

The GERMAN-BOLSHEVIK CONSPIRACY



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT

LIBRARY

LC15. ISSUED BY
THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION
GEORGE CREEL, Chairman

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION.....	3
<i>PART I. THE GERMAN-BOLSHEVIK CONSPIRACY: A REPORT BY EDGAR SISSON, SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN RUSSIA.</i>	
CHAPTER I. THE BASIC CONSPIRACY.....	5
CHAPTER II. RÔLE OF THE REICHSBANK.....	9
CHAPTER III. THE GERMAN-BOLSHEVIK PLOT AGAINST THE ALLIES....	11
CHAPTER IV. THE PLOT FOR A SHAMEFUL PEACE—THE UKRAINIAN DOUBLE-CROSS.....	15
CHAPTER V. TROTSKY AND ROUMANIA—ESPIONAGE AND ASSASSINATION	17
CHAPTER VI. THE COMPLETE SURRENDER—VARIED ACTIVITIES.....	24
<hr/>	
APPENDIX I. DOCUMENTS CIRCULATED BY ANTI-BOLSHEVIKI IN RUSSIA..	26
APPENDIX II. A CONVERSATION BY TELEGRAPH BETWEEN CHICHERIN AT PETROGRAD (WHO IS SPEAKING) AND TROTSKY AT BREST-LITOVSK.....	28

PART II

I. LETTER OF MR. CREEL TO THE NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE (OCTOBER 18, 1918).....	29
II. REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE GENUINENESS OF THE DOCUMENTS (OCTOBER 26, 1918).....	29

The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy

INTRODUCTION

The Committee on Public Information publishes herewith a series of communications between the German Imperial Government and the Russian Bolshevik Government, and between the Bolsheviks themselves, and also the report thereon made to George Creel by Edgar Sisson, the committee's special representative in Russia during the winter of 1917-18. There is also included, in Part II, a report by a committee appointed by the National Board for Historical Service to examine into the genuineness of these documents.

The documents show that the present heads of the Bolshevik Government—Lenin and Trotsky and their associates—are German agents.

They show that the Bolshevik revolution was arranged for by the German Great General Staff, and financed by the German Imperial Bank and other German financial institutions.

They show that the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was a betrayal of the Russian people by the German agents, Lenin and Trotsky; that a German-picked commander was chosen to "defend" Petrograd against the Germans; that German officers have been secretly received by the Bolshevik Government as military advisers, as spies upon the embassies of Russia's allies, as officers in the Russian army, and as directors of the Bolshevik military, foreign, and domestic policy. They show, in short, that the present Bolshevik Government is not a Russian government at all, but a German government acting solely in the interests of Germany and betraying the Russian people, as it betrays Russia's natural allies, for the benefit of the Imperial German Government alone.

Russian Workmen Betrayed

And they show also that the Bolshevik leaders, for the same German Imperial ends, have equally betrayed the working classes of Russia whom they pretend to represent.

The documents are some 70 in number. Many are originals, annotated by Bolshevik officials. The balance of the others are photographs of originals, showing annotations. And they corroborate a third set of typewritten circulars (see Appendix later) of which only two originals are possessed in any form, but all of which fit into the whole pattern of German intrigue and German guilt.

The first document is a photograph of a report made to the Bolshevik leaders by two of their assistants, informing them that, in accordance with their instructions,

there had been removed from the archives of the Russian Ministry of Justice, the order of the German Imperial Bank "allowing money to Comrades Lenin, Trotsky, 'and others' for the propaganda of peace in Russia"; and that, at the same time, "all the books" of a bank in Stockholm had been "audited" to conceal the payment of money to Lenin, Trotsky, and their associates, by order of the German Imperial Bank.

This report is indorsed, in Lenin's initials, "V. U." [Vladimir Ulianoff, his real name], for deposit in "the secret department" of the Bolshevik files. And the authenticity of the report is supported by Document No. 2, which is the original of a report sent by a German General Staff representative to the Bolshevik leaders, warning them that he has just arrested an agent who had in his possession the original order of the German Imperial Bank referred to in Document No. 1, and pointing out that evidently "at the proper time steps were not taken to destroy the above-mentioned documents."

Protocol Signed by Leaders

Document No. 3 is the original protocol signed by several Bolshevik leaders and dated November 2, 1917 (Russian calendar), showing that "on instructions of the representatives of the German General Staff in Petrograd" and "with the consent of the Council of People's Commissars," of which Trotsky and Lenin were the heads, two incriminating German circulars had also been "taken from the Department of Counter Espionage of the Petrograd district" and given to the Intelligence Bureau of the German General Staff in Petrograd. On the bottom of the protocol the German adjutant acknowledges receipt of the two incriminating circulars with his cipher signature.

These two circulars apparently had been obtained early in the war by some Russian agent in Germany and transmitted to Russia. The German General Staff evidently wished to get them back in order to remove evidence. By the order of the German General Staff and with the "consent" of Lenin and Trotsky they are turned over to the Germans. Why? Because they fit in with other information of Germany's war plans and preparations before August, 1914. Indeed, several weeks before the assassination of the Austrian Archduke, which was made the pretext for war.

And Lenin and Trotsky surrender them in conformity with a working agreement

between the Bolshevik leaders and the German General Staff, of which agreement a photograph is included in the series as Document No. 5.

This is dated October 25, 1917. It is from a division of the German General Staff. It is addressed to the Government of the People's Commissars, of which Lenin and Trotsky were the heads. It begins: "In accordance with the agreement which took place in Kronstadt, in July of the present year, between officials of our General Staff and leaders of the Russian revolutionary army and democracy, Messrs. Lenin and Trotsky, Raskolnikov, and Dybenko, the Russian Division of our General Staff operating in Finland is ordering to Petrograd officers for the disposal of the Intelligence Bureau of the staff." Among the officers named are Maj. Luberts and Lieut. Hartwig, whose cipher signature, Henrich, is given as it appears on the receipt for the two circulars accompanying Document No. 3. And an inclosure on this letter (No. 5) from the German General Staff reveals that the German officers assigned to Petrograd had appeared "before the military revolutionary committee" and had "agreed on conditions with regard to their mutual activities."

Mutual Activities Shown

What their "mutual activities" were to be is sufficiently indicated by Document No. 7, which is a photograph of a letter signed in cipher by this Maj. Luberts and his adjutant, Lieut. Hartwig. They notify the Bolshevik leaders, on January 12, 1918 (Russian calendar), that "by order of the German General Staff" the German Intelligence Bureau "has reported the names and the characteristics of the main candidates for reelection" to the Russian Bolshevik "Central Executive Committee," and "the General Staff orders us to insist on the election of the following persons." They add a list of Russian leaders satisfactory to the German General Staff. The list is headed by Trotsky and Lenin. They were elected, and the rest of the present Bolshevik executive committee were chosen from the same German list.

Document No. 8 gives evidence of the *quid pro quo*. It is a photograph of a letter from the representative of the German Imperial Bank to the Bolshevik Commissar of Foreign Affairs. It is marked "Very secret" and dated January 8, 1918. It says: "Notification has today been received by me from Stockholm

that 50,000,000 roubles of gold has been transferred to be put at the disposal of the People's Commissars," which is the title of the Bolshevik leaders. "This credit," the letter continues, "has been supplied to the Russian Government in order to cover the cost of the keep of the Red Guards [the Bolshevik revolutionary troops] and agitators in the country. The Imperial Government considers it appropriate to remind the Council of People's Commissars of the necessity of increasing their propaganda in the country, as the antagonistic attitude of the south of Russia and Siberia to the existing Government in Russia is troubling the German Government."

War Materials at Vladivostok

Four days later the same representative of the German Imperial Bank sent another 5,000,000 roubles to the same address to provide for the sending of a Russian revolutionary leader to Vladivostok, to get possession of the "Japanese and American war materials" at that port, and if necessary to destroy them. A photograph of his letter is given as Document No. 9.

There were earlier payments, but probably none later than these. None was necessary. By this time the loot of an empire lay open to the Bolsheviks—and to the Germans.

Most significant of all are two photographs of further communications from the German Imperial Bank, given as Documents Nos. 10 and 11. One is a letter addressed to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, and the other is the "resolution of a conference of representatives of the German commercial banks" received by the Chairman of the Bolshevik Central Executive Committee and indorsed by his secretary. Together they give a complete synopsis of the terms on which Germany intends to have control of all Russian industries.

For five years from the signing of peace, English, French, and American capital in Russia is to be "banished" and "not to be allowed in the following industries: coal, metallurgical, machine building, oil, chemical, and pharmaceutical." These industries are to be developed under the control of a "supreme advisory organ consisting of 10 Russian specialists, 10 from the German industrial organizations and the German and Austrian banks." Germany and Austria are to "enjoy the unlimited privilege of sending into Russia mechanics and qualified workmen." "Other foreign mechanics and workmen . . . are not to be allowed to enter at all" for five years after the conclusion of peace between Russia and Germany. "Private banks in Russia arise only with the consent" of the Union of German and Austrian banks. And so forth.

Conspiracy is Indorsed

And this conspiracy between German Imperial capitalism and the pretended Russian Reds is indorsed by a Bolshevik

leader, with the recommendation that it should be "taken under advisement" and "the ground prepared in the Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, in case the Council of People's Commissars will not accept these requests."

Various details of the conspiracy between the Bolshevik leaders and the German General Staff are exposed in documents Nos. 16 to 29. These are photographs of letters which passed between the Bolshevik leaders and the German General Staff, or the German officers in Russia. Document No. 21 shows that on November 1, 1917, when Russia was still regarded as an ally of Great Britain, France, and America, the German General Staff was having "the honor to request" the Bolshevik leaders to inform it "at the earliest possible moment" concerning "the quantity and storage place of the supplies which have been received from America, England, and France, and also the units which are keeping guard over the military stores."

Document 18 shows the German General Staff requiring the Bolshevik leaders to send "agitators to the camps of the Russian prisoners of war in Germany," in order that they might procure spies to work among the English and French troops and to further "peace propaganda." And this is proposed by the German General Staff as being "according to the negotiations between the Russian and German peace delegations at Brest-Litovsk."

In Document 22 the Bolshevik leaders and the Germans are arranging to send "agents-agitators, and agents-destructors" out of Vladivostok "to ports of the United States, Japan, and British colonies in Eastern Asia."

Passports for Germans

In Document 16 Trotsky is providing fraudulent passports for German officers who are going to England, France, and America, as spies and enemy agents. And Document 17 shows Trotsky indorsing a similar proposal: "To be urgently executed. L. T."

Three German submarines are to be sent to the Pacific on the trans-Siberian railway by orders of the German High Command in Document No. 23. Lists of German and Russian spies watching the British, French, and American embassies in Petrograd are given in Document No. 25. And, finally, in Document No. 15 the Bolshevik leaders are warned that information concerning "the connection of the German Government with the Bolshevik workers" has leaked out and that Russian troops are hearing of it.

Letters are given to show how the Bolshevik leaders and the German officers arranged for the assassination of Russian Nationalist leaders (Documents 35, 39, and 52), for the destruction of the Polish legionaries in the Russian army (Documents 40 to 42), for the disorganization of the Roumanian army and the de-

posing of the Roumanian king (Document No. 37), for the substitution of officers satisfactory to Germany in command of Russian troops instead of patriotic Russian generals (Documents 31 and 32), for the suppression of patriotic agitation among the Russian soldiers (Documents 13 and 14), for an attack upon the Italian ambassador in Petrograd and the theft of his papers (Documents 26 and 27), and for the employment of German soldiers in Russian uniforms against the Russian national armies in the South (Document 35).

Several of the letters are indorsed by Trotsky. Even standing alone, they are complete proof that the Bolshevik leaders were ruling as German agents in Russia, and obeying German orders to act against all Germany's enemies and even against Russia itself.

Acted as German Agents

Moreover, these Bolshevik leaders acted as German agents by suppressing their own socialist revolution in the Russian provinces where their doctrines interfered with German plans of annexation. Document 46 is the original letter from the Petrograd Intelligence Bureau of the German General Staff addressed to the Bolshevik Commissar of Foreign Affairs. It reads: "According to instructions of the representative of our General Staff, I have the honor once more to insist that you recall from Esthonia, Lithuania, and Courland all agitators of the Central Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies." And in Document 47 the General Staff orders the Bolsheviks to cease the agitation in Esthonia which had "finally led to the local German landlords being declared outlawed," and to "take immediate steps for the restoring of the rights of the above-mentioned German landlords."

Another group of letters (Nos. 33 to 36) shows how the Germans cheated the Bolshevik leaders in their dealings with the Ukraine and made a separate German peace with the anti-Bolshevik leaders in that Russian province. And another group shows the Germans assisting both sides of the civil war in Finland (Documents 38, 43, and 53).

The documents, as they follow, are given in the main in the report form in which they were transmitted by Mr. Sisson to Mr. Creel, chairman of the committee, with some later data added and carefully indicated. For instance, Mr. Sisson did not learn until several weeks after he had left Russia that the German order (which he possessed) naming the Russian who was to "defend" Petrograd had been obeyed.

In preparing this material for publication as a pamphlet advantage has been taken of the opportunity to improve in some mooted points the form in which the documents and translations are presented.

PART I

The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy

A REPORT BY

EDGAR SISSON

Special Representative in Russia of the Committee on Public Information in the Winter of 1917-18

CHAPTER I.

THE BASIC CONSPIRACY

Three groups of documents are subjected to internal analysis in the material that follows. One group consists of originals, one group consists of photographs of documents believed still to be in the file rooms of the Russian Bolsheviks, and the third (Appendix D) of typewritten circulars that have not been traced to their originals except perhaps in the case of two of the number. The chief importance of the third group is that its appearance inspired the efforts that led to the uncovering of the other groups. And they fit into the fabric of the whole.

The first set of these appendix circulars came into my hands on February 2, in Petrograd. An additional set appeared the following day at an office where I frequently called. A third appeared in another quarter a day afterwards. One set was in Russian and two in English. On February 5 I held all three sets. A possible explanation for their appearance at this time and their intent is given in Appendix I.

By themselves they were plausible but not substantiated. Having first performed the obvious duty of analyzing them for surface values and transmitting them and the analyses to Washington, I turned, therefore, to the task of further investigations.

It is not yet possible to name those who helped, but in three weeks' time the judgment of facts became apparent.

The text of the documents discloses both the methods and the effects of the German conspiracy not alone against Russia, but the world. With each document is the indication of whether it is an original or photograph. With each document is an interpretative note.

DOCUMENT NO. 1

People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.
(Very Secret)

Petrograd, November 16, 1917.

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

In accordance with the resolution passed by the conference of People's Commissars, Comrades Lenin, Trotsky, Podvoisky, Dybenko, and Volodarsky, the following has been executed by us:

1. In the archives of the Ministry of Justice from the dossier *re* "treason" of Comrades Lenin, Zinovieff, Koslovsky, Kollontai and others, has been removed the order of the German Imperial Bank, No. 7433, of the second of March, 1917, for allowing money to Comrades Lenin, Zinovieff, Kameneff, Trotsky, Sumenson, Koslovsky and others for the propaganda of peace in Russia.

2. There have been audited all the books of the Nia Bank at Stockholm containing the accounts of Comrades Lenin, Trotsky, Zinovieff, and others, which were opened by the order of the German Imperial Bank No. 2754. These books have been delivered to Comrade Müller, who was sent from Berlin.

Authorized by the Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

E. POLIVANOFF.
F. ZALKIND.

NOTE.—The Russian Council of People's Commissars was dominated by the president, Vladimir Ulianov (Lenin); the then foreign minister, Leon Trotsky, now war minister; and the ambassador to Germany, A. Joffe. The marginal indorsement in writing is: "To the secret department. B. U." This is the fashion in which Lenin is accustomed to initial himself. The English equivalent would be V. U., for Vladimir Ulianov. So, even if there existed no further record of German Imperial Bank order No. 7433, here would be the proof of its contents, and here is the link connecting Lenin directly with his action and his guilt. The content matter of the circular exists, however, and herewith follows:

Order of the 2d of March, 1917, of the Imperial Bank for the representatives of all German banks in Sweden:

Notice is hereby given that requisition for money for the purpose of peace propaganda in Russia will be received through Finland. These requisitions will emanate from the following: Lenin, Zinovieff, Kameneff, Trotsky, Sumenson, Koslovsky, Kollontai, Sivers, and Merkalin, accounts for whom have been opened in accordance with our order No. 2754 in the agencies of private German businesses in Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland. All these requests should

bear one of the two following signatures: Dirshau or Milkenberg. With either of these signatures the requests of the above-mentioned persons should be complied with without delay.—7453, IMPERIAL BANK.

I have not a copy of this circular nor a photograph of it, but Document No. 2, next in order, proves its authenticity at once curiously and absolutely. Particular interest attaches to this circular because of Bolshevik public denial of its existence. It was one of several German circulars published in Paris in the "Petit Parisien" last winter. The Petrograd Bolshevik papers proclaimed it a falsehood. Zalkind, whose signature appears not only here but on the protocol (Document No. 3), was an assistant foreign minister. He was sent in February on a mission outside of Russia. He was in Christiania in April when I was there.

Have photograph of the letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 2

G[reat] G[eneral] S[taff], Intelligence
[Nachrichten] Bureau, Section A, No.
292.

(Secret)

February 12, 1918.

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

The Intelligence Bureau has the honor to inform you that there

G. G.-S.

NACHRICHTEN-BUREAU.

Section R.

№ 32

16 февраля 1918 г.

Г. Председателю Совета Народных Комиссаров.

Разведочное Отделение имеет честь сообщить, что найденные у арестованного кап. Коншина два германских документа с пометками и штампелами Петербургского Охранного Отделения, представляют собой подлинные приказы Имперского Банка ва № 7433 от 2 Марта 1917 года об открытии счетов г.г. Ленину, Суменсонъ, Ковловскому, Троцкому и другим деятелям на пропаганду мира, по ордеру Имперского Банка ва № 2754.

Это открытие доказывает, что не были своевременно приняты меры для уничтожения означенных документов.

Начальник Отделения

Адъютантъ



Facsimile of Document Number 2

В. К. [Military Commissariat] D. No. 323.
2 July.

ПРОТОКОЛЪ

Сей протоколъ составленъ нами 3 Ноября 1917 года въ двухъ экземплярахъ въ томъ, что нами съ согласія Совета Народныхъ Комиссаровъ изъ дѣлъ Контра-Развѣдочнаго Отдѣленія Петроградскаго Округа и бывш. Департамента Полиціи, по порученію Представителей Германскаго Генеральнаго Штаба въ Петроградѣ изъяты:

1. Циркуляръ Германскаго Генеральнаго Штаба за № 421 отъ 9 Іюня 1914 г. о немедленной мобилизаціи всѣхъ промышленныхъ предприятий въ Германіи и
2. Циркуляръ Генеральнаго Штаба Флота Открытаго моря за № 93 отъ 28 Ноября 1914 г. о посылкѣ во враждебныя страны специальныхъ агентовъ для истребленія боевыхъ запасовъ и матеріаловъ.

