfidy and masquerade were the principal, decisive methods in their criminal activities.

Yesterday, Zinoviev and Kamenev, frankly if cynically, admitted that this entered into the plan of their activities. This was testified to by Reingold, this was testified to by others of the accused, and I think that a sufficiently exhaustive characterization of these methods is contained in the materials which I have presented. Summing up this part of my speech, I can say that the Trotskyite-Zinovievite center was organized on a terrorist basis and had its program, a very primitive and simple one, it is true, expressed in only a few words, a program which did not even need for drafting the two

hours to which the accused themselves contemptuously referred. Their program of home policy was confined to murder; their program of foreign policy was confined to the defeat of the U.S.S.R. in war; their method was perfidy, cunning and treason.

*The Counter-Revolutionary Terrorist Activities of the Trotskyites-Zinovievites Are Fully Proved*

I now pass to the second part of my speech for the prosecution, to the practical activities of the so-called united center and to the characterization of the role of each of the accused in this criminal conspiracy against the Soviet government.

There is not the slightest doubt that the union of the Zinovievite and Trotskyite counter-revolutionary groups which took place in the autumn of 1932 arose and grew strong on the soil and on the basis of the mutual recognition of terror as the sole and decisive method in the struggle for power—a struggle which was then the fundamental and principal task of the Trotskyites and Zinovievites.

An organization existed. An underground, counter-revolutionary, terrorist group existed. Existed and functioned. However much Smirnov may try to deny this here, he will not succeed. The facts are too strong, the facts are too numerous. We, the prosecution, have every ground for asserting that an underground, counter-revolutionary, Trotskyite-Zinovievite group existed, that this terrorist organization was created, that it was created precisely as a terrorist organization, that it developed its activities precisely as terroristic activities, that it prepared for terroristic attempts at assassination and that, to our great misfortune and horror, one of these attempts was successful. The foul murder of Sergei Mironovich Kirov on December 1, 1934, was committed by this organization. This is the most horrible of the crimes which this organization succeeded in committing.

In January 1935 we tried the Moscow center in connection with the trial of the Leningrad center which took place a little before that, about two weeks before, and as a result of which L. Nikolayev, Kotolynov, Rumyantsev, Sossitsky and a number of others were convicted and shot. At that time we did not yet know who were the real authors, instigators and participants in this monstrous crime. But we were on the right track. The investigation directed by the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs proceeded along the true and correct trail of exposing the real organizers of this crime, although the amount of evidence available at that time did not enable us to make a direct charge against Kamenev, Zinoviev, Evdokimov and Bakayev of organizing this murder, of guiding this murder, of committing this murder.

The verdict in the case of the so-called Moscow center in which

Kamenev, Zinoviev, Evdokimov and several others played the principal roles merely said in regard to the role they played that they had fanned the terrorist sentiments of their accomplices, that they had created the objective soil upon which this crime inevitably had to grow up and did grow up.

Being absolutely objective, the investigating and prosecuting authorities did not then charge Kamenev, Zinoviev, Evdokimov and Bakayev with directly instigating, directly organizing this murder. The indictment stated that the investigating authorities had not established their direct participation. Nevertheless, all the materials in the possession of the investigating authorities permitted them to say that these people—Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bakayev and Evdokimov—were closely connected with this crime and, as they themselves expressed it, had to bear complete moral and political responsibility for it.

In conformity with this Kamenev, Zinoviev, Evdokimov and Bakayev were given in the Moscow center case a relatively mild sentence—only deprivation of liberty.

Kamenev, Zinoviev, Evdokimov and Bakayev did all they possibly could to misrepresent the real state of affairs, to shield the real organizers and accomplices in the crime. They tried to make it appear that they had had no hand in this sordid and despicable affair. Speaking in lofty style, they declared that the counter-revolution had chosen them as the instrument of its criminal activity. It was not they who had chosen counter-revolution as the instrument of their struggle, it was counter-revolution which had chosen them as its instrument. . . .

Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bakayev and Evdokimov did all they could to assert and prove that they could not bear more responsibility for this foul murder than moral and political responsibility; but they declared that they were fully and honestly prepared to bear this responsibility, and admitted the correctness and the justness of the charges brought against them within those limits.

During the trial of January 15-16, 1935, Zinoviev said: "There are many of us sitting in the dock, more than fifteen persons, each with a different biography. Among us there are many who have belonged to the working class movement for many years. Much of what they have done they did because they had confidence in me, and for that, of course, I must torture myself. The task that I see confronting me at this stage is to repent fully, frankly and sincerely, before the court of the working class, of what I understood to be a mistake and a crime, and to say it in such a way that it should all end, once and for all, with this group."

I have already said that this statement of Zinoviev's was a pose, a maneuver, a tactical move.

This is the way criminals always behave. Accused of murder

and robbery, they plead guilty only to robbery. Accused of robbery, they plead guilty only to larceny. Accused of larceny, they plead guilty only to receiving stolen goods. These are the usual tricks of criminals: charged with graver crimes, they plead guilty to lesser crimes. It is a trick to wipe out the traces of the crime committed, counting on the credulity of people who still, in many cases, even in criminal cases, show some confidence in criminals.

This was the position taken up by Zinoviev. An analogous position was taken up—and this they will not deny—by Kamenev, Evdokimov and Bakayev. Caught in 1935, almost red-handed, these people admitted responsibility for the minor crime in order to evade responsibility, real responsibility, for the major crime.

Zinoviev talked about making a "frank and sincere" confession, but he did not really do that. Actually, they did all they could to shield their accomplices from the hand of Soviet justice, to leave themselves some reserves, in order at the necessary moment to use these reserves against our Party, against the leaders of our country.

This explains the whole position taken up by Zinoviev, Kamenev, Evdokimov and Bakayev at the Leningrad trial on January 15-16, 1935. "It is true," said Zinoviev, "that we are being tried on objective features." He said that he did not know many of the people who were with him in the dock at that time. Zinoviev, it would appear, did not know either Evdokimov, or Gertik, or Kamenev, or Sakhov. . . . Zinoviev said that subjectively they were "loyal" to the working class.

Zinoviev even had the effrontery to allege that he and his 15 accomplices were subjectively loyal to the working class and did not want to take the path of counter-revolution, but objectively things turned out the other way. Why did things turn out the other way? I would like the accused Zinoviev in his speech in defense to say how it happened that although he was subjectively loyal to the working class, objectively it turned out the other way. This cannot be the case; such things do not happen. If, objectively, it really turned out that way, it was only because your subjective loyalty to the revolution, accused Zinoviev, was false and rotten! What were you thinking about when you said these things? I ask you to tell us about that too, in your speech in defense.

In your fight against the Soviet government you armed yourself not only with rage but with firearms. You carried out your criminal designs in practice. Your yourself spoke about duplicity, but you spoke about it in such a way as to conceal the fact that even at that moment you were continuing the policy of duplicity.

