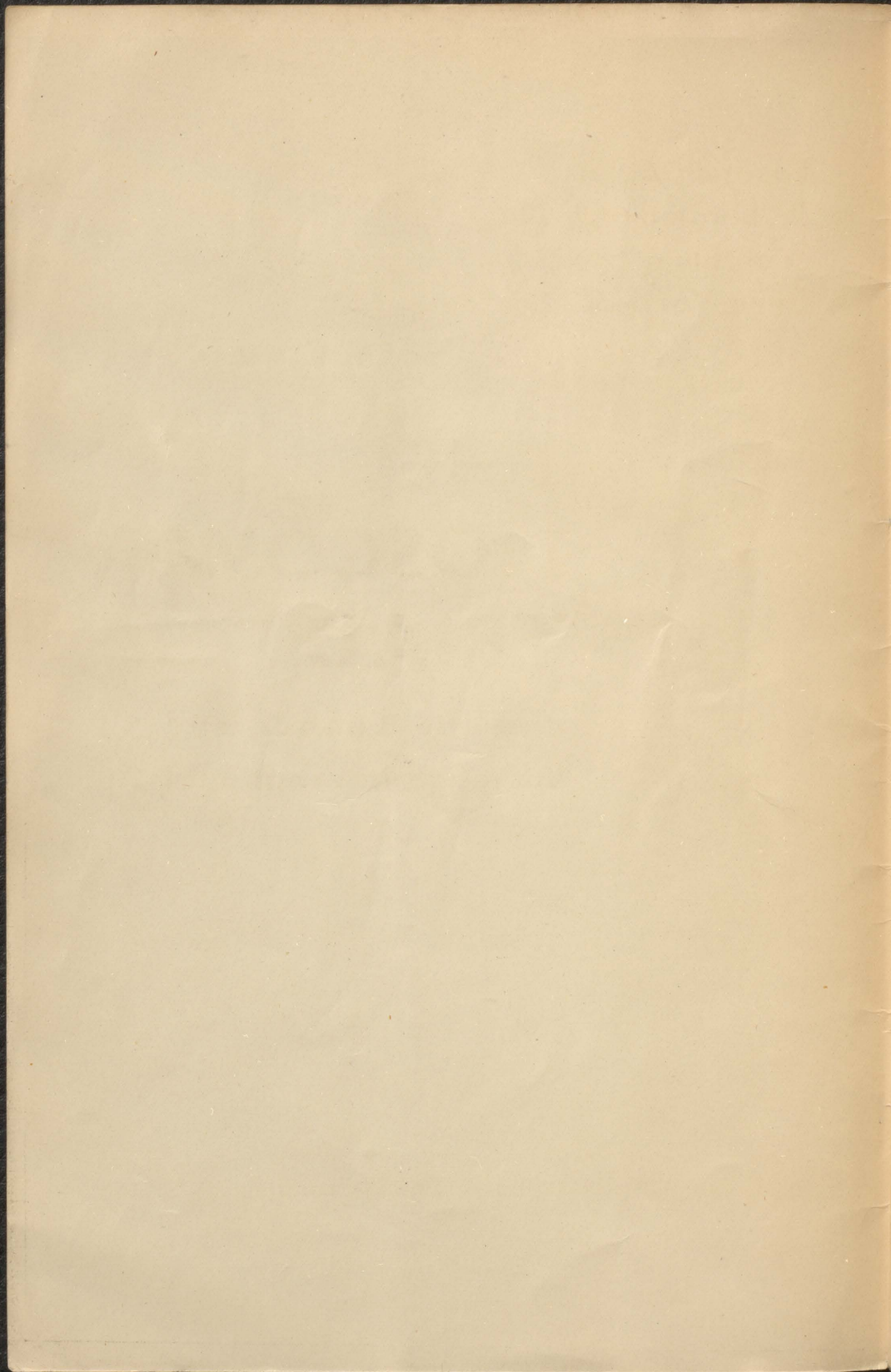


THE MOSCOW TRIAL AND THE LABOUR & SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL





Friedrich Adler
R. Abramovitch
Léon Blum
Emile Vandervelde

THE MOSCOW TRIAL

**and the Labour and
Socialist International**

Price 6d.

(Post free)

Published by **THE LABOUR PARTY**, London

Contents.

	Page
Preface	3
The Accusations.....	5
Friedrich Adler : The Moscow Trial and the Labour and Socialist International.....	7
R. Abramovitch : My Journey to Moscow.....	22
Léon Blum : The Odious Moscow Trial.....	26
Emile Vandervelde : The Power of the Lie has its Limits.....	33
The Slanderous Verdict	35
I. Declaration by the Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Mensheviks), 28th February, 1931	35
II. Declaration by the Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Mensheviks) on the Ikoff Case.....	37
III. Declaration by the Executive of the German Social- Democratic Party.....	38
IV. Declaration by Otto Wels.....	39
V. Declaration by Dr. Rudolf Hilferding.....	39
VI. Declaration by Dr. Rudolf Breitscheid.....	39
VII. Declaration by Juri Friedland.....	40
VIII. Declaration by R. Abramovitch.....	41
IX. Declaration by Kurt Grossmann	41
X. Declaration by Th. Dan.....	42
XI. Declaration by the Executive of the Swedish Social- Democratic Labour Party.....	43
XII. Declaration by W. I. Schurigin.....	43
XIII. Declaration by Peter Garwy.....	44
XIV. Declaration by A. Yugov	44
Appendix : Galileo's Abjuration. A Comment on the Psychology of the Accused in the Moscow Trial.....	46

Preface.

IT is possible to discuss in all earnestness the great differences of principle which divide the Bolshevik International from the Labour and Socialist International. The Five-Year Plan has added interest to these discussions. Unfortunately, Moscow still hopes to win over the workers for the Bolshevik cause not by educating them on the various historical perspectives, but by creating confusion in their minds, and for this purpose the most fantastic methods of lying and calumny are used. The great trial which took place in Moscow from the 1st to 9th March was a climax in this direction never previously reached. It is a very unfruitful and not very pleasing task to have to nail down the lies and slanders produced at this trial, but it is unfortunately necessary to state the true facts of the case in order to remove the misunderstandings which Moscow is systematically attempting to produce. This is the sole aim of the present publication. It is neither a polemic against the Five-Year Plan nor one in favour of it. It does not attempt to pass opinion upon the great economic problems which confront Soviet Russia at the present time. Its object is to restore the conditions necessary for political discussion by establishing the *truth* and thus purifying the atmosphere of the effects of a campaign of slander of unusual unscrupulousness.

From among the large number of declarations by Socialists against the infamy of the Moscow trial we have selected those calculated to acquaint the reader as briefly as possible with the true facts of the case.

The picture on the cover is the reproduction of a part of a large photograph of those present at the International Socialist Congress in August, 1928. Only about one tenth of the delegates are to be seen upon the section of the photograph reproduced, and these include Vliegen (Holland) (1), Longuet (France) (2), Bracke (France) (3), Vandervelde (Belgium) (4), *Abramovitch* (Russia) (5), Adler (Austria) (6), Henderson (Great Britain) (7), Van Roosbroeck

(Belgium) (8), Turati (Italy) (9). Thus *Abramovitch* was photographed among the Congress delegates outside the *Maison du Peuple in Brussels* at a time when, according to the allegations in the Moscow trial, he is supposed to have been *in Russia*. The many hundreds of delegates who were photographed together at that time are thus, although of course unable to foresee it, witnesses as to how much truth there is in the allegations made in the Moscow trial.

Zurich, May, 1931.

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE LABOUR
AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

The Accusations.

We reproduce in their latest form the concrete accusations made against the Labour and Socialist International and its affiliated parties in the Moscow trial, that is to say, in the wording in which they were formulated at the *end* of the trial in the *verdict* of the 9th March. The literal wording of this "verdict" is as follows:—

" . . . The juridical investigation establishes: The Russian Social Democrats (Mensheviks), lacking a point of support among the working masses and the peasantry in the country, following the failure of their attempts even by sabotage activity to call forth discontent among the masses and to incite them against the Soviet Power, decided on the necessity of intervention and for increasing sabotage work for the purpose of actively supporting intervention. This attitude towards intervention arose both in the "Union Bureau" and in the Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social Democrats (Mensheviks), the latter expressly demanding the raising of the question in the "All-Union Bureau."

Already at the end of 1927 leading persons of the Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social Democrats (Mensheviks), Dan and Abramovitch, put the question to the "All-Union Bureau."

In the summer of 1928 Abramovitch made an illegal journey to Moscow in order to confer with the "All-Union Bureau." He insisted on the acceptance of intervention as the only way out for Russian Social Democrats (Mensheviks) in their fight against the Soviet Power.

After the "All-Union Bureau" had requested Abramovitch to send written directions from abroad regarding this question, these directions were sent to the Bureau through Ikov.

Braunstein, the authorised representative of the same Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social Democratic Party (Mensheviks), made an illegal journey to Moscow in the year 1929 and again confirmed that the Foreign Bureau had adopted the policy of intervention and that it demanded the greatest activity in this direction from the "All-Union Bureau"

The second source of finance of the sabotage activity of the Russian Social Democrats (Mensheviks) was the German Social Democratic Party, a section of the Second International.

From this source monies were remitted to the All-Union Bureau through the Foreign Bureau of the Russian Social Democrats, through the mediation of Finn-Yenotayevsky. The "All-Union Bureau" received through this source 280,000 roubles, and in addition, at the commencement of the sabotage activity, 20,000 roubles from Dan, which were paid over to the Bureau through Schurigin and Petunin. In addition, 15,000 roubles were received from the "Industrial Party" through Scher and Salkind. In all they received 515,000 roubles.

At the same time the juridical proceedings ascertained that the Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social Democrats (Mensheviks) carried on its criminal counter-revolutionary work in preparation for intervention and financing the sabotage activity of the "All-Union Bureau," which served the same purpose, with the knowledge and approval of the Second International, which connived at this work and rendered it financial support through the German Social Democratic Party."

The Moscow Trial and the Labour and Socialist International.

By FRIEDRICH ADLER.

THE indictment in the Moscow trial raises two monstrous accusations: the Labour and Socialist International and its affiliated parties are supposed to be assisting in the preparation of the military *intervention* of capitalist powers in Soviet Russia, and for this purpose they are supposed to have encouraged and organised the "*sabotage activity*" of high Soviet officials.

The real object underlying these accusations was confessed by one of Stalin's chief officials. He announced that the Bolsheviki "will see to it" that the "decisive year of Socialist construction . . . will be the year of the *smashing of the parties of the Second International*."* There can be no doubt as to this very nice intention, and, as in all great campaigns of lies, the time and opportunity will of course be lacking, in view of the quantity of paper produced, for investigating in one case or another the quality of the "accusations" and "proofs." To begin with the well-known doubt will arise, "there must be some truth in it!" If the Bolsheviki are placing any hopes on this trial manoeuvre we are convinced that in the end it will turn against them, just as did the manoeuvre with the united front and all the other attempts to win over the proletariat for their cause by methods of deceit.

In the final resort, as the Bolshevik press is never tired of affirming, it is intended that the Labour and Socialist International should be hit by the accusation. We are really very far from feeling like "defendants." It is not necessary for us to "defend" ourselves. We can look down with quiet contempt upon this abject conjunction of criminal police fabrication in the oldest style, and contemptible weakness of character shown by the defendants promoted to witnesses for the crown and experts in the newest style, for in the light of the facts the whole Bolshevik campaign of calumny breaks down without further discussion.

Now that the whole of the material, including the indictment, the speeches at the trial—at least in so far as they are officially published—and the text of the verdict have been published, the moment has arrived for clearly stating the real facts of the case from a sober and objective standpoint.

* A. Martynow, "Who Are They?" *Inprecorr* Vol. 11, No. 11, p. 202.

The "Amalgam."

There is a special technical expression for the methods by which the accusation was fabricated. It is said that they form an "amalgam," that is to say, the actions and statements of quite different persons or groups of persons are so welded together that the result is a joint accusation against all of them. Accordingly the first thing to be done in order to see though the trial is to separate the "amalgam" into its various parts. This analysis gives not less than five very different groups of "accused":—

1. Provocateurs of the Ogpu.
2. Alleged Mensheviks, Professors and State officials, who really belonged to the Social-Democratic Party a decade ago but who have left it.
3. Real Mensheviks in Russia, of whom
 - (a) one only (Ikoff) was among the accused,
 - (b) at least one (Braunstein) was not brought to trial because it was feared that he would endanger the harmony of the event.
4. The Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Mensheviks).
5. The Labour and Socialist International.

From this analysis it will be clear that we have to ask in the case of each "accusation" and each "proof," against whom they are directed.

If we consider the defendants who stood in the dock as individuals, we are impressed with the curious manner in which the rôles were exchanged in this trial. Never before has a public prosecutor looked up to the accused with so much reverence and repeatedly urged that their disclosures should be regarded as truths from which there was no appeal. All the "reliable" witnesses known to the history of legal murder were put into the shade by the "reliability" of these defendants. Thus the public prosecutor really had every reason to produce his 14 brilliantly drilled defendants with the conscious pride of a successful circus tamer. They all behaved faultlessly; the great public at first knew nothing of the one who had to remain behind the scenes (Braunstein) because the training had not, or at least had not yet, taken effect upon him, and above all it did not see that merely by his absence the whole trial missed fire.*

* With regard to the defendants who were not yet ripe for public presentation the indictment discreetly says: "With regard to the other members of the counter-revolutionary menshevist organisation who have been called to account in this matter by the organs of the State Political Administration, the process against them will be carried out separately. In the same way the proceedings against Braunstein have been conducted separately. Braunstein has already been tried and convicted by the Collegium of the State Political Administration." (Inprecorr Vol. 11, No. 12, p. 241).