Сзначенные циркуляры переданы подъ росписку въ Развѣдочное Отдѣленіе Германскаго Штаба въ Петроградѣ

Уполномоченные Совета Народныхъ Комиссаровъ:

F. Zalkin
E. Polivanoff
A. Joffe

Сзначенные въ немъ пункты протоколъ циркуляры № № 421 и 93, а также одинъ экземпляръ этого протокола получены 3 Ноября 1917 г. Развѣдочнымъ Отдѣломъ Г.Г.Ш. въ Петербургѣ.

Адъютантъ: *Trippe*

Document Number 3—Facsimile of Protocol



were found on the arrested Capt. Konshin two German documents with notations and stamps of the Petersburg secret police [Okhrana] which show themselves to be the original orders of the Imperial Bank, No. 7433, March 2, 1917, concerning the opening of accounts for Messrs. Lenin, Sumenson, Koslovsky, Trotsky, and other active workers on the peace propaganda, by order No. 2754 of the Imperial Bank.

These discoveries show that at the proper time steps were not taken to destroy the above-mentioned documents.

For the head of the Bureau:

R. BAUER.
BUKHOLM.

Adjutant:

NOTE.—Observe the thoughtfulness with which Bauer, a careful man, set down ex-

actly what was in the document, thereby permitting the contents to rise again from the ashes to which perhaps he committed the damaging paper. He admits that the documents found were truthful originals. The world will thank him and Germany will not.

I have the original letter. It bears marginal indorsements: "Referred to the Commission for Combating Counter Revolution. Demanded documents. M. Skripnik"; and an illegible comment by N. Gorbunoff, Lenin's other Government secretary. The letter is directed to Lenin. Did Skripnik get the documents? I do not know.

The letter is remarkable otherwise, for the arrested Capt. Konshin mentioned is a German officer, Lieut. Otto, who appears elsewhere as an agent in the German double-crossing intrigue in the Ukraine. What was behind the mystery of his arrest? What was his fate?

NOTE (Oct. 1, 1918).—The order of the second of March, 1917, as pointed out in the note to Document 1, has had publicity since last winter, and naturally has been

subject to the attack of the defenders of Lenin and Trotsky. The effort at confusion, however, is of the straw-man variety. If this date were in the Western European calendar, it would precede the March Revolution. So the defenders of Lenin and Trotsky have argued against the letter that it must have been written by a Counter-Revolutionary Russian who FORGOT the 13 days' difference in time between the Russian and the European calendar. Curiously, the persons who make this contention overlook the reverse of such an argument—that the order was written by a German who KNEW AND USED the Russian calendar. He ought in common sense to have used it, as the letter was written to state when orders for money from Russians would be honored.

The Germans who maneuvered in Russia were letter perfect in Russian form (See Document 5, "who use the Russian language perfectly and who are acquainted with Russian conditions.")

But the date, March 2, may be either German or Russian, for any important bearing it has on the documents. If German, it was written before the March Revolution, but in preparation for getting into it as soon as it started. Many persons, both in Russia and in Germany, knew of an impending effort at Revolution. What more natural on Berlin's part than to desire to get its "agents-disturbers" there? And if they were at that moment widely scattered over the world, the more reason to begin quickly to call them in.

DOCUMENT NO. 3

V. K. [Military Commissariat] D. No. 323—two inclosures.

PROTOCOL

This protocol, drawn up by us on the 2d of November, 1917, in duplicate, declares that we have taken with the consent of the Council of People's Commissars from the papers of the Department of Counter Espionage of the Petrograd district and the former Department of Police [Okhrana], on instructions of the representatives of the German General Staff in Petrograd:

1. Circular of the German General Staff No. 421, dated June 9, 1914, concerning the immediate mobilization of all industrial enterprises in Germany, and

2. Circular No. 93, dated November 28, 1914, of the General Staff of the High Sea Fleet, concerning the sending into enemy countries of special agents for the destruction of war supplies and materials.

The above noted circulars were given over under signed receipt into the Intelligence Bureau of the German Staff in Petrograd.

Authorized by the Council of People's Commissars.

F. ZALKIND.
E. POLIVANOFF.

(Illegible, but may be Mekhanoshin.)
A. JOFFE.

The Circulars No. 421 and No. 93 mentioned in this protocol and also one copy of this protocol were received on the 3d of November, 1917, by the Intelligence Bureau of the Great [General] Staff in Petersburg.

Adjutant: HENRICH.

GR. GENERALSTAB.
CENTRAL ABTHEILUNG.

Section M.

No. —

Berlin

*Also see. from the Naval Bureau
Spang
in the 1st. 4/17*

C I R C U L A R

vom 9 Juni 1914

an Bezirkscommandanten.

Nach 24 Stunden vom Empfang des vorliegenden Circulars alle Besitzer der Industrie-
unternehmungen telegraphisch zu benachrichtigen die Packete mit mobilisations-gewerbli-
chen graphischen Darstellungen und Plänen zu eröffnen, die im Circular der Kommission
von Graf Waldersee und Caprivi vom 27 Juni 1897 angewiesen sind.

No 421 Der Mobilisationsabtheilung.

Document No. 3—Facsimile of June 9 Circular

NOTE.—The circulars inclosed are printed in German, and are as follows:

Gr[eat] General Staff, Central Division,
Section M, No. —, Berlin.

CIRCULAR OF JUNE 9, 1914, TO DISTRICT
COMMANDERS:

Within 24 hours of the receipt of this circular you are to inform all industrial concerns by wire that the documents with industrial mobilization plans and with registration forms be opened, such as are referred to in the circular of the Commission of Count Waldersee and Caprivi, of June 27, 1897.

No. 421, Mobilization Division.

G[eneral] S[taff] of the High Sea Fleet,
No. 93.

CIRCULAR OF NOVEMBER 28, 1914, TO
MARINE AGENCIES AND NAVAL
SOCIETIES:

You are ordered to mobilize immediately all destruction agents and observers in those commercial and military ports where munitions are being loaded on ships going to England, France, Canada, the United States of North America, and Russia, where there are storehouses of such munitions, and where fighting units are stationed. It is necessary to hire through third parties who stand in no relation to the official representatives of Germany agents for arranging explosions on ships bound for enemy countries, and for arranging delays, embroilments, and difficulties during the loading, dispatching, and unloading of ships. For this purpose we are especially recommending to your attention loaders' gangs, among whom there are many anarchists and escaped criminals, and that you get in touch with German and neutral shipping offices as a means of observing agents of enemy countries who are receiving and shipping the munitions.

G. S. der HOCHSEEFLOTTE.

No 93.

C I R C U L A R

vom 28 November 1914

den Marineagenturen und den Flottenvereinen.

Es wird Ihnen vorgeschrieben sofort alle Agenten-Beobachter und Agenten-Vertilger in diesen Handels und Militär-Häfen zu mobilisieren, wo Schiffe zur Lieferung der Kriegsam-
munition nach England, Frankreich, Kanada, Vereinigte Staaten der Nord-Amerika und
Russland aufgeladen sein können, wo Niederlagen für solche Ammunition sich vorfinden und
auch wo Marine-Kriegseinheiten stehen.

Es ist durchaus nothwendig durch dritte in keiner Verbindung zu officiellen Vertretern
Deutschlands stehende Personen Agenten zu erwerben, um Explosionen auf in feindliche
Länder sich begebenden Schiffen zu veranstalten, um Verspätungen, Verwierungen sowie
Missverständnisse bei Beladung, Absendung und Ausladung der Schiffe zu bewirken.

Zu diesen Zweck empfehlen wir Ihrer Aufmerksamkeit ganz besonders Ladungs-Verein-
igungen (Artelen), unter welchen viele Anarchisten und entlaufene Verbrecher sich fin-
den, ferner deutsche und neutrale Transport-Comptoirs und auch Agenten feindlicher Länder
bei Empfang und Absendung des Kriegsmaterials.

Die dazu nöthigen Geldsummen werden laut Ihrer Aufforderung zur Verfügung ge-
stellt, um das unentbehrliche Personal zur Erreichung des angegebenen Zweckes zu miethen
und zu bestechen.

Nachrichten Bureau des Gen. Stabes der Hochseeflotte.

König.

Document No. 3—Facsimile of November 28 Circular

Funds required for the hiring and bribing of persons necessary for the designated purpose will be placed at your disposal at your request.

Intelligence Bureau of the General Staff of the High Sea Fleet.

KOENIG.

NOTE.—Both the circulars bear the penciled notation that "one copy has been given to the German Intelligence Bureau" at Petrograd. The German intent here was to remove from the records of the old Russian Government the evidence, first, that Germany was beginning in June, 1914, its active preparations for the war that surprised the world in August, 1914, and second, to remove the evidence of its responsibility for incendiarism and explosions in the United States, a country with which Germany was then at peace. The result was to give new evidence of the truth of the charges. The evident mixture of bad and good German in these circulars seems to me evidence of an attempt to provide an alibi against the almost inevitable day when the circulars would be revealed. (See also page 30.)

Have original of protocol and have the printed circulars.

DOCUMENT NO. 4

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R,
No. 35.

January 17, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSARIAT OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS:

The Bureau has received exact information that the leaders of the socialist party now ruling in Russia.

*Also see. from the Naval Bureau
Spang*

through Messrs. Fuerstenberg and Radek, are in correspondence with Messrs. Scheidemann and Parvus regarding the destruction of the traces of the business relations of the party with the Imperial Government. We also know that this correspondence was caused by the demand of leading groups of German socialists, who saw in the said communications a danger to the cause of world socialism. By order of the staff, I have the honor to request the submitting of this question to special discussion in the presence of the representative of our staff and Mr. von Schoenemann.

For the head of the department:

Adjutant: R. BAUER.
[Illegible.]

NOTE.—The world penalty, therefore, was apparent to some Germans. Of the personalities named in the letter, Scheidemann, the leader of the German Government-supporting wing of the Socialist party is the most notable. Once before he has been named in relation to the "business relations" of the Russian Bolsheviks with the Imperial Government, writing a letter from Copenhagen in 1917, to a "Mr. Olberg" in which he stated that 150,000 kroners had been placed at Olberg's disposal at Fuerstenberg's office through the Nia Bank. (See Appendix, later.) Now Fuerstenberg by this time, January, in Petrograd at Smolny, is trying to help Scheidemann in covering up old trails. Radek is a clever Polish-Austrian Jew who came from Switzerland with Lenin. He and Trotsky between them staged the public play-acting at Brest-Litovsk. Von Schoenemann was the accredited German representative to the Bolshevik foreign office. He is named later in Document No. 5. Parvus is a handler of German propaganda money, with headquarters at Copenhagen, and is credited with being the directing force behind Joffe. (For Parvus, see "New Europe," January 31, 1918, pp. 94-95.)
Have photograph of this letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 5

Gr[eat] General Staff, Central Division,
Section M, No. (blank), Berlin.

October 25, 1917.

TO THE GOVERNMENT OF PEOPLE'S
COMMISSARS:

In accordance with the agreement which took place in Kronstadt, in July of the present year, between officials of our General Staff and leaders of the Russian revolutionary army and democracy, Messrs. Lenin, Trotsky, Raskolnikov, and Dybenko, the Russian Division of our General Staff operating in Finland is ordering to Petrograd officers for the disposal of the Intelligence Bureau of the staff. At the head of the Petrograd Bureau will be the following officers, who use the Russian language perfectly and who are acquainted with Russian conditions:

Maj. Luberts, cipher signature Agasfer.
Maj. von Boelke, cipher signature Schott.
Maj. Bayermeister, cipher signature Ber.
Lieut. Hartwig, cipher signature Henrich.

The Intelligence Bureau, in accordance with the agreement with Messrs. Lenin, Trotsky, and Zinovieff, will have the surveillance of the foreign

embassies and military missions and of the counter revolutionary movement, and also will perform the espionage and counter espionage work on the internal fronts, for which purpose agents will be assigned to the various cities.

Coincidentally, it is announced that at the disposal of the Government of People's Commissars are assigned consultants to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. von Schoenemann, and to the Ministry of Finance, Mr. von Toll.

Chief of the Russian Division, German General Staff: O. RAUSCH.
Adjutant: U. WOLFF.

(And below on the same letter:)

TO THE COMMISSARIAT OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS:

The officers indicated in this paper have been before the military revolutionary committee and have agreed on conditions with Muravieff, Boie, and Danishevski with regard to their mutual activities. They have all come under the direction of the committee. The consultants will appear as called for.

Chairman Military Revolutionary Committee, Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies: A. JOFFE.
Secretary: P. KRUSHAVITCH.

October 27, 1917.

NOTE.—Here is the working compact. If Rausch was then in Berlin he presumably came immediately afterwards to Petrograd. It is more probable that the letter was written in Finland than Berlin. In some other letterheads on which Berlin is printed the word is run through with a pen. Stationery was hard to get in Petrograd. Maj. Luberts became the head of the Intelligence Bureau (Nachrichten Bureau). Kronstadt was the midsummer headquarters of Lenin. Raskolnikoff will be referred to in connection with the project to sell the Russian fleet to Germany. Dybenko was the commissar of the fleet, the naval minister, a driving man and keen witted. Zinovieff is the president of the Petrograd Soviet, during the winter the most powerful of the local bodies of the Russian Soviets. He is Jewish and well educated. Joffe, in the letter of Bolshevik acceptance of the German compact, again stands forth for what he is, the spokesman, after Lenin, in all matters of supreme importance to Germany.

Have photograph of the joint letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 6

Gr[eat] General Staff, Central Division,
No. 813.

November 19, 1917.

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

This is to advise you that the following persons have been put at the disposal of the Russian Government as military advisers: Maj. Erich, Maj. Bode, Maj. Sass, Maj. Zimmerman, Maj. Anders, Lieut. Haase, Lieut. Klein, Lieut. Breitz.

These officers will choose a cadre of the most suitable officers from the list of our prisoners, who will likewise be at the disposal of the Russian

Government, as was agreed at the conference in Stockholm when Lenin, Zinovieff, and others were traveling through to Russia.

Head of the Russian Section, German General Staff: O. RAUSCH.
Adjutant: U. WOLFF.

NOTE.—Maj. Anders took the Russian name Rubakov and Maj. Erich the Russian name Egorov. Lenin and Zinovieff passed through Germany and Stockholm together.
Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 7

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R,
No. 27.

(Confidential)

January 12, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS:

By the order of the local department of the German General Staff, the Intelligence Department has reported the names and the characteristics of the main candidates for the reelection of the Central Executive Committee. The General Staff orders us to insist on the election of the following persons: Trotsky, Lenin, Zinovieff, Kameneff, Joffe, Sverdlov, Lunacharsky, Kollontai, Fabrizius, Martov, Steklov, Golman, Frunze, Lander, Milk, Preobrajenski, Sollers, Studer, Golberg, Avanesov, Volodarsky, Raskolnikov, Stuchka, Peters, and Neubut. Please inform the president of the council of the General Staff's wish.

Head of the Bureau: AGASFER.
Adjutant: HENRICH.

NOTE.—The indorsements are: "Copy handed to chairman Council Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, No. 956." "Deliver to Comrade Zinovieff and to secret department. M. Ov—(?) January 12 (Russian calendar) fell in the week of the All-Russian Soviet convention in Petrograd, the week after the forcible dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. The election came at the end of the week and was a perfunctory re-election of practically the whole former executive committee of commissars. Lacking the exact list, I nevertheless can state that the present executive committee was drafted from this group. The name there surprising to me is that of Martov, the head of a supposedly separate faction.

Marlov is an able writer, was associated with Trotsky in his Paris journalistic venture, but was supposed to have split with him in Russia. The evidence that he is still agreeable to Germany is pertinent. Madame Kollontai, the only woman on this list, was the Commissar of Public Welfare. She was sent abroad for foreign propaganda in February, but did not get beyond Scandinavia and later returned to Russia. Kameneff, who went out of Russia with Kollontai, also sought to return, but was arrested by the Finnish White Guards (not the Germans) on the Aland Islands, and his release was the subject of negotiations. He is Trotsky's brother-in-law. Sverdlov was temporary chairman of the All-Russian Soviet. Lunacharsky is Commissar of Education.

Steklov is editor of the official paper "Isvestia." Volodarsky, who has lived in the United States, was in close confidence with Lenin. He was killed in Moscow the last week in June. Agasfer, who delivered the order in behalf of Rausch, is Maj. Luberts.

Have photograph of letter.

CHAPTER II.

RÔLE OF THE REICHSBANK

The following documents show in detail how the German Government financed the Russian Bolshevik revolution through the German Imperial Bank.

They show what rewards the German financial and industrial interests demanded in return for the German support of the Bolsheviks. And they show how the Bolshevik leaders betrayed their own followers and abandoned the preaching of their social revolution wherever the Germans ordered that it should be abandoned.

DOCUMENT NO. 8

Imperial Bank [Reichsbank], No. 2.
(Very Secret)

January 8, 1918.

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

Notification has to-day been received by me from Stockholm that 50,000,000 roubles of gold has been transferred to be put at the disposal of the representatives of the People's Commissars. This credit has been supplied to the Russian Government in order to cover the cost of the keep of the Red Guards and agitators in the country. The Imperial Government considers it appropriate to remind the Council of People's Commissars of the necessity of increasing their propaganda in the country, as the antagonistic attitude of the south of Russia and Siberia to the existing Government in Russia is troubling the German Government. It is of great importance to send experienced men everywhere in order to set up a uniform government.

Representative of the Imperial Bank:

G. VON SCHANZ.

NOTE.—Members of the Red Guard were paid from 12 to 16 roubles a day, whereas soldiers were paid hardly that number of kopecks. This letter shows where the money came from. The Bolshevik Government also required factory owners to pay regular wages to their workers while the latter served in the Red Guard. The notation on letter indicates that it was referred to Menshinski, the financial minister, whose expert councillor was the German, von Toll. Menshinski personally conducted the wrecking of the Russian banks, a maneuver that deprived all opponents of Bolshevism of their financial means of warfare. It was a classic job of destruction, done in the name of reconstruction.

Have photograph of this letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 9

Imperial Bank, No. 8, Berlin.
(Very Secret)

January 12, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

I am instructed to convey the agreement of the Imperial Bank to the issue out of the credit of the General Staff of 5,000,000 roubles for the dispatch of the assistant naval commissar, Kudriashoff, to the Far East.

On arrival at Vladivostok he should visit the retired officer of the Russian Fleet, Mr. Panoff, and instruct Butten-

hoff and Staufacher, who are known to Panoff, to come to see him. Both the mentioned agents will bring with them Messrs. Edward Shindler, William Keberlein, and Paul Diese [or Zezel]. With these persons it is necessary to think out a plan for carrying out the Japanese and American war materials from Vladivostok to the west. If this is not possible then they must instruct Diese [or Zezel] and his agents to destroy the stores. Shindler must acquaint Kudriashoff with the Chinese agents at Nikolsk. These persons should receive the agreed amounts and should be dispatched to China to carry out an agitation against Japan.