You said: "I am accustomed to feel that I am a leader; for me, personally, that played an enormous role." You said:

"I am accustomed to feel that I am a leader, and it goes with-

out saying that I should have known everything. If I am removed from the leadership, it is either an injustice, or a misunderstanding, or for a few months. This is no justification, but I am telling you all I think, and thereby I am extracting from my body the last splinter of the crimes that are being unfolded here."

Zinoviev extracted the "last splinter" at the Leningrad trial. . . . No! He did not do that! He left that splinter, and not only that one, but several, in the body of our socialist country in order to continue to prepare for and commit the gravest crimes.

You said:

"... I did not think otherwise: how can I be without my circle, without knowing everything, without being in the very heart of politics," etc.?

That was the thought that was torturing you—you thought that nothing could happen without you. . . . Your position in the past was determined by deeds, just as your present position is determined by your deeds. Approaching the question as to whether there was a center, you said: Of course there was one up to 1929. You tried to assert that there was no center in the subsequent years, that strictly speaking it did not function after 1929. That was deception. The old Zinovievite center was transformed into the center of the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite *bloc*. It was reorganized, it became somewhat stronger because several groups were consolidated. In 1932 it began to develop its activities on a wider scale. In 1933 its displayed particular activity, it prepared for a number of terroristic acts, and in 1934 it committed one of them.

Zinoviev said, "'This is not the center that existed in 1926-27.'" and that he had no connection whatever with this center. How did Zinoviev then put the question of connection with the Leningrad center? He said that "there was a group consisting of Kotolynov, Mandelstamm, Myasnikov and others". An important role was played by Kotolynov, which, Zinoviev alleges, he learned from the indictment in the case of Kirov's murder.

Zinoviev wanted to assert that he learned about one of the organizers of the Leningrad terrorist group only from the indictment!

Was that really the case? No, it was not. Zinoviev sent Bakayev to Leningrad to establish contacts with the Nikolayev-Kotolynov group and to investigate how Nikolayev, Kotolynov, Mandelstamm and others were preparing to commit the crime.

Here again we have deceit, lies, again camouflage!

"We sought rapprochement with them." Already in 1935, in spite of all the camouflage, Zinoviev had to admit that he had sought rapprochement with Kotolynov and Nikolayev, and that he found this rapprochement. Now this has been established with absolute precision.

Zinoviev related that in 1932 he met Levin, who was shot in 1935 in connection with the murder of Comrade Kirov, and added: "We did not talk about organization. Nor was there any need for this: my hints were understood, I was an authority for him and he was an authority for me; I knew that this man of the 'leaderless group' would do what we told him." This, too, contains a number of half hints and half admissions, which only subsequently, after a number of clues exposing Zinoviev had been collected, made it possible to ensure Zinoviev's full confession of his part in this crime. Now Zinoviev no longer conceals the fact which yesterday Bakayev tried very hard to minimize.

Already in January 1935, in connection with the Moscow center case, Zinoviev admitted that Vladimir Levin was particularly intimate with Bakayev. But yesterday Bakayev tried to minimize this intimacy, to minimize it by stating that he did not go to meet Levin in Leningrad for conspirative, terroristic purposes. But these were the only purposes possible, where such an intimacy existed. All the time he tried to impress: expunge the words "for this purpose" from the evidence and the indictment. No, Bakayev, we shall not expunge those words; they cannot be expunged because you went there "for this purpose", as an expert, an expert in terrorism, and your journey was not accidental!

Why did not Zinoviev send Reingold, Pickel or even Evdokimov to Leningrad? Why did Zinoviev choose Bakayev and no other to negotiate with the Leningrad group, with the group that was to murder Comrade Kirov? I find the reply to that question in Zinoviev's evidence, and partly in that of Bakayev, at the trial on January 15-16, 1935. Zinoviev's choice fell on Bakayev because Bakayev was most closely connected with Levin, who was the representative of the Zinovievites in Leningrad, who was the leader of the Leningrad terrorist underground organization, as he himself admitted before the Military Collegium, last year. We also find confirmation of this in Zinoviev's evidence: "Bakayev knew him particularly closely, he was one of the important organizers of the anti-Party struggle in Leningrad. . . ."

Accused Zinoviev, was it only anti-Party struggle? It was an anti-Soviet struggle, a counter-revolutionary struggle, a struggle which by its very nature bore an openly counter-revolutionary, anti-state, anti-Soviet character!

Zinoviev went on to say: "I did not give him any instructions." Well, you know this is jesuitry that can hardly be exceeded. It is like the reply of the Jesuit monk who, when asked: "Did this man pass here?" answered, pointing up his sleeve: "He did not pass here." . . .

You had no contacts with Levin, but you did have contacts with



him through Bakayev. Bakayev travelled on your instructions. Consequently, when you said: "I did not give him any instruction," you lied again!

Bakayev was not the only one to carry out your instructions. All of you—both Kamenev and Zinoviev, as well as the whole of your center—carried on negotiations with Levin, Kotolynov, Nikolayev, Rumyantsev, Sossitsky, Mandelstamm and a number of other members of this gang of Leningrad Zinovievites, which has now been broken up and destroyed. The whole of your center checked up on the progress being made by the Leningrad gang of Zinovievites in preparing for this crime; and you waited impatiently for the time when at last that loyal son of our Party, the leader of the Leningrad Bolsheviks and fiery tribune, Sergei Mironovich Kirov, would be destroyed. And they lived to see this murder committed.

In this Court Zinoviev admitted that he was pressing to hasten murder. He was in a hurry, he clutched feverishly at people like Nikolayev and Kotolynov in order to hasten this murder. Not the least motive was the desire to forestall the Trotskyite terrorists. The Trotskyites were pressing hard.

Zinoviev admitted that Smirnov was also hurrying. They were all hurrying. The Trotskyites operated with greater determination and energy than the Zinovievites. Zinoviev knew that Trotskyite terrorists were arriving from abroad. And Zinoviev declared that it was a "matter of honor"—I am ashamed to use such a word in this connection—to carry out his criminal design sooner than the Trotskyites! Hence Zinoviev's feverish impatience. That is why he was waiting every day for the moment when that treacherous shot would at last be fired in Leningrad. All his activities were directed towards committing this foul crime as soon, as swiftly and as successfully as possible!

Such was the role played by Zinoviev, such was his conduct in this affair.

In finishing with this episode, I would like now to get a straight answer from Zinoviev to the following question: Does Zinoviev now accept only moral responsibility, or the whole criminal responsibility, full responsibility, for preparing, organizing and committing the murder of Sergei Mironovich Kirov?

Of course, Zinoviev will say "yes". He cannot say anything else. He said this on the very first day of this trial when caught in the grip of the iron chain of evidence and proof.

At that same trial Kamenev took an almost similar stand. Bakayev took a similar stand. Kamenev said that he did not know of the existence of the Moscow center. Trying to pose as a noble person, he said that in so far as the center existed, and this was proved, he was responsible for it. . . .