Considering the methods inherited by the Ogpu from the Tsarist Ochrana the question which arises in such a trial is not *whether* there are provocateurs among the defendants, but only *which* of them are provocateurs. A study of the material of the trial provides very weighty grounds for suspicion against several of the accused. But we will not discuss these conjectures, which are not of material importance to our argument. Much more interesting from a psychological point of view are the defendants who, more especially Gromann, are certainly not provocateurs and who nevertheless made statements of the falsehood of which they must have been inwardly convinced. Neither will we discuss the mechanism by means of which these statements were extorted. It is sufficient to say that, as against the statements made by the accused with regard to their relations to the Labour and Socialist International, or to the various parties affiliated to it, there are incomparably more trustworthy statements from witnesses who declared outside Russia, and accordingly in complete freedom on all politically essential points, that the statements of the defendants were lies.

The only defendant who really was a member of the Russian Social-Democratic Party, Ikoff,† is not reproached by the indictment with having himself taken part in any way in the "sabotage activity," but he is supposed on the basis of his personal relations and relations by letter with the Foreign Delegation to have established communication with the "Union Bureau" also. It is correct that he carried on illegal work in Russia on the instructions of the Foreign Delegation, but the decisive question in this case is whether he received any instructions according to which the old guiding principles of the Party were to be abandoned and its activity, as stated in the verdict, to be directed towards "increasing sabotage work for the purpose of actively supporting intervention." In this connection Ikoff referred to communications from Braunstein, but Braunstein was not heard by the court either as defendant or as witness. On the whole Ikoff conducted himself more resolutely than the other defendants, but he did not have the moral courage to give expression to the real point of view of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party on the question of intervention. This moral failure is the only point which the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party has to deplore. With regard to this case, the Foreign

† On the question of Ikoff's career in the Party the declaration by the Foreign Delegation on the 9th March, 1931, states that: "W. K. Ikoff, who had felt great disagreement with the policy of the Party as long ago as 1917-18, left the Party at that time and remained aloof from it until the middle of 1929. Not until then did he express the wish to take part in the illegal work of the Party on the basis of the Party's generally-known programme of action and observing the discipline of the Party; in agreement with the Foreign Delegation and the comrades working in the Soviet Union he did in fact take part in the Party's work."

Delegation drew up a declaration immediately after the pronouncement of the sentence, in which it stated: "that if Ikoff's attitude before the court really was as represented in the official reports he will be expelled from the ranks of the Party by a decision of the Party organs."

In every case in which we are able to check the facts we find the most monstrous lies in the indictment and in the verdict, in the speeches of the public prosecutor, the defendants and the witnesses. Accordingly, we must of course be very suspicious also with regard to the tales which we have no opportunity of checking. These include everything which has been published on the organisation of "sabotage activity" by high State officials in the Soviet offices. We lack any kind of fact which would help us to investigate the truth of these assertions. But we quite openly declare that *if* these defendants had really entertained all these childish fancies of desiring to undermine the economic system of a giant State from a few bureaux the State would have had a complete right to defend itself in the most energetic manner; that *if* this "sabotage activity" has really taken place then the perpetrators of this sabotage must of course be brought before the courts, as in any other State. And *if* these presuppositions are correct, we would also understand that the accused, having come to recognise the abysmal absurdity of their action, would honestly repent. *If*

But if we assume for a moment for the sake of argument that even *everything* is true that was brought forward with regard to "sabotage activity" against the accused, both in the trial of Ramsin and the "Industrial Party" and in the trial of Gromann and the "All-Union Bureau," what are the consequences for the Labour and Socialist International? Those who arranged the trial knew quite well, of course, that the whole accusation would have aroused very slight interest if it had simply been a question of a dozen fantastically criminal State officials in Russia. Their "sabotage activity" can be used by demagogues to persuade ignorant people that it is an excuse for the hunger, the disorganisation of transport and the failure of the economic system in Soviet Russia, but politically the only really important point is whether this "sabotage activity" took place as the result of *instructions from abroad*, or with *foreign assistance*.

Let us even assume for the sake of argument that the assertion is true that these professors and State officials who left the Menshevik Party a decade earlier had now really, as stated in the accusation, organised an "All-Union Bureau" and had actually regarded themselves as a "neo-Menshevik" group; under what conditions does this mean anything to the Labour and Socialist International? The International can only be responsible if it had a *knowledge* of this group and its activities, and it could be

indirectly responsible if at least its affiliated Russian Party had *recognised* this "All-Union Bureau" as a part of its organisation. And we are therefore able, although we only possess the most untrustworthy announcements of the public prosecutor and "his" defendants with regard to what actually happened in Russia, to produce complete clarity on the main problem, namely, whether the Labour and Socialist International and the Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social-Democratic Party are affected by the accusations.

The L.S.I. and Intervention.

The danger of a military intervention in Soviet Russia by capitalist powers has never completely disappeared since the foundation of the Bolshevik State, but it has passed through various phases of urgency and extent; from the practical reality of intervention at the time of the civil war (1919) produced by the support of the adventures of Koltchak and Denikin on the part of the Allied Powers, through moments when acute crises were caused by British Tory Governments (ultimatum, May, 1923, breaking off of relations, May, 1927), to the international political constellation when the influence of the working class, especially during the periods of the two Labour Governments in England, became so great that it was possible to reduce the danger to a purely theoretical possibility.

The Labour and Socialist International was always conscious of the danger which threatened Soviet Russia, and it has repeatedly called upon the Socialist workers to exercise watchfulness with regard to all plans for intervention. It is sufficient to read the reports of the Congresses of the Labour and Socialist International to realise the consistency of the point of view of the L.S.I. At the Foundation Congress of the L.S.I. in Hamburg in May, 1923, the question of preventing intervention was right in the foreground of all the discussions, as the British Tory Government had addressed its ultimatum to Soviet Russia immediately before the Congress opened. The speeches made by Henderson and Abramovitch, who jointly presided over the Congress on the 22nd May, 1923, in order to symbolise the complete agreement on the prevention of this attack should be read. But the Hamburg Congress laid down the principles of the attitude of the L.S.I., extending beyond the occasion of the moment. In his great speech on "International Action Against International Reaction" Otto Bauer said:—

"If we state our policy with regard to international reaction we must above all be clear that no matter what separates us from the Bolsheviks *the defence of the Russian Revolution against counter-revolutionary intervention is and remains one of our greatest tasks*, and in the fulfilment of this task all of us, but particularly the comrades in the great and

small countries which border on Russia and are so often exploited against Russia as tools of the great powers, have an important mission to fulfil." (Loud applause.) (Hamburg Report, German edition, page 24.)

In the resolution on "International Action Against International Reaction" the whole of the first paragraph is devoted to the fight against intervention. This paragraph reads as follows:—

"The Congress believes that, in the last resort, the working class of every land must fight its own battle for political and industrial liberation. It *strongly opposes every proposal for armed intervention*, for blockades or boycott, more especially when these are directed against States which have incurred the displeasure of the ruling classes. It condemns the continued use of terrorism by the Russian Government and the suppression of the essential rights of democracy, as a danger not only to the Russian workers, but also to the vital interests of the international proletariat. At the same time it calls upon the Labour movement to *resist every form of intervention by capitalist Governments against Russia. Intervention under their direction would destroy, not so much what is mischievous in the present phase of the revolution, as the revolution itself.* So far from creating a true democracy it would restore a Government of bloody counter-revolution which would become an instrument for the exploitation of the Russian people by Western imperialism."

"The Congress calls upon all Labour and Socialist parties, especially those in the allied countries and in the States bordering on Russia, not only to *oppose intervention*, but to press for the *de jure* recognition of the Russian Government and the immediate restoration of commercial and diplomatic relations." (Resolutions of the Hamburg Congress, p. 12.)

And the resolution "On Russia," which protests against the persecution of Socialists, begins with the words:—

"The Congress considers it to be the duty of the world's workers to *combat with all their strength all endeavours by the imperialist powers to intervene in the home affairs of Russia or to cause a fresh civil war in that country.* Therefore, in the name of millions of socialist proletarians which support it, and in the interest of the Russian, as well as of the entire international working classes, the Congress declares that it *opposes the violent intervention of imperialism by the moral intervention of the international proletariat.*" (Resolutions of the Hamburg Congress, p. 14).

When the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International held its first meeting in Luxemburg in the following year (February,

1924) it passed another resolution on Russia, the first paragraph of which reads as follows:—

“The Executive of the L.S.I. declares with satisfaction that, following the *de jure* recognition of Soviet Russia by the Governments of England and of Italy, the complete recognition of Soviet Russia by all the other Powers, and the resumption of normal relations between Russia and Europe, will soon be *au fait accompli*. In their view, this is the *best means for putting an end to any policy of boycott and blockade*, and for the promotion of democracy in Russia.” (Marseilles Report, p. 35).

At the Marseilles Congress in August, 1925, the interest was centred upon the Commission which dealt with “The Dangers of War in the East.” In the great debates which took place there, and which the author of this article was obliged to follow closely as the Chairman of the Commission, there were no differences whatever on the question of condemning intervention, not the slightest indication of even an excuse for the intervention idea was shown, and Otto Bauer, the Rapporteur of the Commission to the full Session of the Congress, was therefore able to say on behalf of the whole Commission, and to the accompaniment of the loud applause of the whole Congress:—

“And, comrades, it was on this, first and foremost, that we had to say a word which in view of the world-situation must needs take precedence of all else, namely, *that any hostile policy on the part of the Governments towards the Soviet Union will encounter in us the most stubborn, the most implacable resistance*. (Loud applause). There has perhaps been a phase, in which it would have been unnecessary to dwell on this point, because that danger was not visible; there was a phase in which the imperialist governments appeared to be beginning, instead of attacking Russia, to do business with her. But, comrades, we cannot delude ourselves as to the fact that during the past year this tendency has again been considerably modified, that the fall of the British Labour Government marked a turning-point in it, and that for the future, especially, dangers, grave dangers may ensue from the development of affairs in Asia. Comrades, I desire not to exaggerate in any way. I do not belong to those who hold that this danger is an imminent one, a danger for to-day or to-morrow. But we can see this danger shaping itself out of the inevitable disturbance which the great awakening of the Asiatic peoples is bound to entail. And because we know that this danger is coming, we therefore lay down, not for to-day or to-morrow, but for the whole of our future as the chief and supreme guiding principles: “*Hands off Soviet Russia!*” (Loud applause).

In our resolution we do not stint our criticism of Bolshevism ; we demand with the utmost emphasis the democratisation of the régime in Russia. We declare our full solidarity with the struggle of our Russian comrades towards this democratisation, but we acknowledge no complicity in the capitalist and imperialist intrigues, manœuvres and campaigns against Russia." (Loud applause). (Marseilles Report, pp. 271-272).

And the resolution passed by the Congress states that the Labour and Socialist International

" declares once again and with the greatest emphasis that *it is the duty of all Labour and Socialist Parties, especially of the Parties of the great Powers and of the States bordering Soviet Russia, to resist any aggressive policy directed against Soviet Russia, and to help forward the restoration of peaceful political relations and normal economic intercourse with Soviet Russia.*

This Congress welcomes the improvement which has taken place in the international status of the Soviet Union since the last Congress in Hamburg, due largely to the action of the L.S.I. The *de jure* recognition of the Republic by Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Austria, France, Japan, and many other nations, *has ended the diplomatic boycott which the Capitalist Powers attempted to impose.*" (Marseilles Report, p. 287).

And the Brussels Congress of August, 1928, expressed itself with the same energy and clearness. In its solemn manifesto on "The World Political Situation and the International Labour Movement" addressed to the workers of the world, we read :—

" The parties united within the Labour and Socialist International are now as ever ready *to defend the Soviet Republic against any hostility on the part of capitalist governments and to defend it against any counter-revolution or aggression, and also to demand from all States the maintenance of peaceful and normal relations with it.*" (Brussels Report, Section IX., p. 7).

When the Executive of the L.S.I. had a full discussion of the national question in the Soviet Union in April, 1930, it declared in its resolution that :—

" All parties of the International are absolutely determined *to oppose, in conformity with the Marseilles resolution, every attempt to proceed to war or any other form of intervention against the Soviet Union.*

The Executive recalls the Marseilles resolution, which expresses the desire of the International to fight for the maintenance and establishment of normal diplomatic and economic relations with the Soviet Union." (*Bulletin of the L.S.I.*, No. 7, p. 10).

