

The seventeen defendants named in this indictment went on trial in Moscow on January 23, 1937, before the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. They were prosecuted by A. Y. Vyshinsky, chief prosecutor of the U.S.S.R. All defendants confessed fully in a trial which ended on January 30 with a verdict of guilty for all. Thirteen defendants were sentenced to be shot; four received prison sentences as follows: Radek, Sokolnikov and Arnold, ten years; Stroilov, eight years. The death sentences were carried out February 1, 1937.

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INDICTMENT

in the case of Y. L. PIATAKOV, K. B. RADEK, G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV, L. P. SEREBRIAKOV, N. I. MURALOV, J. A. LIVSHITZ, J. N. DROBNIS, M. S. BOGUSLAVSKY, I. A. KNIAZEV, S. A. RATAICHAK, B. O. NORKIN, A. A. SHESTOV, M. S. STROILOV, J. D. TUROK, I. J. GRASHE, G. E. PUSHIN and V. V. ARNOLD, accused of treason against the country, espionage, acts of diversion, wrecking activities and the preparation of terroristic acts, *i.e.*, of crimes covered by Articles 58-1a, 58-8, 58-9 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

THE investigation of the case of the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite terroristic center, members of which were convicted by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. on August 24, 1936, established that in addition to the above mentioned center, there existed a so-called reserve center, established on the direct instructions of L. D. Trotsky, in case the criminal activities of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc were discovered by the organs of the Soviet government. The convicted members of the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center, Zinoviev, Kamenev and others, testified that the reserve center consisted of Y. L. Piatakov, K. B. Radek, G. Y. Sokolnikov and L. P. Serebriakov, all known for their past Trotskyite activities.

The preliminary investigation of the present case established that the so-called reserve center was indeed a parallel Trotskyite center, organized and operating under the direct instructions of L. D. Trotsky, living abroad.

The Trotskyite parallel center developed its criminal activities most strenuously after the dastardly murder of Sergei Mironovich Kirov, and the subsequent break-up of the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center.

The main task which the parallel center set itself was the forcible overthrow of the Soviet government with the object of changing the social and state system existing in the U.S.S.R. L. D. Trotsky, and on his instructions the parallel Trotskyite center, aimed at seizing power with the aid of foreign states, with the object of restoring capitalist relations in the U.S.S.R.

These treasonable designs against the Soviet Union were expounded by L. Trotsky in their most finished form in his letter of instructions to the parallel Trotskyite center, received by the accused K. B. Radek in December, 1935.

The accused Radek, during the examination on December 22, 1936, testified on this point as follows:

"It must be understood, Trotsky wrote, that without a certain leveling of the social structure of the U.S.S.R. to that of the capitalist states, the government of the bloc will not be able to maintain itself in power and to preserve peace...

"The admission of German and Japanese capital for the exploitation of the U.S.S.R. will create important capitalist interests on Soviet territory. Those strata in the rurel districts which have not outlived the capitalist psychology and are dissatisfied with the collective farms will gravitate toward them. The Germans and Japanese will demand that we relieve the tense atmosphere in the rural districts; we shall therefore have to make concessions and allow the dissolution of the collective farms or withdrawal from the collective farms." (Vol. V, pp. 142, 143.)

And further:

"Piatakov and I arrived at the conclusion that this instruction sums up the work of the bloc, dots all the i's and crosses all the t's by raising in the very sharpest manner the question that under all circumstances the power of the Trotskyite-Zinoviev bloc could only be the power of the restoration of capitalism." (Vol. V, p. 146.)

Accused Piatakov, in his turn, relating his conversation with L. Trotsky, near Oslo in December, 1935, testified that L. Trotsky, in demanding that the diversionist, wrecking and terroristic activities of the Trotskyite organization in the U.S.S.R. be activized, emphasized that as a result of an agreement with capitalist states, it was necessary, as he put it, to retreat to capitalism. According to the testimony of accused Piatakov, L. Trotsky said:

"This means it will be necessary to retreat. This must be firmly understood. Retreat to capitalism. How far and to what degree, it is difficult to say now—this can be made concrete only after we come into power." (Vol. I, p. 269.)

That the program of the parallel Trotskyite center was a program of the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. was testified to by accused G. Y. Sokolnikov during examination on November 30, 1936:

"This program provided for the renunciation of the policy of industrialization and collectivization and, as a result of this renunciation, the revival in the rural districts, on the basis of small farming, of capitalism, which, combined with the capitalist elements in industry, would develop into capitalist restoration in the U.S.S.R.