The way Kamenev put it, it amounted to this: he did not know there was a center, but if there was a center, well then, he knew about it. But Kamenev did know of the existence of the center; he indeed knew. This has been proved. And now this is corroborated by fresh evidence obtained in connection with the discovery of a number of new criminal gangs operating in the same direction. This evidence throws full light on this ghastly and terrible affair.

And then Kamenev tried to pose as a man who had become politically blind. He said: I became blind—I lived to the age of 50 and did not see this center in which, it turns out, I myself was active, in which I participated by action and by inaction, by speech and by silence.

It sounds like some sort of spiritualism, spiritualism and black magic!

Even at that time we realized that this was simply an attempt at concealment by means of false phrases, an attempt by means of these false phrases to conceal the truth. Now all this has been finally exposed. No, Kamenev did not become blind. Kamenev very well saw and knew what he was doing. He saw perfectly well what was going on around him, because he organized what was going on around him. Kamenev did not become blind, because he acted by speech and silence. By silence when he did not say: "Don't do that," when he should have said that; and by speech when he said: "Do it," when, perhaps, some of his younger assistants wavered and turned to him as their authority, as their mentor.

Kamenev said:

"I want to say—not in my own justification, I did not remember this before but now I recall—that some time ago Zinoviev told me that Safarov had visited him and had proposed some sort of a *bloc*. I said that I would not take part in any *bloc* because I never believed that man. Zinoviev can confirm this. I was not opposed to talking. I talked."

With whom did he talk?

"With Tolmazov and Shatsky." Tolmazov and Shatsky were active members of the Leningrad Zinovievite gang which killed Comrade Kirov.

Kamenev talked with Tolmazov and Shatsky, that is to say, with two of the principal organizers of the murder of Comrade Kirov. So Kamenev agreed to these conversations and carried them on through Bakayev. But he tried to conceal this.

Arguing that he could not have any connection with terrorism, Kamenev, striking a pose, said:

"I must say that I am not a coward by nature, but I never banked on fighting with arms. I always expected that a situation would arise in which the Central Committee would be compelled to

negotiate with us, that it would move up and make room for us. . . . These dreams did not recur during the past two years, simply because I am not a dreamer and not a fantast. There were fantasts and adventurers in our midst, but I do not belong to that category."

I think that Kamenev will now define his part in this affair somewhat differently. What aim did Kamenev set himself? Did he or did he not bank on fighting with arms?

At that time he said—"No." Now, two days ago, he said—"Yes." At that time he said "no" because he knew, he saw that we were as yet not in possession of all the threads of this ghastly crime, because at that stage of the investigation all the threads had not yet been finally unravelled. At that time he said: "No." Now, when everything has been disclosed, he says—"Yes."

Here is a characteristic fact! It shows what a great and decisive role personal motives played in this criminal "work" of Kamenev. Kamenev thought that a time must arrive when the Central Committee would move up and make room for him. But suppose it did not move up? Suppose it did not make room for him? In that case he, Kamenev, would take measures to have room made for him.

This is the whole of Kamenev's logic and politics! Logic and politics which make it utterly impossible for us to agree that he does not belong to the category of people whom he himself described as adventurers. No. Obviously he belongs to this category, as well as to the other category—the "fantasts". There was not a little of fantasy here, but there was plenty of willingness to put this fantasy into practice, to make it real, to make it a living thing even by means of adventures, by means of a *bloc* with spies, agents for diversive activities, secret police agents, murderers, and by direct murders. Kamenev agreed to this, Kamenev was prepared to do this.

Here is something else he said at the Leningrad trial: "I am speaking before the portraits of these great builders of socialism. . . ." It must be said that among these there was a portrait framed in black, the portrait of Comrade Kirov. Kamenev at the trial vowed before the portrait of Kirov, whom Kamenev had murdered!

". . . Before the portraits of these great builders of socialism I am a criminal if I lacked the strength to leave and to take with me those whom it was possible to take. . . ."

Lies! Again hypocrisy, cunning, perfidy and cynicism!

#### *The Trotskyite-Zinovievite Center Killed Comrade Kirov*

Above I asked: Was there an organization? Was there a Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorist center? I answer: Yes, there was. It arose in 1932. It consisted of Kamenev, Zinoviev, Evdokimov, Bakayev, Smirnov, Ter-Vaganyan and Mrachkosky.

This center existed, and, what is most important, it was formed on the direct instructions of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev. It was formed on the direct instructions of Trotsky to adopt terror as the sole method of fighting against the leaders of the land of Soviets. It was formed on the basis of profound and strict secrecy. Yesterday we were able to observe one of the representatives of this Trotsky-Zinoviev-Kamenev school of conspiracy in the person of the accused Hotlzman. In the dock we have another conspirator in the person of Smirnov. The center existed and functioned; it not only resorted to methods of downright perfidy, deceit and treachery but, as has now been definitely established, it organized and established secret communications with the German fascists, with whom it mated the German Trotskyites, using them in the fight against our leaders, using their connections with the German Gestapo in the persons of Tukalevsky, P. Olberg and their like.

I take it as absolutely proven by the personal evidence of literally all the accused, including that of Smirnov on this point, that this center was organized on a terroristic basis, that the center resorted to terroristic methods, not shrinking from the most sordid and cynical methods in its struggle. I take it as absolutely proven that this center prepared a number of terroristic attempts in the Ukraine, in Moscow and in Leningrad. Finally, this center prepared and committed the murder of Sergei Mironovich Kirov in Leningrad.

As I have already said, the murder of Sergei Mironovich Kirov was part of the conspirators' general plan to murder the leaders of the Soviet state and the C.P.S.U. Incidentally, this has been established by the evidence of Evdokimov. I ask the Court to take note of Evdokimov's testimony of August 10, when he said that the murder of Kirov was committed on the direct instructions of the united center of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite *bloc*, when he said that in 1934 Zinoviev gave him direct instructions to this effect. Bakayev also corroborated this. The decision to organize the murder of Kirov was adopted by Zinoviev, Kamenev, Evdokimov and Bakayev, and by Trotsky's representatives, Mrachkovsky and Ter-Vaganyan.

Evdokimov's evidence, to which I now refer, reads as follows: "For the purpose of preparing for the murder, Bakayev was sent to Leningrad at the beginning of November 1934, that is to say, some days before Nikolayev killed Kirov in the Smolny, in the city of Leningrad—to check up on the preparations for this murder. Bakayev personally met Nikolayev and on returning to Moscow informed Evdokimov, Zinoviev and Kamenev of this. The latter noted with satisfaction the successful progress of the preparations for this foul crime and began to wait for the shot. Bakayev warned Nikolayev and his accomplices that they must wait for Zinoviev's

signal, that they must fire simultaneously with the shots to be fired in Moscow and Kiev."

All this has now been proved by the trial. Let the accused challenge this in their defense speeches if they dare.