In spite of the fact that the attitude of the L.S.I. on the question of intervention is generally known, Moscow summoned up the melancholy courage to accuse the L.S.I. and its affiliated parties of assisting in the military intervention of capitalist powers. Of course, they could not refrain from stating also that the Labour and Socialist International has always opposed intervention in all of its declarations. But these were said to be only "resolutions on paper" intended to throw dust in the eyes of the workers, and "in reality" the leaders were supposed to have assisted in intervention.* It is admitted that the rejection of intervention was seriously meant during the early years, but a change of front is supposed to have taken place later. And now come the lying fables, that somebody or other told somebody else that he had heard from yet another person that some well-known Social-Democrat or other had changed his views on intervention in 1928 or perhaps even at the Marseilles Congress in 1925. Anyone who takes the trouble to examine carefully the evidence of the defendants in the Moscow trial—and they are the only witnesses for the whole of this tissue of lies—will find that what is brought forward there is absolutely absurd, childish gossip, and that there is not even a trace of actual proof for any supposition whatever which could cause any serious person even to give consideration to these stupidities. The writer of this article can declare that as Secretary of the L.S.I. he has never taken part in a discussion at a meeting or in private circles, and has never heard of even private conversations among leaders of the L.S.I., which could in any way have called into question the opposition of the Labour and Socialist International to intervention. Everything produced in this direction at the trial and spread by the hack-writers of the Bolshevik dictatorship is a pure invention and a stupid invention.

* In this campaign of calumny great use is made of the two pamphlets which Karl Kautsky wrote on Russia in 1925 and 1930. These pamphlets have met with many—and we believe justified—criticisms in the Labour and Socialist International, particularly from Dan and Abramovitch. But whatever objections may be made to them, no one can maintain in good faith that they contain anything in favour of intervention. Kautsky himself made this point completely clear in an article in the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, of the 10th March, 1931. He quite rightly refers to the following passage in his booklet on "Die Internationale und Sowjetrußland" (The International and Soviet Russia), 1925 :—

"We oppose both armed intervention, which is a speciality of military powers, and the hidden intervention of the perfidy of a State which concludes treaties with Governments and at the same time contrives conspiracies and putsches against these very Governments." (page 58).

In the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* Kautsky draws the following conclusion :—

"On these two points (against interventions and against the evocation of rebellions) the whole of the Socialist International is therefore completely united, the Moscow accusation completely untenable and in the most evident contradiction to the facts. The opposition between a number of my friends and myself has no reference to these points."

The Russian Exiles and Intervention.

Among the tens of thousands of landowners, manufacturers, generals and nobles who have been more or less expropriated and have left Russia, and many of whom are leading a positively miserable existence in exile, there are very many whose thoughts and aspirations are wholly directed towards regaining their former property, and returning home with the old conditions restored. In these circles they busy themselves with the most adventurous plans, and the fantastic hope that the armies of the capitalist States will march into Soviet Russia and "create order" occupies a large place in these dreams. This hope of the counter-revolutionaries for the intervention of foreign military powers is being constantly fed by Bolshevik propaganda, which unceasingly depicts the danger as imminent in order to increase the will of the population of Soviet Russia to carry on.

During the trial of Ramsin and his "Engineer Party" which took place before this "Menshevik" trial, statements were made about French General Staff officers who were alleged to have conferred with counter-revolutionary Russian exiles with regard to the practical possibilities of intervention. Whether these stories contain a grain of truth, or whether they belong to the fairy-tales which were unscrupulously served up in this Moscow trial, is not very important. For there is no doubt that the General Staffs in all countries study the conditions for *all* wars, including those which are politically quite inconceivable at the time, and make plans for *all* cases. This is their trade, and the world would have been destroyed long ago if only one thousandth part of the plans in the pigeon-holes of the various General Staffs had been realised.

There is therefore no doubt that the idea of intervention in Soviet Russia occupies a considerable place amongst the counter-revolutionary exiles, and it is quite within the bounds of possibility that some General Staff or other has taken the advice of Russian "experts" in preparing its war plans. The Labour and Socialist International was always aware that the counter-revolutionary exiles are an element in the danger of intervention—although certainly not one whose importance should be exaggerated. More than this, the Labour and Socialist International has always reckoned with the danger that even proletarian elements, driven to desperation by the indescribably great physical and mental sufferings of exile, might enter the magic circle of interventionist fantasy. This danger was always far greater among the exiles of those nations which felt that they were also nationally oppressed, and might therefore be misled into giving national ideology preference over questions of class, than among the Russians. But the danger existed among these also, and the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International has always followed up with all seriousness

every symptom of the possibility of such a danger. The spirit which animated the Labour and Socialist International in this connection was unequivocally expressed at its Foundation Congress. The Credentials Commission, on whose behalf Crispian (Germany) reported, proposed—and the Congress unanimously accepted this proposal without a discussion—not to admit to the Congress the Russian organisation “Sarja,” which “is an association of groups and individual Socialists, some of whom left the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party because they did not agree with its general policy, and others were expelled because they had taken part in interventions against Soviet Russia.” (Hamburg Report, German edition, p. 42.)

Those who untiringly drew the attention of the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International to all the symptoms of the danger of intervention were *Theodor Dan*, the President of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, and *R. Abramovitch*, its representative on the Executive. This is not an accident. For both these men have always felt themselves to be the trustees of the great heritage of *Julius Martoff*, under whose lead the left wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party took over the leadership of the Party, which it has always retained until the present day. The attitude of the Party towards intervention is expressed in historically established and generally known facts. We give it below from the “History of the Russian Social-Democratic Party” (*Geschichte der russischen Sozialdemokratie*) begun by *Martoff* and completed by *Dan*. (Berlin, Verlag Dietz, 1926) :—

“To the extent to which the democratic elements fighting against the Bolsheviks were thrust into the background during the civil war and the allied forces of reaction and imperialism came into the foreground, the Social-Democratic Party passed over to more decisive tactics. It no longer confined itself to proclaiming its *rejection of imperialist intervention*. Rather, with its appeal to the international proletariat, it began its series of *public actions against intervention* and for the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Government. Likewise, it no longer limited itself to prohibiting its members from taking part in the civil war. Rather, the Conference of May, 1919, called upon the population and the members of the Party voluntarily to enter the ranks of the “Red Army” in order to fight against the “White Counter-Revolution.” When the army of General Denikin marched against Moscow in September of the same year the Social-Democratic Central Committee decided on the 1st October that the members of the Party must be *mobilised* for service in the “Red Army.” (Page 314.)

And these very men—Dan and Abramovitch—whose attitude towards intervention was always above all doubt, were made the

targets of the campaign of calumny. Anyone who knows the historical connections, knows that the attack was directed against them, not because their guilt was believed in but precisely because their innocence stood in the way of the Moscow plans. The campaign against the Labour and Socialist International only had any prospect of success if it were possible to throw suspicion upon these very men, whose essential opposition to intervention had been so consistent and clear. Thus the fairy tale of the journey of Abramovitch to Russia was invented: thus was the story invented of the fabulous sums of money which Dan and the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party sent to Russia. With the help of these fantastic tales they wanted to prove that the Russian Social-Democrats, and with them the Labour and Socialist International, had made a change of front on the question of intervention in the summer of 1928.

The manœuvre miscarried and its effect can only be in the long run to increase the contempt for the unscrupulousness of the Bolsheviks in their shameful campaigns of calumny.

War Danger and Soviet Russia.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the Labour and Socialist International always had the defence of Soviet Russia against intervention in its programme, quite unequivocally and with complete consistency, and did everything in practice to oppose the danger of intervention.

But the dissatisfaction of the Bolsheviks with the Labour and Socialist International has a very real basis. And the statement that something has changed since the Marseilles Congress is fully justified, the only point being that it is not the attitude of the Labour and Socialist International on the question of intervention which has changed, but that during the last five years a new problem has become clear, *a new danger* alongside the danger of intervention by capitalist powers has appeared.

The Labour and Socialist International is as ready to-day as ever to devote all its energy *to the defence of Soviet Russia*. But it is fully conscious that it has to be on guard also against the war policy of Soviet Russia.

The Congresses of Marseilles and Brussels were absolutely on the same lines as the Hamburg Congress with regard to the defence of Soviet Russia against intervention. But the Congresses of Marseilles and Brussels had to issue a warning at the same time against the war danger which threatens from Soviet Russia. In his speech at the Marseilles Congress on "The Danger of War in the East," Otto Bauer made the following statement with regard to this danger:—

"Nor shall we fail either to maintain a critical attitude towards the foreign policy of Bolshevism. This whole notion of a *solution of the social problem, once for all by means of a revolutionary war*, this it is, which at bottom more than anything else divides us from Bolshevism. Not that we are incapable of estimating at its true worth the historical significance, for revolutions, of revolutionary wars in the past, but because we know that the development in the technique of warfare has made war a very different thing from what it was at the close of the eighteenth century (loud applause), because we know that nowadays in the age of gas warfare, in the age of this enormously evolved military technique, any new war, though it were waged with the most revolutionary aims, would mean not the liberation of mankind from poverty and serfdom, but a relapse into the most frightful misery and the most frightful barbarism. (Loud applause.) We shall not fail therefore to emphasise sharply and uncompromisingly the line which separates us from Bolshevism." (Marseilles Report, p. 271.)

The reason why the Bolsheviks are so dissatisfied with the Marseilles Congress is because this Congress decisively opposed the illusion which "the Communist International propagates, that the emancipation of the workers can be won at the point of the bayonet by the victorious Red armies, and that a new world war may be necessary in order to bring about the world revolution." (Marseilles Report, p. 287.)

The Brussels Congress of the Labour and Socialist International also opposed *this hope of war* with all its energy. In its manifesto on "The World Political Situation" the Congress stated that:—

"The last Congress of the Communist International, by declaring that a recurrence of imperialist wars is inevitable, has again set all its hopes on a world war which would give birth to a revolution of violence. How is it possible adequately to describe and condemn such insanity, which directs the thoughts and hopes of the workers towards new wars, when on the contrary it should be the passionate endeavour of all human beings who suffer and think, to unite without delay all the workers of the world in a common effort against a frightful repetition of the barbarous years of bloodshed?"

But in addressing this appeal to the workers of the whole world, the Labour and Socialist International appeals also to the workers of the Soviet Union to unite their forces with those of the Socialist International on this basis of a world policy of the workers, founded not on the *hope of a new war*, from which would arise a dictatorship of minorities, but founded rather on the necessity to defend democracy wherever it is

threatened, to restore it wherever it has been destroyed and to make it one of the means of emancipation of the working class." (Brussels Report, IX., 6-7.)

The Bolsheviks know quite well that the Labour and Socialist International is absolutely honest in its intention *to defend Soviet Russia*. But they are dissatisfied because they *want more* from the Socialist workers. They demand blind adherence in the event of a decision being made in Moscow to lead the world proletariat into a new war. And it is here that the ways part.

The possible combination of these two dangers, the lust of the capitalist Governments for intervention on the one hand, and the hopes of the Bolshevik Government for a revolutionary war on the other hand, creates a tragic situation. For we have *no faith* in the dictators in Moscow—just as little faith as in the dictators of capitalist States—and we must fear that if they should ever consider a revolutionary war to be necessary they would also use the old tricks of all warmongers and first of all represent themselves as the attacked. And however much the Labour and Socialist International is prepared to take up the defence of Soviet Russia, it is equally determined not to allow itself to be manœuvred by the Moscow rulers into a "revolutionary war." And since the Labour and Socialist International completely sees through this complex of dangers it said in its Marseilles resolution:—

"The L.S.I. realises that the danger of war would be considerably diminished if any decision in Soviet Russia as to peace in Europe were in the hands, not of the dictatorship, but of the peoples themselves." (Marseilles Report, p. 287.)

Soon after the Brussels Congress Moscow went over from its hope of a world war to the hope of internal development. As long as Moscow counts upon the success of the Five-Year Plan the war danger which threatens from the Bolsheviks is as reduced as at the time of the Nep. But there is no doubt that if the Five-Year Plan should break down the revolutionary war might become the last card in the hands of the Bolsheviks, and the Labour and Socialist International has to be as watchful in the face of this danger as in the face of the danger of capitalist intervention. The Socialist working class will determine its fate for itself, and will not allow it to be dictated by the rulers in Moscow.

The Labour and Socialist International and Sabotage Activity.

We cannot mention any resolution of the L.S.I. on "sabotage activity" in Soviet Russia for the simple reason that the words "sabotage activity" have never been heard at a meeting of the L.S.I. or even in a private conversation between leaders of the

L.S.I., and nothing has ever been discussed that is even related to this conception. Indeed, the writer of this article must acknowledge that he was so little up to date with regard to the new Moscow fashion that he heard of "Schädling-sarbeit" (the new German expression for "sabotage activity") for the first time after the arrests in September, 1930, and that he subsequently regarded it as something grotesque that was in no way to be taken seriously.*

If, therefore, the question is raised: What did the Labour and Socialist International know of "sabotage activity" in general, and of the "sabotage activity" of the alleged "All-Union Bureau" in particular, the answer is without any reservation: *Nothing, absolutely nothing.*

When the Executive of the L.S.I. last met—on the 22nd February, 1931—it was announced by a telegram from the official Soviet agency, Tass, that the trial of the "Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party" was to take place, but the contents of the absurd accusations were not yet known. The Executive therefore had to confine itself to stating that it did not know of any such "Bureau," and to pointing out the consistent attitude adopted by the Russian Social-Democratic Party affiliated to the L.S.I. in its opposition to intervention and to the plotting of rebellions. When the Executive of the L.S.I. passes its judgment on the monstrous Moscow trial it will also take the opportunity of stating its attitude towards "sabotage activity." But even without any such official declaration there is no doubt whatever that the Executive of the L.S.I., like the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party which is affiliated to the L.S.I., flatly and definitely rejects every idea of a policy of "sabotage activity" in Soviet Russia. The idea of sabotage activity is not only fantastic and utopian from the economic point of view, but is also a political absurdity, whatever one's views may be as to the objective possibilities of the Five-Year Plan.