Representative of the Imperial Bank:

G. VON SCHANZ.

NOTE.—If this plan was developed to a climax it was not by Kudriashoff. He was killed on his passage through Siberia two or three weeks later and it was reported that a great sum of money was taken from his body by his murderers, who were said to be two Cossacks. Most of the German agents named in this letter were still active in Siberia in the spring, as shown by Document No. 29. Have photograph of this letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 10

Imperial Bank, No. 5.

January 11, 1918.

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

My Dear Mr. Chairman: The industrial and commercial organizations in Germany interested in trade relations with Russia have addressed themselves to me in a letter, including several guiding indications. Permit me to bring them to your attention.

1. The conflict of the Russian revolution with the Russian capitalists absolutely does not interest German manufacturing circles, in so far as the question does not concern industry as such. You can destroy the Russian capitalists as far as you please, but it would by no means be possible to permit the destruction of Russian enterprises. Such a situation would produce a constant ferment in the country, supported by famine of materials and, in consequence of that, of products also. The English, American, and French capitalists take advantage of this disorder and understand how to establish here corps of their commercial agents. It is necessary to remember that German industry in the first years after the general peace will not be in a position to satisfy the purchasing demand of the Russian market, having broad similar parallel tasks in the Near East, in Persia, in China, and in Africa.

2. It is essential, therefore, to conduct a canvass and gather statistical information with regard to the condition of industry, and, in view of the absence of money in Russia, to address in business conversations which ever is desired of the groups of German commercial banks.

3. Trade with Germany may be in the first period almost exclusively exchange for wheat and for any remaining products to receive household necessities. Everything which exceeds the limits of such trade should be paid for in advance to the amount of 75 per cent of the market value, with the payment of the remaining quarter in a six months' period. In

place of such an arrangement, probably, it would seem to be possible to permit, privately, the taking of German dividend shares on the Russian financial market, or solidly guaranteed industrial and railroad loans.

In view of the indicated interest of German manufacturers and merchants to trade relations in Russia, I cordially beg you, Mr. Chairman, to inform me of the views of the Government regarding the questions touched upon, and to receive the assurances of my sincere respect.

Representative of the Imperial Bank and Stock Exchange in Berlin:

G. VON SCHANZ.

NOTE.—The engaging attitude of the German manufacturers toward Russian capitalists is the feature of this letter, apart from the cordial and evidently understanding expressions of the representative of the German Imperial Bank to that opposed enemy of the capitalists of all nations, Lenin. The letter was sent to the secret department by Secretary Skripnik. Perhaps some day von Schanz will disclose Lenin's answer. Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 11

Imperial Bank, No. 12378.
[Printed circular in Russian]

RESOLUTION

of a conference of representatives of the German commercial banks convened on proposal of the German delegation at Petrograd by the management of the Imperial Bank, to discuss the resolutions of the Rhine-Westphalian Industrial Syndicate and Handelstag.

Berlin, December 28, 1917.

1. All loans are canceled the bonds of which are in the hands of German, Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish holders, but payment must be realized by the Russian treasury in the course of a 12-months' term after the conclusion of separate peace.

2. The purchase is permitted of all Russian securities and dividend-bearing paper by the representatives of the German banks at the rate of the day on the open market.

3. After the conclusion of separate peace, on the expiration of 90 days, there are reestablished all the shares of private railway companies, metallurgical industries, oil companies, and chemical pharmaceutical works.

NOTE.—The rating of such papers will be made by the German and Austrian stock exchanges.

4. There are banished and for five years from date of signing peace are not to be allowed English, French, and American capitals in the following industries: Coal, metallurgical, machine building, oil, chemical, and pharmaceutical.

5. In the question of development in Russia of coal, oil, and metallurgical branches of industry there is to be established a supreme advisory organ consisting of 10 Russian specialists, 10 from the German industrial organizations and the German and Austrian banks.

6. The Russian Government must not interfere in the region of questions connected with the transfer to the benefit of Germany of two mining districts in Poland—Dombroski and

G. G.-S.

NACHRICHTEN-BUREAU.

Секретно.

know the fate of the resolution on this, its early winter appearance.

Have besides the notated photograph a printed copy of this circular.

Section 152

ровъ.

№ 12

25 Февраля 1918 г.

Господину Председателю Совета Народных Комиссаровъ.

DOCUMENT NO. 12

[Great] [General] [Staff], Intelligence Bureau, Section R, No. 780.

Feb. 25, 1918.

(Secret)

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

After conferring with the People's Commissar Trotsky, I have the honor to ask you urgently to inform the directors of the Counter Espionage at Army Headquarters [Stafka], Commissars Feierabend and Kalmanovich, that they should work as formerly in complete independence and without the knowledge of the official staff at Army Headquarters and the General Staff in Petersburg, and particularly Gen. Bonch-Bruevich and the secret service of the northern front, communicating only with the People's Commissar Lieut. Krilenko.

For the head of the Bureau:

R. BAUER. BUKHOLM.

Adjutant:

NOTE.—Across the letter is written: "Inform Mosholov. N. G." (Gorbunoff's initials). In the margin is written: "Passed on to the Commissar of War. M. Skripnik." The significance of this letter is that it is to Lenin; that the two chief secretaries of himself and the council passed it on for action; and that Trotsky and Lenin on February 27 were continuing to hamper the Russian commander at a moment when the German army was threatening Petrograd. Mosholov was one of the commissars on the staff of Krilenko, the commissar representing the Council of Commissars in the command of the Russian military forces. His achievements as a disorganizer were notable. This letter indicates that he had the confidence of Germany.

Have original letter.

Послѣ совѣщанія съ Народнымъ Комиссаромъ г. Троцкимъ, прошу Васъ просить срочно извѣстить руководителей Контроль-Развѣдки при Ставкѣ-Комиссаровъ Фейерабенда и Калмановича, чтобы они работали по-прежнему въ полной независимости и тайнѣ отъ официального Штаба Ставки и Генеральнаго Штаба въ Петербургѣ и особенно ген. Бончъ-Бруевича и Контроль-Развѣдки Сѣвернаго Фронта, сносясь лишь съ Народнымъ Комиссаромъ прап. Крыленко.

Начальникъ Отдѣленія R. Bauer

Адъютантъ Тенглеръ

Передано в Канц на имя г-на М. Скрипника



Facsimile Document Number 12

Olkishski—and to Austria of the oil region in Galicia. The transfer of the latter will be only in the form of limitations of the right of making claims, land allotments, and application of capital for the production and refining of oil.

7. Germany and Austria enjoy the unlimited privilege of sending into Russia mechanics and qualified workmen.

8. Other foreign mechanics and workmen during five years after the conclusion of peace between Russia and Germany are not to be allowed to enter at all.

9. The statistical department of producing and manufacturing industries with the corresponding Government organ must be controlled by German specialists.

10. Private banks in Russia arise only with the consent and according to the plan of the Union of German and Austrian Banks, whereby the rating of the stocks of the banks on all exchanges of the New and Old World will be handled by the group of the Deutsche Bank.

11. At the ports of Petrograd, Archangel, Odessa, Vladivostok, and Batum will be established, under the leadership of specialists from Germany, special statistical economic committees.

As regards the tariff, railway and shipping rate policies to regulate the Russo-German-Austrian trade relations, this part of the economical treaty will be discussed by the special Tariff Council of the Handelstag.

Signed:

Chairman: VON GRENNER. Secretary: BERENBLUET.

NOTE.—The penned indorsement on the photographed copy of the resolution is:

"Chairman of the Central Executive Committee: Commissar Menshinsky requests that this resolution should be taken under advisement, and to prepare the ground in the Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, in case the Council of People's Commissars will not accept these requests. Secretary D. Khaskin." Menshinsky is Minister of Finance. All of these terms, wholly punitive to American, English, and French capital, could lurk in the secret section in the present German-Russian treaty. I do not

G. G.-S.

NACHRICHTEN-BUREAU.

Section A

№ 775

25 Февраля 1918 г.

Г. Председателю Совета Народных Комиссаровъ.

Онъ долженъ по своему усмотрѣнью сообщить о сдѣланныхъ имъ дѣлахъ.

По донесеніямъ нашей тайной агентурѣ, въ отрядахъ, дѣйствующихъ противъ Германскихъ войскъ и противъ Австро-Украинскаго корпуса, наблюдается пропаганда національнаго возстанія и борьбы съ Нѣмцами и ихъ союзниками-Украинцами. Прошу сообщить, что предпринято Правительствомъ для прекращенія этой вредной агитаци.

Начальникъ Отдѣленія R. Bauer

Адъютантъ Тенглеръ



Facsimile Document Number 13

DOCUMENT NO. 13

G[reat] G[eneral] S[taff], Intelligence Bureau, Section R, No. 733.

February 25, 1918.

(Very Secret)

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

According to reports of our secret agency in the detachments operating against the German troops and against the Austrian Ukrainian corps, there has been observed propaganda for a national rising and a struggle with the Germans and their allies, the Ukrainians. I ask you to inform me what has been done by the Government to stop this harmful agitation.

For the head of the Bureau:

Adjutant: R. BAUER.
HENRICH.

NOTE.—Across the top is written: "Urgent. To the Commissars of War and Special Staff. M. Skripnik." The last sentence is underscored, and in the margin appears a question mark, initialed "L. T." The first is Lenin's order through the secretary, and the second may possibly be taken as Trotsky's opposition to any action. The loss of the Ukraine by counter German intrigue was a sore point in prestige with him. But his essential obedience to Germany was not lessened.

Have original letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 14

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R, No. 278/611.

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

February 7, 1918.

According to information of the Intelligence Bureau it has been ascertained that the promise given personally by you, Mr. Commissar, in Brest-Litovsk, not to circulate socialistic agitational literature among the German troops is not being fulfilled. I ask you to inform me what steps will be taken in this matter.

For the head of the Bureau:

Adjutant: R. BAUER.
HENRICH.

NOTE.—Brusque words to the foreign minister of the Soviet Government of Workmen, Soldiers, and Sailors of the Russian Republic, delivered not by an equal in official rank, but by the deputy of a German major at the head of an intelligence department of the German Government. Did Trotsky resent or deny the imputation? Instead he wrote with his own hand in the margin: "I ask to discuss it. L. T." Thus he admits that he did give the promise at Brest-Litovsk. The question raised concerns only the measure of obedience to be required.

Have original letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 15

Counter Espionage at Army Headquarters [Stavka], No. 311, special section.

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

January 29, 1918.

The Counter Espionage at the Army Headquarters advises that at the front is being spread by unknown agitators the following counter revolutionary literature:

1. The text of circulars of various German Government institutions with proofs of the connection of the German Government with the Bolshevik workers before the passing of the Government into their hands. These leaflets have reached also the German commanders.

The Supreme Commander has received a demand from Gen. Hoffman to stop this dangerous agitation by all means possible.

2. A stenographic report of the conversation of Gen. Hoffman with Comrade Trotsky, whereby it was sup-

posedly proposed to the latter to make peace on conditions of considerable concessions on the part of the Central Empires, but on the obligation of the Russian delegation to stop the socialization of the life of the state. Comrade Trotsky supposedly offered the termination of war without peace and the demobilization of our army. When Gen. Hoffman announced that the Germans would continue the advance, Trotsky supposedly replied: "Then under the pressure of force we shall be forced to make peace and fulfill all demands."

The circulars referred to in the first

P. O. N. 42. P. n.

G. G.-S.

NACHRICHTEN-BUREAU.

Господину Народному Комиссару по Иностран-
ным Дѣламъ.

Section R
№ 278/611

7. Февраля 1918 г.

Ф. Д.
Министру Иностранн. Дѣлъ

До свидѣнія Развѣдочнаго Отдѣленія дошло, что данное Вами лично, Господинъ Комиссаръ, въ Брестъ-Литовскѣ обѣщаніе не распространять въ германскихъ войскахъ социалистической агитационной литературы не исполняется. Прошу сообщать, какія будутъ по этому поводу приняты мѣры.



Начальникъ Отдѣленія B. Bauer

Адъютантъ Tenner

Facsimile Document Number 14

posedly proposed to the latter to make peace on conditions of considerable concessions on the part of the Central Empires, but on the obligation of the Russian delegation to stop the socialization of the life of the state. Comrade Trotsky supposedly offered the termination of war without peace and the demobilization of our army. When Gen. Hoffman announced that the Germans would continue the advance, Trotsky supposedly replied: "Then under the pressure of force we shall be forced to make peace and fulfill all demands."

This document has created indignation among the troops. Against the Council of People's Commissars are heard cruel accusations.

Commissar: S. KALMANOVICH.

NOTE.—This letter is a warning of the slow rising but coming storm that will sweep these boldest pirates of history from the country they have temporarily stolen. To get a real understanding of the meaning of the second, and important, section of the letter, it must be pointed out that until February 1, the Russian calendar was 13 days behind the Western European calendar. The real date of this letter, therefore, is February 10. This is the date Trotsky's "No peace; no war" pronouncement was made at Brest-Lit-

paragraph are of course those already familiar to Washington from February dispatches.

The following naive comment adds to the attractiveness of the letter: "The Committee for Combating the Counter Revolution states that these circulars were sent from the Don, and the stenographic report was seized in transmission from Kieff. Its origin is undoubtedly Austrian or from the Rada.—M. Skripnik."

Have photograph of letter.

CHAPTER III.

THE GERMAN-BOLSHEVIK PLOT AGAINST THE ALLIES

The following documents, with Mr. Sisson's interpretative notes, expose the German-Bolshevik plot against the Allies.

DOCUMENT NO. 16

Counter Espionage at Army Headquarters, No. 215.

January 21, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSARIAT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

We hereby advise you of the arrival in Mogilev of the following Ger-

man officers, who are being ordered to England, France, and America:

Zanwald, von Weine, Pabst, Mayer, Gruenwaldt, and Baron Schilling. They have been granted passports, sent here by Commissar Trotsky.

Von Weine, with a Danish passport in the name of Hansen, a merchant of Copenhagen, is to proceed to England.

Baron Schilling is ordered to the United States of America with a Norwegian passport in the name of Dr. Joseph Brun.

Gruenwaldt has instructions to proceed to France with a Russian passport in the name of the Lett, Ivan Kalnin.

The remaining persons are to make a journey through Finland and Sweden, supplied with papers from the German staff, in order to follow up the counter revolutionary work of countries allied to us.

Chief of Counter Espionage:

FEIERABEND.

Commissar:

VUZNETORFF.

NOTE.—A young German who said he was a deserting officer and that his name was Mayer, sought the aid of the Embassy, the military mission, and myself in getting to America. He was a good-looking young Prussian, had lived in New York, spoke English with very little accent, and claimed to have been converted to the President's views on peace requisites. He said he had walked across the lines as a deserter because he could stand no more of German war, and that he wanted to go to the United States to talk and write against Germany. I was not receptive. He said he was a lieutenant. There is no record at our military control office in Christiania of a passport to Dr. Joseph Brun.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 17

Commissar for Combating the Counter Revolution and Pogroms, No. 32.
Petrograd.

January 5, 1918.

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

The plenipotentiary Commissar for Combating the Counter Revolution, Comrade Antonoff, requests the commissariat for foreign affairs to issue passports for going to Denmark to the following comrades, who are going to the allied countries to conduct peace propaganda:

To England are going: Comrades Adolf Pavlovich Ribba, Ilya Iulievich Uritski, Vladislav Antonovich Dashkevich.

To France: Rimma Lvovna Orlova, Vladimir Konstantinovich Schneur.

To America: Isai Borisovich Kaln, Mark Vlasievich Gritsker, Sofia Arturovna Mack.

All the named comrades will visit at Copenhagen the premises of the staff, where they will receive neutral passports for the trip to the named countries. At the disposal of the dispatched will be placed the necessary means for combating in the press with the imperialists of England, France, and the United States. Their confidential addresses will be transmitted to you later on the arrival of the

named comrades at the places of their destination.

Authorized commissars:

A. SHILINSKI.

F. ZUBERT.

NOTE.—Trotsky indorsed this note: "To be urgently executed. L. T."

The plan of peace propoganda campaign in the allied countries is plainly outlined. These Bolshevik-German agents will preach international Bolshevism and will charge the countries at war with Germany with the very imperialistic offenses of which Germany is guilty. This also was the method used in Russia by the Bolshevik-German press in attacking the United States, England, and France. In the formula of the propoganda, imperialism relates not only to territory but to business enterprise. The agents listed above likely sought entrance under different names. They and the centers from which they work should be recognized, however, by their words and their works. The commissars who sign are members of the commission for Combating the Counter Revolution.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 18

G[reat] General Staff, Central Division,
Section M, No. 951.

December 20, 1917.

TO THE COMMISSARIAT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

According to the negotiations between the Russian and German peace delegations at Brest-Litovsk, the Russian Division of the German General Staff have the honor to request the hastening of the departure of agitators to the camps of Russian prisoners of war in Germany, for the recruiting of volunteers who will be sent to the English and French troops for the purpose of observation and peace propoganda.

Simultaneously, the staff requests the following sailors to be sent to Germany: Shishko, Kirshu, Matviev, and Dratchuk. They will receive special instructions when traveling through Brest-Litovsk.

Chief of the Russian Division, German General Staff: O. RAUSCH.
Adjutant: U. WOLFF.

NOTE.—This request was referred to the Commissariats on Military and Naval Affairs.

A marginal question asked by E. P. (probably Polivanoff): "[Is] Dratchuk at Black Sea?" He was at Sevastopol and may not have been sent. The others went, visited the camps for war prisoners in Germany, and then returned to Russia. Shishko in February was Commissar of the Naval College in Petrograd.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 19

Counter Espionage at Army Headquarters,
No. —.

January 16, 1918.

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

I hereby bring to the notice of the Council of People's Commissaries that through our front, on the personal permission of the Supreme Commander, have passed 100 German officers, 250 non-commissioned officers, who proceeded to our internal fronts; part of the German

officers have gone to the front in the Don region, part to the front against Dutoff, and part to Eastern Siberia and the Trans-Baikal for the surveillance, and if it shall be possible, to oppose the Japanese occupational detachment and the counter revolutionary Trans-Baikal Cossack officers.

Counter Espionage Official:

P. ARKHIPOV.

NOTE.—An odd comment gives interest to this letter. It is this: "An accusation or a silly accusal for personal benefit? Communicate [to] Comrade Krilenko," signed "N. G."

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 20

Counter Espionage at Army Headquarters,
No. 52.

Jan. 8, 1918.

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

The Supreme Commander Krilenko has received an offer from the Supreme Commander of the German army to send to the disposal of the German staff ten reliable officers of the revolutionary army. The said persons must arrive at Warsaw, where they will receive their further instructions. The aim of the trip is to visit the camps of our prisoners of war on the propoganda of peace ideas. The staff points out the desirability of sending Dzevaltovsky, Simashko, Saharoff, and Volodarsky.