After prolonged denials during the preliminary investigation Zinoviev gave the evidence which I have already mentioned. A characteristic detail. As far back as the autumn of 1932, in Zinoviev's and Kamenev's summer villa (they jointly occupied a summer villa which, incidentally, Kamenev once called the source of his misfortunes) Bakayev was instructed to prepare a terroristic act against Comrade Stalin, and Karev was instructed to prepare one against Comrade Kirov. But then the situation changed, for Karev was arrested and Kamenev and Zinoviev found themselves in exile.

Then came 1933, the year of revival of terroristic sentiments, the year of resumption of activities by the Trotskyite-Zinovievite center. And now, Bakayev is given instructions; and thorough preparations for the murder of Comrade Kirov are begun.

Kamenev says: "I did not know these preparations proceeded in practice because it was not I, but Zinoviev who exercised practical direction in the organization of this terroristic act." Accused Kamenev, did you know that Bakayev went to Leningrad to check up on the progress of these preparations? Yes, you knew. Did you know that Bakayev, after having checked up and found that everything was going on successfully, arrived in Moscow and reported to you the progress of these preparations? You knew. How, after this, can you presume to say that you took no practical part in the murder of Kirov? Your attempt to throw all the blame on Zinoviev will not hold water.

Kamenev says "it was decided" to kill, and adds "I agreed to this decision". Is this not taking practical steps?

At the preliminary investigation Bakayev persistently denied that he had played any part in the preparations for the murder of Kirov; but he was exposed by Karev, who reminded him of a number of facts. And only then, after that, did Bakayev confess. That is why, in view of Bakayev's full confession, I refrained from examining Karev in Court.

It was the hand of Nikolayev, of Kotolynov, of his group that murdered Sergei Mironovich Kirov. But who else took part in this murder? I asked Zinoviev: When was the united center organized? Zinoviev replied: In the summer of 1932. During what period of time did it function? Zinoviev: Practically up to 1934.

I would like to deal with this question in greater detail. In 1932-33 Kamenev and Zinoviev were in exile; but the center functioned. It is known that in 1934 Smirnov, too, was not at liberty; he was arrested in January, 1933; but the center functioned. And

Zinoviev confirms that the center functioned. I draw the conclusion that if the center functioned it was because of the well-organized technique of communication which enabled even those who were not at liberty, Smirnov, for example, to take part in guiding the work of this center.

I know that in his defense Smirnov will argue that he had left the center. Smirnov will say: "I did not do anything, I was in prison." A naive assertion! Smirnov was in prison from January 1, 1933, but we know that while in prison Smirnov organized contacts with his Trotskyites, for a code was discovered by means of which Smirnov, while in prison, communicated with his companions outside. This proves that communication existed and Smirnov cannot deny this.

But even this does not settle the question because, after all, what is important for us is that Smirnov, like Zinoviev and Kamenev, is responsible for all the center's activities and for the activities of the whole of the terrorist group which was organized, built up and functioned under his leadership when they were still at liberty. Smirnov, Zinoviev and Kamenev were the organizers of the center; they directed the activities of their terrorists, of all these Pickels, the Dreitzers and the rest. And they must bear full responsibility for this, irrespective of whether any one of them was at liberty at the time or not. This is elementary, and I do not think it is necessary to deal with it in detail. As the leaders, they must answer for the whole of the criminal activities of the organization which they led and of all those groups which sprang up on the soil they plowed.

What did the activities of the center consist of? Zinoviev said: "Their principal activities consisted in the preparations of terroristic acts against the leaders of the Party and the government." I asked: against whom? Zinoviev answered: against the leaders. I asked: that is to say, against Stalin, Voroshilov and Kaganovich? Was it your center that organized the murder of Kirov? Was the murder of Sergei Mironovich Kirov organized by your center, or by some other organization?

Zinoviev: Yes, by our center.

I asked: Did this center comprise you, Kamenev, Smirnov, Mrachkovsky and Ter-Vaganyan?

Zinoviev: Yes.

To my question: So you organized the murder of Kirov?

Zinoviev replied: Yes.

And so it is Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov, Mrachkovsky, Ter-Vaganyan and all the rest who must answer for this crime.

The most persistent in his denials is Smirnov. He pleaded guilty only to being the leader of the Trotskyite underground counter-

revolutionary center. True, he said this in a somewhat jocular way. Turning to Ter-Vaganyan, Mrachkovsky and Dreitzer, he said to them: "You want a leader? Well, take me." But you, accused Smirnov, were the leader. Smirnov was the leader of the Trotskyite underground organization. It was no accident that Zinoviev and Kamenev regarded him as Trotsky's representative, as Trotsky's deputy, as the actual leader of the whole of the Trotskyite underground organization. And finally he himself confessed to this.

I do not know what Smirnov is going to say in his last plea; but I think that on the basis of the material of the preliminary investigation and of the material of the court investigation I have every ground for declaring the following: (1) the accused Smirnov has confessed that for a number of years he was the actual leader of the Trotskyite underground organization; (2) he has confessed that he was Trotsky's representative and deputy in the U.S.S.R.; (3) he has confessed that he was in Berlin in 1931 and there met Sedov; and (4) he has confessed that Sedov informed him of the terroristic tasks and gave the terroristic directions.

It is true that Smirnov denies that these were Trotsky's directions. He says that this was Sedov's "personal opinion". Nevertheless, on returning to the U.S.S.R. he considered it necessary to communicate Sedov's "personal opinion" to his companions in the underground organization. . . .

We asked him: Where is the logic of this? If this was Sedov's personal opinion, and moreover, an opinion with which Smirnov, as he asserted, did not agree, why communicate it to the other members of the underground organization? Communicate it and not say that he did not agree with it? All his companions in the counter-revolutionary underground organization declared that he did not even hint at his disagreement with this line. Under these circumstances, what can we regard as established? Was there a meeting with Sedov in 1931? There was. Is Sedov—the son of L. Trotsky—his closest and first assistant in all his political activities? He is. During this meeting, did Sedov talk to Smirnov? He did. Smirnov admits this. Did they talk about terror? Yes, they talked about terror. Smirnov admits this too. The question as to how Smirnov understood Sedov is after all a matter of complete indifference to the prosecution. If Smirnov understood his conversation with Sedov not as an instruction, then there was no need for him to communicate it to his colleagues in his underground group. If he communicated this conversation and did not say that he disagreed with it, it means that it was an instruction, and it could not be otherwise.

Smirnov says that he did not agree with this instruction. But if he did not agree with it he, as a sufficiently experienced underground worker, factionalist and counter-revolutionary, should have under-

stood that it was his duty to break with this group, to leave this group. Otherwise he would not be a man engaged in politics, let alone a leader of an underground organization. Yet Smirnov was not merely a rank-and-file member of the Trotskyite group. Smirnov is not Holtzman. Holtzman is a poor edition of Smirnov; but Smirnov is not Holtzman. Smirnov is Smirnov. He is the leader. How can the leader remain a member of an underground group when he disagrees with the main line of this group? And the main line of this group was terrorism. And if he says that in 1931 he did not accept what Sedov said as an instruction, but took it merely as Sedov's personal opinion, in 1932, however, he received direct instructions from Trotsky through Yuri Gaven. At that time he could no longer say that this was somebody's "personal opinion", for even if it really was a "personal" position, it was the position of Trotsky!