". . All the members of the center were agreed in recognizing that in the existing circumstances there could be no other program, and that it was necessary to carry out precisely this program of the bloc." (Vol. VIII, p. 225.)

Proceeding from this program, L. D. Trotsky and his accomplices in the parallel center entered into negotiations with agents of foreign states with the object of overthrowing the Soviet government with the aid of armed intervention.

As a basis for these treasonable negotiations, L. D. Trotsky and the parallel center put forward: the permission in the U.S.S.R. of the development of private capital, the dissolution of the collective farms, the liquidation of the state farms, the lease of a number of Soviet enterprises as concessions to foreign capitalists, and the granting to these foreign states of other economic and political advantages including the surrender of a part of Soviet territory. On this point L. D. Trotsky, according to the statement of the accused K. Radek, wrote in his aforementioned letter to K. Radek:

"It would be absurd to think that we can come to power without securing the favorable attitude of the most important capitalist governments, particularly of the most aggressive ones, such as the present governments of Germany and Japan. It is absolutely necessary to have contacts and an understanding with these governments right now...." (Vol. V, p. 140.)

The investigation has established that L. D. Trotsky entered negotiations with one of the leaders of the German National-Socialist Party with a view to waging a joint struggle against the Soviet Union.

As testified by accused Piatakov, L. Trotsky, in his conversation with the accused in December, 1935, informed him that as a result of these negotiations he had concluded an agreement with the said leader of the National-Socialist Party on the following terms:

"1. To guarantee a generally favorable attitude toward the German government and the necessary collaboration with it in the most important questions of an international character;

"2. To agree to territorial concessions;

"3. To permit German industrialists, in the form of con-

cessions (or some other forms), to exploit enterprises in the U.S.S.R. which are essential auxiliaries to German economy (meaning iron ore, manganese, oil, gold, timber, etc.);

"4. To create in the U.S.S.R. favorable conditions for the activities of German private enterprises;

"5. In time of war to carry on extensive diversionist activities in war industry enterprises and at the front. These diversionist activities are to be carried on under Trotsky's instructions, in agreement with the German General Staff.

"The principles of this agreement, as Trotsky related, were finally elaborated and adopted during Trotsky's meeting with Hitler's deputy, Hess.

"Likewise, said Trotsky, he had well-established connections with the government." (Vol. I, pp. 267, 268.)

L. Trotsky communicated the nature of this agreement and the extent of the territorial concessions in his letter to the accused Radek in December, 1935. In that letter, as testified by accused K. Radek, L. Trotsky wrote the following:

"... We shall inevitably have to make territorial concessions... We shall have to yield the Maritime and Amur Provinces to Japan, and the Ukraine to Germany.

"Germany need raw materials, foodstuffs and markets. We shall have to permit her to take part in the exploitation of ore, manganese, gold, oil, apatites, and to undertake to supply her for a definite period with foodstuffs and fats at below world prices.

"We shall have to yield the oil of Sakhalin to Japan and to guarantee to supply her with oil in case of war with America. We shall also have to permit her to exploit goldfields. We shall have to agree to Germany's demand not to oppose her seizure of the Danube countries and the Balkans, and not to hinder Japan in her seizure of China. . ." (Vol. V, pp. 142, 144.)

Not confining himself to his own negotiations with representatives of foreign states, L. Trotsky instructed the members of the parallel center to enter into communication with the representatives of these states in the U.S.S.R. As testified by accused Piatakov, L. Trotsky, in his letters to the parallel center:

"... demanded that Radek and Sokolnikov, who had the appropriate opportunities, probe for the necessary contacts with the official representatives of the powers, and support what he, Trotsky, was carrying out in practice." (Vol. I, p. 257.)

In accordance with this instruction of L. D. Trotsky, the accused K. Radek and G. Sokolnikov entered into communication with the representatives of the said states.

On this point the accused Radek, during examination on December 4, 1936, testified:

"... Trotsky's assertion about his communication with the representatives of the —— government was not idle talk. I was able to convince myself of this from conversations I had had at diplomatic receptions in 1934-35 with the military attaché, Mr. ——, and the press attaché of the —— embassy, Mr. ——, a very well-informed representative of Germany.