And we have thus made it sufficiently clear that everything that was served up in the Moscow trial is both unprincipled and

* In its despairing attempt to find an answer to this article, which first appeared in the April issue of the Vienna *Kampf*, the Bolshevik *Inprecorr* (English edition No. 20, page 378) made reference to the Schachty trial. But the excuse is too stupid. As a matter of fact the Schachty trial took place in June, 1928, before the Five-Year Plan was taken in hand and likewise before Abramovitch's celebrated—invented—journey to Moscow, from which time the "new tactic" is alleged to have commenced. The term "Schädling-sarbeit" had at that time not yet been invented—at any rate not in the German language—and all the efforts of the Bolsheviks were concentrated upon proving that the "acts of sabotage" of certain engineers were subsidised by foreign capitalism. The *Inprecorr* can corroborate from the large number of its own articles and reports the fact that at that time no Bolshevik had yet hatched the idea of connecting the Schachty trial with the Labour and Socialist International. Thus the "counter-evidence" is only too historically untrue.

preposterous talk. All allegations as to the participation of the Labour and Socialist International or the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in the "sabotage activity" or in any interventionist aims, are unmitigated and complete lies. There are absolutely reliable statements to prove that the Moscow affirmations are lies and slanders. All Moscow's hopes of throwing upon the Labour and Socialist International or the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party the suspicion of taking part in "sabotage activity" or plans for intervention are completely shattered.

When Stalin took the Five-Year Plan in hand he simultaneously gave the order to intensify the fight against the Parties of the Labour and Socialist International to its extreme limits. During this period he does not wish to hear any advocacy of the vital interests of the Russian workers, any advocacy of the free trade unions, any advocacy of the free expression of opinion in Soviet Russia. The Moscow trial represented a climax in the campaign against the Labour and Socialist International. But the hopes which Stalin placed upon it will very soon be recognised as delusive by him as well. With lies and slanders one can bluff for a moment but one cannot produce a permanent political effect.

My Journey to Moscow.

By R. ABRAMOVITCH.

In spite of all my denials, which have been corroborated by irrefutable witnesses, the Moscow court held to the statement that my journey to Moscow did really take place in the summer of 1928.

In the otherwise very detailed descriptions of my stay in Moscow by the defendants, it is striking that none of them gives an exact date. They remember everything! How I looked, where my luggage stood, the name of the coachman who took me to the station, &c., but nobody can name a definite day, or even a definite month. They all speak in a quite general way of the "summer of 1928." From the statements of Scher alone it may be ascertained indirectly that it must be a question of the period from *about the middle of July to the middle of August, 1928*. He says: "On the next day (after the conversation which is supposed to have taken place in Scher's town apartment, R.A.), Abramovitch left for Moscow (in order to 'travel round the periphery,' R.A.). At the *end of July* I travelled to Polnovo for the Seligersee. I did not receive the telegram promised by Abramovitch and I returned at the *end of August* to Moscow, where I learned from Salkind that Abramovitch had returned to Moscow and that the conference had

already taken place. . . . ' (Translation from German edition of "Inprecorr," No. 19, p. 511). According to a wireless report from Leningrad on the 5th of this month, Scher is supposed to have more exactly stated the date of my *arrival* in Moscow at the evening session of this day as *between the 15th and 20th of July*. The date of my departure remained as before, obscure.

Now I have already informed the court in Moscow and the public that I spent the month of *July* (as I have now definitely established, not till the 26th but up to and including the 30th) in Plau (Mecklenburg). This had already been confirmed in the press by Kurt Grossmann, secretary of the League for the Rights of Man. I now possess an *officially attested certificate* by the lady owner of the Pension Wendenburg in Plau that I stayed at her house without interruption *from the 9th till the 30th July, 1928, inclusive*. A confirmation by the former owner of the "Strand Hotel" in which I lived during the first few days of my stay in Plau, as well as a number of other statements from people who got to know me in Plau at that time, are at my disposal.

The matter is still worse for Krylenko with regard to the first half of August. In their haste Krylenko's agents overlooked the fact that on those very days there was an *International Socialist Congress in Brussels*. Anybody can see from the reports and proceedings of this Congress that during the period from the 1st to the 12th August inclusive I attended various meetings of the L.S.I. (Commissions, Bureau, Executive), as well as the sessions of the Congress.

Accordingly it is clear that I was not in Moscow in the "summer of 1928."

There was no absolute necessity for Krylenko to build up his trial around my alleged journey to Moscow. He could just as well and with the same power of proof have made me hold "secret meetings" in Berlin with a view to the "organisation of intervention" with Wels, Léon Blum, Hilferding, Kautsky, Poincaré, Pilsudski and Mussolini, though with the last only on the days when he had no appointment with Litvinoff. In that case an alibi would hardly be possible for me, for it would be impossible to deny that I have been living for such and such a number of years in Berlin, and that all those mentioned are actually still alive is likewise clear to any informed person.

But Krylenko particularly wanted to have me in Moscow, and especially in the summer of 1928. Whether he was badly informed by a particularly careless spy, or whether the Ogpu investigating official concerned had partaken too freely of the "Rykoffka," or—terrible thought!—whether a "Menshevik damager" has insinuated himself into the Ogpu: in short, the accusation *placed my visit in Moscow at the central point of the whole affair*. I am

supposed to have been the one who provided with the Party Executive's money after the above-mentioned "secret conversation" in Berlin, went to Moscow and, through my pressure and pointing to the promised support of the "Second International" and the German Social-Democratic Party, talked over the wavering members of the "Union Bureau" and moved them to accept the "new tactics" of damaging work, rebellion and intervention. I am supposed to be the one who has private and official conversations with various comrades in Moscow, who travelled round the "periphery," which presumably means the provincial organisations, and finally organised the full meeting of the "Union Bureau" in Moscow, to which the indictment attaches definite importance and the decisions of which are then supposed to have been officially confirmed by the foreign delegation.

If the keystone of my journey to Moscow falls out from the construction built up in the indictment, *this whole construction must collapse*. In that case there would be no "secret conversation" in Berlin, no decisive "full meeting" of the "Union Bureau" under my direction and pressure, but then there would also be no "verbal instructions" from me for the organisation of sabotage and intervention, and these "instructions" could also not be officially confirmed by the foreign delegation, &c. An accusation which is built up in such an important political and legal part upon *a lie*, cannot claim any confidence in any of its other parts. It is *unmasked* as a wretched, bungling piece of work.

The question whether I was actually in Moscow or not at the given time is still more important for judging *the trustworthiness of the statements made by the defendants*.

The statements made by the various defendants (Scher, Gromann, Salkind, Petunin and others) with regard to my stay in Moscow and their meetings with me there are not laconic "confessions" carelessly dropped, but very full descriptions with *an astonishing number of details*. The statement of the defendant Scher on this point, for example, fills nearly two closely printed columns in the German edition of the indictment in "Inprecorr," the statement by Salkind one column, and so on. Their statements on this point made at the preliminary enquiry have been repeatedly corroborated and amplified by the defendants during the trial. When my denial became known in Moscow, the defendants became *indignant* at my "obstinate lying" and my "deceitfulness," and described their meetings with me in full detail, and even their personal impressions of my statements and attitude. When Krylenko read my sworn statement, with its exact facts, at the session on the 6th of this month, and the statement by Kurt Grossmann printed in the *Vorwärts*, the defendants spoke *scornfully* about my "fruitless attempt" to construct a "false alibi" with the help of "false witnesses."

How will it be now that I have succeeded in establishing an absolutely unobjectionable, documentarily irrefutable alibi? Then all these detailed statements are unmasked as *pure inventions*. Then it is clear that the defendants, for reasons which we will not investigate more closely just now, have *all been lying* on this very important point. Then there is no further occasion, even for those who are not politically informed, to believe everything else which these notoriously untrustworthy defendants say about their organisation, activity, connections and sources of money. (For those who are politically informed, these statements are already sufficiently characterised by their *inherent improbability*.)

Then the whole power of proof of the defendants' statements breaks down, and with it the whole trial. For it must not be forgotten that in the whole material of the accusation, in all the 110 pages of the indictment, *no single document*, no single piece of documentary evidence, is quoted that would corroborate the accusations against the defendants, or confirm their statements. The few scraps of paper that are published are of an absolutely harmless nature, and only "prove" what needs no proof: namely, that since the last remnants of political freedom were destroyed in the Soviet Union in 1921, there has been an *illegally active organisation of our Party there*, whose representatives or individual members are in communication by letter and from the point of view of organisation with our foreign delegation in Berlin. But, as anyone may read in our publications, and particularly in the many annual volumes of our "Socialist Messenger," this illegal organisation has been in existence for *nine years*. Hundreds, if not thousands of our comrades have been *arrested, imprisoned and banished* during these years for belonging to our party and for their activity in this illegal organisation. Such a trial was really not needed to prove this. Krylenko could have purchased from the Dietz publishing concern for 60 German Pfennigs my booklet published on the instructions of the L.S.I. (*Die politischen Gefangenen in der Sowjet-Union—The Political Prisoners in the Soviet Union*—Berlin, 1930), in which he would find the whole "accusation material" against us on this point ready and systematised. But the trial of the fourteen has not been set on foot in order to prove that the Mensheviks carry on their political propaganda in the Soviet Union with the help of an illegal organisation—the only fact which emerges from the published documents. The indictment, as well as the statements of the accused, speak of "conspiracies with a view to the *damaging* of the economic system," of "preparations for a *rebellion*," of the "organisation of an imperialist *intervention*," of the "betrayal of military secrets and plans," of considerable remittances of money which came from abroad, of "relations with counter-revolutionary bourgeois organisations," of a "radical change" in the whole fundamental attitude of our party since the

summer of 1928, when my famous stay in Moscow is supposed to have taken place. Where are the proofs for all *these* statements?

Where is there even *one single document*, one single resolution of our party organs in this sense, i.e., with reference to sabotage, intervention and the like, *or a single letter* from our foreign delegation? There is *nothing* of this to be found in the indictment, nothing in the whole material of proof. *Rubin* claims to have kept such "directive letters" in poor *Ryasanoff's* safe, *Scher* is supposed to have possessed a whole collection of such documents, the *Union Bureau* is supposed to have issued dozens of appeals, reports and resolutions written by hand and *duplicated* (six to eight circulars in 1928, ten in 1929, five in 1930, exclusive of appeals and resolutions), but nothing, *absolutely nothing*, fell into the hands of the unsuspecting *Tchecka* which is known throughout the world for its harmless and ineffectual espionage service! By what wonder did *all* the fourteen defendants and the other arrested persons, whose number runs into hundreds, succeed in burning or destroying all the compromising documents completely and in good time!

It is a characteristic feature of all the great trials which have been set on foot by *Krylenko* since *Schachty* that *no* documents and material documentary proof appear in them. Everything is proved simply by the *voluntary confessions* and *self-accusations* of "penitent defendants," and nothing by documents. Every tendentious system of justice has its special methods and principles, just as every bandit organisation has its own "methods of work" and "customs." Forged documents were used in the *Dreyfus trial* in France and the *Agram trial* in the old Austria. Stalinist-Leninist "Marxism" disdains such fools; it works only with guaranteed genuine, "sincere confessions," which by a wonderful "predestined harmony" always correspond exactly to the latest guiding lines of the "Politbureau" of the Communist Party. The fabrication of a few very nice "documents" need not have created any technical difficulties worthy of mention for the *Ogpu*. In the case of typed documents there can be no graphological investigation, which was so fateful for the famous *Dreyfus* document. And, moreover, who would have been able to carry out such an investigation in Russia at the present time?

The Odious Moscow Trial.

By LÉON BLUM.

The Indictment.

There are accusations which are at once so odious and so absurd that one feels a sort of shame at the mere idea of having to defend oneself against them. According to Stalin and the *Ogpu* the Menshevik Party is supposed to have undertaken the direction

of a vast internal plot aiming at the systematic sabotage " of the activity of the Soviet institutions " and the restoration of capitalism in Russia. It is, moreover, supposed to have attempted to influence public opinion and the Governments with a view to armed intervention against Soviet Russia. In this double action it is supposed to have followed the directions of the Second International, and to have benefited by its political and even financial support. Hilferding, Kautsky and Vandervelde, like myself, are particularly mentioned among the principal defendants.

If it were only a question of Russian Bolshevism or even of French Bolshevism, nothing would drag a word of reply from me. If I establish the truth here it is solely for our comrades in the Party, for our Socialist fighters. I am one of those who fought most ardently against the adhesion of the French Socialist movement to the Third International. I am one of those who from the very beginning brought out the essential contradictions of Communism and classic Socialism on the most important points of doctrine and tactics. I am one of those who at the critical moment set up all their strength, all their intelligence and all their reason against a passionate kind of temptation which was explained then by the circumstances. I did it before Tours,* at Tours and after Tours. I did it publicly, on the platform of our Congresses and in the columns of our press, and I do not derive anything but just pride and satisfaction therefrom.