For the Chief of the Counter Espionage: S. KALMANOVICH.

For the Commissar: ALEXIEFF.

NOTE.—Dzevaltovsky was an officer of the Life Guards Grenadier Regiment, and an agitator who aroused the soldiers at the time of the ill-fated June advance. Volodarsky has been referred to previously. He was assassinated in late June at Moscow. Kalmanovich was a Commissar on the staff of Krilenko, the talking man who was assigned to disorganize the army. In actual army rank Krilenko was a sublieutenant.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 21

Gr. General Staff, Central Division, Section M, No. 750.

Berlin, November 1, 1917.

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

In accordance with an inquiry from the German General Headquarters, I have the honor to request you to inform me at the earliest possible moment the exact quantity of ammunition at the following places: Petrograd, Archangel, Kazan, Tiflis.

It is necessary also to state the quantity and storage place of the supplies which have been received from America, England, and France, and also the units which are keeping guard over the military stores.

Head of Division: O. RAUSCH.
Adjutant: U. WOLFF.

NOTE.—This is a request made upon a country which America, England, and France still regarded at that date as an ally.

Have photograph of letter.

G. G.-S.

NACHRICHTEN-BUREAU.

Section 12

№ 843

Марта 1918 года.

173.

-52, 52.

Наб. комиссар



Орло № 12.
В. Секретно.

Въ Комиссію по борьбѣ съ контръ-революціей

Кобозевъ
Самойловъ
Мининъ
Сурябинъ

Настоящимъ сообщается, что наблюдениемъ и въ случаѣ необходимости нападеніемъ на японскихъ, американскихъ и русскихъ офицеровъ, командующихъ оккупационнымъ корпусомъ въ Восточной Сибири, завѣдуютъ наши агенты Штауфахеръ, Кригеръ, Гизе, Вальдейнъ, Буттенгофъ, Латтанъ и Скрибановичъ, къ коимъ и надлежитъ обращаться какъ комиссару Кобозеву такъ и командированнымъ Комиссіей лицамъ. Адреса агентовъ указаны въ спискѣ № 3.

Начальникъ

АЪТЪАНТЬ

R. Sauee
Мининъ

lished in the Marble Palace—Licut. Bekker and a member of the central executive committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, Frunze.

On the French Embassy, on the French Quay, house No. 8, Comrade Peters, member of the central executive committee of the council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, supplementary.

On the North American Embassy observation has been established at Furbstatskaya Street, house No. 23, apartments Nos. 1 and 4. In the latter Comrades Goldberg and Spitzberg are carrying on the observation very successfully. Telephones have been installed in the above-mentioned places. General management of the surveillance has been intrusted to Alfred von Geigendorf.

Commissar: МИТОВИЧЪ.
For Secretary: R. BAETSKI.

NOTE.—Most of the names in this letter, including the signatures at end, are unfamiliar. Peters, placed in charge of French observation, is a Lettish sailor, active and able, a former resident of England. The robbery of the Italian ambassador took place late in the evening on a lighted frequented central street and was a day's sensation. The observation point on the American Embassy was a yellow apartment house almost opposite the entrance. After I got this information I tested the watch and always saw a head or hand retreating from a window. But I doubt if the watchers profited much by studying the visitors to the embassy.

Have photograph of letter.

Original in enclosure B

- 1. Комиссаръ - Кобозевъ, 1. Назовъ
- 2. Р. Кригеръ. Комиссаръ Восточной Сибири
- 3. Л. Гизе. Комиссаръ, Японск. Сл. Комиссаръ
- 4. Р. Вальдейнъ. Владелецъ ед. дома
- 5. Комиссаръ Штауфахеръ, при деп. Кригеръ и Гизе
- 6. Самойловъ, Франкль, Нериславъ и др.
- 7. М. Буттенгофъ, Бадина, и др. при деп. Кригеръ
- 8. Скрибановичъ, Б. Басковичъ и др. на деп. Кригеръ и Гизе
- 9. Сауе. Владелецъ ед. дома

Facsimile Document Number 29

the train. If they had better luck than they did when they held up and searched the Italian ambassador in his automobile almost in front of the Hotel Europe, I did not hear of it. Document 27 tells of that robbery.

Have original letter, No. 26.

DOCUMENT NO. 27

Commissar on Combating the Counter Revolution and Pogroms, No. 71.

Petrograd, Feb. 24, 1918.

(Specially Secret—Personal)

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

Our agents investigating the Italian Embassy, I. E. Macrov, Imenitski, and Urov, followed up the ambassador and conducted a search of him in the street, with a confiscation. Documents regarding relations with German diplomats and the special papers of the ambassador to the allied ambassadors, mentioned by you, were not found. In order to mask the attack several articles listed in the protocol furnished by Comrade Imenitski were taken from the ambassador.

The watch on the British and American ambassadors and the Serbian minister has been intensified. The supplementary observation point on the British Embassy has been estab-

GR. GENERALSTAB.
ЦЕНТРАЛЬ ИСТРЕБИТЕЛЬНО.

Section M.

24 февраля 1918 г.

№ 289

Самойловъ

Довѣрительно.

Господину Народному Комиссару по Иностраннѣмъ

Дѣламъ.

Золотаревъ и Давидъ
Мининъ

По порученію Имперскаго Правительства имѣю честь просить въ срочномъ порядкѣ произвести анкету какіе торговля суда, вспомогательные крейсера и транспорты могутъ быть отправлены въ воды Тихаго Океана, гдѣ Германское Правительство намѣрено создать для борьбы съ американо-японской торговлей сильный коммерческой флотъ, плавающій подъ русскими флагомъ.

Рассматривать
Мининъ

Вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ довожу до Вашего свѣдѣнія, что въ Балтійскомъ Флотѣ Ваши матросы распродаютъ съ военныхъ кораблей катера, мелкіе механизмы, мѣдныя и бронзовыя части машинъ и проч. Не было-ли бы посему своевременнымъ поднять вопросъ о продажѣ Германіи этихъ расхищаемыхъ и разоряемыхъ военныхъ кораблей.

Рѣшеніе Правительства благоволите мнѣ сообщить.

Начальникъ Русскаго Отдѣла
Германскаго Генеральнаго Штаба

Р. Райнъ

АЪТЪАНТЬ 10. Вильсонъ

Facsimile Document Number 28

DOCUMENT NO. 28

Gr. General Staff, Central Division, Section M, No. 389.
(Confidential)

February 24, 1918.

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

According to instructions of the Imperial Government, I have the honor to ask you to make in the shortest possible time an investigation as to what commercial boats, auxiliary cruisers, and transports may be sent into the waters of the Pacific Ocean, where the German Government intends to form, for the purpose of opposing the American-Japanese trade, a powerful commercial fleet flying the Russian flag.

graph as indicating the use against America to which Germany intends to put Russia is self-evident. The ludicrous picture painted in the second paragraph at once intensifies the shame of the ending of the fine new Russian Navy and discloses the German hope of securing and refitting the vessels.
Have original letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 29

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R, No. 883.

(Very Secret)

March 9, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE COUNTER REVOLUTION:

It is herewith communicated that for watching, and if necessary attacking, the Japanese, American, and Rus-

2. R. Krieger, Nikolsk, Ussurisky.
3. A. Geze, Irkutsk, drug store, Zlinzheroff.
4. F. Walden, Vladivostok, his own house.
5. Buttenhoff, Khabarovsk, firm Kunst & Albers.
6. Dattan, Tomsk, Neechayevskaya Street (Initial A.)
7. [Brothers or Baron] Kuzberg, Harbin, offices of the Chinese-Eastern Railway.
8. Skribanovieh (initial G.), Blagoveschensk, house of Kunst & Albers.
9. Panoff, Vladivostok, his own house.

This letter was sent me after I left Petrograd and reached me April 5. It is important not only for content, indicating as it does the names and addresses of agents-destroyers who are called upon for increasing activity against the United States and Japan to make the Pacific Ocean a new area of terror, but showing that the German General Staff was continuing after the Brest-Litovsk "peace" to work actively with the Russian Bolshevik Government.

Have original letter.

GR. GENERALSTAB.

ЦЕНТРАЛЬНЫЙ ОТДЕЛ.

Господину Председателю Совета Народных Комиссаров.

РОВЪ.

Section M, K

26. Февраля 1918 г.

№ 403

Вопрос

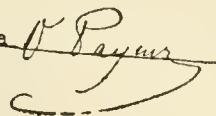
*Вопрос
в отношении С.Н.К. на предмет
по вопросу о том, чтобы
С.Н.К. не был объявлен
в розыск.*

Отделение Штаба имеет честь просить свидений о

настроении направляемых к Пскову отрядов и предупредительности от возможных печальных последствий, если в этих отрядах будет вестись патриотическая пропаганда и агитация против Германской Армии.

Начальник Русского Отдела

Германского Генерального Штаба



Адъютант В. Волф

Facsimile Document Number 30

At the same time I call to your attention the data that in your Baltic fleet your sailors are selling from the war ships the launches, small fittings, copper, and bronze parts of machines, etc. Would it not be the proper time to raise the question of selling to Germany these war vessels which are being stripped and disarmed?

Be so kind as to communicate the decision of the Government.

Head of the Russian Division of the German General Staff: O. RAUSCH.

Adjutant: U. WOLFF.

NOTE.—Opposite first paragraph is the notation: "Ask Lomof. Markin." Latter was one of Trotsky's secretaries. Opposite paragraph second, Markin makes notation, "Refer to Raskolnikoff." Latter is a commissar on this Naval General Staff, who conducted conferences with German officers in Kronstadt in March, April, and July, 1917, and an active aid to Dybenko in stirring up the Russian fleet to revolt. Do not know who Lomof is. The importance of the first para-

sian officers who may command the expeditionary forces in eastern Siberia, our agents Staufacher, Krieger, Geze, Walden, Buttenhoff, Dattan, and Skribanovieh take charge, and to whom it is necessary that either Commissar Kobozeff or any of those named by the commission must apply. The addresses of the agents are shown in list No. 3

Head: R. BAUER.
Adjutant: M. K—.(?)

NOTE.—Comments to "Telegraph Kobozeff" and "Telegraph Strebberg," with an illegible signature, appear on letter, and below it is the order: "Give the list," initialed "D. Z.," corresponding with the signing habit of Dzerzhinski, chairman of the Commission for Combating the Counter Revolution. Below this order appears the list of addresses, as follows.

Report according to list No. 3.

1. Staufacher Vladivostok, Panoff's house.

Germany, however, did not discard the Bolshevik leaders, recognizing their further use in the German world campaign for internal disorganizations in the nations with which it wars, but confined them to the limited inland province which Great Russia proper has now become.

Lenin, according to statements made public as soon as Trotsky's spectacular device of "No peace—No war" failed, always was for peace on any German terms. He dominated the situation thereafter and conceded everything that Germany asked. Nor did Trotsky cease to continue to obey the German orders delivered to him both by Gen. Hoffman at Brest-Litovsk, and at Petrograd directly by the Russian Division of the German General Staff, which was seated in Petrograd itself from November, 1917, and which was still there in full operation

CHAPTER IV.

THE PLOT FOR A SHAMEFUL PEACE

Germany made its Russian peace with its own puppet government, the misnamed Council of People's Commissars, the president of which is Vladimir Ulianov (Lenin), the foreign minister of which was Leon Trotsky, and the ambassador of which to Germany is A. Joffe. Germany made this peace harder upon the Russian people as punishment to the ambition of its tools in seeking to become too powerful, and in hoping for a little while not only that Russia would be delivered over to them, but that they could double-cross their masters by turning a simulated German revolution into a real one.

But their craftiness was a toy in the hands of rough German force. Germany was actually double-crossing them by negotiating with the Ukrainian Rada at the moment they dreamed they were tricking Germany.

when I left, Monday, March 4, the day that Petrograd received notification that peace had been signed at Brest-Litovsk by the Russian and German delegations.

Trotsky, therefore, rests rightly under the accusation of having staged his theatrical scene as a climax to the Russian disorganization desired by Germany. The actual order he gave was for the immediate demobilization of the Russian army, leaving the German army unopposed.

The actual effect of the work of the Bolshevik leaders, moreover, was to enable Germany to combine its former army of the Russian front with its western army, for the launching of its March offensive in France. Such has been the fruition of Russia's German-directed Bolshevism.

The following documents tell the story of the betrayal of Russia to a shameful and ruinous peace.

DOCUMENT NO. 30

G[reat] General Staff, Central Division
Section M/R, No. 405.

(Secret)

February 26, 1918.

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF
PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

This Division of the Staff has the honor to request data of the attitude of the detachments being sent to Pskoff and to guard against all possible disastrous results if in these detachments any will carry on patriotic propaganda and agitations against the German army.

Head of the Russian Division German General Staff: O. RAUSCH.
Adjutant: U. WOLFF.

NOTE.—The chairman of the Council of People's Commissars is Lenin. At the top of this letter is the written comment: "Urgent. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars asks Volodarsky to communicate this to the agitation department. Secretary Skripnik." Skripnik is the first secretary of the Government, personally reporting to Lenin. A second notation in margin is: "Central Executive Committee No. 823 to report," signed with illegible initials. The detachments being sent to Pskoff at this time were composed of Red Guards and of the recruits of the new Red Army. Pskoff was taken by the Germans without a fight.
Have original letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 31

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R,
No. 750.

(Very Secret)

February 27, 1918.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL
OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

Not having received an exact answer to my question of the 25th of February, I now have the honor a second time to request you to inform me in the shortest possible time the numbers and kind of forces sent to Pskoff and Narva.

At the same time, at the orders of the representative of our General Staff, I once more remind you of the desirability of naming Gen. Parski to

the post of commander in chief of the Russian armed forces, in place of Gen. Bonch-Bruевич, whose actions do not meet the approval of the German High Command. Since the attacks on the lives and property of the German landowners in Esthonia and Livonia, which, according to our information, were carried out with the knowledge of Gen. Bonch-Bruевич, and his nationalistic actions in Orel, his continuance in the position of general is no longer desirable.

Head of the Bureau:

AGASFER.

NOTE.—Across the letter is written "Send to Trotsky and Podvoisky. N. G." (Gorbunov's initials, chief secretary of the Council of People's Commissars.) Observe the mandatory nature of the whole letter and particularly of the first paragraph. Agasfer, as has been shown, is the cipher signature of Maj. Luberts, head of the Petrograd Intelligence Bureau of the German General Staff, the chief branch of the Russian Division of the German General Staff, the head of which is Maj. Rousch, referred to in this letter as the representative of "our General Staff." Apparently both Luberts and Rousch wrote a warning against sending any patriots to the defending forces, and seemingly the Bolshevik effort at obedience as indicated in document No. 30 was not fast enough to suit the German martinets. Podvoisky was minister of war. Gen. Parski was appointed to the com-

mand of the Petrograd district, and as late as June 14 still held the post. He formerly was in command of the city of Riga, which was surrendered to the Germans without adequate defense in the early autumn of 1917.
Have original letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 32

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R,
No. 272/600.

(Very Secret)

February 6, 1918.

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

I ask you to immediately give the Turkish subject, Carp C. Missirof, a Russian passport in place of the one taken from him, which was given him in 1912 on the basis of the inclosed national passport.

Agent C. Missirof is to be sent to the staff of the Russian High Command, where, according to the previous discussion between Gen. Hoffman and Commissars Trotsky and Joffe, he will keep watch on the activity of the head of the staff, Gen. Bonch-Bruевич, in the capacity of assistant to the Commissars Kalmanovich and Feierabend.

For the head of the Bureau:

R. BAUER.
BUKHOLM.

Adjutant:

Г. С. С. С.

В. Секретно.

G. G.-S.

NACHRICHTEN-BUREAU.

Section R.

№ 272

27 февраля 1918 г.

Г. Председателю Совета Народных Комиссаров:

Настоящим, не получивъ точнаго отвѣта на мой вопросъ отъ 25 февраля, имѣю честь вторично просить въ срочномъ порядкѣ сообщить мнѣ количество и качество силъ направляемыхъ къ Пскову и Нарвѣ.

Одновременно по порученію Представителя нашего Генеральнаго Штаба, еще разъ напоминаю о желательности назначенія г-на Парка на постъ Верховнаго Главнокомандующаго русскими вооруженными силами, вѣсто ген. Бонч-Бруевича, дѣятельность котораго не встрѣчаетъ сочувствія Германскаго Верховнаго Командованія. Теперь-же, послѣ покушеній на жизнь и имущество нѣмецкихъ землевладѣльцевъ въ Эстляндіи и Лифляндіи, что, по нашимъ свѣдѣніямъ, произошло съ вѣдома ген. Бонч-Бруевича и националистической дѣятельности его въ Орлѣ, пребываніе генерала на его посту нежелательно.

Начальникъ Отдѣленія *Мисирофъ*

Адъютантъ *Бухгольмъ*



NOTE.—Here we have the behind-the-scene disclosure of the real relations between Trotsky and Gen. Hoffman at Brest-Litovsk, stripping the mask from the public pose. Trotsky got his orders in this case and he carried them out. Across the top of this letter, too, he has written his own conviction, "Ask Joffe. L. T.," while Joffe, whose rôle seems to be that of the mouthpiece of Germany, has written in the margin, "According to agreement this must be done. A. Joffe." Thereby he becomes a witness for the agreement itself—that pledge between himself, Trotsky, and the military chief of the German Government at the Brest-Litovsk conference, to betray the commander of the Russian army when he should attempt to defend Russia against Germany. A further marginal note states that the passport was given February 7, under the Russian name, P. L. Ilin.

Have original letter and the surrendered passport. Kalmanovich and Feierabend were Commissars of Counter Espionage.

THE UKRAINIAN DOUBLE-CROSS

How the Bolsheviki themselves were double-crossed in the Ukraine; how the Germans toyed with their puppets to disorganize Russia, with disclosures of plans for assassination of loyal Russian leaders, are shown in the following documents and Mr. Sisson's accompanying notes.

DOCUMENT NO. 33

Counter Espionage at Army Headquarters, No. 63.

January 10, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE COUNTER REVOLUTION:

The Commissar on Combating the Counter Revolution in a cipher telegram, No. 235, demanded the sending of special agents to Kieff and Novocheerkask.

There have been sent Comrades Vlasenko, Gavrilchuk, and Korablev, who have more than once very successfully performed information service. The commissar in his cipher telegram indicates that the German and Austrian agents assigned from Petrograd, Lieuts. Otto, Kremer, Blum, and Vasilko, are playing a double rôle, reporting on what is happening at Petrograd, and they carry on an intensive agitation in favor of a separate peace of the Ukraine with the Central Powers, and for the restoring of order. Their work is having success.

To Siberia have been ordered Comrades Treflev and Shepshchevich, in connection with your report of the purchase and export of gold by Austrian prisoners in Siberia.