From Sedov's personal position a straight path leads to Trotsky's position. There are no personal positions! There is the Trotskyite decision, Trotsky's line of terrorism. You, Smirnov, received it in 1931 and in 1932. You also received the instruction from Dreitzer, not personally, but I am deeply convinced that you knew about it, notwithstanding the fact that you were in a house of detention for political offenders.

In 1932 you received Trotsky's instruction through Gaven. Trotsky plainly said: Terror; put Stalin out of the way; kill Voroshilov; kill the leaders of the Party and the government. You, Smirnov, received this instruction. You say: I received it, but did not accept it. If you did not accept it, and if you preserved a sense of political honesty to any degree, after having heard in 1932 Trotsky's instruction sent to you through Gaven, you could not but break with the Trotskyite organization. You understand this, and that is why you say—I broke, I left. But whom did you tell that you had left? You told no one. Mrachkovsky did not know about it, Ter-Vaganyan did not know about it and even Safonova did not know about it. You did not tell anyone! No one knew!

Consequently, we have no right whatever to believe these assertions of yours. We can assert that in 1932 you received instructions on terrorism from Trotsky and you accepted them. You would not be the Smirnov you are if you remained in the Trotskyite group while disagreeing with the fundamental line of this group, while disagreeing with the line of the man who was such an authority for you as was Trotsky. We know that in your defense speech you will curse Trotsky. But no one will believe you, because in this Court you have not said, and you do not want to say, even two words of truth about your work in the terrorist center. Even yesterday you wanted to conceal the role played by Putna. You wanted to save some reserves, who, perhaps, would not be entirely exposed. You wanted

to save reserves for Trotsky, for your accursed Trotskyite underground organization!

I think that all the circumstances I have mentioned permit us to establish the following in regard to Smirnov.

First. Smirnov was a member of the united center of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorist organization. This center was organized with his participation. Consequently, he is one of the most important organizers of the center.

Second. He organized this center on the basis of Trotsky's instructions which he received in 1931. He gave this center its terroristic character and the terroristic direction of its activities.

Third. In 1932, Smirnov received a second instruction from Trotsky. This is indisputably established. All Smirnov's attempts to prove that, having received this instruction, he did not agree with it, although he remained in the ranks of the Trotskyite underground organization, are too transparent.

Comrade judges, there is one other very important circumstance. The question can be put in this way: All right, terroristic basis, disposition toward terrorism, talk about terror being the sole means—but what about the organization of practical measures for the purpose of getting together terrorist groups, for the purpose of putting terrorism into practice?

Ter-Vaganyan said that work was carried on to get together terrorist groups, but that this was preparatory work which did not go beyond the limits of preparations. But was that really the case?

Of course not. The Zinovievites followed the Trotskyites, and Smirnov in particular, who persuasively and fervently insisted on the earliest application of terror, and not terror in general, but terror against Comrades Stalin, Kirov, Voroshilov, and other of our leaders. It was Comrade Stalin and Comrade Kirov who had smashed this dishonest opposition. It is quite understandable, therefore, that Smirnov, this consistent, fully convinced and irreconcilable Trotskyite, should concentrate all his organizing abilities on preparing the assassination first of all of the leaders of the Central Committee of our Party, the leaders of our country. Smirnov kept urging Zinoviev: Let us hurry up and commit a terroristic act, let us hurry up and kill Stalin, Kirov and Voroshilov. And Zinoviev, hurrying at the heels of the Trotskyites, is full of excitement and agitation fearing lest he lag behind. . . .

Smirnov urged Zinoviev to hurry up with the murder. He was in no hurry about a platform. He said: It could be drawn up at one sitting. What did they want a platform for when they had what in their opinion was a surer means—assassination! Smirnov drew up and placed in the hands of his agents a concrete plan for the organization of terroristic acts. The murder of Comrade Kirov was carried

out in fulfilment of this plan, for which Zinoviev as well as Kamenev, Smirnov, Mrachkovsky and Ter-Vaganyan must bear full responsibility before the land of Soviets, before the Soviet people, before the Soviet proletarian Court.

### *The Masks Are Torn From the Accused*

I consider that the guilt of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Evdokimov and Bakayev has been fully established, and that I can be relieved of the duty of enumerating the many facts, and of analyzing the material of the Court investigation, which exposes them to the fullest degree. I merely want to emphasize that by the side of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Evdokimov and Bakayev should stand Smirnov, Ter-Vaganyan and Mrachkovsky. They ought to stand side by side. Together they directed their criminal activities against our government, together they murdered Kirov and, therefore, together and fully must they answer for this.

Smirnov understands this perfectly well, and that is why he adopted a position of denial. At first he denied everything; he denied the existence of a Trotskyite organization, he denied the existence of a center, he denied his participation in the center, he denied connection with Trotsky, he denied that he gave any secret instructions, even those which he gave in 1936, and we know that this great conspirator managed to organize the communication of criminal instructions to his adherents even while he was isolated. He denied everything—he denied the existence of the Trotskyite center in 1931, he denied the existence of such a center in 1932. He denied everything. The whole of his examination of May 20 consisted solely of the words: "I deny that, again I deny, I deny." That is the only thing left for him to do.

Accused Smirnov, your experience, your skill in deceit, has betrayed you. Exposed by the evidence of Safanova, Mrachkovsky and Ter-Vaganyan, you were compelled to admit that there was a center, that you were a member of this center. Your denials were of no avail. You denied that you had received any instructions on terrorism, but you were exposed on this matter by Gaven, and you confessed; you were exposed by Holtzman who received instructions from Trotsky to be conveyed to you personally, and only to you, instructions to the effect that it was now necessary to adopt terrorism. Holtzman, whose Trotskyite allegiance was kept a particularly profound secret, said that he had received these instructions, but did not communicate them; and you think that this can be believed. No, no one will believe this.

Holtzman adopted the same position as Smirnov—I admit everything except terrorism—because he knows that for terrorism he may have to pay with his head. Smirnov was exposed as a terrorist

by Holtzman, by Mrachkovsky, by Safanova and by Dreitzer.

On July 21, you, Smirnov, gave somewhat different evidence, that is to say, at first you denied that you had received any instructions from Trotsky to organize terrorism, but here you admitted that you did receive them. Your denials came to nought.

When confronted with Mrachkovsky, you continued to deny that you had received from Trotsky and conveyed to Mrachkovsky instructions to organize a terrorist group. Mrachkovsky put you to shame by saying: "Why, Ivan Nikitich, you want to get out of a sordid bloody business with a clean shirt?" I can repeat this: "Do you really think, accused Smirnov, that you will get out of this bloody business unscathed?" In reply to Mrachkovsky you said: "Invention and slander," but later you did confess to something.