"Both of them, in a cautious way, gave me to understand that the government was in communication with Trotsky."

And further:

"I told Mr. K. that it was absolutely useless expecting any concessions from the present government, and that the government could count upon receiving concessions from the 'realistic politicians in the U.S.S.R.,' *i.e.*, from the bloc, when the latter came to power." (Vol. V, pp. 119-121.)

Accused Sokolnikov also admitted that, taking advantage of

his position as Assistant People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, he, on L. D. Trotsky's instructions, carried on secret negotiations with representatives of a certain foreign state.

Accused Sokolnikov testified:

"At the conclusion of an official conversation held in my office, when Mr. —— and the secretary of the embassy were about to leave, Mr. —— stopped a while.

"At that time both interpreters had already left my office. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Mr. —, while I escorted him to the door, exchanged a few sentences with me. Mr. — asked me: 'Are you aware that Mr. Trotsky has made certain proposals to my government?'

"I replied: 'Yes, I have been informed of this.'

"Mr. —— asked: 'How do you appraise these proposals?'

"I replied: 'I think the proposals are quite serious.'

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

"I replied: 'No, this is also the opinion of my friends.'" (Vol. VIII, pp. 235, 236.)

L. D. Trotsky and his accomplices in the U.S.S.R. placed their hopes of coming into power mainly on the defeat of the Soviet Union in a forthcoming war with the imperialist states. Accordingly, in his negotiations with the agents of foreign states, L. D. Trotsky personally, and the parallel center through the accused, Radek and Sokolnikov, did all they possibly could to hasten an armed attack by these states on the U.S.S.R. This is confirmed by the testimonies of all the accused in the present case. Thus, accused Radek, during examination on December 22, 1936, cited the following excerpt from a letter addressed to him by L. D. Trotsky:

"It must be admitted that the question of power will become most real for the bloc only as a result of the defeat

of the U.S.S.R. in war. For this the bloc must make energetic preparations. . . . Since the principal condition for the Trotskyites coming into power, if they fail to achieve this by means of terror, would be the defeat of the U.S.S.R., it is necessary, as much as possible, to hasten the clash between the U.S.S.R. and Germany." (Vol. V, pp. 117, 143.)

L. D. Trotsky and his accomplices in the U.S.S.R. considered it necessary, during the forthcoming war, to adopt an active defeatist position and to do all they can to assist the foreign interventionists in their fight against the U.S.S.R. For example, accused Piatakov, relating the conversation he had had with L. Trotsky in December, 1935, near Oslo, testified:

"As regards the war, L. D. Trotsky spoke of this very explicitly. From his point of view, war is inevitable in the near future.

"He, Trotsky, considers it absolutely necessary to adopt a distinctly defeatist attitude in this war. He considers that the bloc's coming into power can certainly be hastened by the defeat of the U.S.S.R. in war." (Vol. I, p. 258.)

In accordance with this plan of preparing the defeat of the U.S.S.R. with the object of seizing power, L. D. Trotsky, Y. Piatakov, K. Radek, G. Sokolnikov, L. P. Serebriakov, J. Livshitz and the other accused in the present case carried on wrecking, diversionist, espionage and terroristic activities for the purpose of disrupting the economic and military power of our country, thus committing a number of crimes against the state of the utmost gravity.

The investigation has established that under direct instruction from L. Trotsky, and under the immediate guidance of the parallel Trotskyite center, a number of the accused in the present case: Turok, Kniazev, Rataichak, Shestov, Stroilov, Grashe and Pushin were directly connected with diversionist agents of the German and Japanese intelligence services, systematically carried on espionage on behalf of Germany and Japan, and committed a number of wrecking and diversionist acts in socialist industrial enterprises and on the railways, particularly in enterprises of importance for the defense of the country.

The aforementioned accused carried on these espionage, diversionist and wrecking activities in accordance with agreements arrived at by the Trotskyites with foreign intelligence service agents. For example, accused Radek, confirming Piatakov's testimony, testified during examination on December 22, 1936, that one of the points of the agreement reached between Trotsky and the representative of the German National-Socialist Party, was the obligation

"... during Germany's war against the U.S.S.R. ... to adopt a defeatist position, to intensify diversionist activities, particularly in enterprises of military importance ... to act on Trotsky's instructions agreed upon with the German General Staff." (Vol. V, p. 152.)