Director of Counter Espionage:
FEIERABEND.
Secretary: N. DRACHEFF.

NOTE.—So stands disclosed the manner in which Germany set about to double-cross the Bolshevik servants who in success had become at times uppish in bargaining with their masters. It was not a part of the German program to create in Russia a power which it could not at any time control, or, if need be, overturn. Its plan here had the additional advantage of not only disciplining the Petrograd Bolsheviki but also of disunifying Russia still farther. It worked out to a separate peace with Ukraine and a separate peace with Great Russia. Lieut. Otto is the Konshin afterwards arrested for some unknown betrayal. See Document No. 2.
Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 34

Counter Espionage at Army Headquarters, No. 511.

January 30, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING COUNTER REVOLUTION:

You are informed that the German and Austrian officers located at Kieff now have private meetings with members of the deposed Rada. They insistently inform us of the inevitable signing and ratification of peace treaties both between the Ukraine and the Central Powers and between Roumania and Austria and Germany.

Director of Counter Espionage:
FEIERABEND.
Commissar: O. KALMANOVICH.

NOTE.—Corroborative of the preceding document. The separate peace with the Ukraine already had been signed.
Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 35

G. G.-S. Intelligence Bureau, Section R, No. 181.

(Very Urgent)

December 9, 1917.

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

In accordance with your request, the Intelligence Bureau on November 29 sent to Rostof Maj. von Boehlke, who arranged there a survey over the forces of the Don Troop Government. The major also organized a detachment of prisoners of war, who took part in the battles. In this case, the prisoners of war, in accordance with the directions given by the July conference at Kronstadt, participated in by Messrs. Lenin, Zinovieff, Kameneff, Raskolnikoff, Dybenko, Shisko, Antonoff, Krilenko, Volodarsky, and Podvoisky, were dressed in Russian army and navy uniforms. Maj. von Boehlke took part in commanding, but the conflicting orders of the official commander Arnautoff, and the talentless activity of the scout Tulak, paralyzed the plans of our officer.

The agents sent by order from Petrograd to kill Gens. Kaledin, Bogaevisky, and Alexieff were cowardly and non-enterprising people. Agents passed through to Karauloff. The communications of Gen. Kaledin with the Americans and English are beyond doubt, but they limit themselves entirely to financial assistance. Maj. von Boehlke, with the passport of the Finn, Uno Muuri, returned to Petrograd and will make a report today at the office of the chairman of the council at 10 p. m.

For the head of the Bureau:
R. BAUER.
Adjutant: M. K.—(?)

NOTE.—This is a cold-blooded disclosure of a German-Bolshevik plan for the assassination of Kaledin and Alexieff, as well as proof of a condition often denied by Smolny during the winter—that German prisoners were being armed as Russian soldiers in the struggle against the Russian nationalists on the Don. The letter also contains the most complete list of the participants in the July conspiracy conference at Kronstadt. The marginal comment opposite the assassination paragraph, "Who sent them?" is in an unknown handwriting. Maj. von Boehlke is a German

officer referred to in Document No. 5. His cipher signature is Schott.
Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 36

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R, No. 136.

(Very Secret)

November 28, 1917.

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

In accordance with your request, the Intelligence Bureau of the General Staff informs the Council of People's Commissars that the Ukrainian Commission at the Austrian High Command, in which participate the empowered representatives of the German Staff, has worked out a plan of the activities of the revolutionaries known to the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies—Chudovsky, Boyarsky, Gubarsky, and Piatakoff—who are under the full direction of the Austro-Hungarian High Command.

The commander in chief of the Russian army has been made acquainted by Schott with plans of the Austro-German High Command and will cooperate with him.

Head of Bureau: AGASFER.

NOTE.—At this early time there was harmony all around on the Ukraine program, Germans, Austrians, and the Commissars in complete brotherhood. Schott is Maj. von Boehlke and Agasfer is Maj. Luberts.
Have photograph of letter.

CHAPTER V.

TROTSKY AND ROUMANIA

The machinations of Trotsky, inspired by the German Gen. Hoffman, for the disruption of Roumania are disclosed in the following:

DOCUMENT NO. 37

Counter Espionage at Army Headquarters, No. 20.

January 2, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSION ON COMBATING COUNTER REVOLUTION:

Commander in chief Krilenko has requested the Counter Espionage at the Army Headquarters to inform you that it is necessary to order the following persons to the Roumanian front immediately: From Petrograd, Commissar Kuhl, Socialist Rakovsky, Sailor Gnieshin; and from the front the chief of staff of the Red Guard, Durasov. These persons should be supplied with literature and with financial resources for agitation. To them is committed the task of taking all measures for the deposing of the Roumanian king and the removal of counter revolutionary Roumanian officers.

Director of Counter Espionage:
FEIERABEND.
Secretary: N. DRACHEV.

NOTE.—This marks the continuance of large-scale work to disorganize the Roumanian army. That it advances disappointingly to Germany is evidenced by vengeful steps taken by Gen. Hoffman and Trotsky from Brest-Litovsk, when in the middle of January

G. G.-S.
NACHRICHTEN-BUREAU.

Господину Народному Комиссару по Иностранным Делам.

г. г.

Eschsch

№ 272/166

6 февраля 1918 г.

Согласно указанию
Народного комиссара
К. Миссирова
Преступно выдать турецкому подданному Карпу
Х. Миссирову русский паспорт, вместо отобранного у
него, выданного ему в 1912 г. на основании прилагаемого к нему национального паспорта.

Агент К. Миссиров не направится в Штаб Русского
Верховного Командования, гл. согласно происшедшим
переговорам между ген. Гофманом и Комиссарами Троц-
ким и Иоффе, оных будет нести наблюдение за деятель-
ностью Начальника Штаба ген. Бончи-Бруевича в качес-
тве помощника Комиссара Кальмановича и Бежерабен-
да.

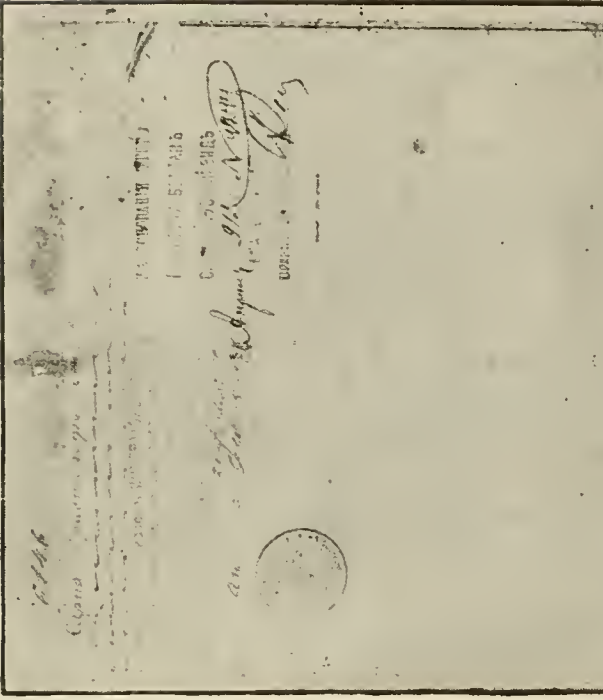


Начальник Отделения

Адъютанта.

В. В. В.

Facsimile of reverse of
Turkish passport. No-
tice the stamp of year
1912, in which year a
Russian passport first
was given bearer. No-
tice also the recent
stamp of Nachrichten
Bureau.



Above is shown facsimile of Document Number 32, asking Trotsky to appoint the Turk, C. Missiroff, as a spy on Gen. Bonch-Bruевич and bearing Joffe's notation, "According to agreement, it must be done."

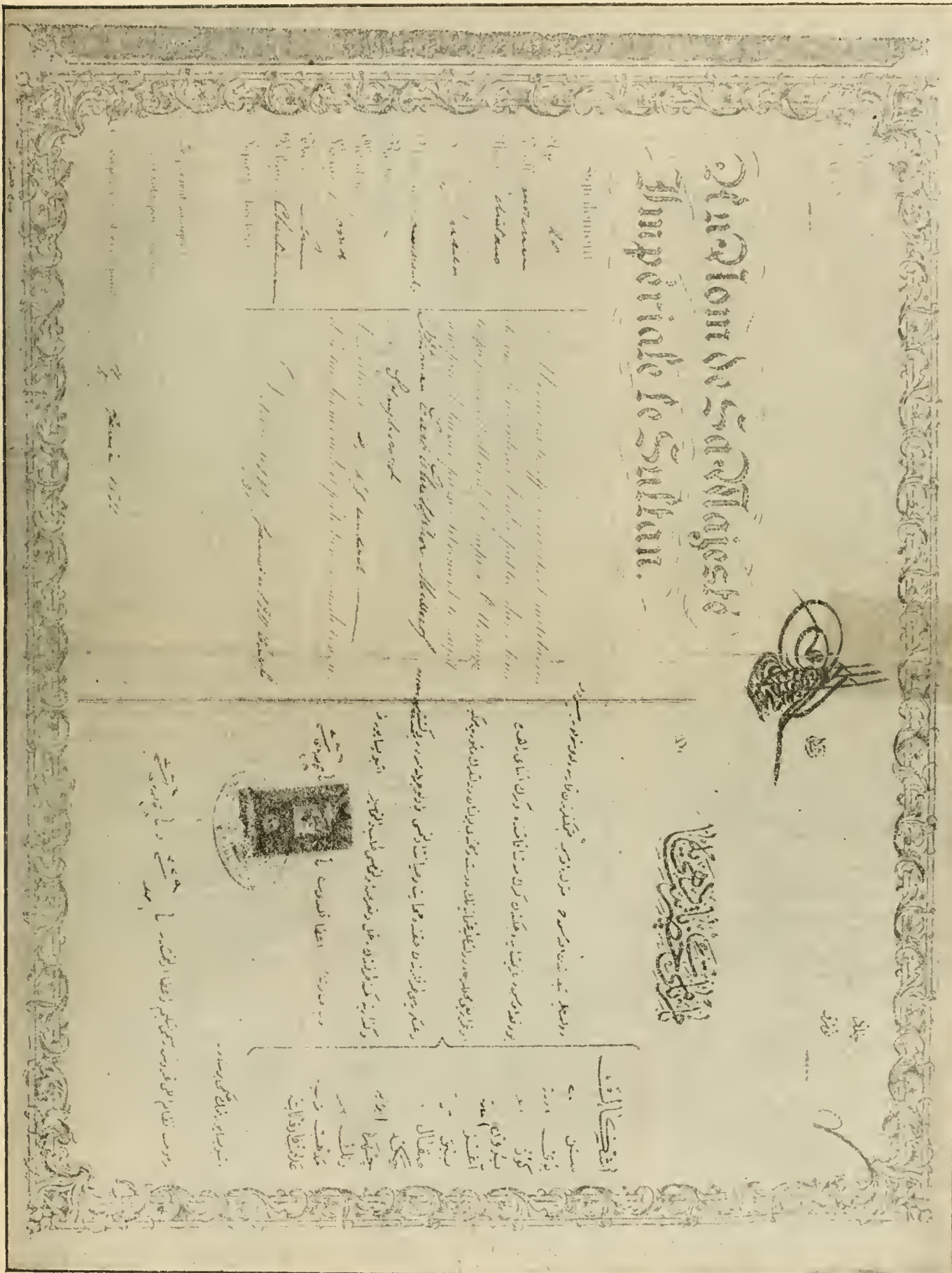
CONDITIONS ACHETER LES PAGES ATTACHEES DE NOTRE JOURNAL.

Table with columns for 'MONTANT', 'LITRES', 'CARTES POSTALES', 'LITRES', 'CARTES POSTALES', 'LITRES'. The table is mostly blank with some faint markings.

Handwritten notes and signatures in the top right corner of the document.

Handwritten date: Sunday 12 Feb 1918





Facsimile of face of Turkish passport surrendered by Missiroff. Notice that the passport was given him by Turkey in 1911. Letter No. 32 indicates that he had a previous Russian passport delivered to him in 1912, on basis of Turkish passport.

(western calendar) Trotsky, at the request of Gen. Hoffman, ordered the arrest in Petrograd of the Roumanian minister Diamandi. (See Document 37A.)

At about the same time the Roumanian public gold reserves in custody within the Kremlin walls at Moscow were seized by the Russian Government. Diamandi was released from arrest at the demand of the united diplomatic delegations at Petrograd, but his humiliations continued, and on January 28 he was ordered from Petrograd, being given less than 10 hours to prepare for the departure of a party that contained many women and children. Ambassador Francis sought in vain of Zalkind, who was acting as Foreign Minister in the absence of Trotsky again at Brest, for an extension of the time of departures. The Roumanian party was thrown pell-mell on a train at midnight. It was delayed in Finland on one excuse and another, not immediately apparent, but in three weeks the minister, leaving behind a large part of his people, was allowed to proceed to Torneo. By good luck he reached there the day after the Red Guard lost Torneo to the White Guard. That day saved his life, for on the person of Svetlitzky, a Russian commissar who joined him in mid-Finland and accompanied him to Torneo, was found an order to Timofeyeff, the commissar at Torneo, to shoot him. Svetlitzky was shot instead. When I passed through Torneo the control officer talked frankly about the details, expressing the opinion that the shooting might have been a mistake, as it was not shown that Svetlitzky was aware of the contents of the letter. Svetlitzky, however, was an important person in Petrograd, close to Trotsky. Our American party brought Guranesco, the first secretary of the Roumanian delegation, out of Finland through the lines with us. He had been in Red Finland seven weeks. Behind us at Bjorneburg we left several families of Roumanians who had departed from Petrograd with the minister. We would have liked to have brought them through the lines of the two armies, but our venture was too desperate to permit unauthorized additions to the party.

The marginal notation on this letter is "Execute," initialed "Ch," the sign manual of Chicherin, the returned exile from England, at that time Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs, now Minister of Foreign Affairs. Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT 37A*

*The contents of this letter, written by Joffe, were telegraphed to Washington in February, and photographic copy of letter forwarded by Ambassador Francis to State Department.

No. 771, Affair of Peace Delegation
(Confidential)

Brest-Litovsk, December 31, 1917.

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

Comrade L. Trotsky has charged me to bring to the knowledge of the Council of People's Commissars the motives for his telegraphic proposal to arrest the Roumanian diplomatic representatives in Petersburg.

Gen. Hoffman, referring to the conference which had taken place in Brest-Litovsk between the members of the German and Austro-Hungarian delegations on December 29, presented to the Russian delegation in the name of the German and Austrian Chief Command (a deciphered radio-telegram was exhibited in this connection) a confidential demand concerning the immediate incitement of the Roumanian army to recognize the necessity of an

armistice and adopting the terms of a democratic peace pointed out by the Russian delegates. The implacability of the staff and the whole commanding force of the Roumanian army, with regard to which the Chief Command of the German army has received the most exact agency information, spoils the excellent impression produced in Germany and on all the fronts by the Russian peace propositions, which has made it possible to again stimulate the popular feeling against England, France, and America and can bring about an undesirable and dangerous aggravation of the peace question, up to the German army going over to the attack on our front and an open annexation of the territories occupied in Russia.

The general expressed his opinion that against peace might be the Cossacks, some Ukrainian regiments, and the Caucasian army, in which case they will also doubtless be joined by the Roumanian armies, which, according to the information in possession of the German staff, enters into the calculations of Kaledin and Alexieff. It is greatly in the interests of the German and Austrian delegations that complete harmony should prevail on the entire Russian front as regards the conclusion of an armistice and adopting the terms of a separate peace between Russian and Germany, seeing that in this event the German and Austrian Chief Command will propose to Roumania their terms of peace, and will be in a position to take up their operative actions on the western front on a very large scale; at the same time Gen. Hoffman, in the course of a conversation with Comr. Trotsky, twice hinted at the necessity of immediately beginning these war operations.

When Comr. Trotsky declared that at the disposal of the council's power there are no means of influencing the Roumanian staff, Gen. Hoffman pointed out the necessity of sending trustworthy agents to the Roumanian army, and the possibility of arresting the Roumanian mission in Petersburg, and repressive measures against the Roumanian king and the Roumanian commanding forces.

After this interview Comr. L. Trotsky by cable proposed to arrest the Roumanian mission in Petersburg with all its members. This report is being sent by special courier—Comrade I. G. Brossoff, who has to personally transmit to Commissar Padvaitsky some information of a secret character regarding the sending to the Roumanian army of those persons whose names Comr. Brassoff will give. All these persons will be paid out of the cash of the "German Naphtha-Industrial Bank," which has bought near Brest-Litovsk the business of the joint-stock company of Fanto & Co. The chief direction of those agents has been intrusted, according to Gen. Hoffman's indication, to a certain Wolf Vonigel, who is keeping a watch over the military agents of the countries allied with us. As regards the English and American diplomatic representatives, Gen. Hoffman has expressed the agreement of the German staff to the measures adopted by Comr. Trotsky and Comr. Lazimiroff with regard to watching over their activity.

Member of the delegation:

A. JOFFE.

[Marginal Notations]

Comr. Shitkevitch: Take copies and send to the Commiss. for Foreign

Affairs, personally to Comr. Zalkind.

[Passages printed above in italics marked:] To Sanders.

Reported January 4, regarding the arrest of Diamandi and others.

M. SHITKEVITCH.

January 5, 1918.—To the Chancery: Send an urgent telegram to Trotsky about the arrest of the Roumanian minister.—SAVELIEFF.

NOTE (as cabled Feb. 9).—The date is January 12, western calendar, the eve of the Russian New Year. The Roumanian minister was arrested that night in Petrograd, and only released on the united demand of all embassies and legations in Petrograd. Since then he has been sent out of Russia. The letter shows that Trotsky took Gen. Hoffman's personal demand as an order for action. Most important of all, however, it strips the mask from the Lenin and Trotsky public protestations that they have sought to prevent the peace negotiations with Germany from turning to the military advantage of Germany against the United States, England, and France. The aim here disclosed is instead to aid Germany in stimulating feeling against England, France, and the United States, in enabling Germany to prepare for an offensive on the western front. A German bank is named as paymaster for Bolshevik agitators among the Roumanian soldiers. Is "Wolf Vonigel," the field director, the Wolf von Igel of American notoriety? The similarity in name is striking. Finally, Gen. Hoffman and the German staff is satisfied with Trotsky's watch over the American and English diplomats. Joffe, who signs the letter, is a member of the Russian Peace Commission. Since this letter was written Zalkind has gone to Switzerland on a special mission.

NOTE.—(July 6, 1918). He did not reach there, being unable to pass through England, and in April was in Christiania.

DOCUMENT NO. 38

Commission for Combating the Counter Revolution and Pogroms, No. —.

Petrograd, Dec. 14, 1917.

MAJOR VON BOEILKE:

ESTEEMED COMRADE: I bring to your notice that our Finnish comrades, Hakhia, Pukko, and Enrot have advised the Commissar for Combating the Counter Revolution of the following facts:

1. Between the English officers and the Finnish bourgeois organizations there are connections which cause us serious apprehension.