On the other hand, I have relations of affection and confidence with our Menshevik comrades, as with all the other Parties belonging to the International. But it requires a really incredible audacity in lying to involve us in the inept conspiracy which the unfortunate defendants in Moscow seem to be preparing themselves to admit. I defy anyone to quote an act ; I defy anyone to quote a line ; I defy anyone to quote even a word exchanged either at the International Congress at Marseilles or elsewhere. I am conscious of never having failed in any public or private circumstance in the double duty of fighting in the spirit of the workers against a deadly aberration, but at the same time protecting the Russian Republic and the Russian people against any attempt at foreign aggression or pressure, and I may even say that if official relations still exist to-day between France and Soviet Russia I have personally had a hand in the matter.

As for our Menshevik Social-Democratic comrades, I will say why I think I am in a position to bear witness in their name : it is because for several years past I have been living in daily and fraternal relations with one of them—Rosenfeld. Thanks to our daily conversations and confidences, I think I know, I think I can vouch for what a Menshevik Social-Democrat really thinks of the

* It was at the Party Conference in Tours (December, 1920) that the split in the French Party between Socialists and Communists took place.

Russian revolution and how he acts towards it. What our Menshevik comrades fear most of all, what they are attempting to prevent at any price by fighting Bolshevism by all the means of propaganda at their disposal, is a revolutionary collapse, a counter-revolution, a complete restoration in favour of a Fascist or Buonapartist 9th Thermidor. What the Moscow accusers represent as their aim is precisely the object of their constant and anxious apprehensions. If they endeavour to fight in the spirit of the Russian workers against the Bolshevism of Stalin it is in order to preserve, to regenerate, the revolutionary conquests which Stalin, on the contrary, is in process of compromising for the conservation of his personal power.

I may make an assurance as to their intentions, and all the world knows, or ought to know, their acts. They have opposed all foreign intervention. They fought, weapon in hand, against the White armies of Koltchak, Denikin, Wrangel and Yudenitch. They took their place alongside the Bolsheviks at the time of the Polish war. They never ceased to demand the official recognition of the Soviet Government. Their programme of October, 1917, confirmed in 1920 and 1924, condemned all civil war against Bolshevism. Their aim has always been the unity of the workers. Their sole means of action is and has always been propaganda, the attempted persuasion of minds in the light of facts, by continued criticism of a policy which is more and more cruelly lowering the standard of material existence of the proletariat and more and more severely oppressing all its liberties. This propaganda is clandestine. But it is not their fault if the fact of belonging to the Menshevik Party is in Russia a crime forbidden and put down by the penal code: "The dictatorship of the proletariat," said Bukharin on a former occasion, "may admit of the existence of several parties, on condition, however, that one party is in power and the others in prison"

The Verdict.

During the whole course of the Moscow trial we have taken pains to reproduce in *Le Populaire* with scrupulous accuracy the telegrams from the Tass Agency, *i.e.*, the Soviet official agency. Thus our readers have had before them, apart from comment, the same data as the readers of *L'Humanite* have had. I have no difficulty in imagining their feelings during the proceedings: I am quite sure that they have followed them, like ourselves, with a mixture of repugnance, horror and distress. But now that the verdict itself is known and has been commented upon, the time has come to reflect upon it, to attempt to make up one's mind.

The first reflection which strikes one relates to the verdict itself, to the nature and the amount of the sentences passed. What!

a few years' imprisonment for crimes equivalent to high treason and to communication with the enemy. Consider the circumstances, the court, the accused. The Soviet Republic regards itself as being in a state of war, at home and abroad, and justifies its system of terrorism thereby. The court is a revolutionary tribunal like that of Fouquier-Tinville. The accused were persons holding the highest, the most "responsible" posts in the Soviet economic system. Consider further, as Rosenfeld reminded us, that every day ordinary workmen, tradespeople of an inferior type, are being shot, with or without trial, for mere peccadillos. If Gromann and Scher had been guilty, what excuse for their crimes could be admitted? At the utmost, after sentence had been passed, they might have been thought deserving of mercy in consideration of their confessions. But the sentence was bound to be pitiless: and such was indeed the unanimous demand of the Communist press in Russia and outside it, including *L'Humanite*. One can discern in history only one precedent for this verdict, so incomprehensible, so self-contradictory: merely, the verdict at Rennes, declaring Captain Dreyfus guilty of high treason while admitting extenuating circumstances.

Thus the sentences alone would be sufficient to stamp the trial. But let us enquire now why this trial after so many others. What is the meaning of these resounding and spectacular exhibitions? Yesterday it was the industrial experts, to-day it is the "Menshevik technical experts," to-morrow no doubt it will be the Right Wing communists, unless they surrender like the Trotskyists. In the hands of Stalin, and of his little set of Georgians and Armenians, the law has become at once a method of propaganda and a method of government. In this fashion it is possible to disguise in the eyes of international opinion, and *more particularly of working-class opinion*, the successive failures of the regime: the failure of war communism, the failure of the Nep, the now admitted failure of the Five-Year Plan. They are explained away by treason at home and by permanent conspiracy abroad. Thus justification is found for prolonging terrorism indefinitely, for summary despatch of adversaries or rivals, for unlimited extension of *personal* rule. There is nothing new in that. The informer, the spy, the judge, the hangman, have always been the indispensable tools of all dictatorships. Mussolini's methods do not differ from Stalin's. But should this spectacle be exhibited to the world by a regime *claiming to be socialist*?

How could "justice" thus conceived and exploited for such ends be anything but a hideous parody? And indeed this trial, like its predecessors, is based upon a methodical use of falsehood, of false evidence, of false confession. According to the terms of the sentence, Gromann, Scher and their accomplices are alleged to have been convicted of systematically practising sabotage of industry,

with the object of promoting simultaneously an internal insurrection and armed foreign intervention against the Soviet Government. It is alleged—still according to the sentence—that therein they acted in collusion with the Menshevik Social-Democratic Party, or rather on behalf of that Party, which itself was acting on behalf of the Labour and Socialist International, which itself was acting on behalf of capitalist governments or of large syndicates of capitalists. It is sufficient, I think, to state the charge. It is our little point of pride to think that to put it into words is to dissolve it. But it does not break down merely by its absurdity, by a kind of inherent moral and spiritual impossibility. There is the further fact that the case got up by the police and by the court of "justice" has been badly concocted, and that it has been proved to be substantially untrue.

One or two examples will suffice. The base of the whole edifice constructed by the Ogpu is the collusion between the accused and the Executive of the Menshevik Party. To establish this, the essential facts put forward by the prosecution are a secret journey made by Abramovitch to Russia, his interviews with the accused, and the instructions which he is alleged to have conveyed to them. Now *this journey never took place*. Abramovitch has proved this conclusively by an alibi precluding any possible argument.

The Ogpu and the court collected "evidence" and "confessions" so exact that they were able to *quote* the sums which the Menshevik Social-Democratic Party is said to have conveyed to the accused. These would amount in two years to about four million francs, and the prosecution has noted that they came mainly in the form of a donation from the German socialists. But the Menshevik and socialist comrades have not been content with a mere denial of these "absurd falsehoods." Dan offered to submit to an international audit the whole of the accounts of the Menshevik Party *in which the income for 1929 and 1930 does not show a single Mark of German money*.

I shall carry these reflexions further. But already at this point one conclusion forces itself upon us. The witnesses corroborated the fabricated journey of Abramovitch and the fabricated financial scheme of the Mensheviks. The accused admitted these statements. It is upon this that the whole legal and political basis of the verdict was built up. What remains of it after the proof of the false evidence and the false confessions?

What the "Confessions" Prove.

I have often quoted the saying of Jules Guesde during the Dreyfus case. He said: "How are we to build up a society of harmony and justice if we get only rotten materials for it?" Renaudel, the other evening, concluded his convincing impromptu

speech with an analogous metaphor: "We do not want," he cried, "to build the city of socialism upon a dunghill." But Guesde and Renaudel were referring to the corruption of capitalism, and nothing in that can surprise us. What is appalling to think of is that the vital elements of future society may be distorted by men who profess socialism, and who indeed even claim to represent it against us.

Therein lies the least pardonable crime of communism. Not only has it distorted the fundamental ideas of socialism, it has falsified and warped the latter's moral trend. While we are endeavouring to appeal to the noblest claims of reason, to the purest feelings of the human soul, communism is exploiting the basest instincts. We are seeking to elevate, it to lower; we are seeking to ennoble, it to degrade. Its methods are falsehood, duplicity, slander; the passions which it encourages are envy, hatred, cruelty. We have seen it at work in France, we can still see it every day. But here its opportunities for action are restricted: in Russia it is all-powerful, or rather the men who embody it to-day are all-powerful.

The terrorism of Stalin rests upon a universal system of spies and informers. The Moscow trial shows us what it has made of justice. Sometimes its place is taken by summary death sentences, sometimes—which is worse—it works behind an apparent correctness, but its verdicts, concocted beforehand, are the outcome of false witness and *false confession*. This last point is worth dwelling upon. Nothing is more significant nor more abominable.

The accused of Moscow *confessed* the crimes charged against them which they had not committed. They formally acknowledged the truth of facts proved to be substantially false. Not only did they confess, but we have witnessed, if I may so put it, a kind of exhibitionism in confession. They have confessed volubly, ostentatiously, with a kind of relish for public confession and contrition. It is upon their statements that the verdict was based; it is upon them that the communist press rests, and will rest, its case. Nevertheless, they are false; proof of their falsity is available. How is that to be accounted for?

I do not attribute any contemptible motive to men like Gromann or Scher, or their supposed accomplices. They did not yield either to the physical violence of torture or to the blackmail of pardon. When Gromann declares that such suppositions "are really and truly beneath his dignity," I believe him and one must do so. The Moscow accused had risked their lives a hundred times in the struggle against Czarism: they would have sacrificed it again, rather than lie, *had they been masters of themselves*. They who in old times would not have betrayed comrades or confederates, would not now have accused the innocent.

But a recollection recurs irresistibly to the mind. History has already known one kind of jurisdiction which rejected all other

proof save confession, which made a point of condemning only on the public confession of the accused; that was the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. Its courts would only send prisoners to the auto-da-fe or the in-pace after securing their confession, but they secured it always and infallibly. The methods would vary according to the cases and the victims: for some they used the agonies of torture, for others the more subtle torment of psychic cruelty or of mental suggestion. When the innocent person confessed, the executioner had mastered either his body or his mind. The Ogpu succeeds no less surely: it has re-adopted and improved upon this ghastly art. It is impossible to account otherwise, in the case of such men, for the psychological riddle of false confession.

And one thing that must be properly understood is that they came before their expert tormentors with their resistance extremely depleted, for during long months and years previously, they had been their own tormentors. Long before their arrest they were already living, like all responsible Russians, and for that very reason exposed to danger, under a cloud of obsession, of strained auto-suggestion, they had little by little lost hold upon their own personalities. They would say to themselves: "To-morrow perhaps I shall be arrested, like this man or that: shall I be stronger than he? shall I be able to resist? shall I not come, like him, to betray or to lie, to inform upon friends, to denounce the innocent?" The regime of terrorism, espionage, secret information, had developed in them a preliminary psychosis of which I could quote evidence, which explains most of the suicides, and to which the specialists of the Ogpu merely needed to give a final turn of the screw.

Thus the value of the confessions is reversed. They do not and cannot prove facts which are untrue. They prove that Stalin's terrorism is adding to moral perversion a kind of mental decay. The universal distrust and dread which in some produce hatred, cruelty, a revival of savage instincts, provoke in others complicated forms of madness. And we imagined socialism as a radiant triumph of goodness, of freedom, of intelligence!

Bitter as these reflections are, it was necessary to urge them upon our comrades. All that some or others of us said at Tours, when we were opposing union with the Third International, has been precisely borne out by events. We were then struggling against a feeling of an instinctive kind, the force of which was perfectly natural: namely, the enthusiasm for a working-class revolution which had secured power for the first time in history. This feeling is not yet entirely extinct, nor can it be. Circumstances of any kind may revive it: to-day the carefully planned publicity directed by the reactionary press upon the Five-Year Plan, to-morrow perhaps the real dangers to which the Soviet Republic might be exposed. We are bound to allow fair scope to this feeling, we must not be the dupes or the victims of it. If ever we were tempted in that way, let us bear in mind the Moscow trial.

The Power of the Lie has its Limits.

By EMILE VANDERVELDE.

When the official Soviet press agency published the first telegram on the trial directed against an alleged "Union Bureau" of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, *Emile Vandervelde* sent a letter to the Council of People's Commissars on the 22nd February as chairman of the Executive of the L.S.I., in which he said: "*The Executive of the L.S.I. is in constant relation with the Russian Social-Democratic Party, whose activity it follows with vigilance. It knows that in the struggle which it is carrying on against the Bolshevik dictatorship the Russian Social-Democratic Party is resolutely hostile to any counter-revolutionary intervention in the U.S.S.R., that it is definitely opposed to any attempt at organising revolts with a view to a violent overthrow of the Soviet regime, and that there is no informed person who could in good faith deny that it has always acted in the most decided manner within the L.S.I. in the sense of this opinion.*"

When the Moscow trial was completed Vandervelde wrote the following article:—

"In the same issue and on the same page of the *Paris Temps* (11th March, 1931), as in all the rest of the press, appeared two telegrams, the very juxtaposition of which makes them particularly suggestive: the first, from Berlin, stating that the interviews of the President of the Supreme Economic Council of the U.S.S.R. with the representatives of the great German capitalist firms had led to "pleasing results for both parties"; the second, from Moscow, announcing that the court had given its judgment in the Menshevik trial.

