to Cover U.S. Apparatus

d FBI Ignore Spionage Ring Here

ivitsky's death remain to be established. The inthe police in Washington is pitifully inademains to be investigated—by experts more compital police. We hope that despite the blind atinquire into the case, ways and means will be gation.

this advisedly, too—involves the problem of the safety and integrity of its free institutions. Krivitsky as murdered by agents of the G.P.U. is life in a deal to spare his familiy. One thing is

y; his death is not a common suicide.

earmarks a carefully woven plan to drive him
no escape the had but one alternative: to be muron would are the same fate, or to obey the comin the hot that by doing so his family might

hing to dot to look for the motive. In seeking a motives: fromal and political. The personal or Krivitsha telling exposes of Soviet foreign polyular type of Stalin's many murders. It played in of Trotal The political motive in Krivitsky's amediate.

residing in a country who was a serious obstacle residing in the country who was a serious obstacle has been in foces of organization on American for the deal country with perfect accuracy.

Krivitsky fostold with perfect accuracy.

Is been an infix into the United States of the most ats of the Chaintern and G.P.U. Many of them, antiqued on Fap Seen)

Attention, America

GENERAL KRIVITSKY'S murder-suicide closes another GPU dossier in the Soviet's secret police files. Walter Krivitsky's death is but another in the long list of those who fought the Stalinist "apparat"—and lost to its widefung, well-equipped, generously financed murder ring.

Ignace Reiss,
machine-gunned to death in Switzerland.

Leon Sedoff,
A Trotsky's son, poisoned in Paris.

Before him died in violence:

Rudolph Klemest,
Fourth International Secretary, whose headless body was
found floating on the Seine.

Andres Nin,
Poumist leader, abducted and killed in Barcelona.

Mark Rein,
| sen of Rafael Abramovitch, who was kidnapped and murdered in Madrid.

Cemi o Bernieri, Arnachist Leader, assassinated.

Addin Lucid Rubens

Empleared from Lubyanka Prison and later executed in
Russia.

Juliet Stuart for atz,
who dropped out of sight in June 1937, and has not been seen since.

Robert Skelden Harte,
Trotsky's secretary, kidnapped and murdered after the
raid on Trotsky's Coyoacan home.

Leon Trofshy, hacked to death by a GPU machete man,

Leader

Y- SATUTE STRUARY 15, 1941

PRICE FIVE CENTS

General Krivitsky Slain by GPU to Cover Secret Apparatus in U.S.

(Continued from Page One)

formerly active in Spain, where they helped Stalin-kidnap and murder-revolutionists opposed to the Kremlin brand of "socialism", have come from Mexico, where they found refuge after the collapse of the Loyalist cause. Others have come from France and other European countries where they played active parts as warriors of the Fifth Column in the service of Stalin and Hitler. Under his pact with Hitler, the Soviet dictator placed the entire apparatus of the Comintern and the G.P. U. abroad at the disposal of Nazi Germany. It was a profitable deal, for it helped Hitler being down in quick succession the countries overrun by German troops. Particularly serviceable were Stalin's cohorts in the downfall of France. Hitler is sure that they can be equally useful in the United States. Has he not declared that the United States would be a "pushover" for his Fifth Column, of which Stalin and his machine are so completely an integral part? The recent influx of Stalin's agents into the United States is evidence that the German and Russian dictators believe that the time for the "pushover" is approaching.

Krivitsky was the one man in this country whom Stalin feared most as a danger to the conspiracy. As the former chief of the Soviet Military Intelligence for Western Europe, Krivitsky was familiar not only with the methods of the conspirators but with the identity of the most important of them and of their lieutenants. He had told a great deal in print. He had told much in private. He had much more to tell. He was in touch with American, Canadian and British authorities. He had the ear of influential private citizens. It became absolutely necessary to remove him if the new, larges Communazi conspiracy against America was to function with any degree of success in its aims of spreading terrorism, Quislingism and sabotage of our expanding defense and aid-to-England program. That was Stalin's chief motive in bringing about Krivitsky's death!

We say this with full consciousness of our responsibility. The duty confronting the Washington authorities is to run down this crime not only for the purpose of punishing the criminals but as part of the task of destroying the larger conspiracy of which we speak.