2. In Finland have been installed two wireless stations which are used by unknown persons who communicate in cipher.

3. Between Gen. Kaledin and the American mission there is an undoubted communication, of which we have received exact information from your source, and, therefore, a most careful supervision of the American Embassy is necessary.

These reports must be established exactly. Our agents are helpless. Please excuse that I write on the official letter heads, but I hasten to do this, sitting here at the commission at an extraordinary meeting. Ready to service.

F. ZALKIND.

NOTE.—The written comment at the top of the letter is: "Commissar for Foreign Affairs. I request exact instructions. Schott." It is von Boehke's question, signed with his cipher name. (See document 5.) The letter may imply that von

Boehlke had, in the opinion of his good friend Zalkind, a means of internal obscurity at the American Embassy. Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 39

Counter Espionage at the Army Headquarters, No. 268.

(Very Secret)

January 25, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSION ON COMBATING THE COUNTER REVOLUTION:

The 23d of January at the Army Headquarters [Stavka] there took place a conference at which there participated Maj. von Boehlke, assigned from Petrograd. It was decided, upon the insistence of the German consultants, to send to the internal fronts the following persons, furnishing them all powers for dealing with individual counter revolutionaries:

To the Don: Zhikhorev, Rudnev, Krogultz, and Ernest Delgau.

To the Caucasus Front: Vassili Dumbadze, Prince Machabelli, Sevastianov, and Ter-Baburin.

To the 1st Polish Corps of Gen. Dovbor-Menitsky are assigned Dembitski, Stekus, Zhimiitis, and Gisman.

Be so good as to take all measures for the quick assignment and the adequate furnishing of the assigned persons with money, reserve passports, and other documents.

Senior officer: PETER MIRONOV.

NOTE.—This is an assassination order against individuals. It was not successful against the Polish general. Dembadze and Prince Machabelli were German spies implicated in the Sukhomlinoff affair and sentenced to prison, but afterwards liberated by the Bolsheviks. Lieut. Col. Dembitski was a Bolshevik Polish officer. Baburin was an assistant chief of staff under Krienko. The letter is indorsed: "Comrade Lunacharsky. Go and report to Comrade Zinovieff," signature illegible.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 40

Counter Espionage at the Army Headquarters, No. 51/572.

January 19, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE COUNTER REVOLUTION:

There have been received two notes addressed to the Supreme Commander from the staffs of the Austrian and German High Commands. These notes inform the Army Headquarters [Stavka] that the organizer of the volunteer army in the Don region, Gen. Alexieff, is in written communication with the officer personnel of the Polish legions at the front, with the view of getting the help of Polish officers in the counter revolution. This information has been received by the Austrian agents from the Polish Bolshevik Comrade Zhuk, who played a large part at Rostov during the November and December battles. On the other side, the representative of the German Government, Count Lerchenfeldt, reports of the rapidly growing movement in Poland in favor of the bourgeois estate owners' imperialistic plan to defend with arms the greatest possible independence of Poland, with the broadening of its fron-

tiers at the expense of Lithuania, White Russia, and Galicia.

This movement is actively supported by the popular democratic party in Warsaw, as well as Petrograd, by military organizations guided by the counter revolutionary estate owners and the bourgeois Polish clergy.

The situation which has arisen was discussed on the 16th of January at the Stavka in the presence of Maj. von Boehlke, sent by the Petrograd branch of the German Intelligence Bureau, and it was there decided:

1. To take the most decisive measures, up to shooting *en masse*, against the Polish troops which have submitted to the counter revolutionary and imperialistic propaganda.

2. To arrest Gen. Dovbor-Menitsky.

3. To arrange a surveillance of the commanding personnel.

4. Send agitators to the Polish legions to consult regarding this the Polish revolutionary organizations known to the committee.

5. On learning of the counter revolutionary activity of Polish officers to immediately arrest them and send them to the Stavka at the disposal of the Counter Espionage.

6. To arrest the emissaries of Gen. Alexieff, Staff Capt. Shuravsky, and Capt. Rushitsky.

7. To request the Commission for Combating the Counter Revolution, in agreement with the German Intelligence Bureau at Petrograd, to arrange a surveillance and observation of the following institutions and persons:

(a) The military committee.

(b) The Society of Friends of the Polish Soldier.

(c) Inter-Party Union.

(d) The Union of Polish Invalids.

(e) Members of the Polish Group of the former state Duma and council.

(f) The chairman, Lednitsky, and the members of the former Committee for the Liquidation of Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland.

(g) Boleslav Jalovtski.

(h) Vladislav Grabski.

(i) Stanislav Shuritski.

(j) Roman Catholic Polish clergy.

(k) The Polish Treasury through which, according to agency reports, the governments of countries allied with Russia intend, with the assistance of the New York National City Bank, to supply with monetary resources the counter revolutionary camp.

(l) It is necessary to verify the private reports of several Lithuanian revolutionaries that among the Church Benevolent Funds, which are at the disposal of the Polish clergy, are the capitals of private persons who hid their money from requisition for the benefit of the state.

In case of establishment of any connection with the counter revolution, the guilty Polish institutions are to be liquidated, their leaders and also persons connected with the counter revolutionary activity are to be arrested, and sent to the disposal of the Stavka.

Chief of the Counter Espionage:

Commissar: FEIERABEND.
KALMANOVICH.

NOTE.—Again Germany, through Count Lerchenfeldt, was intriguing on both sides. Chiefly, however, the significance of the letter is in the thoroughness of the outlined German plan to crush the threat of armed opposition from the Polish legions of the Russian army. The troops were fired upon, as indicated. The preceding document really follows this in natural sequence. The next two further elucidate the situation for the benefit of the Poles of the outside world.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 41

Counter Espionage at the Army Headquarters, No. 461.

January 28, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE COUNTER REVOLUTION:

The Special Constituent Commission on the conflict with the Polish counter revolutionary troops has begun its activity. All the conduct of its affairs has been located at the Counter Espionage at the Army Headquarters [Stavka], where is being collected all information on the counter revolution on the external and internal fronts. At the commission have arrived members of the Commission for Combating the Counter Revolution, E. Miekonoshin, I. Zenzinov, Zhilinski, and from Sevastopol Comrade Tiurin. To a conference were called agents announcing their wish to be sent for conflict with the bourgeois Polish officers: Lieut. Col. Dembitski, Boleslav Yakimovich, Roman Strievsky, Joseph Yasenovsky, and Mikhail Adamovich. All those agents are under obligation to carry the affair to the point of open insubordination of the soldiers against the officers and the arrest of the latter.

For emergency the commander in chief ordered to assign Nakhim Sher and Ilya Razymov for the destruction of the counter revolutionary ringleaders among the Polish troops, and the commission recognized the possibility of declaring all Polish troops outside the law, when that measure should present itself as imperative.

From Peterburg, observers announced that the Polish organizations are displaying great reserve and caution in mutual relations. There has been established, however, an unquestionable contact between the High Military Council located in Peterburg and the Polish officers and soldiers of the bourgeois estate-owning class with the counter revolutionary Polish troops. On this matter in the Commissariat on Military Affairs, there took place on January 22 a conference of Comrades Podvoisky, Kedrov, Boretzkov, Dybenko, and Kovalsky. The Commissar on Naval Affairs announced that the sailors Trushin, Markin, Peinkaitis, and Schultz demand the dismissal of the Polish troops, and threaten, in case it is refused, assaults on the Polish legions in Peterburg. The commander-in-chief suggests that it might be possible to direct the rage of the sailors mentioned, and of their group, to the front against the counter revolutionary Polish troops.

At the present time our agitation among the Polish troops is being car-

Ote Armoittesista asetelastesta 5/18 piltä Kesäkuuta 1903 koskeva järjestyksä passaja antaessa suomalaisille syntyperäisille asukkaalle Keisarikunnassa oleskeltamista varten.

§ 9. Passanomistaja, joka, hänelle viranomaisen Suomesa antaman passin määräjän kuittua, tahtoo jättä Keisarikunnan pitteimäksi ajaksi oleskeltamaan, on kolmessa kuukaudessa sanoin passiaan kuittua itsekohtaisesti tälli kirjallisesti velvollinen kääntymään Pietarissa olevan Suomen Passiviraston puoleen, saadakseen uuden passin Suomesa saadun passin vaihdiksi.

§ 13. Suomen Passivirasto on oikeutettu pätevällä perusteilla kōmeteksi kulkukäsitiksi, vaan ei kauerimaksi, myöntämään määräjän pitteimystä Passiviraston tälli viranomaisen Suomesa antamille passille, joiden määräjät on ollut.

Utdrag ur Nådiga Förförningen af den 5/18 Juni 1903 rörande sättet för utfärdande af pass åt finska infödingar för vistelse i Kejsardömet.

§ 9. Den, som efter utgången af termnen för af honom af myndighet i Finland utfärdat pass, önskar kvarstanna i Kejsardömet på längre tid, är skyldig att inom tre månader, räknad från sagda termns utgång, personligen eller skrifligen vända sig till Finska Passarexpeditionen i Petrograd för erklättande af nytt pass i utbyte mot det pass han erhållit i Finland.

§ 13. Finska Passarexpeditionen äger att på vägnande skäl medgifva uppskof för en tid icke överskridande tre månader af giltighetsterminen å af densamma afven som af myndigheterna i Finland utfärdade pass, hvilkas termin utgått.

GR. GENERALSTAB.
CENTRAL VERBODEN.

Section 4. a.
-26 Marsale 1918 r.

Во Советъ Народныхъ Комиссаровъ.

Весьма секретно.

По поручению Верховнаго Командованія Германской Арміи, нийю честь напомнить, что надлежит немедленно приступить къ отозванію и разоруженію Русской Красной Гвардіи изъ Финляндіи. Штабу извѣстно, что главныя провинціи этой дѣры является Начальникъ Финской Красной Гвардіи, Ядро дѣры является Хаапалайненъ, нийшій большое вліяніе на русскихъ товарищъ. Проту командировать для борьбы съ Хаапалайненомъ представителя Финскаго паспирта за № 3681 нашего агента, Зальтера Невалайненъ /Невалайсенло/ и снабдить его па- спортомъ и пропусками.

Начальникъ Отдѣла *C. Rajala*

Адъютантъ Ю. Вонгъ

Below is shown facsimile of Letter Number 43, ordering issuance of new passport to the Finn, Nevalainen.

*В. Калламанъ, Председатель
Секции 4. а.
26 Марта 1918 г.
Секретъ*

Вонгъ

С. Райала

Stamp: *В. К. Р. А. О. П. Р. Т. М. Р. В. П.*

Above is shown facsimile of reverse of Nevalainen's Finnish passport, which he surrendered in receipt for Russian passport.

ried on in very active fashion and there is great hope for the disorganization of the Polish legionaries.

Chief of Counter Espionage:

FEIERABEND.

Secretary: IV. ALEXIEFF.

NOTE.—Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 42

Counter Espionage at the Army Headquarters,
No. 21.

January 28, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING
THE COUNTER REVOLUTION:

At the request of the commander in chief, in answer to your inquiry, I inform you, supplementary to the dispatch, that the funds sent with Maj. Bayermeister have been received here. Among the troops acting on the front against the counter revolutionaries have been prepared several battalions for conflict with the Poles and Roumanians. We will pay 12 roubles a day, with an increased food ration. From the hired sections sent against the legionaries have been formed two companies, one from the best shots for the shooting of officer-regiments, the other of Lithuanians and Letts for the spoiling of food reserves in Vitebsk, Minsk, and Mogilev governments, in the places where the Polish troops are situated. Various local peasants have also agreed to attack the regiments and exterminate them.

Commissar: G. MOSHOLOV.
Secretary: IV. ALEXIEFF.

NOTE.—These two documents show that the policy against these patriotic soldiers was one of merciless extermination, financed by German money, handed out by a German officer. Bayermeister is named in Document No. 5.

Have photograph of letter.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COMPLETE SURRENDER

The following documents show the complete surrender of the Bolshevik leaders to their German masters:

DOCUMENT NO. 43

G[reat] General Staff, Central Division,
Section M-R, No. 411.

February 26, 1918.

(Very Secret)

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

According to instructions from the High Command of the German Army, I have the honor to remind you that the withdrawing and disarming of the Russian Red Guard from Finland must be commenced immediately. It is known to the staff that the chief opponent of this step is the head of the Finnish Red Guard, Yarro Haapalainen, who has a great influence on the Russian (tovarische) [comrades]. I request you to assign for this struggle with Haapalainen our agent, Walter Nevalainen (Nevalaiselle), bearer

of Finnish passport 3681, and supply him with a passport and passes.

Head of the Division:

O. RAUSCH.

U. WOLFF.

NOTE.—Written at the top of the letter and signed N. G., the initials of Lenin's secretary, N. Gorbunov, is the order: "Send to the Commissar of Foreign Affairs and execute." In the margin is written "Passport 211—No. 392," but unfortunately the name under which the new passport was given is not mentioned. This order explains the withdrawal of the Russian Red Guard from Finland in early March and the abandonment of the Finnish Red Guard to its fate. The latter, however, took care of the disarming both of Russian soldiers and sailors as they left Finland, for the Finns needed guns and ammunition. The Russians sometimes fought but were surrounded and disarmed. In Helsingfors while I was there in March the Red Guard and the sailors were fighting each other nightly with rifles and machine guns. One of two Finnish Red Guard leaders almost surely is Nevalainen, but under the circumstances I do not care to speculate.

The order to hold all foreign embassies in Red Finland was given coincidentally with the appearance of one of them upon the scene. The excuse offered was that foreigners were carrying information to the White Guard. Simultaneously influence was exerted in the White Guard to increase difficulties in passage between the lines. It is reasonable to place the obstacles to passage created on both sides of the Finnish line to German effort, for German aid was being given the White Guard openly at the moment it was intriguing in the inner councils of the Red Guard. The American party cornered in Finland escaped only by persistence and good fortune. The British Embassy party was passed through the day before the closing order came. The French and Italian Embassies were obliged after a month of vain effort to return to Russia.

Have original letter and the surrendered passport.

DOCUMENT NO. 44

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R, No. 238.

February 7, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

We are told that secret service agents attached to the Army Headquarters [Stavka] are following Maj. Erich, who has been ordered to Kioff. I ask you to take urgent measures to remove the surveillance of the above-named officer.

Head of the Bureau: AGASFER.

Adjutant: BUKHOLM.

NOTE.—Chicherin, assistant foreign minister, initials a marginal comment, "Talk it over." This note marks the period of acute irritation over the Ukraine between Bolsheviks and Germans. Agasfer is Maj. Luberts.

Have original letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 45

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R, No. 228.

February 4, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

By instructions of the representative of our staff I have the honor to

ask you immediately to recall from the Ukrainian front the agitators Bryansky, Wolf, Drabkin, and Pittsker. Their activity has been recognized as dangerous by the German General Staff.

Head of the Bureau:

AGASFER.

Adjutant:

HENRICH.

NOTE.—An exchange of courtesies of the same period as Document No. 41. Chicherin has notated it, "Discuss."

Have original letter, and also photo secured earlier.

DOCUMENT NO. 46

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R, No. 238.

February 3, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

According to instructions of the representative of our General Staff, I have the honor once more to insist that you recall from Esthonia, Lithuania, and Courland all agitators of the Central Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies.

Head of the Bureau: AGASFER.

Adjutant: BUKHOLM.

NOTE.—Another instance of the time when Germany was using an iron hand of discipline, clearing of agitators the Provinces it already had announced its intention of seizing for its own. The letter was referred by Markin, one of Trotsky's secretaries, to Volodarsky, who seems to have been in charge of the proletarian agitation in these Provinces.

Have original of letter, and also photo secured earlier.

DOCUMENT NO. 47

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R, No. 317.

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

The Intelligence Bureau has received precise information that the agitators of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, Volodarski, Brosoff, and Guschin, have completely changed the character of the Esthonia socialists' activity, which finally led to the local German landlords being declared outlawed. By order of the General Staff I ask you to take immediate steps for the restoring of the rights of the above-mentioned German landlords and the recalling of the agitators.

For the head of the Bureau:

R. BAUER.

Adjutant:

E. RATITZ.

NOTE.—This order for the release of the German landlords was at once obeyed, and the act of surrender, evidently at the direct order of Lenin, to whom this letter is addressed, marked the end of the incipient rebellion of the Bolshevik leaders against their German masters.

Have photograph of letter.

VARIED ACTIVITIES

The following documents show various miscellaneous activities, including measures for the assassination of counter revolutionaries:

DOCUMENT NO. 48

Counter Espionage at the Army Headquarters,
No. —

January 22, 1918.

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

By our agents it has been established that connections between the Poles, the Don, and French officers, and also probably the diplomatic representatives of the allied powers, are maintained by means of Russian officers traveling under the guise of sack speculators. In view of this we request you to take measures for the strict surveillance of the latter.

Commissar: KALMANOVICH.

NOTE.—*The indorsement on this is by Gorbunoff, "Copy to inform Podvoisky and Dzerzhinsky." The former was War Minister, the latter chairman of the Commission for Combating the Counter Revolution. Sack speculators were food peddlers who went into the provinces and brought food to the cities for profitable sale. Soldiers practically had a monopoly of the trade.*

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 49

G[reat] General Staff, Intelligence Bureau,
Section R, No. 151.

December 4, 1917.

TO THE COMMISSARIAT OF MILITARY AFFAIRS:

Herewith the Intelligence Bureau has the honor to transmit a list of the persons of Russian origin who are in the service of the German Intelligence Department:

Sakharoff, officer First Infantry Reserve Regiment; Ensign Ter-Arytuniantz, Zanko, Yarchuk, Golovin, Zhuk, Ilinsky, Cherniavsky, Capt. Postnikov, Schneier, Sailors Trushin and Gavrillov. All the persons mentioned are on the permanent staff of the Intelligence Bureau of the German General Staff.

Head of the Bureau:

AGASFER.

Adjutant:

HENRICH.

NOTE.—*Have photograph of letter.*

DOCUMENT NO. 50

G[reat] General Staff, Central Division,
Section M, No. 22.

January 14, 1918.

(Very Confidential)

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL OF COMMISSARS:

The Russian Division of the German General Staff has received an urgent report from our agents at Novocher-

kash and Rostoff that the friction which has arisen between Gen. Alexieff and Gen. Kaledin, after which the volunteer corps of Gen. Alexieff began the movement to the north, is a tactical step to have a base in the rear. In this way the army of Gen. Alexieff will have a reliable rear base, protected by Cossack troops, for supplying the army, and a base in case of an overwhelming movement on the part of the enemy. The communications of Gen. Alexieff with the Polish troops have been proved by new reports of the Polish Bolshevik commissars, Zhuk and Dembitski.

Chief of the Division of General Staff: O. RAUSCH.

Chief Adjutant: R. KRIEGER.