Carrying out the obligations undertaken towards the representatives of Germany and Japan, the parallel Trotskyite center organized in a number of industrial enterprises in the Soviet Union and on the railways diversionist and wrecking groups, which were charged with the task of committing diversionist and wrecking acts. Accused Piatakov, during examination on January 4, 1937, testified:

"I advised my people (and did this myself) not to scatter their wrecking activities, but to concentrate their attention on the principal big industrial enterprises of defense and national importance. On this point I acted on Trotsky's instructions, namely: 'To strike palpable blows at the most sensitive places.'" (Vol. I, p. 287.)

Following this line of accused Y. L. Piatakov, the groups or-

ganized by the parallel center carried out a number of diversionist and wrecking acts in industrial enterprises and on the railways.

For example, as was established at the trial on November 19-22, 1936, in the case of the Trotskyite diversionist group at the Kemerovo mine, an explosion was organized on the instructions of accused Drobnis at the "Tsentralnaya" pit, as a result of which ten workers were killed and fourteen suffered grave injuries.

[See materials and documents of the trial of the Kemerovo case of November 19-22, 1936, submitted in the present case.]

Three acts of diversion were organized under the direction of accused Rataichak at the Gorlovka Nitrogen Fertilizer Works, of which two were explosions entailing the loss of human life and enormous material damage to the state.

Similar diversionist acts were committed, on the instructions of Rataichak, by members of the Trotskyite organization at other chemical enterprises of the Soviet Union as well (the Voskresensk Chemical Works and the Neva Plant).

The diversionist nature of these explosions has been established by the findings of special technical experts, and by the confessions of the accused Rataichak, Pushin and Grashe themselves. (Vol. XL, pp. 30, 39, 50.)

[See the findings of the technical experts.]

The most intense diversionist and wrecking activities on the railways were carried on by the accused in the present case: J. A. Livshitz, I. D. Turok, I. A. Kniazev, and M. S. Boguslavsky.

Thus, on direct instructions of the parallel Trotskyite center, accused Kniazev organized and effected the wrecking of a number of trains, mostly troop trains, which entailed great loss of human life. Of these train wrecking cases the most serious are:

a. The wreck of a troop train at Shumikha station on Octo-

ber 27, 1935, at which 29 Red Army men were killed and 29 injured;

b. The wreck on the Yakhino-Ust-Katav section in December, 1935;

c. The wreck on the Yedinover-Berdyaush section in February, 1936.

Accused Kniazev organized the wrecking of troop trains not only on the instructions of the parallel center and, in particular, of accused Livshitz, the leader of the diversionist and wrecking activities on the railways, but also on direct instructions from Mr. H., an agent of the Japanese intelligence service. In this connection, during examination on December 14, 1936, accused Kniazev testified:

"As regards espionage and striking at the Red Army by organizing the wrecking of troop trains with consequent loss of human life, I took up this work only after I had ascertained the attitude of the Trotskyite organization towards espionage and diversionist activities against the Red Army on behalf of the Japanese intelligence service.

"The instructions appertaining to the carrying on of diversionist and wrecking activities on the railways and the organization of the wrecking of trains I carried out in full, since in this matter the instructions of the Japanese intelligence service fully coincided with the instructions I had received somewhat previously from the Trotskyite organization." (Vol. XXXII, pp. 57, 61.)

Collaboration with agents of the Japanese intelligence service was also testified to by the accused J. D. Turok. (Vol. XXIII, p. 106.)

In committing diversionist acts in collaboration with agents of foreign intelligence services, and organizing the wrecking of trains, explosions and fires in mines and industrial enterprises, the accused in the present case did not scruple to resort to the vilest methods of struggle and deliberately and wilfully perpetrated such monstrous crimes as poisoning and causing the death of workers for the purpose of provoking discontent among the workers against the Soviet government.

Thus, during examination on December 4, 1936, accused Piatakov on this point testified:

"We realized that if it became necessary to resort to acts of diversion for the purpose of carrying out our wrecking plans, the loss of human life would be inevitable. We took this into account and accepted it as inevitable." (Vol. I, pp. 196, 197.)

Accused Drobnis was even more cynical in his testimony on this point:

"It will be even better if human life is lost in the mine, for that will certainly rouse the anger of the workers, and that is what we need." (Vol. XIII, p. 66.)