You admitted that the bloc was organized on the principle of the necessity of terrorism, and therefore you were one of the organizers of the terrorist center. You received instructions on terror from Trotsky. On that basis you developed terroristic criminal activities. True, your arrest hindered you somewhat from taking part in the carrying out of these activities; nevertheless you did all you possibly could to help these activities.

I want to remind you that the confrontation with Safonova during the preliminary investigation, which, in the main, reproduced what we saw in this Court, was very characteristic. Smirnov does not venture to deny Safonova's evidence. He invents an elastic form of lies. He knows that Safonova will not slander him, Safonova was formerly his wife, and has no personal grudge against him; therefore, he cannot plead a personal grudge. He says: "I do not remember", "evidently such a conversation may have taken place". He is asked: Was there any talk about organizing terrorism? He replies: "There was not, but there might have been." "When now, masking himself, he says: "I have nothing to reply to that", he is guided by the same animal cowardice. But on August 13 he was compelled to admit that this conversation did take place in 1932, that he, Smirnov, bears full responsibility for this, and that now he does not intend to evade responsibility.

I now want to deal with Ter-Vaganyan. He, too, at first, adopted a position of denial; but on August 14 he gave more truthful evidence. Summing up his testimony and his behavior in Court we can draw several definite deductions: we may consider it established that Ter-Vaganyan was a member of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite center, that he took an active part in organizing the center, that he carried out the instructions of the center on the basis of Trotsky's instructions which were received through Smirnov, and of which he learned from Smirnov. He tries to assert that actually he did nothing. But I must say beforehand that even if he "did nothing", what he did is

sufficient to deserve the penalty provided for in Articles 58<sup>s</sup>, 19 and 58<sup>s</sup>, 58<sup>11</sup> of the Criminal Code.

Moissei Lurye and Nathan Lurye. We have heard Nathan Lurye's evidence of how he arrived here and for what purpose, of the work he carried on in preparation for terroristic acts under the guidance of Moissei Lurye, of how, in fact, he was practically the successor to the group which had been gotten together here before him by Franz Weitz, the fascist agent and a trusted man of Himmler, chief of the fascist black secret service, chief of the German S. S. detachments and, subsequently, chief of the German Gestapo.

You remember all their evidence, and I do not think it is necessary to deal with it in detail. It has been fully, categorically, and unquestionably proved that Nathan Lurye and Moissei Lurye prepared to commit terroristic acts. They must bear full responsibility for this crime!

When I spoke of the methods by which these gentlemen operated I showed, tried to show, to what depths these people had sunk, morally and politically. And perhaps one of the most striking and characteristic proofs of the depths of moral turpitude to which these people have sunk, of their lack of even those "moral" principles and rules of conduct by which even hardened criminals and gangsters are guided, is what Reingold told us about here. I refer to their plan to remove the traces of their foul crimes.

Was it an accident, comrade judges, that they, in expectation of successfully carrying out their heinous plan, intended to appoint none other than Bakayev as chairman of the O.G.P.U.—precisely Bakayev, who is known as a man filled with malicious hatred, as a resolute man, persevering and persistent, with a very strong will, strong character and stamina, who would not stop at anything to achieve the aims which he had set himself!

If some of the accused coolly planned to come to power over mountains of corpses of the best people of our Soviet land, then Bakayev was perhaps the most determined and most implacable executor of this plan! It is precisely this man that they intended to appoint as chairman of the O.G.P.U. in the event of their plot being successful.

I will not deal with the ludicrous distribution of portfolios among the conspirators and terrorists. I merely emphasize once again that none other than Bakayev was intended for the post of chairman of the O.G.P.U. Zinoviev and Kamenev did not exclude the possibility that the O.G.P.U. was in possession of the threads of the plot that they were hatching against the state, and, therefore, they considered it to be one of their most important tasks to appoint Bakayev chairman of the O.G.P.U. He was to obtain possession of all these threads and then destroy them, as well as the very people who carried out

Zinoviev's and Kamenev's instructions.

Kamenev and Zinoviev do not deny the first part of this, but they deny the second part. That second part is too ghastly, and Zinoviev said it was taken from Jules Verne. But do we not know that there have been such examples in history? Do we not know certain neighboring states in which such procedure has been applied, where participants in a plot were physically exterminated by the hand of the organizers of the plot, as was the case with Roehm and his henchmen?

Accused Zinoviev, you yourself say that it was intended to appoint Bakayev to the post of chairman of the O.G.P.U. in order to use him for the purpose of removing the traces of your crime. Why, then, do you say this is from Jules Verne? You have chosen a faulty line of defense.

This is not very important for the case; but that is not the question, that is not the point. This is one of the remarkable touches which characterize the people who aspired to the leadership of our country. It proves how fortunate we are that they were removed from this leadership in time!

Zinoviev and Kamenev call this fantastic tales from the Arabian Nights. But, by your leave, what about the murder of Zinoviev's secretary Bogdan? What is that? A tale? Zinoviev could not say anything about that; but Reingold revealed it and Pickel confirmed it.

Zinoviev recommended Bogdan to Bakayev as a suitable person to commit terroristic acts.

Reingold said it, Pickel confirmed it, but Bakayev vigorously denies it and tries to escape from it. But it is a fact which nobody can escape. Reingold and Pickel have proven that Bogdan's "suicide" was really murder. It was done by Bakayev on the instructions of the united center! "You are hesitating to carry out the instructions of our united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center? Kill yourself or else we will kill you." That is what Bakayev said to Bogdan, and Bogdan gave way.

This was the beginning of the execution of the plan drawn up by Zinoviev and Kamenev that was to be carried out in the event of the terroristic plot turning out successful. Zinoviev and Kamenev tried to depict Bogdan's suicide as the fate of a "victim" of our Soviet regime. But you yourselves drove Bogdan to suicide by confronting him with the dilemma: either to carry out a terroristic act or to commit suicide.

Comrades judges, if you link up this episode with all the methods of struggle, all the other methods of "work" adopted by this criminal gang, you will easily understand the truthfulness of the evidence given by Reingold and Pickel, who in this Court again and again

exposed Zinoviev, Kamenev and Evdokimov as the perpetrators of a number of grave crimes.

### *Dogs Gone Mad Should All Be Shot*

I now conclude, comrade judges. The last hour is approaching, the hour of reckoning for these people who have committed grave crimes against our great country. It is the last hour of reckoning for these people who took up arms against our dearest and most beloved, against the beloved leaders of our Party and our country, against Stalin, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Orjonikidze, Zhdanov, Postyshev, Kossior and other leaders of our land of victorious, growing and flourishing, new, socialist society. A sad and shameful end awaits these people who were once in our ranks, although they were never distinguished for either staunchness or loyalty to the cause of socialism.

Just a few words more. Some of the accused tried to draw a parallel with the historical past, with the period of the Narodnaya Volya. They tried to compare some people with the heroic terrorists who in the last century entered into combat with the terrible, cunning and ruthlessly cruel enemy, the tsarist government. In speaking of Bakayev, or perhaps of Smirnov, the name of Gershuni was mentioned here. This argument does not hold water.