The mere reading of this second telegram is sufficient to show the terrorist justice which has just operated under the orders of Krylenko, the performer of base tasks.

Fourteen unfortunates, threatened with death, recited the most improbable untruths throughout four sittings in order to save their skins. They revelled in their own turpitude before their judges. They had left their party in order to place themselves at the service of the Soviets. To-day they accuse themselves of having betrayed the Soviets, and in this work of treason they declare that they were only instruments, the instruments of their old party, the instruments of the Second International, itself in relation with all the counter-revolutionary forces in Europe.

After that, will the Russian workers, cut off from all communication with the outside world, systematically kept in ignorance of what is happening and being said in the rest of Europe and the

world, still be able to doubt that a monstrous conspiracy threatens them, uniting in the same hatreds, associating in the same plans, the Socialists and the White reaction, the International and the capitalist imperialisms, the Mensheviks, the kulaks of Kondratyev, the chiefs of staff of France or Poland, meditating and preparing military intervention against Soviet Russia ?

Needless to say, such imaginations, or more exactly, such fables, are not taken seriously by anybody in Western Europe.

The bourgeoisie knows, just as well as we do, that there is no truth in this police novel, forged in every particular for reasons of internal policy, and the "revelations" of the Moscow trial would simply be matters for laughter were it not that pity is inspired by the state of lamentable moral decay of the human rags which Bolshevik terrorism has exhibited in its pretorium.

We know that Abramovitch did not go to Moscow in 1928 ; at a date which they take care not to state exactly in order to render any proof to the contrary difficult ; and moreover, if he had gone, at the risk of his liberty or his life, why should he deny it ? Why should he deny having entered into contact with a party, his own, which the Stalin-Molotoff dictatorship condemns to lead a clandestine political existence ?

We know that neither the German Social-Democratic Party nor the L.S.I. has ever spent one Mark, one Rouble, one Swiss, French or Belgian franc, in order to support counter-revolutionary enterprises ; that if, thanks to the Matteotti Fund for example, the L.S.I. intervenes to assist the Socialists of the countries without democracy, it is with a view to assuaging the misfortunes of political prisoners, or to seconding the proper action of the Socialist parties which are fighting against the dictatorships.

We know that if there is a party of the L.S.I. which has always opposed with the last ounce of its energy, not only foreign intervention in Russia, but specifically Socialist putsches and coups-de-force against the Bolshevik dictatorship, it is the party of Martoff, Dan and Abramovitch, the Menshevik Party.

And really, one must rely upon human credulity to an incredible degree and against all the evidence in order to dare to accuse men like Hilferding, Léon Blum, Friedrich Adler, or myself, of being in league with the "Whites," of secretly preparing a foreign intervention, of plotting with the imperialist chiefs of staff, when in the whole of the bourgeois press of Europe we are daily being reproached with being with the Russian Revolution in spite of everything, with opposing with all our strength the policy of surrounding, of boycotting, of "imprisoning" the Soviets, or even, to recall old memories, of having stopped the passage of the French munitions which were consigned to them when the armies of Pilsudski were marching on Kiev !

But what misery to think that it is by such means, with such machinations, with such scaffoldings of calumnies and lies that the attempt is being made to abuse a whole people, that a ditch is being dug between the two fractions of a proletariat which needs all its forces, that hatred, mistrust and fear are being sown in people's minds, that an endeavour is being made to give the Russian workers the impression that they are alone, alone with a few fragments of Western Communist parties, in their resistance to the reactionary enterprises which threaten them.

The Kremlin people, however, should not give themselves any illusions as to the results which they may attain by such manœuvres. The very publicity which they give them is an imprudence. The power of the lie has its limits. Sooner or later, truth will out. And when this truth is known by the workers of the U.S.S.R., there will be heavy accounts to be settled by those who betray it with such audacious effrontery. The day of reckoning will come."

The Slanderous Verdict.

We give below the declarations of those named in the verdict (see page 5), in so far as they are outside Russia and therefore in a position to give their evidence in liberty. It is shown from these declarations that not one single point of essential political importance in the tissue of lies in the Moscow trial can be maintained.

I.

Declaration by the Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Mensheviks).

"On the 1st March one of the most scandalous legal comedies will begin in Moscow, in which statements by notorious provocateurs and confessions wrung by terrorism from unfortunate defendants are to serve as proofs against those whom the Soviet Government wishes to make responsible at the moment for the unspeakable sufferings of the masses of the people.

The Bolshevik dictators desire to pass off the present trial as a trial against the "Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party." We shall reserve it to ourselves to go into this judicial comedy in more detail as soon as we learn the exact text of the indictment and the results of the preliminary investigation. But, as the Foreign Delegation of the Social-Democratic Labour Party, a Party which is affiliated to the Labour and Socialist International, we must at once make the following categorical declaration:—

1. The accusations that our Party has carried on or even organised "sabotage activity," has been in touch with counter-revolutionary organisations of the Russian bourgeoisie, has received

remittances of money from them and has worked for an economic or financial blockade of Russia or even for military intervention by imperialist powers in Russia, are in such sharp contradiction to our generally known attitude and policy that the notoriously slanderous character of such charges is clear without further discussion to any conscientious person, as has also been publicly attested by the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International.

2. Our Party, which has been deprived of any possibility of legal existence by the Bolsheviks, who do not suffer any other parties in the Soviet Union, is in consequence compelled, as in the times of the Tsars, to carry on its propaganda and agitation through secret organisations which are directed in the Soviet Union by a Bureau of the Central Committee. But this Bureau never was and never could be the alleged group of 14 men arbitrarily gathered together by the Bolsheviks and now standing in the dock in Moscow, the great majority of whom left our Party ten years ago or more and since then have never returned to it, while the others never belonged to our Party at all. If, therefore, Gromann, Suchanov and Scher have really declared, as is stated in the indictment, that they formed a "Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party" in 1928, their statements can only be understood as a forced lie which they tell in order to save their lives. Before 1927, and since, our real "Bureau" has consisted of quite other persons than those named. Neither Gromann nor Suchanov nor Scher ever belonged to this Bureau, to which also they never could belong.

3. Neither in 1928 nor at any other time, neither in its Russian part nor in its foreign organisation, has our Party ever made any alteration in its fundamental attitude, and especially not in the direction of recognising the methods of economic "sabotage" or foreign intervention. The representatives sent to the Soviet Union by our Delegation from time to time always had instructions only of a purely organisational nature to fulfil. Accordingly, the journeys undertaken by members of our Party to the Soviet Union, including the journey of Comrade *Braunstein* mentioned in the indictment, have never had anything to do with the mentioned "alteration in our fundamental attitude." As far as Comrade *Abramovitch* is concerned, since being compelled to leave the Soviet Union in 1920 he has never made a journey to the Soviet Union, either in 1928 or at any other time.

4. Finally, with regard to the fantastic sum of 280,000 roubles (about 600,000 marks) which the alleged Secretary of the alleged Bureau is supposed to have received in 1929-30 from our Foreign Delegation, which in its turn is supposed to have received the money from the German Social-Democratic Party, the complete ridiculousness of this statement does not become evident until this amount is compared with the real budget at the disposal of our Foreign

Delegation during the period in question, and out of which it had to cover all the expenses for our journal, "The Socialist Messenger," abroad, as well as the deficit of the organisation in Russia and the cost of supporting our numerous prisoners and deportees in the Soviet Union. The expenditure and the income account of our Delegation may at any time be seen and checked by the Secretariat of the Labour and Socialist International. Among the receipts for 1929-30, which were composed of collections among our sympathetic comrades in America and Europe and grants from other Socialist parties, the German Social-Democratic Party is not represented by one single mark.

Berlin, 28th February, 1931.

TH. DAN, Chairman,
Foreign Delegation of the Russian
Social-Democratic Labour Party.

II.

Declaration by the Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Mensheviks) on the Ikoff Case

"Now that the misrepresentation trial of the 14 has ended, the Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party considers it possible and necessary to make it generally known that W. K. Ikoff was the only defendant who was justified in coming forward as a member of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, who was mentioned in the speech by Comrade Abramovitch in the Sports Palace, and in the declaration by Comrade Dan at the Foreign Delegation's press reception, and who was meant by the official declarations of the Foreign Delegation and the statements published by its individual members when they said that not all but 'nearly all' the defendants had left the Party, nine, ten and more years ago, and had since then never returned. W. K. Ikoff, who had felt great disagreement with the policy of the Party as long ago as 1917-18, left the Party at that time and remained aloof from it until the middle of 1929. Not until then did he express the wish to take part in the illegal work of the Party on the basis of the Party's generally-known programme of action and of observing the discipline of the Party. In agreement with the Foreign Delegation and the comrades working in the Soviet Union he did in fact take part in the Party's work.

The Foreign Delegation has no illusions with regard to the methods adopted to influence Ikoff in order, as far as one can believe the official reports of the trial, to compel him to mix up two different things in his statements: on the one hand the conspiratorial truth which, as is obvious to any member of an illegal party, is consequently in no case subject to publication, with regard to meetings with individuals, correspondence with the

Foreign Delegation, &c., and on the other hand notorious and obvious lies with regard to alleged 'wrecking' and 'interventionist' instructions received from the Foreign Delegation, and with regard to instructions to get into contact with the so-called 'Union-Bureau' of Gromann, Scher, and others. The Foreign Delegation throws the responsibility for these methods upon the Government of the Bolshevik dictatorship and at the same time declares that if Ikoff's attitude before the court really was as represented in the official reports he will be expelled from the ranks of the Party by a decision of the Party organisations.

The Foreign Delegation will state its attitude on the conclusions which emerge from the Moscow trial from the point of view of a reconstruction of the Party organisation as soon as more detailed information is received from the organisations of the Party in the Soviet Union."

Berlin, March 9th, 1931.

III.

Declaration by the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party.

It is stated in the indictment against the alleged "Bureau" of the Central Committee of the Mensheviks that the accused man *Scher* has stated as the alleged Secretary of the "Bureau" that the "Bureau" has received during a period of three years a total of 480,000 Roubles in instalments from the Foreign Delegation of the Mensheviks and the Industrial Party. According to the alleged declaration of *Gromann* the money is supposed to have been sent from outside by Dan and Abramovitch, members of the Foreign Delegation, who had received the money from the German Social-Democratic Party through *Hilferding* and from other sources. According to the alleged declaration of the accused man *Salkind* the German Social-Democratic Party is supposed to have declared its willingness to finance the alleged sabotage work of the Mensheviks in the Soviet Union.

In this connection we declare that the German Social-Democratic Party has never promoted any kind of sabotage work in Russia by remitting money or by any other kind of support. Moreover it has never assisted any kind of intervention plans or movements with a view to revolt by remitting money or by any other kind of support. We declare that any statements to the contrary, which clearly are merely invented in order to calumniate our Russian fraternal Party, are absurd lies.

Berlin, 28th February, 1931.

EXECUTIVE OF THE GERMAN
SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

IV.

Declaration by Otto Wels.

According to a report in the *Vorwärts* (Berlin) on the 3rd March, *Otto Wels*, the Party President, made the following declaration at a mass meeting in Berlin on the 2nd March :—

“ I hereby declare in public on behalf of all the members of the Social-Democratic Party Executive :—

There is no word of truth in the tissue of lies of the mendacious prosecuting counsel who are at present working against the Russian Social-Democratic Party. We are prepared, as is quite possible in international legal proceedings, to give evidence on the whole question *before any German court*, under oath and in full consciousness of our responsibility.

The men who form the Social-Democratic Party Executive certainly offer world public opinion a stronger guarantee of the truth of their declaration than the witnesses of Russian judicial murder who are forced by purchase or terror.

We will further request the Foreign Office to bring our declaration to the knowledge of the Russian Government through the German representatives in Moscow.”

V.

Declaration by Dr. Rudolf Hilferding.

“ According to the indictment against the so-called “ Bureau ” in Moscow the accused man *Gromann* is supposed to have said that money has been sent from outside through *Dan* and *Abramovitch*, who received the money from the German Social-Democratic Party through *Hilferding*.

In a public declaration the Party Executive has already condemned this statement as an absurd lie. As my name is specially mentioned in the Russian indictment I expressly join in this declaration. Neither *Dan* nor *Abramovitch* nor any other Russian Social-Democrat has received one single Pfennig from me or through me.”

Berlin, 28th February, 1931.

RUDOLF HILFERDING.

VI.

Declaration by Dr. Rudolf Breitscheid.

(At the Session of the Reichstag on the 17th March, 1931).

“ Further, Herr Stöcker has attempted to prove that the German Social-Democratic Party has collaborated in alleged attempts at sabotage against the Russian Five-Year Plan and even in intervention plans against Soviet Russia.