That these enemies of the people deliberately went out to cause great loss of human life in organizing acts of diversion is also proved by the following testimony of accused Kniazev, given on December 26, 1936:

"Livshitz gave special instructions to prepare and carry out a number of acts of diversion (explosions, wrecking of trains or poisoning), which would cause great loss of human life." (Vol. XXXII, p. 92.)

Similar testimony was given by accused J. D. Turok, (Vol. XXIII, p. 73.)

The Trotskyite center and the diversionist groups operating under its direction in industrial enterprises and on the railways were to carry on particularly active destructive work in industrial plants and on the railways by means of explosions, fires, train wrecking, etc., in time of war. when these mon-

strous acts of treason would strike a particularly palpable blow at the defensive power of the Soviet Union.

Thus, accused Piatakov instructed accused Norkin to prepare to set fire to the Kemerovo Chemical Works when war broke out. When examined on this point, Y. L. Piatakov testified:

"Yes, I confirm it. I did indeed give such instructions to Norkin. This was soon after my meeting with Trotsky at which the latter raised the question of it being necessary to carry out acts of diversion in enterprises working for defense on the outbreak of war. It was in this very connection that I spoke with Norkin of providing for the possibility of accomplishing such an act of diversion in Kemerovo." (Vol. I, p. 309.)

In his turn, accused Kniazev, during examination on December 14, 1936, testified that in agreement with the parallel center he accepted from Mr. H., an agent of the Japanese intelligence service, the following instruction to be carried out in the event of war:

"... to organize incendiarism at military stores, canteens and hygiene centers." (Vol. XXXII, p. 68.)

Still more monstrous instructions aimed against the people of the Soviet Union were received by accused Kniazev from the same Japanese intelligence service agent, Mr. H.

"... The Japanese intelligence service particularly sharply raised the question of using bacteriological means in time of war with the object of infecting troop trains, canteens and hygienic centers with highly contagious bacilli ... " (Vol. XXXII, p. 68.)

Accused Kniazev's treasonable communication with the Japanese intelligence service has been established not only by Kniazev's own testimony, but also by his correspondence with Mr. H., found in his possession together with photographs

(letters from Mr. H.—one marked "15/XII" and another of 23/VIII-36.) (Vol. XXXII, p. 121.)

The materials of the preliminary investigation, and the admissions of the accused S. A. Rataichak, I. A. Kniazev, J. D. Turok, G. E. Pushin, I. J. Grashe, A. A. Shestov and M. S. Stroilov, establish that in addition to diversionist and wrecking activities, the Trotskyite parallel center attached no less importance in the struggle against the Soviet Union to the organization of espionage on behalf of foreign intelligence services. All the aforesaid accused, being in communication with representatives of the German and Japanese intelligence services, regularly supplied them with secret information of the utmost state importance.

For example, accused I. A. Kniazev supplied the Japanese intelligence service, through the aforesaid agent of this intelligence service, Mr. H., with secret information on the technical condition of the Soviet railways, their preparedness for mobilization and the transport of troops. (Vol. XXXII, p. 103.)

The accused S. A. Rataichak, G. E. Pushin and I. J. Grashe admitted that they were in communication with the German intelligence service, to which they handed secret information on the condition and operation of our chemical plants.

Examined on this subject, accused Grashe testified that:

"The organization, of which I was a member, conducted, on the instructions of the German intelligence service, not only diversionist activities. but also espionage activities in chemical plants." (Vol. XXI, p. 40.)

Accused G. E. Pushin, after admitting that he had taken part in espionage work, testified that he and accused S. A. Rataichak were in communication with the German intelligence service through the medium of Lenz, a fitter in the firm of Linde. Accused G. E. Pushin, during examination on October 26, 1936, testified:

"1. Figures of the output of all Soviet chemical enterprises during 1934;

"2. The program of work of all Soviet chemical enterprises for 1935;

"3. The plan of the construction of nitrogen plants which comprised construction work up to 1938.

"I personally handed all these materials to Lenz at different times in the first half of 1935.

"Morever, Lenz informed me that he had received directly from Rataichak figures of the output of the military chemical plants during 1934 and the program of their work for 1935. In addition to this, I systematically supplied Lenz with information on stoppages, breakdowns and the condition of the equipment of nitrogen plants." (Vol. XIX, p. 31.)