NOTE.—*Important as showing that the German had a real fear of the military possibilities in the Alexieff-Kaledin movement. The suicide of Gen. Kaledin at a moment of depression, following betrayals that undoubtedly were carefully plotted, was tragically a part of the great national tragedy.*

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 51

Counter Espionage at the Army Headquarters,
No. 263/79.

January 23, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSARIAT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

To your inquiry regarding those agents who might be able to give an exact report of the sentiment of the troops and population in the Provinces, I transmit to you a short list of the Russo-German agents-informers: In Voronezh, S. Sirtzoff; in Rostoff, Globoff and Melikoff; in Tiflis, Enskidze and Gavriloff; in Kazan, Pfaltz; in Samara, Oaipoff and Voenig; in Omsk, Blagovensehensky and Sipko; in Tomsk, Dattan, Tarasoff, and Rodionoff; in Irkutsk, Zhinzherova and Geze; in Vladivostok, Buttenhoff, Pannoff, and Erlanger.

Chief of Counter Espionage:

FEIERABEND.

Commissar:

KALMANOVICH.

NOTE.—*Apart from the list of agents this letter has interest from the comment: "To the company of Comrade Bonch-Bruевич and Secret Department." The signature is illegible.*

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 52

Counter Espionage at the Army Headquarters,
No. 395.

January 21, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE COUNTER REVOLUTION:

The agents of the Counter Espionage at the Stavka [Army Headquarters] have established that the anarchists Stepan Kriloff, Fedor Kutzi, and Albert Bremsen, at Helsingfors, and also Nahim Arshavsky, Ruppim Levin, and Mikhail Shatilloff

had during the recent days a conference with the chief of staff of the Petrograd army district Shpilko. After Comrade Shpilko transmitted to the anarchists the offer of Comrade Antonoff and Comrade Bersin to recruit agents for the destruction of several counter revolutionists, the latter expressed their willingness and immediately began the recruiting. To Kieff are assigned the following, who have been hired at Helsingfors: S. Smirnoff and Rigamann; and to Odessa, Brack and Schulkevich.

For the Chief of the Counter Espionage.

Commissar: C. MOSHLOV.

NOTE.—*This is an assassination compact between Bolsheviks and anarchists. Antonoff, if one of the chief Bolshevik military leaders, is credited with the taking of Petrograd, and was in charge of the operations against Alexieff and Kaledin. The list of anarchists include several notorious characters.*

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 53

Counter Espionage at the Army Headquarters,
No. 471.

January 27, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE COUNTER REVOLUTION:

By us here there has been received a report from Finland, from Grishin and Rakhi, of the counter revolutionary activity of the lawyer, Jonas Kastren. This Kastren, in the years 1914-15 recruited on German funds Finnish volunteer regiments and sent them to Germany. For facilitating the work of recruiting he represented himself as a Socialist-Maximalist, and promised support to the Workers' Red Guard. In his office in Stockholm many of our comrades found a cordial reception and material support. Kastren furnished to Russia German money for the propaganda of Bolshevism in Russia. He had already established in 1916 a division of the German General Staff in Helsingfors. Now he, together with Svinhuvud, Ernroth, and Nandelsehtedt, is on the side of the White Guards and is aiding them with money, supplies, and arms. We are informed that Kastren works both with German and English money. It is necessary immediately to cut short the work of Jonas Kastren and his group. The commander in chief advises to call to Petersburg the Finnish comrades, Rakhi and Pukho, or order Grishin to Helsingfors.

Commissar:

A. SIVKO.

Secretary:

IV. ALEXIEFF.

NOTE.—*Kastren was still alive when I spent a week in Helsingfors in March, but he added to his chances of longevity by fleeing in early February to the White Guards headquarters at Vasa. The order for his removal came too late. Again we see Germany playing with both sides in Finland at the same time.*

Have photograph of letter.

APPENDIXES TO THE REPORT

APPENDIX I

DOCUMENTS CIRCULATED BY ANTI-BOLSHEVIKI IN RUSSIA

This appendix is of circulars of which (except in two cases noted) I have neither originals nor authenticated copies. A number of sets of them were put out in Russian text in Petrograd and in other parts of Russia in the winter (1917-18) by the opponents of the Bolsheviki. The circulars were declared to be copies of documents taken from the Counter Espionage Bureau of the Kerensky Government, supplemented by some earlier material from the same bureau when it was under the Imperial Government. The opportunity for securing them could easily have been afforded to the agents and employees of the Bureau, for most of the employees walked out when the Bolsheviki grasped the Government, and could have taken freely of the contents of their departments.

Some of the documents were included in the publication made in Paris, hitherto referred to.

I have not relied on them as proof, but they fit to other fabrics of proof, and in the light of it are more valuable for themselves than they were when they stood alone.

Two of the documents among these circulars are the circular of industrial mobilization of June 9, 1914, and the "destruction agents" circular of November 28, 1914. (See Document 3 of my Report.) This group of circulars came into my hands the first week in February, 1918, in an English version with the unknown translator's notes and a few days later two other sets, one in English and one in Russian, reached me. I prepared a digest of the set and Ambassador Francis cabled the message in code to the State Department February 9. It was nearly four weeks later before I secured the matter referred to in my Report as "Originals" and all the photographs listed in my Report. Two of these originals were of circulars I had seen in copy form four weeks earlier. That summarizes the case of the circulars of the appendix considered as evidence.

EDGAR SISSON.

*Analysis of German conspiracy matter, with notes as prepared by me and cabled State Department in Ambassador Francis's code February 9, 1918, and with some added notes, as indicated.**

DOCUMENT NO. 54

Circular February 18, 1914.—From the Ministry [of Finance] to all groups of German banks and, by agreement with the Austro-Hungarian Government, the Oesterreichische-Kreditanstalt."

The managements of all German banks which are transacting business

* The text which is presented in this publication is in the main that of the translation into English, by an unknown translator, which was cabled to the State Department. For convenience this is called version A. A second translation into English differing in extent and phraseology from the former is styled version B. The mimeographed set of these circulars in Russian, which Mr. Sisson secured, is referred to as version C; it agrees in the main with B so far as the latter extends. Version B does not include Documents 61 to 68 inclusive. Passages printed in italics in the text are in version A but not in B and C; passages in brackets are in B and C but are omitted in version A.

abroad and, by agreement with the Austro-Hungarian Government, the Oesterreichische-Kreditanstalt Bank, are hereby advised that the Imperial Government has deemed it to be of extreme necessity to ask the management of all institutions of credit to establish with all possible dispatch agencies in Luleo, Haparanda, and Varde, on the frontier of Finland, and in Bergen and Amsterdam. The establishment of such agencies for a more effective observation of the financial interests of German shareholders of Russian, French, and English concerns may become a necessity under certain circumstances, which would alter the situation of the industrial and financial market.

Moreover, the managements of banking institutions are urged emphatically to make provisions for very close and absolutely secret relations being established with Finnish and American banks. In this direction the ministry begs to recommend the [extremely active] Swedish Nia Banken in Stockholm, the banking office of Furstenberg, the commercial company, Waldemar Hansen, in Copenhagen, as concerns which are maintaining lively relations with Russia.—(Signature) No. 373. In charge of Division for Foreign Operations.

NOTE.—This is the outline of the basic financial structure begun in February, 1914, five months before war was launched, and still in operation. Notice the reappearance in subsequent Lenin messages of towns Luleo and Varde. Likewise the reference to American banks. Olaf Ashberg, one of the heads of the Nia-Banken, came to Petrograd a month ago (January, 1918) and on the way boasted that Nia-Banken was the Bolsheviki bank. He was overheard by one of our own group. He secured from Smolny permit for export several hundred thousand gallons of oil, opened at Hotel d'Europe headquarters where both Mirbach and Kaiserling of German commissions have been entertained, negotiated with State bank February 1 contract for buying cash roubles and establishing foreign credit for Russian Government. Furstenberg is now at Smolny using the name Ganetzky, is one of the inner group, and is likely soon to be placed in charge of State bank. Ashberg now in Stockholm, but returning.

DOCUMENT NO. 55

Circular, November 2, 1914.—From the General Staff to all military attachés [agents] in the countries adjacent to Russia, France, Italy, and Norway.

In all branches of German banks in Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, [China,] and the United States special war credits have been opened for subsidiary war requirements. The General Staff is authorizing you to avail yourself in unlimited amounts of these credits for the destruction of the enemy's factories, plants, and the most important military and civil structures. Simultaneously with the instigation of strikes it is necessary to make provision for the damaging of motors, of mechanisms, with the destruction of vessels [carrying] military supplies to enemy countries] setting incendiary fires to stocks of raw materials and finished

products, deprivation of large towns of their electric energy, stocks of fuel and provisions. Special agents, detailed to be at your disposal, will deliver to you explosive and incendiary devices, and a list of such persons in the country under your observation who will assume the duty of agents of destruction.—(Signed) Dr. [E.] FISCHER, General Army Councilor.

NOTE (Oct. 10, 1918).—Of the typewritten versions of this letter in my possession, one is dated June 9, 1914, and two are dated Nov. 2, 1914. The latter is the more likely date, and the chances are that June 9 is a typographical error. No evidence value has been placed on this circular, as the introduction to this chapter carefully points out.

The case of the next circular, however, No. 56, of the date June 9, is different. Here the date is right, and has the corroborative support of Document No. 3.

DOCUMENT NO. 56

Circular, June 9, 1914.—General Staff to all [district] intendencies:

Within 24 hours after receipt of this circular you are to inform all industrial concerns by telegraph that the documents with industrial mobilization plans and with registration forms be opened, such as are referred to in the circular of the Commission of Count Waldersee and Count Caprivi, of June 27, 1887.—No. 421 RE MOBILIZATION.

[Versions B and C read: Within 24 hours of receipt of this circular notify by telegraph all owners of industrial enterprises to open packets with industrial mobilization statistics (or specifications) and plans, as stated in the circular, etc. Both versions B and C add the note: This circular was seized in the correspondence of Major Epeling with Consul Count Lerchenfeldt.]

NOTE.—This is the content of circular of which I have original German printed circular in the form in which it is reproduced in my report in connection with Document No. 3. E. S., July 6, 1918.

DOCUMENT NO. 57

Circular, November 2, 1914.—From the Imperial Bank to the representatives of the Nia-Banken and the agents of the Diskonto Gesellschaft and of the Deutsche-Bank:

At the present time there have been concluded conversations between the authorized agents of the Imperial Bank and the Russian revolutionaries, Messrs. Zinovieff [here and below version A has Zenzinoff] and Lunacharsky. Both the mentioned persons addressed themselves to several financial men, who for their part addressed themselves to our representatives. We are ready to support the agitation and propaganda projected by them in Russia on the [one] absolute condition that the agitation and propaganda noted [planned] by the above-mentioned Messrs. Zinovieff and Lunacharsky will touch the active armies at the front. In case the agents of the Imperial Bank should address themselves to your banks we beg you to open them the

necessary credit which will be covered completely as soon as you make demand on Berlin.—(Signed) RISSER.

[*Addition as part of document:* Zinovieff and Lunacharsky got in touch with Imperial Bank of Germany through the bankers, D. Rubenstein, Max Warburg, and Parvus. Zinovieff addressed himself to Rubenstein and Lunacharsky through Altvater to Warburg, through whom he found support in Parvus.

NOTE.—Lunacharsky is the present People's Commissioner of Education. Parvus and Warburg both figure in the Lenin and Trotsky documents. Parvus is an agent at Copenhagen (see "New Europe," January 31, 1918, pp. 94-95). Warburg is believed to have been lately in Petrograd.

DOCUMENT NO. 58

Circular, November 28, 1914.—From Naval General Staff to the naval attachés [*Version C reads agents*]:

You are ordered to mobilize immediately all destruction agents and observers [agents-observers and agents-destroyers] in those commercial and military ports where munitions are being loaded [may be loaded] on ships going to England, France, Canada, the United States of North America, and Russia, where there are storehouses of such munitions and where [naval] fighting units are stationed. It is necessary to hire through third parties who stand in no relationship to the official representatives of Germany, agents for arranging explosives [explosions] on ships bound for enemy countries, and for arranging delays, embroilments, and confusions during the loading, dispatching, and unloading of ships. For this purpose we are specially recommending for your attention loaders' gangs, amongst whom there are many anarchists and escaped criminals [and that you get in touch with*] German and neutral [shipping] offices, and [as a means of observing*] agents of enemy countries who are receiving and shipping the munitions. Funds required for the hiring and bribing of persons necessary for the designated purpose will be placed at your disposal at your request.—(Signed) NO. 93, Secret Service Division of the Naval Staff. KOENIG.

[*Original translator's comment (as part of document):*] The above document was among the documents seized during the investigation of the fire of the storehouses of the firm of Iversen, and among the documents of Consul Gering and Vice Consul Gerold.

* In the German circular (see Document No. 3) but omitted in versions A, B, and C.

NOTE.—This is an English translation, by an unknown translator, of circular of which I have German printed circular in form in which it is reproduced in connection with Document No. 3. See my Report, Document No. 3.—E. S., July 6, 1918.

DOCUMENT NO. 59

Circular, January 15, 1915, from the General Staff to the military attachés [agents] in the United States:

Inclosed you will find [*original translator's note:* or, we are sending you] the circular of November 2, 1914, for your guidance and its application in the territory of the United States. In this connection your attention is

called to the possibility of hiring destruction agents among members of anarchist [labor] organizations.—(Signed) General Army Councilor, Dr. [E.] FISCHER.

[*Original translator's comment (as part of document):*] This circular is recited in the letter of Dr. Klassen to the board of the Pan-German League in Stockholm, which was intercepted in Stockholm.

NOTES (By Edgar Sisson, July 6, 1918).—The date of November 2 appears in typed version as I have seen it, but probably this is error, as instruction is a direct sequel to document of November 28 (No. 3). (Later.)—Nov. 2 is right. Nov. 28 was to naval agents. This is to military agents.—E. S.

DOCUMENT NO. 60

Circular, February 23, 1915.—Press Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to all ambassadors, ministers, and consular officials in neutral countries:

You are hereby advised that in the country to which you are accredited special offices are established for the organization of propaganda in the countries of the coalition of powers which is in a state of belligerency with Germany. [*Versions B and C read:* in countries at war with German coalition]. The propaganda will be connected with the stirring up of social unrest and strikes resulting from it; of revolutionary outbreaks; of separatism among the component parts of the state; of civil war; and will also comprise agitation against [in favor of] disarmament and the discontinuation of the war butchery. You are requested to cooperate and to favor in every way the managers of said offices. These persons will present to you proper certificates [credentials].

(Signed) BARTHELM.

[*Original translator's comment (as part of document):*] According to reliable information to this category of persons belonged: Prince Hohenlohe, Björnson, Epeling [Eveling], Karsberg [Kerberg], Sukennikoff, Parvus, Furstenberg (Ganetsky), Ripke, and probably Kelyshko [Kolishko].

NOTE.—Here is the exact German formula for the incitement of war "from the rear"—strikes, efforts at revolution, the use of humanitarian appeals to weaken the arm of its foes.

DOCUMENT NO. 61

Circular, October 14, 1916.—From president of Kirdorff's Rhenish-Westphalian Industrial Syndicate to the central office of Nia-Banken in Stockholm, to Sevnsen-Baltzer, representative of the Diskonto-Gesellschaft in Stockholm, and to Mr. Kirch [Kriek], representative of Deutsche Bank in Switzerland:

The Rhenish-Westphalian Industrial Coal Syndicate charges you with the management of the account of which you have been apprised for the support of Russian emigrants desirous of conducting propaganda amongst Russian prisoners of war and the Russian army.—(Signed) KIRDORFF.

NOTE.—This document already figures in the archives of several Governments, having been intercepted in the correspondence of Prince von Buelow. It has new and direct

pertinency on the Lenin-Trotsky data which follows herewith.

DOCUMENT NO. 62

COPENHAGEN, June 18, 1917.

Mr. RUFFNER [RUFFER], Helsingfors.

DEAR SIR: Please be advised that from the Disconto-Gesellschaft account 315,000 marks have been transferred to Mr. Lenin's account in Kronstadt, as per order of the Syndicate. Kindly acknowledge receipt: Nilandeway 98, Copenhagen, W. Hansen & Co.—SVENSEN.

NOTE.—Kronstadt, the navy base, was the nerve center from which Lenin's activities radiated during the summer, both before and after he fled Petrograd. He was not always there but it was the Bolshevick domain. The sailors were and still are his first dependence. Hansen & Co. are named in Document No. 54.

DOCUMENT NO. 63

GENEVA, June 16, 1917.

Mr. FURSTENBERG, Stockholm: Please note that at the request of Mr. Katz, francs 32,000 [82,000] have been paid for the publication of Maximalist-Socialist pamphlets. Advise by telegram addressed to Decker of the receipt of the consignment of pamphlets, number of bill of lading, and date of arrival.—(Signed) KRIEK, Deutsche Bank.

NOTE.—Furstenberg is named in Document No. 54 and is Ganetsky in Petrograd.

DOCUMENT NO. 64

STOCKHOLM, September 21, 1917.

Mr. RAPHAEL SCHOLAN [SCHAUMANN], Haparanda.

DEAR COMRADE: The office of the banking house M. Warburg has opened in accordance with telegram from president of Rhenish-Westphalian Syndicate an account for the undertaking of Comrade Trotsky. The attorney [agent] purchased arms and has organized their transportation and delivery up to Lulea and Varde. Name to the office of Essen & Son in Lulea, receivers, and a person authorized to receive the money demanded by Comrade Trotsky.—J. FURSTENBERG.

NOTE.—This is the first reference to Trotsky, and connects him with Banker Warburg and Furstenberg. Lulea and Varde are Swedish towns, the former near to Haparanda, which is on the border of Sweden and Finland.

DOCUMENT NO. 65

STOCKHOLM, September 12, 1917.

Mr. FARSEN, Kronstadt (via Helsingfors): Carried out your commissions; passports and the indicated sum of 207,000 marks as per order of your Mr. Lenin have been handed to persons mentioned in your letter. The selection found the approval of his excellency, the ambassador. Confirm the arrival of said persons and the receipt of their counter receipts—SVENSON.

NOTE.—See Document No. 61. Lenin had received more than half a million marks at this date. (See also Document No. 63).

DOCUMENT NO. 66

LULEO, October 2, 1917

Mr. ANTONOV, Haparanda: Comrade Trotsky's request has been carried out. From the account of the Syndicate and the ministry [*Original translator's note: probably Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin, press division*] 400,000 kroners have been taken and remitted to Comrade Sonia, who will call on you with this letter, and will hand you the said sum of money.—J. FURSTENBERG.

NOTE.—Antonov is the chief military leader of the Bolsheviks. He was in command of the forces that took Petrograd. He now is in the field against Kaledin and Alezieff. At the date of this letter Trotsky already was at the head of the Petrograd Soviet and the Bolshevik revolution was only a month away.

DOCUMENT NO. 67

BERLIN [COPENHAGEN], August 25, 1917.