Two recent Russian events were of special interest : the pompous reception and magnificent entertainment of the German industrialists, which allow of the conclusion that the Russian Bolsheviks will not carry the World Revolution into Germany in a hurry, as people do not desire to ruin their own business friends. The other event was the trial, which according to Stöcker is supposed to have proved the complicity of the German Social-Democratic Party in alleged acts of sabotage in Russia. We know the indictment, and the statements by the witnesses were also sent to us beforehand and in good time. It is stated therein that I personally had taken part in discussions on such acts of sabotage. That is no more stupid than the rest.

We declare that everything which is stated and said therein with regard to Abramovitch and the German Social-Democratic Party is nothing but a grotesque lie.

Whatever may happen in Russia, and very much happens without our approval, cannot dispose us to form any kind of league against Russia with plans for an intervention in Russia or any kind of measure which go beyond what is usual in commercial policy. (Prolonged interruption by the Communists.)

That does not suit you ; you have no greater wish than to be able to prove that we German Social-Democrats desired an intervention against Russia. We are not only not prepared for this, but we emphatically warn the Foreign Office and all other bodies concerned against such a policy. The Foreign Office must not allow policy with regard to Russia to be taken out of its hands by any other department. (Very true ! from the Socialists)."

VII.

Declaration by Juri Friedland.

" With reference to the Menshevik trial in Moscow it was reported in the *Pravda* of the 27th February (No. 57) that Professor A. J. Finn-Yenotayevsky and W. Gromann stated that I had been the communicating link between them and the Central Committee of the Russian Mensheviks in Germany. As such I am supposed to have given them money, parcels and instructions, and to have accepted instructions from them which I was to pass on to the Committee in Germany.

On this point I can only declare :—

1. Never, neither in the years 1928 to 1930 nor at any other time, have I been a delegate or communicating link between the Foreign Delegation of the Mensheviks and the defendants. I have had no contact whatever with anybody.

2. Never, neither in the years 1928 to 1930 nor at any other time, have I received or passed on money, letters or any instructions whatever from the Central Committee of the Mensheviks for the above-mentioned members, or vice-versa.

3. What is correct is that I have known Professor Finn-Yenotayevsky for 25 years. I have seen him on several occasions in Leningrad; also, when he has been in Moscow he has visited me. As far as I can remember, the last time I spoke to him was in November, 1929. When Professor Finn-Yenotayevsky says that the last time he saw me was in February, 1930, that is not correct, as I travelled from Russia to Germany on the 15th December, 1929, and have not been in Russia since.

4. As far as Gromann is concerned, the last time I saw him was in 1925. Since then I have never met him again, nor have I spoken with him by telephone.

5. I expressly declare that in these meetings, both with Finn-Yenotayevsky and with Gromann, no word was ever spoken about the Central Committee of the Mensheviks or about political questions connected therewith.

I am prepared to make this statement under oath also."

3rd March, 1931.

J. FRIEDLAND.

VIII.

Declaration by R. Abramovitch.

"Without going into the accusations themselves, the absurdity of which must be clear without further discussion to any even partially informed person, I should like to declare that neither in the summer of 1928 nor at any other time, was I in Russia, on the soil of which I have not set foot since November, 1920.*

I am also prepared to make this declaration, the truth of which I can confirm through the statements of numerous witnesses, under oath.

Berlin, 27th February, 1931.

RAFAEL REIN-ABRAMOVITCH,

Member of the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, representative of Russia on the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International.

IX.

Declaration by Kurt Grossman, Secretary of the German League for the Rights of Man.

A further statement has been made by Comrade *Kurt Grossmann*, Secretary of the German League for the Rights of Man. This statement reads as follows:—

* For the facts as to where Abramovitch actually was in the summer see his article "My Journey to Moscow."

" I hereby declare that I was on holiday in Plau (Mecklenburg-Schwerin) from the 12th to the 30th July, 1928. I was living with Comrade Schwarz. Through him I came to know Comrade *Raphael Abramovitch*, who was in Plau (Mecklenburg) at the same time. I can confirm that during this period Comrade Schwarz was with Comrade Abramovitch practically every day."

Berlin, 3rd March, 1931.

KURT GROSSMANN.

X.

Declaration by Th. Dan.

" Lies have short legs. But when these lies are too numerous there is no possibility of finding them all out in time. I am therefore compelled to content myself for the time being with nailing down the most audacious of the lies spread about me in connection with the disgraceful trial in Moscow.

1. It is a *lie* that I expressed myself in the sense of "interventionalism" in my postscript to Kautsky's book "Der Bolschewismus in der Sackgasse" (Bolshevism in a Blind Alley); the exact *opposite* is true, which anyone who reads the German translation of this postscript in the December issue of the Vienna *Kampf* will confirm.

2. It is a *lie* that I had a meeting with Teitelbaum in Stockholm in the spring of 1928; on the contrary, the truth is that I was *not in Stockholm at all* during that year.

3. It is a *lie* that I ever met Berlatzky, Petunin or Ginsburg in Berlin and gave Scher through them any kind of written or verbal instructions; the truth is rather that I have *not seen* any of the above-mentioned gentlemen for at least nine years, and that I never got into communication with Scher through them or by any other means in my own name or on behalf of our Delegation.

4. Do I need to add that the statement of the Berlin representative of the Tass (see *Pravda* of the 3rd March) that our Foreign Delegation or the editorial staff of the *Sozialistischer Bote* (*Socialist Messenger*) have their headquarters in the *Vorwärts* building is a lie which is as crass as it is easy to refute? Likewise his statement that some member or other of the editorial staff of the *Socialist Messenger* which, as is well known, consists of Abramovitch, Darlin and myself, is at the same time a member of the editorial staff of the *Vorwärts*? That our editorial offices are in the building of the Hempl printing concern (Zimmerstrasse 7-8) where the *Socialist Messenger* is set up and printed, should be known by all Bolshevik spies!"

6th March, 1931.

TH. DAN.

XI.

Declaration by the Executive of the Swedish Social-Democratic Labour Party.

“ We hereby declare that Comrade Theodor Dan was not present at the Congress of our Party in 1928, and that no Swedish comrade met him in Stockholm during that year.

Moreover, Comrade Theodor Dan has never attended a Swedish Social Democratic Party Conference. Every statement to that effect is a pure invention.”

Stockholm, 16th March, 1931.

ALBIN HANSSON, *President,*
GUSTAV MÖLLER, *Secretary.*
*of the Swedish Social Democratic
Labour Party.*

XII.

Declaration by W. I. Schurigin.

“ All statements made in connection with my name at the trial of the 14 in Moscow are, taken as a whole and in every individual point, pure inventions. These shocking lies, fabricated without any proof, go beyond everything of the kind that I have ever encountered.

With regard to the details I make the following declaration :—

1. I have never arranged a meeting between K. G. Petunin and F. I. Dan, nor ever arranged any communication between them. I have not met F. I. Dan, either in the U.S.S.R. or abroad, nor have I ever spoken to him.

2. I have never received a single halfpenny (Kopeck) from anybody to hand over or forward to K. G. Petunin.

3. I have never corresponded with K. G. Petunin about political questions, nor about anything else, either through the post or by any other means. I have never received letters from Petunin from Moscow through diplomatic channels or through any person whatever.

4. I know of no facts whatever which by the furthest stretch of the imagination might give even an indirect ground for the statements made in the trial.

I am prepared at any time to make this declaration under oath also.

This declaration has not been made until now because it was only recently and quite by accident that I heard of the fact that my name has been brought into the trial.”

Berlin, 23rd March, 1931.

(Signed) W. I. SCHURIGIN.

XIII.

Declaration by Peter Garwy.

The following statement by Comrade Garwy was published in the Berlin *Vorwärts* on the 6th March :

“ In connection with the statements of the defendant *Teitelbaum* in the Moscow trial I make the following declaration :—

1. I have *not* been a member of the *Central Committee* of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party since the Congress of the Party in December, 1917, nor was I ever a member of the Foreign Delegation of the Party in Berlin.

2. Neither in the Spring of 1927 nor at any other time did I meet Teitelbaum in the *Vorwärts* building.

3. During 1927 I did not attend *any* meeting of the Labour and Socialist International, either in Berlin or elsewhere. Accordingly, my alleged ‘ report ’ on the ‘ matured positive attitude of the Second International in favour of intervention ’ is a pure *invention*.

With regard to the statements of the defendant *Ginsburg* (see the indictment in the *Pravda* of the 22nd February) on *his* meeting with Comrade Dan and myself—between the end of August and the beginning of September—I declare that I have not seen *Ginsburg* abroad at all, either in the autumn of 1927 or at any other time.”

Berlin, 6th March, 1931.

PETER GARWY.

XIV.

Declaration by A. Yugov.

“ I consider it my duty to correct the lying statements made by M. Teitelbaum before the court in Moscow on the 4th and 5th March in the matter of the so-called Union Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

I have known Teitelbaum since 1917, when he was a member of the Social-Democratic organisation in Moscow. Teitelbaum left our Party in 1922. I only met him on rare occasions in Berlin, three or four times in all. The last time I saw Teitelbaum was in 1926 or 1927.

I have never spoken to Teitelbaum—either on the instructions of the Central Committee or on my own initiative—about his rejoining the Social-Democratic Party. The whole of Teitelbaum’s evidence with regard to a conversation which I am supposed to have had with him, and with P. Berlin and I. Jasnyi ‘ for the purpose of discussing the question of the organisation of cells in the Soviet

authorities abroad' is a pure invention from beginning to end. I have not had conversations with Teitelbaum on politics or questions of organisation since his withdrawal from the Party, either in connection with the above-mentioned persons or otherwise.

A likewise fantastic invention is Teitelbaum's statement, according to which I am supposed to have given him the instruction in 1925 'to establish a number of connections in Charkov authorities, particularly in the Wukospilka (Ukrainian Co-operative Centre).' I did not give nor could I give such an instruction to Teitelbaum, who does not belong to our Party.

The further statement of Teitelbaum, according to which I am supposed to have instructed him 'to hand an envelope to Scher containing written instructions to the Union Bureau,' is likewise a lie."

9th March, 1931.

A. YUGOV,

Secretary of the Foreign Delegation of the
Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

APPENDIX.

Galileo's Abjuration.

A Comment on the Psychology of the Accused at the Moscow Trial.

The professors and scientific specialists who were condemned at the Moscow Trial present, quite apart from the political aspect of the trial, a psychological problem. They admitted everything the public prosecutor wished them to admit; they behaved as repentant sinners with brilliant discipline, exceeding anything that might have been ordinarily expected in a sacrifice of the intellect.

Anyone who wants to understand what the professors and specialists must have gone through should read the trial of Galileo, the founder of modern physics, a savant who morally and spiritually occupied a far higher position and who was one of the greatest geniuses mankind has produced.

Nobody would compare the Moscow professors as regards their scientific work, though it may be of great value, with a genius like Galileo, but just because Galileo towered above them morally and intellectually, we shall understand to what pitiable depths a human being can sink.

Much has been written on the question of whether Galileo was tortured by the Inquisition. Up to now, it has not been possible to ascertain if this was the case or if he admitted his guilt out of fear of torture and thinking of the stake at which Giordano Bruno had died 33 years before for his convictions. Galileo wished to preserve his life at all costs. He bought it by paying the price of the deepest debasement of his personality. In the nine years which he lived after this trial—tormented by severe bodily sufferings, and always in degrading dependence on the clerical authorities—he gave us a new, perhaps the most important, work of his genius. But the deep debasement of the Great was not effaced by it and thus the legend that could not stand this discord made him say after the abjuration of his "errors" the words which have become famous: "Eppure si muove!" The historians who have studied the technique of the tribunals of the Inquisition are of the opinion that he cannot have said these words because the Inquisition would have taken quite different measures. But whatever the case may be, it is a historical fact that Galileo abjured his scientific views before the tribunal of the Inquisition in Rome at the Dominican Convent

of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in presence of the Cardinal and the prelates of the Holy Office on the 22nd June, 1633, in the following words :*

I, Galileo Galilei, son of the late Vincenzo Galilei of Florence, aged 70 years, tried personally by this court, and kneeling before you, the most Eminent and Reverend Lord Cardinals, Inquisitors-General throughout the Christian Republic against heretical depravity, having before my eyes the Most Holy Gospels, and laying on them my own hands ; I swear that I have always believed, I believe now, and with God's help I will in future believe all which the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church doth hold, preach, and teach. But since I, after having been admonished by this Holy Office entirely to abandon the false opinion that the Sun was the centre of the universe and immoveable, and that the Earth was not the centre of the same and that it moved and that I was neither to hold, defend nor teach in any manner whatever, either orally or in writing, the said false doctrine ; and after having received a notification that the said doctrine is contrary to Holy Writ, I did write and cause to be printed a book in which I treat of the said already condemned doctrine, and bring forward arguments of much efficacy in its favour, without arriving at any solution ; I have been judged vehemently suspected of heresy, that is, of having held and believed that the Sun is the centre of the universe and immoveable, and that the Earth is not the centre of the same, and that it does move.