Similar espionage work for the German intelligence service was also carried on by the accused A. A. Shestov and M. S. Stroilov, who are convicted of being in criminal communication with a number of intelligence service agents who arrived in the U.S.S.R. in the guise of foreign specialists; for example, engineer Stickling, who was convicted in the Kemerovo case for espionage and diversionist work.

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The espionage activities of the Trotskyites on behalf of the German intelligence service were screened in a number of cases by their connection with certain German firms.

The investigation in the present case has established that an agreement was concluded between L. Trotsky and certain German firms by virtue of which these firms financed the Trotskyites from a fund formed by raising the price of goods imported into the U.S.S.R. from Germany. On this point accused Piatakov, with reference to his conversation with Trotsky's son L. L. Sedov, now living abroad, testified: "... Sedov conveyed to me Trotsky's instructions to try and place as many orders as possible with the firms Demag and Borsig with whose representatives Trotsky has connections.

"'You', added Sedov, 'will have to pay higher prices, but this money will go for our work.'" (Vol. I, p. 227.)

In their plans to overthrow the Soviet government and seize power, L. Trotsky and the parallel center attached primary importance to terroristic acts against the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet government.

The preliminary investigation in the present case has established that on direct instructions from L. D. Trotsky, received by Y. I. Piatakov and K. B. Radek, the parallel Trotskyite center organized a number of terroristic groups in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Rostov, Sochi, Novosibirsk, and other towns.

According to the testimony of accused K. Radek, L. D. Trotsky demanded:

"... the organization of a small group of trusted people to carry out terroristic attempts on the lives of the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and primarily against Stalin." (Vol. V, p. 102.)

L. D. Trotsky gave similar instructions to accused Piatakov during their conversation in 1935. Accused Piatakov testified that:

"During this conversation Trotsky said: 'You must understand that without a whole series of terroristic acts which must be carried out as soon as possible, Stalin's government cannot be overthrown.

"'The struggle must be sharpened still more, must be extended. We must, literally, stick at nothing to overthrow Stalin.'" (Vol. I, pp. 262, 264.) These are the instructions that L. D. Trotsky, the agent of fascism, gave the Trotskyite organization, which was preparing a number of terroristic acts against the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet government.

In organizing the aforementioned terroristic acts, the Trotskyite center tried to take advantage for this purpose of the visits of the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet government made to various places in the country.

Thus, in 1934, when Comrade V. M. Molotov, the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., was in Siberia, the Trotskyite terrorists, under the leadership of accused Shestov, attempted to kill Comrade V. M. Molotov by causing an automobile crash.

Accused Arnold, a member of the Trotskyite terrorist group, the direct perpetrator of this dastardly crime, testified during examination on this point on September 21, 1936:

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"In September, 1934, I do not remember the exact date, Cherepukhin called me into his office and warned me that Molotov was to arrive in Prokopyevsk. . . . He thereupon stated that I must sacrifice myself, and at all costs cause the car I was driving, which would be placed at Molotov's disposal, to crash. I agreed and replied that everything would be done." (Vol. XXXVI, pp. 32, 33.)

Accused Shestov confirmed this by testifying as follows:

"In 1934, on Muralov's instructions, I made active preparations for a terroristic act against Molotov, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and Eikhe, the Secretary of the West Siberian Territory Committee of the Communist Party." (Vol. XV, p. 157.)

The attempt on the life of Comrade V. M. Molotov, the

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S. S.R., by overturning the car in which he rode from the dispatch office of pit No. 3 (Prokopyevsk mines administration) to the worker's settlement, was in fact made, but it was unsuccessful. (Vol. XXXVI, p. 48.)

Such are the vile, treacherous, anti-Soviet activities of the Trotskyites, the contemptible fascist hirelings, traitors to their country and enemies of the people.

Having suffered utter defeat in their prolonged struggle against the Party and the Soviet government, deprived, as a result of the complete victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., of all support among the masses of the people, and constituting an isolated and politically doomed group of bandits and spies, branded by the universal contempt of the people of the Soviet Union, L. D. Trotsky and his accomplices—Piatakov, Radek, Sokolnikov, Serebriakov, Livshitz, and the others accused in the present case, outrageously betrayed the interests of the working class and the peasantry, betrayed their country and became espionage, diversionist and wrecking agents of the German and Japanese fascist forces.