Mr. OLBERG: Your desire considered together with the intentions of the Party. [*Version C reads: Your wish, based on your correspondence with M. Gorky, falls in entirely with the aims of the Party.*] By agreement with the persons known to you 150,000 kroners are transferred to be at your disposal at Furstenberg's office, through Nia-Banken. Kindly advise *Vorwärts* about everything that is being written by the newspaper [of M. Gorky] about present events.—SCHEIDEMANN.

NOTE.—This letter from Scheidemann, the German Socialist leader, links him with Furstenberg-Ganetsky, with the Nia-Banken, and with the subsidy of the Russian revolution. "*Vorwärts*" refers to Scheidemann's organ at Berlin. Scheidemann's rôles both as German peace propagandist and as German strike queller are illumined by this letter.

NOTE (Sept. 12, 1918).—Gorky did support the Bolsheviks before they came into power, but almost immediately afterward turned against them.—E. S.

DOCUMENT NO. 68

BERLIN, July 14, 1917.

Mr. MIR [MOR], Stockholm: We are transferring to your name through Mr. I. Ruchvergen 180,000 marks [1. Of this sum Engineer Steinberg will transmit 140,000 marks to Lenin] for the expense of your [his] journey to Finland. The balance will be at your disposal for agitation against England and France. The letters of Malianik and Stocklov, which were sent [by you] were received and will be considered.—PARVUS.

NOTE.—*Lenin was in hiding in July. Report placed him, among other places, in Stockholm. Notice that the agitation is to be against England and France. It took the form from the opening days of the Bolshevik revolution of attacks upon them as "imperialistic nations." Parvus is the Copenhagen agent already referred to.—E. S., July 6, 1918.*

APPENDIX II

ILLUSTRATING THE "OFFENSE TACTICS" OF THE BOLSHEVIK LEADERS AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.—A CONVERSATION BY TELEGRAPH BETWEEN CHICHERIN AT PETROGRAD (WHO IS SPEAKING) AND TROTSKY AT BREST-LITOVSK, IN FIRST WEEK IN FEBRUARY, 1918, A FEW DAYS BEFORE TROTSKY MADE HIS "NO PEACE—NO WAR" GESTURE, WITH ITS PRACTICAL ASPECT OF DEMOBILIZING THE ARMY AND OPENING RUSSIA'S UNARMED BREST TO GERMANY.

With reference to the allies the situation is evidently favorable. Separate peace will not cause a rupture. England has reconciled herself to this in advance. The recognition of us is a matter of the near future. England and America are playing up to us separately. A few days ago there appeared a so-called head of a commercial mission, Lockhart, with a letter from Litvinoff stating that the bearer is an honest man who indeed fully sympathizes with us. Indeed, he is a subtle, alert Englishman; expresses very liberal views; runs down his Government. He is a type of the diplomat of the new school. At present he is not an official representative, but *de facto* he is an envoy, having been sent by the war cabinet. After our recognition he will obtain an official position with us. He promises all kinds of favors from England.

He explained that if we should not spoil the situation our recognition is a question of the near future, but something would have to be ceded on our part. He said that no government could tolerate intervention in its internal affairs. If we are going to raise the British people, if our agents in England will attempt to cause strikes, England will not tolerate this. It proved later that this had reference to Petroff's mission. Concerning the latter specially Lockhart said that his appointment would be difficult for England to swallow, and should he be arrested in England or not be allowed to land we would probably reply by reprisals, and thus the whole business would be spoiled. He begged that we postpone this matter for 10 or 12 days.

Simultaneously Ransome tried to persuade Petroff not to go to England. His journey in case of a conflict would put the question of a revolution in England on edge, which would be exceedingly risky. We discussed this question and decided that our strength was in attack, and that whatever would happen it would be the worse for Lloyd George & Co., and the revolution would be the gainer. We sent Petroff's passport to be viséed. Lockhart came running to us. I arranged for an interview with Petroff. Lockhart stated that the question had been referred for decision to London. We said that Russia represented a part of the world's revolutionary movement and that in this was its strength. We and our comrades in England would proclaim that this is not a concrete organization of strikes. We explained the aim of Petroff's mission—*i.e.*, the clearing up of misunderstandings between two nations. He will appeal to all organs of the British nation. This has also been sent by radio.

Lockhart stated that he was very well impressed and promised to telegraph advising that the visé should be granted. We await further developments. He stated that according to English information the German troops on the eastern front were so badly infected by our propaganda that no second course of barrack regime could cure them. He said that our method of fighting militarism was the most effective. We listened to this and laughed up our sleeves.

NOTE.—*There in the last sentence we have it. The Bolshevik plot in Russia could be placarded a cynical farce, if it were not a world tragedy. This appendix is from an intercepted dispatch which came into the possession of Mr. Sisson.*

PART II

I. LETTER OF MR. CREEL TO NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 18, 1918.

PROFESSOR JOSEPH SCHAEFER, Vice-Chairman National Board for Historical Service, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:—Professor Ford tells me that the Directors of the National Board for Historical Service are meeting this afternoon at four o'clock, and I have asked him to take up with you the matter of considering the documents recently released for publication by the Committee on Public Information for the purpose of showing the intimate and continued connection of Lenin and Trotsky and their immediate associates with the German Government.

When only the opening installments of the series of seven had been published, the question of authenticity was raised by the *New York Evening Post*. The rest of the press of America, virtually without exception, accepted the fact of publication as evidence of the genuineness of the documents; and even the continued attempts of the *New York Evening Post* to rally the forces of doubt failed absolutely, only two men with any pretension of historical knowledge joining in any degree with the *Post*.

As a matter of course, the Committee on Public Information was committed from the first to a policy of absolute openness with regard to these documents. While never submitted to any unofficial body for purposes of investigation, it is nevertheless the fact that they have been gone over time and again by various agencies of the Government, and were not released for publication by this Committee until express sanction had been received from the highest authorities of the Government.

It was our idea from the first, and it is our idea now, to make pamphlet presentation of the documents, together with facsimile reproductions of all the more important originals. This task, attended by many mechanical difficulties, has just been completed.

The situation that now faces us is this: The documents were given to the press with the good faith of the Government behind them, and our promise is out to present them in pamphlet form with the photographic reproductions of originals. We cannot, in any manner, afford to appear dilatory or evasive, nor do we desire to publish the pamphlet without taking cognizance of the charges that have been made.

What I would like to do is to present the documents to a Committee, to be appointed by you, together with the charges that have been made, and to have these charges considered carefully with a view to determining their truth or falsity. If you will undertake this task, I would not desire to place any time limit upon you in any degree, but it is still the case that time is the very essence of the matter, for publication has been promised, and is waited for daily. May I suggest, therefore, that you appoint an authoritative committee, small in numbers, and that this committee assemble at once here in Washington where the necessary material is available for their information?

Believe me,

Very truly,

GEORGE CREEL,
Chairman.

The committee as appointed by the Executive Committee of the National Board for Historical Service, in response to the above request, consisted of Dr. J. Franklin Jamson, editor of the "American Historical Review" and Director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington; and Dr. Samuel N. Harper, Professor of Russian Language and Institutions in the University of Chicago.

II. REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE GENUINENESS OF THE DOCUMENTS

NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.:

October 26, 1918.

GEORGE CREEL, ESQ., Chairman of the Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR:—By your letter of October 18, addressed to the vice-chairman of the National Board for Historical Service, you have asked that body to appoint a committee to examine, in respect to their genuineness, the series of documents purporting to show the relations between the Russian Bolshevik leaders and the German Government, which were released for publication in the September newspapers by the Committee on Public Information. You have asked that such committee should take into careful consideration the arguments against the genuineness of those documents put forward in the columns of the *New York Evening Post*, with a view to determine the validity or invalidity of those arguments. The undersigned were on October 19 appointed by the Board named to serve as a committee, and were requested by you to report our findings with the utmost frankness, regardless of any positions already publicly taken by you or by the Government. In pursuance of these instructions we beg leave to submit the following report.

As a basis for our work you have laid before us proof-sheets of a pamphlet edition of these documents, entitled *The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy*, and containing facsimiles of some sixteen of the documents in question, translations of documents numbered from I to 6S, and of a few other documents subjoined to them, and comments and notes by Mr. Edgar Sisson, who procured the documents and edited them for the first or newspaper publication. The translations thus laid before us are those which appeared in the newspapers, and the documents bear the same numbers, by which, accordingly, we shall refer to them in this report. Mr. Sisson's comments include some additional notes, of October date, correcting and enlarging his previous comments in the light of information subsequently received.

Concerning the translations, though in strictness our function is limited to examination of originals, we will take the liberty to say that the versions put forth for publication in the newspapers are marked by grave imperfections. These imperfections we understand to have arisen naturally from the fact that Mr. Sisson, under the circumstances in which he worked in Petrograd and at other successive places, was obliged to have his translations made by several different hands. Whether the resulting unevenness and other imperfections should be removed before publication of the translations in a more permanent form, is a matter which we, of course, leave to your discretion; but we are obliged to allude to them because they have laid the documents open

at certain points, some of which will be mentioned later, to suspicions which the originals of those passages nowise warrant.

Upon Mr. Sisson's inferences from his documents we do not understand that we are expected to comment, nor do we desire to express, or to be influenced by, any opinion respecting the conduct of Bolshevik leaders or German officials; our present duty, as we conceive it, is confined merely to examination into the genuineness of a specific series of documents.

You have also laid before us the original documents in sixteen cases, and in the other cases the photographs, on which all the translations from No. 1 to No. 53 were based, and also the mimeographed texts in Russian from which were made the translations from No. 54 to No. 68. Mr. Sisson has detailed to us, with all apparent candor, the history of his reception of the documents, and has permitted us to question him at great length as to these transactions and as to various points relative to the papers. Several officials of the Government in Washington have obliged us by contributing other pertinent and valuable information.

In presenting the results of our investigations, we find it desirable to distinguish the documents into three groups: first, and much the largest, (I) those presented to us in Russian originals or photographs—four-fifths of the whole set; (II) the two documents presented to us in circulars printed in German; (III) those documents for which no originals or photographs are presented, but the translations of which rest solely on mimeographed texts in Russian, purporting to represent originals in or from Russian archives.

In other words, our first group (I) consists of the documents bearing the numbers I to 53, inclusive. Our second group (II) consists of the two documents which appear translated in the newspaper publication as annexes to document No. 3. They also appear, with facsimiles, after No. 3 in the proposed pamphlet; and they are identical with Nos. 56 and 58 in the appendix. Our third group (III) embraces all the documents of Appendix I (Nos. 54 to 68, inclusive) except Nos. 56 and 58. We comment upon these groups separately.

I. The originals and photographs composing what we have called the first group are all in the Russian language. They are typewritten (save one which is printed) on letter-heads of the Petrograd bureau of the German General Staff, of the Counter-Espionage at the Stavka (army headquarters), or of other offices in Russia, German or Russian. They are dated according to the Russian calendar ("Old Style"), up to February, 1918, when the Bolshevik Government made the change to "New Style." We have subjected them with great care to all the applicable tests to which historical students are accustomed to subject documents of the kind, and to as many others as we could devise and use, consistently with the need of making a reasonably early report. Besides studying whatever internal evidences could be derived from the papers themselves, we have, so far as we could, compared their versions of what went on with the actual facts. Upon the basis of these investigations, we have no hesitation in declaring that we see no reason to doubt the genuineness or authenticity of these fifty-three documents.

II. The two documents of our second group seem to us to call for a special, a less confident, and a less simple verdict. Printed in German, they purport to be official German orders of the year 1914,—the one addressed on June 9 of that year, seven weeks before the outbreak of the war, by the

General Staff of the German Army to district commandants, enjoining them to cause German industrial establishments to open their instructions respecting industrial mobilization; the other, dated November 28, 1914, addressed by the General Staff of the High Sea Fleet to maritime agencies and naval societies, and calling on them to mobilize destructive agents in foreign harbors, with a view to thwarting shipments of munitions to "England, France, Canada, the United States, and Russia." The problem of their genuineness must be considered in connection with Documents Nos. 56 and 58 in the Appendix, which are nearly identical with them, differing in sense only as Russian translations might easily differ from German originals.

The errors of typography, of spelling, and even of grammar, in these German circulars, make it impossible to accept them as original prints of the General Staffs named. Certain peculiarities of expression tend in the same direction. In the naval circular the explanation, in parenthesis, of the German word *Vereinigungen* by the Russicism *Artelen* (Russian word with German plural ending) makes it impossible to think of the document as one printed by the German Naval Staff for use indifferently in all the various countries in which there were German maritime agencies and naval societies. Furthermore, the reference to the United States is puzzling. On the other hand, Document No. 3, a protocol which presents exceptional evidences of genuineness, records the transfer from Russian archives, into the hands of German military officials in Petrograd, of two documents which it not only designates by date and number but describes; and date, number, and description correspond to those of the two papers in question. There is other evidence in Washington of the existence of two such circulars, said to be of the dates named, in Petrograd archives in 1915. Attention should also be called to the manuscript annotations on the circulars, plainly visible in the facsimiles. On both appears, in blue pencil, a note which, properly translated, reads: "One copy given to the Nachrichten-Bureau.—Archive." That is to say, one printed copy has been handed over, in accordance with the formal record made in Document No. 3, to the Military Intelligence Bureau of the German General Staff (a bureau which then or soon after was housed under the same roof with the Bolshevik Government, in the Smolay Institute), while this present printed copy is to be put in the Russian archives. The circular dated June 9 bears also the annotation in red ink, "To the protocol [of] Nov. 2, 1917," confirming the connection asserted.

We do not think these two printed circulars to be simply forgeries. We do not think them to be in their present shape, documents on whose entire text historians or publicists can safely rely as genuine. If we were to hazard a conjecture, it would be that they are derived, perhaps at one or two removes, from actual documents, which may have been copied in manuscript and at a later time reproduced in print. In any case, they have no relation to the Bolshevik officials, except indirectly through their

connection with Document No. 3, which, with or without them, shows the Petrograd office of the German General Staff desirous of withdrawing certain papers from the Russian archives, and the Bolshevik Government complying with its desires.

III. For the documents of our third group, apart from Nos. 56 and 58, we have only the Russian mimeographed texts. The originals of nearly all of them would have been written in German. We have seen neither originals nor photographs, nor has Mr. Sisson, who rightly relegates these documents to an appendix, and expresses less confidence in their evidential value than in that of his main series, Nos. 1 to 53. With such insufficient means of testing their genuineness as can be afforded by Russian translations, we can make no confident declaration. Thrown back on internal evidence alone, we can only say that we see in these texts nothing that positively excludes the notion of their being genuine, little in any of them that makes it doubtful, though guarantees of their having been accurately copied, and accurately translated into Russian, are obviously lacking.

We should say the same (except that its original is not German) of the telegraphic conversation between Chieherin and Trotsky, which Mr. Sisson prints as Appendix II. The letter of Joffe, on the other hand, dated December 31, 1917, which he prints just after his No. 37,* stands on as strong a basis as documents Nos. 1 to 53, for Mr. Sisson had at one time a photograph of it, derived in the same manner as his other photographs.

As to the Reichsbank order of March 2, 1917, printed by him as an annex to Document No. 1, the text there presented does not purport to represent more than its general substance. The reader is not asked to rely on its accuracy and completeness, and we should not wish to do so.

It remains to consider the specific criticisms, as to genuineness of the documents, advanced by the New York *Evening Post* and its correspondents. Most of them fall away when it is known that the main series of documents, Nos. 1 to 53, are written in Russian and dated in accordance with the calendar currently used in Petrograd, and when it is considered that, as is well known, the Bolshevik *coup d'état* was expected in that city for some time before it took place.

Thus, the *Evening Post* (of September 16, 17, 18, 21, 1918) repeatedly scouts document No. 5, dated in the newspaper publication "October, 1917," and document No. 21, dated November 1, 1917,—letters addressed by the Petrograd bureau of the German General Staff to the Bolshevik Government—on the ground that on those dates, in the Berlin calendar, there was no Bolshevik Government, the Bolshevik *coup* having been delivered on November 7 of that calendar. But these documents are not of Berlin, though they are typewritten on letter-heads bearing that name in print,

* Printed as Document No. 37A in this pamphlet edition. It should be noted also that the "telegraphic conversation" referred to is taken from an intercepted dispatch which came directly into Mr. Sisson's hands. This, perhaps, was not made clear to the committee.

in the one case crossed out with the pen, in the other case not. Document No. 5 seems to have been written in Finland. We have been able to make out, in the photograph, the day-date in its heading. It is 25 October, i.e., November 7 of New Style; and the Bolshevik acknowledgment at the bottom bears the date, not given in the newspaper publication, "27.N.1917," i.e., November 9 of New Style. In other words, more cannot be said than that the German General Staff, not unaware of preparations of which all the world was aware in Petrograd, was prompt in action. It is a slight but significant touch that Colonel Rausch, writing from Finland on the day when the expected outbreak occurred, styles the new organization "Government (*Pravitelstvo*) of People's Commissaries" instead of "Council (*Soviet*) of People's Commissaries," the designation actually adopted.

The *Post's* criticism (September 16) of Document No. 2 on the ground of its mention of the "Petersburg Secret Police" (*Okhrona*), assumed by the writer to have been destroyed on March 10 or 11, seems to us to have no conclusive weight. The old Okhrona was abolished by the revolution, but the revolutionary Government itself had of course its secret service, to which a German might continue to apply the old name.

A correspondent of the *Post*, Mr. E. J. Omelchenko, in its issue of October 4, rightly finds it singular that Dr. von Schanz, in Documents Nos. 8 and 9, should be represented as signing himself on January 8, "Representative of the Imperial Bank," and on January 12, "President of the Imperial Bank." It should be explained that the Russian word used is the same in both cases, *Predstavitel*, but that the translator of No. 9 wrongly translated it "President," while the translator of No. 8 translated it rightly, "Representative."

Mr. Omelchenko also, with reference to Document No. 8, prints figures of the gold reserves of the Reichsbank and of the Bank of Sweden, November, 1917, to January, 1918, in the belief that, if the Reichsbank had at the beginning of January given the Bolshevik officials a credit in Sweden of 50,000,000 roubles gold, these figures would show the fact. We are informed on high financial authority that the Reichsbank would be able to effect such a transaction by means much less easily traced. Mr. Omelchenko questions the need of the transaction, but the insecurity and unsettled conditions prevailing within the boundaries of the old Russian empire might easily account for the desire of the Bolsheviks to establish a large gold credit abroad without the necessity of actually exporting gold.

Professor Edward S. Corwin, in the same issue of the *Evening Post*, rightly criticises the date June 9, 1914, for Document No. 55. Its proper date appears to be November 2, 1914. The mimeographed Russian text bears that date. A translator, probably by confusion with No. 56, gave it the June date.

Respectfully submitted,

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.
SAMUEL N. HARPER.

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



D 000 902 323 5