That was a struggle waged by a handful of self-sacrificing enthusiasts against the gendarme giant; it was a fight in the interests of the people. We Bolsheviks have always opposed terrorism, but we must pay our tribute to the sincerity and heroism of the members of the Narodnaya Volya. Gershuni was not a Bolshevik, but he, too, fought against tsarism and not against the people.

You, however, a handful of downright counter-revolutionaries, representatives of the vanguard of the international counter-revolution, you took up arms against the vanguard of the world proletarian revolution! You took up arms against the liberty and happiness of the peoples. The comparison with the period of Narodnaya Volya terrorism is shameless. Filled with respect for the memory of those who in the times of the Narodnaya Volya sincerely and honestly, although employing, it is true, their own special, but always irreproachable methods, fought against the tsarist autocracy for liberty—I emphatically reject this sacrilegious parallel. I repeat, this parallel is out of place here. Before us are criminals, dangerous, hardened, cruel and ruthless towards our people, towards our ideals, towards the leaders of our struggle, the leaders of the land of Soviets, the leaders of the toilers of the whole world!

The enemy is cunning. A cunning enemy must not be spared. The whole people rose to its feet as soon as these ghastly crimes became known. The whole people is quivering with indignation and I, as

the representative of the state prosecution, join my anger, the indignant voice of the state prosecutor, to the rumbling of the voices of millions!

I want to conclude by reminding you, comrade judges, of those demands which the law makes in cases of the gravest crimes against the state. I take the liberty of reminding you that it is your duty, once you find these people, all sixteen of them, guilty of crimes against the state, to apply to them in full measure those articles of the law which have been preferred against them by the prosecution.

I demand that dogs gone mad should be shot—every one of them!

#### APPENDIX

### The Verdict

In the name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., consisting of:

President: the President of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., Army Military Jurist, Comrade V. V. Urlich;

Members: The Vice-Presidents of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., Army Corps Military Jurist, Comrade I. L. Matulevich, and Divisional Military Jurist, Comrade I. T. Nikitchenko;

Secretary: Military Jurist of First Rank, Comrade Kostyushko;

State Prosecution being represented by the State Attorney of the U.S.S.R., Comrade A. Y. Vyshinsky, in an open court session, in the city of Moscow, on August 19-24, 1936, heard the case against:

1. Zinoviev, Grigory Evseyevich, born 1883, employee, sentenced on January 16, 1935, in the Zinovievite "Moscow center" case to imprisonment for ten years in accordance with Article 17 and 58<sup>s</sup> of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.;

2. Kamenev, Lev Borisovich, born 1883, employee, sentenced on January 16, 1935, in the Zinovievite "Moscow center" case to imprisonment for five years, in accordance with Article 17 and 58<sup>s</sup> of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R., and again sentenced on July 27, 1935, to imprisonment for ten years in accordance with Article 17 and 58<sup>s</sup> of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.;

3. Evdokimov, Grigori Eremeyevich, born 1884, employee, sentenced on January 16, 1935, in the Zinovievite "Moscow center"

case to imprisonment for eight years in accordance with Articles 17 and 58<sup>s</sup> of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.;

4. Bakayev, Ivan Petrovich, born 1887, employee, sentenced on January 16, 1935, in the Zinovievite "Moscow center" case to imprisonment for eight years in accordance with Articles 17 and 58<sup>s</sup> of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.;

5. Mrachkovsky, Sergei Vitalievich, born 1883, employee;

6. Ter-Vaganyan, Vagarshak Arutyunovich, born 1893, employee;

7. Smirnov, Ivan Nikitich, born 1880, employee;

all seven being charged with having committed crimes covered by Articles 58<sup>s</sup> and 58<sup>11</sup> of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

8. Dreitzer, Ephim Alexandrovich, born 1894, employee;

9. Reingold, Isak Isayevich, born 1897, employee;

10. Pickel, Richard Vitoldovich, born 1896, employee;

11. Holtzman, Eduard Solomonovich, born 1882, employee;

12. Fritz David, alias Krugliansky, Ilya-David Israilevich, born 1897, employee;

13. Olberg, Valentine Pavlovich, born 1907, employee;

14. Berman-Yurin, Konon Borisovich, alias Alexander Fomich, born 1901, employee;

15. Lurye, Moissei Ilyich, alias Emel, Alexander, born 1897, employee;

16. Lurye, Nathan Lazarevich, born 1901, employee all being charged with having committed crimes covered by Articles 19 and 58<sup>s</sup>, 58<sup>11</sup> of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

The preliminary and court investigations have established that:

In the autumn of 1932, on the instructions of L. Trotsky received by I. N. Smirnov, leader of the Trotskyite underground organization in the U.S.S.R., a union took place between the Trotskyite and Zinovievite underground counter-revolutionary groups which formed a "united center" consisting of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Evdokimov and Bakayev (representing the Zinovievites), and of Smirnov, Ter-Vaganyan and Mrachkovsky (representing the Trotskyites).

The union of these counter-revolutionary groups was achieved on the basis of the use of individual terror against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government.

The Trotskyites and Zinovievites, on the direct instructions of Trotsky, received by the "united center" through the accused Smirnov, Holtzman and Dreitzer, in this period (1932-36) concentrated all their hostile activities against the Soviet Government and the C.P.S.U. on the organization of terror against their leaders.

The Court has established that the "united center", on the direct instructions of L. Trotsky and Zinoviev, organized and carried out on December 1, 1934, through the medium of the underground terrorist Leningrad-Zinovievite group of Nikolayev-Kolotynov, the



foul murder of the member of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. and member of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., Comrade Sergei Mironovich Kirov.

Not confining themselves to the assassination of Comrade Kirov, the Trotskyite-Zinovievite center prepared a number of terroristic acts against Comrade Stalin, Voroshilov, Zhdanov, L. M. Kaganovich, Orjonikidze, Kossior and Postyshev.

The materials of the court investigation and the confessions of the accused Zinoviev, Kamenev, Evdokimov, Bakayev, Mrachkovsky and Dreitzer have established that L. Trotsky, from abroad, and Zinoviev within the country, expedited by every means the preparations for the murder of Comrade S. M. Kirov. For the purpose of expediting the murder of Comrade S. M. Kirov, Kamenev, in June, 1934, on the instructions of the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center went to Leningrad where he conducted negotiations with the leader of one of the Leningrad terrorist groups, Yakovlev, whose case has been set aside for a separate trial, about the organization of this terroristic act against Comrade Kirov.

The Court has also established that on the instructions of the "united center" the accused Bakayev, in November, 1934, also made a special journey to Leningrad to check up on the preparedness of the Leningrad terrorist group of Nikolayev-Kotolynov for the carrying out of the assassination of Comrade Kirov. At a secret meeting of the members of this Leningrad terrorist group, Bakayev heard the report of Leonid Nikolayev, the murderer of Comrade Kirov, and, in the name of the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center, gave him and his accomplices a number of practical instructions concerning the organization of the assassination of Comrade S. M. Kirov. It was in conformity with these instructions that L. Nikolayev and his accomplices committed the foul murder of Comrade S. M. Kirov on December 1, 1934.