Nevertheless, wishing to remove from the minds of your Eminences and all faithful Christians this vehement suspicion reasonably conceived against me, I abjure with a sincere heart and unfeigned faith, I curse and detest the said errors and heresies, and generally all and every error and sect contrary to the Holy Catholic Church. And I swear that for the future I will neither say nor assert in speaking or writing such things that may bring upon me similar suspicion ; and if I know any heretic, or one suspected of heresy, I will denounce him to this Holy Office, or to the Inquisitor and Ordinary of the place in which I may be. I also swear and promise to adopt and observe entirely all the penances which have been or may be by this Holy Office imposed on me. And if I contravene any of these said promises, protests or oaths (which God forbid!) I submit myself to all the pains and penalties which by the Sacred Canons and other Decrees general and particular are against such offenders imposed and promulgated. So help me

*Taken from "The Private Life of Galileo." Compiled principally from his correspondence and that of his eldest daughter, Sister Maria Celeste, Nun in the Franciscan Convent of S. Matthew, in Arcetri. London : Macmillan & Co., 1870. Appendix II., pp. 306 and 307, Galileo's Abjuration.

God and the Holy Gospel, which I touch with my own hands. I Galileo Galilei aforesaid have abjured, sworn and promised, and hold myself bound as above ; and in token of the truth, with my own hand have subscribed the present schedule of my abjuration, and have recited it word by word. In Rome, at the Convent della Minerva, this 22nd day of June, 1633.

I, GALILEO GALILEI, *have abjured
as above, with my own hand.*

After the fourth hearing Galileo was already prepared for the final stage. In that last hearing which took place on the 21st June, 1633, therefore, the day before the final stage, he made the following statement :

“ I do not adhere to the Copernican opinion and have not adhered to it, since the order was communicated to me to give it up ; moreover, I am in your hands, do as you will.”

The record of this examination continues :

“ And when he was told to speak the truth, otherwise he would be subjected to torture, he replied : ‘ I am here to obey. As I have already stated, I have not adhered to that opinion.’”

This document also shows Galileo’s signature written with a trembling hand.

It will be asserted that this happened 300 years ago. But the Inquisition has been revived in the countries of dictatorship and the psychology of men has remained the same.

We have not the slightest intention of saying that the ideas of the accused Moscow professors were as justified as Galileo’s doctrine. We do not wish to draw a comparison—either morally or intellectually—between them and the great martyr of science. But that trial, which has become part of history, reminds us what even the greatest can be forced to.

4127228

PUBLICATIONS OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

Fabian Books, &c.

- The Crisis and the Constitution: 1931 and After.** By HAROLD J. LASKI. Paper, 1/6, Postage 2d., Cloth, 2/6, Postage 2d.
- History of the Fabian Society.** New and revised edition, 1925. By EDWARD R. PEASE. 6/-; postage 5d.
- The Decay of Capitalist Civilisation.** By SIDNEY & BEATRICE WEBB. 2/6 paper, 4/6 cloth; postage 4d.
- Representative Government and a Parliament of Industry.** By H. FINER. 7/6; postage 6d.
- Social Insurance.** By ALBAN GORDON, B.Sc., F.C.S. 6/-; postage 4d.
- The Co-operative Movement in Italy.** By E. A. LLOYD. 4/6; postage 5d.
- The Commonsense of Municipal Trading.** By BERNARD SHAW. 1/6 net; postage 2d.
- Mind Your Own Business.** By R. B. SUTHERS. 1/6 net; postage 2d.
- Fabian Essays (1931).** With a new preface by BERNARD SHAW. 2/6; postage 3d. Cloth Edition 4/6, postage 4d.
- Fabian Tracts, Bound.** Complete set of those in print, as set out below. 1 vol., buckram, 15/- net; postage 9d.
- A Public Medical Service.** By DAVID MCKAIL, M.D., D.P.H., and WM. JONES. 1/-; postage 1½d.
- The Whitley System in the Civil Service.** By J. H. MACRAE-GIBSON. 1s.; postage 1d.
- Karl Marx.** By HAROLD J. LASKI. 1s.; postage 1d.
- The Socialist Tradition in the French Revolution.** By HAROLD J. LASKI. 1/- Postage 1d.
- The Story of the Durham Miners.** By SIDNEY WEBB. 1/- paper, 2/6 cloth; postage 4d.
- The Wages of Men and Women: should they be equal?** By Mrs. SIDNEY WEBB. 1/- n.; postage 2d.
- What to Read on Social and Economic Subjects.** 2/- net; postage 1½d.
- "More Books to Read."** (1920—1926). 6d.
- This Misery of Boots.** By H. G. WELLS. Paper, 6d., post free, 7d.; or 4/6 per doz. (post free, 5s.
- Songs for Socialists.** A collection compiled for the use of Socialist gatherings. 3d.; post free, 4d.
- Towards Social Democracy?** By SIDNEY WEBB. (Published by Allen & Unwin, Ltd.) Stiff cover, 1/ net; postage 1d.
- The British Civil Service.** By HERMAN FINER, D. Sc. Paper 2/-, postage 2d. Cloth 3/6, postage 4d.

Fabian Tracts.

2d. each or 1/6 per dozen, unless otherwise stated. Postage extra,

I.—ON SOCIALISM IN ITS VARIOUS ASPECTS.

- No. 234.—**A Social Philosophy for Fabians.** Written by ROBERT FRASER for the New Fabian Group.
- No. 233.—**Socialism & Fabianism.** By BERNARD SHAW. 3d.
- No. 229.—**National Finance.** By F. W. PETHICK-LAWRENCE, M.P.
- No. 219.—**Socialism and the Standardised Life.** By WILLIAM A. ROBSON.
- No. 216.—**Socialism and Freedom.** By HAROLD J. LASKI.
- No. 200.—**The State in the New Social Order.** By HAROLD J. LASKI.
- No. 180.—**The Philosophy of Socialism.** By A. CLUTTON BROCK.
- No. 5.—**Facts for Socialists from the Political Economists and Statisticians.** A survey of the distribution of the national income amongst the classes. Revised 1926. 145th thousand. With cover 6d.
- No. 159.—**The Necessary Basis of Society.** By SIDNEY WEBB. 1d.
- No. 146.—**Socialism and Superior Brains.** A Reply to Mr. Mallock. By BERNARD SHAW.
- No. 147.—**Capital and Compensation.** By EDW. R. PEASE. Explains how Capital will be nationalised.
- No. 139.—**Socialism and the Churches.** By the Rev. JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D. Written from the Free Church standpoint. 1d.
- No. 133.—**Socialism and Christianity.** By the Rev. PERCY DEARMER.
- No. 113.—**Communism.** By WILLIAM MORRIS.
- No. 78.—**Socialism and the Teaching of Christ.** By the Rev. JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D.
- No. 79.—**A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich** By JOHN WOOLMAN, Quaker (1720-1772).
- No. 72.—**The Moral Aspects of Socialism.** By SIDNEY BALL, M.A. (St. John's, Oxford).
- No. 51.—**Socialism True and False.** By SIDNEY WEBB. Explains the meaning of modern Socialism, and corrects some popular errors.
- No. 7.—**Capital and Land.** Seventh edition, revised 1908. 1d.
- No. 142.—**Rent and Value.** Adapted from *Fabian Essays* by Mrs. BERNARD SHAW. 1d.
- No. 45.—**The Impossibilities of Anarchism.** By BERNARD SHAW.
- No. 69.—**The Difficulties of Individualism.** By SIDNEY WEBB.
- No. 107.—**Socialism for Millionaires.** By BERNARD SHAW. A Tract on Scientific Charity.

II.—ON THE APPLICATION OF SOCIALISM TO PARTICULAR PROBLEMS

MUNICIPAL AND STATE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.

- No. 224.—**Public Ownership: Points from Prospectuses** By A. Emil Davies L.C.C.
- No. 208.—**Environment and Health.** By Dr. C. P. CHILDE.
- No. 177.—**Socialism and the Arts of Use.** By A. CLUTTON BROCK.
- No. 161.—**Afforestation and Unemployment.** By ARTHUR P. GRENFELL. 1d.
- No. 121.—**Public Service versus Private Expenditure.** By Sir OLIVER LODGE. 1d.
- No. 122.—**Municipal Milk and Public Health.** By F. LAWSON DODD.

OTHER PROBLEMS.

- No.237.—What happened in 1931. A Record. By SIDNEY WEBB.
 No.235.—The Limitations of the Expert. By HAROLD J. LASKI.
 No.232.—The Personnel of the British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service, 1851-1929. By ROBERT T. NIGHTINGALE.
 No.231.—The Local Government Act, 1929 : How to Make the Best of it. By SIDNEY WEBB.
 No.230.—Imperial Trusteeship. By the Rt. Hon. LORD OLIVIER, K.C.M.G.
 No.228.—Agriculture and the Labour Party. By G. T. GARRATT.
 No.227.—Labour's Foreign Policy. By MRS. H. M. SWANWICK.
 No.226.—The League of Nations. By BERNARD SHAW.
 No.223.—The British Cabinet. A Study of its Personnel. 1801-1924. By HAROLD J. LASKI.
 No.220.—Seditious Offences. By E. J. C. NEEP. 3d.
 No.213.—The Problem of a Second Chamber. By HAROLD J. LASKI.
 No.212.—Germany and the League of Nations. By HERMANN KANTOROWICZ.
 No.211.—The Case against Proportional Representation. By HERMAN FINER.
 No.207.—The Labour Party on the Threshold. By SIDNEY WEBB.
 No.197.—The International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations. By WM. S. SANDERS.
 No.196.—The Root of Labour Unrest. By SIDNEY WEBB.
 No.188.—National Finance and a Levy on Capital. By SIDNEY WEBB.
 No.187.—The Teacher in Politics. By SIDNEY WEBB.
 No.183.—The Reform of the House of Lords. Revised Dec. 1930. By SIDNEY WEBB.
 No.170.—Profit-Sharing and Co-partnership: a Fraud and a Failure? By EDWARD R. PEASE.
 No.162.—Our Taxes as they are and as they ought to be. By ROBERT JONES, D.Sc. 3d.
 No.155.—The Case against the Referendum. By CLIFFORD D. SHARP. 1d.
 No.136.—The Village and the Landlord. By EDWARD CARPENTER. 1d.
 No.124.—State Control of Trusts. By HENRY W. MACROSTY, B.A. 1d.

III.—ON GENERAL POLITICS AND THE POLICY OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

- No.236.—A New Reform Bill. By Mrs. SIDNEY WEBB
 No.186.—Central Africa and the League of Nations. By R. C. HAWKIN.
 No.158.—The Case Against the Charity Organization Society. By Mrs. TOWNSHEND. 1d.
 No. 41.—The Fabian Society : its early History. By BERNARD SHAW.

IV.—ON THE POWERS AND DUTIES OF LOCAL GOVERNING BODIES.

- No.225.—Education Committees : Their Powers and Duties. By H. SAMUELS M.A. 3d.
 No.218.—The County Council. By H. SAMUELS.
 No.214.—The District Auditor. By WILLIAM A. ROBSON. 1d.
 No.198.—Some Problems of Education. By BARBARA DRAKE. 6d.
 No.194.—Taxes, Rates, and Local Income Tax. By ROBERT JONES, D.Sc.
 No.193.—Housing. By C. M. LLOYD, M.A. 3d.
 No.191.—Borough Councils : Their Constitution, Powers and Duties. By C. R. ATTLEE.
 No.190.—Metropolitan Borough Councils : Their Constitution, Powers and Duties. By C. R. ATTLEE.
 No.189.—Urban District Councils : Their Constitution, Powers and Duties. By C. M. LLOYD.
 No. 62.—Parish and District Councils: What they are and what they can do. (Revised edn., 1930.)
 No.148.—What a Health Committee Can Do.

V.—BIOGRAPHICAL SERIES.

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| No.221.—Jeremy Bentham. By VICTOR COHEN. | In portrait cover, 3d. |
| No.217.—Thomas Paine. By KINGSLEY MARTIN. | " " 3d. |
| No.215.—William Cobbett. By G. D. H. COLE. | " " 3d. |
| No.199.—William Lovett. By Mrs. L. BARBARA HAMMOND. | " " 3d. |
| No.182.—Robert Owen, Idealist. By C. E. M. JOAD. | " " 3d. |
| No.179.—John Ruskin and Social Ethics. By EDITH J. MORLEY. | " " 3d. |
| No.174.—Charles Kingsley and Christian Socialism. By COLWYN E. VULLIAMY. | " " 3d. |
| No.168.—John Stuart Mill. By JULIUS WEST. | " " 3d. |
| No.167.—William Morris and the Communist Ideal. By Mrs. TOWNSHEND. | " " 3d. |
| No.166.—Robert Owen, Social Reformer. By Miss B. L. HUTCHINS. | " " 3d. |
| No.165.—Francis Place, the Tailor of Charing Cross. By ST. JOHN G. ERVINE. | " " 3d. |

VI.—LEAFLETS.

- 4 pp. each. Price 1d. for 3, 2/0 per 100, 20/- per 1,000.
 No. 1. Why are the Many Poor? 13. What Socialism Is. 134. Small Holdings, Allotments, and Common Pastures : and How to Get Them. 104. How Trade Unions benefit Workmen, specially prepared for Trade Unionist propaganda, with space for printing particulars of any Union (revised 1915). 92. Municipal Slaughterhouses.

Set of above Tracts and Leaflets : Unbound, 10/-; post free 10/9. Bound in Buckram, 15/- net; postage 9d.
 Annual Report and particulars of the Book Box Scheme sent free on application.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY, 11, DARTMOUTH STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.1.