DEFINITION OF THE CHARGE

The investigating authorities consider it established:

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1. That, on the instructions of L. D. Trotsky, there was organized in 1933 a parallel center consisting of the following accused in the present case: Y. L. Piatakov, K. B. Radek, G. Y. Sokolnikov, and L. P. Serebriakov, the object of which was to direct criminal anti-Soviet, espionage, diversionist and terroristic activities for the purpose of undermining the military power of the U.S.S.R., accelerating an armed attack on the U.S.S.R., assisting foreign aggressors to seize territory and to dismember the U.S.S.R., overthrowing the Soviet power and restoring capitalism and the rule of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union;

2. That, on the instructions of the aforesaid L. D. Trotsky, this center, through the accused Sokolnikov and Radek, entered into communication with representatives of certain foreign states for the purpose of organizing a joint struggle against the Soviet Union, in connection with which the Trotskyite center undertook, in the event of its coming into power, to grant these states a number of political and economic privileges and territorial concessions;

3. That, moreover, this center, through its own members and other members of the criminal Trotskyite organization, systematically engaged in espionage on behalf of these statee, supplying foreign intelligence services with secret information of the utmost state importance;

4. That, for the purpose of undermining the economic strength and defense capacity of the U.S.S.R., this center organized and carried out a number of wrecking and diversionist acts at certain enterprises and on the railways, which caused loss of human life and the destruction of valuable state property; 5. That this center prepared a number of terroristic acts against the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet government, and that attempts were made to carry out these acts;

6. That besides its leaders—the accused Y. L. Piatakov, G. Y. Sokolnikov, K. B. Radek and L. P. Serebriakov—the following accused took an active part in the aforesaid criminal activities of this center: J. A. Livshitz, N. I. Muralov, J. N. Drobnis, M. S. Boguslavsky, I. A. Kniazev, J. D. Turok, S. A. Rataichak, B. O. Norkin, A. A. Shestov, M. S. Stroilov, I. J. Grashe, G. E. Pushin and V. V. Arnold.

All the accused have fully confessed their guilt in the charges preferred against them and are convicted by the documents in the file, by the material evidence, and by testimony of witnesses.

On the aforementioned grounds the following persons:

1. Piatakov, Yuri (Georgii) Leonidovich, born 1890, employee;

2. Sokolnikov, Grigori Yakovlevich, born 1888, employee;

3. Radek, Karl Bernhardovich, born 1885, journalist;

4. Serebriakov, Leonid Petrovich, born 1888, employee —are accused of having, as members of the anti-Soviet underground Trotskyite center, betrayed their country by committing the crimes enumerated in paragraphs 1-6 of the Definition of the Charge, *i.e.*, crimes covered by Articles 58-1a, 58-8, 58-9 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

5. Livshitz, Jacob Abramovich, born 1896, employee;

6. Muralov, Nikolai Ivanovich, born 1877, employee;

7. Drobnis, Jacob Naumovich, born 1891, employee;

8. Boguslavsky, Mikhail Solomonovich, born 1886, employee;

9. Kniażev, Ivan Alexandrovich, born 1893, employee;

10. Rataichak, Stanislav Antonovich, born 1894, employee;

11. Norkin, Boris Osipovich, born 1895, employee;

12. Shestov, Alexei Alexandrovich, born 1896, employee;

13. Stroilov, Mikhail Stepanovich, born 1899, employee;

14. Turok, Joseph Dmitrievich, born 1900, employee;

15. Grashe, Ivan Josephovich, born 1880, employee;

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16. Pushin, Gavryil Efremovich, born 1896, employee;

17. Arnold, Valentin Volfridovich (alias Vasilyev, Valentin Vasilevich), born 1894, employee.

—are accused of having, as active members of the aforesaid anti-Soviet underground Trotskyite organization, betrayed their country by committing crimes enumerated in paragraph 1-6 of the Definition of the Charge, *i.e.*, crimes, covered by Articles 58-1a, 58-8, 58-9 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

L. Trotsky, and his son L. L. Sedov, now abroad, once again convicted by the materials in the present case as the direct leaders of the treasonable activities of the Trotskyite center, 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.

On the aforementioned grounds, and in accordance with the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. of July 10, 1934, all the aforementioned persons are subject to trial by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

The present indictment was drawn up in Moscow on January 19, 1937.

A. Y. VYSHINSKY

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

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