The court has also established that in 1934, the accused Bakayev, Reingold and Dreitzer, in accordance with the decisions of the "united center", twice tried to make an attempt on the life of Comrade Stalin.

In order the more successfully to commit the terroristic acts planned by the "united center" it organized in 1933 in the city of Moscow, the so-called "Moscow terrorist center", consisting of the accused Reingold, Pickel and Dreitzer, under the direct guidance of the accused Bakayev, a member of the "united center".

The "united center" instructed the accused Bakayev to make practical preparations for the assassination of Comrades Stalin and Kirov, and it instructed Dreitzer, a member of the "Moscow terrorist center" to organize a terroristic act against Comrade Voroshilov.

Not confining himself to the organization of a number of terroristic

acts against the leaders of the Soviet government and the C.P.S.U. under the immediate direction of the "united center", L. Trotsky, in the period of 1932-36, was systematically sending a number of terrorists into the U.S.S.R. from abroad for the same purpose.

In November, 1932, L. Trotsky sent to the U.S.S.R. Berman-Yurin and Fritz David; and before leaving, the latter received from L. Trotsky personal instructions with regard to the organization of the assassination of Comrade Stalin.

In the same year, 1932, L. Trotsky sent to Moscow from Berlin the terrorist Nathan Lurye. In conjunction with Franz Weitz, agent of the Gestapo and a person trusted by Himmler, now chief of the Gestapo (Franz Weitz was then living in Moscow under the guise of a foreign specialist), Nathan Lurye made preparations for attempts on the lives of Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov, Kaganovich and Orjonikidze.

In the winter of 1932-33, after the departure of Franz Weitz from Moscow, Nathan Lurye and his terrorist group continued the preparation of these terroristic acts jointly with the accused Moissei Lurye who arrived in Moscow from Berlin in 1933, and who had also received from Trotsky instructions to expedite terroristic acts against the leaders of the Soviet Government and the C.P.S.U.

In 1934, while at Chelyabstroi, Nathan Lurye tried to make an attempt on the lives of Comrades Kaganovich and Orjonikidze. Finally, the said Nathan Lurye, on May 1, 1936, on the instruction of, and by previous agreement with Moissei Lurye, tried to make an attempt on the life of Comrade Zhdanov during the First of May demonstration in Leningrad.

In the summer of 1935, L. Trotsky, through his son L. Sedov, sent to the U.S.S.R. from Berlin the terrorist V. Olberg, who used a false passport issued in the name of a subject of the Republic of Honduras. V. Olberg obtained this passport with the aid of the German secret police, the Gestapo, having first received the consent of L. Trotsky, through the latter's son, Sedov, to utilize the assistance of the German secret police in this matter.

On arriving in the U.S.S.R. V. Olberg established contact with the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite terrorist group in the city of Gorki, and trained a number of terrorists who were to commit a terroristic act against the leaders of the Soviet government and the C.P.S.U. in the Red Square in Moscow on May 1, 1936.

The court investigation has also established that simultaneously with the preparation of terroristic acts against Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Kaganovich and Orjonikidze, the Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorist center made preparations for terroristic acts against Comrades Kossior and Postyshev through the medium of the Ukrainian terrorist group operating under the direction of the

Trotskyite Mukhin, whose case has been set aside for separate trial.

Thus it is established that

1. G. E. Zinoviev;
2. L. B. Kamenev;
3. G. E. Edvokimov;
4. I. P. Bakayev;
5. S. V. Mrachkovsky;
6. V. A. Ter-Vaganyan and
7. I. N. Smirnov

are guilty of:

(a) Having organized the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorist center for the purpose of assassinating the leaders of the Soviet government and of the C.P.S.U.,

(b) Having prepared, and on December 1, 1934, perpetrated the foul murder of Comrade S. M. Kirov through the medium of the Leningrad underground terrorist group of Nikolayev-Kotolynov and others sentenced on December 29, 1934, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.,

(c) Having organized a number of terrorist group who made preparations to assassinate Comrade Stalin, Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Kaganovich, Orjonikidze, Kossior and Postyshev—i.e., crimes covered by Articles 58<sup>8</sup> and 58<sup>11</sup> of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

8. E. A. Dreitzer;
9. I. I. Reingold;
10. R. V. Pickel;
11. E. S. Holtzman;
12. Fritz David (Krugliansky, Ilya-David Israilevich);
13. V. P. Olberg;
14. K. B. Berman-Yurin;
15. M. I. Lurye (Emel, Alexander) and
16. N. L. Lurye

are guilty of having been, while members of the underground counter-revolutionary terrorist Trotskyite-Zinovievite organization, active participants in the preparations for the assassination of the leaders of the Party and the government, Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Kaganovich, Orjonikidze, Kossior and Postyshev,

i.e., crimes covered by Articles 19 and 58,<sup>8</sup> 58<sup>11</sup> of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

On the basis of the above, and guided by Articles 319 and 320 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the R.S.F.S.R., the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

Sentences:

1. Zinoviev, Grigori Evseyevich
2. Kamenev, Lev Borisovich

3. Evdokimov, Grigori Eremeyevich
4. Bakayev, Ivan Petrovich
5. Mrachkovsky, Sergei Vitalevich
6. Ter-Vaganyan, Vagarshak Arutyunovich
7. Smirnov, Ivan Nikitich
8. Dreitzer, Ephim Alexandrovich
9. Reingold, Isak Isayevich
10. Pickel, Richard Vitoldovich
11. Holtzman, Eduard Solomonovich
12. Fritz David (Krugliansky, Ilya-David Israilevich)
13. Olberg, Valentine Pavlovich
14. Berman-Yurin, Konon Borisovich
15. Lurye, Moissei Ilyich (Emel, Alexander) and
16. Lurye Nathan Lazarevich

all to the supreme penalty—to be shot, and all property personally belonging to them to be confiscated.

Lev Davidovich Trotsky, and his son, Lev Lvovich Sedov, now abroad convicted by the evidence of the accused I. N. Smirnov, E. S. Holtzman, Dreitzer, V. Olberg, Fritz David (I. I. Krugliansky) and Berman-Yurin, and also by the materials in the present case as having directly prepared and personally directed the organization in the U.S.S.R. of terroristic acts against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet State, are subject, in the event of their being discovered on the territory of the U.S.S.R., to immediate arrest and trial by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

*Presiding:*  
(Signed)

V. V. URLICH  
*President of the Military Collegium of  
the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.*  
Army Military Jurist

*Members of the Court:*  
(Signed)

I. MATULEVICH  
*Vice-President of the Military Collegium  
of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.*  
Army Corps Military Jurist

I. NIKITCHENKO  
*Vice-President of the Military Collegium  
of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.*  
Divisional Military Jurist