Bucharin and his colleagues had their Karl Radek. Trotsky had his Jackson. Krivitsky had his Judas, too. There are sufficient clues available to show how hrivitsky's death was engineered. All the authorities need do is to look and they yill find. Let them look in New York. Let them look in Washington, where the police, ignorant p.2 G.P.U. operations, have bungled the initial investigation. The name of Hans Bruesse, notorious G.P.U. killer who has recently come to this country, is not the only one in New York that will bear investigation. The notes found in Krivitsky's death chamber in Washington have a significant chamber in Washington have a significant will become the detailed circumstances surrounding the "auicide" if approached with an earnest determination to unwavel the crise.

But first their most be such attract determination. The State Department, the Department of Justice and the P.B.L. must abandon their blind attitude. They must make that the first of a series being propared against the secretly of the 1 axed States. They the GPL had trud the but \$1.50 per the GPL had trud the but \$1.50 per the GPL had trud

of Hans Bruesse because he had warned the Blum government against the very same conspirary now being organized by Stalin on itown soil against this country. Krivitsky was atubbornly shadowed and hunted here after hiarrival in November 1938 and since his return in 1940. Is it mere coincidence that his death followed so closely upon the lifting by Washington of the moral embargo on Soviet Russia? Was not this act on the part of the American government of readmitting Stalin into the company of decent people taken as a signal by his hired murderers that the road was clear for murder and assassination of Stalin's enemies on American soil? And is not the criminal atti-tude of the F.B.I.—we repeat the food criminal advisedly-in the Krivitsky case an encouragement to the blood-stained Kremlin hirelings to murder others whom they consider as standing in the way of their Soviet and Nazi masters?

If Kritvitsky's "suicide" remains unexposed and unpunished, how long will the lives of American citizens fighting Stalin and his gang in their own country remain secure?

We demand action by this government! We demand merciless investigation! We demand that the coddling of G.P.U. agents killing people on American soil or driving them to suicide cease! This is not France. This is not Nazi Germany. This is not Fascist Italy, Not yet. This is still the United States of America!

Or are we to assume that the State Department, having lifted the moral embargo on Stalin, considers it good diplomacy to permit Stalin's hatchet men to do as they like with refugees from Stalin's wrath in this country? Is that part of our new diplomacy vis-a-vis Moscow? If so, then the United States faces the fate of France. French politicians also tried to make peace with Stalin, to enlist him in support of their diplomacy. The end was the Stalin-Hitler pact—the stab in the back which more than anything else was responsible for the French debacle.

The question is not Krivitsky. We are not concerned now with his character and career. We are concerned with the fate and interests of the United States. We want to know—the American people want to know—whether the well-known and abundantly proven terrorist activities of Stalin's G.P.U. in France, in Spain. Switzerland, in Mexico are now to be transferred to this country. That is the question. Mr. Ralph Ingersoll!

The stream of dirt and vituperation unleashed against Krivitsky in your sophomoric PM under your signature and of others no less ignorant than you of the issues involved cannot conceal what is at stake. What are you trying to conceal, Mr. Ingersoll, in your efforts to mini-mize the importance of the case? What is you game in supporting the interpretation which the Daily Worker-for reasons obvious is seeking to give to Krivitaky's death? Why do you not demand, as the responsible editor of a newspaper, that the government do its duty and sift this case to the bottom? Why do you make common cause with the Stalinists in their efforts to prevail upon the government and public opinion to forget the issue? You have denied that your paper is a pro-Stalinist propagands sheet. Your handling of the Krieitaky case gives the lie to your denial!

You will not succeed! There are others in this country who intend to see this fight—the taille on training in all its aspectom through to a faceh.

The Heritage of Lenin

'Out of the Night' Uncovers (1) Underworld of a Rotted Religion

By SIDNEY HOOK

ture, Jan Valtin's Out of the Night may be approached on various levels. As a sheer story, it is so compelling in its dramatic quality, color, and breath-taking sequences that it could never be accepted as fiction, for it violates all the canons of fictional credibility, Although the author takes distance to himself and subdues the events in which he figures against the historical perpettive of the last twenty years, it is only the fact that we know we are not, reading a well, of fiction which makes the story credible. The paradox is easy to explain.

There are some natural landscapes of which we say: "If this scene were put on canvas, it would appear over-colored, garish, too exotic." If we read about the experiences of Jan Valtin in an Edgar Wallace or an E. Philipps Opponheim, we would put the book down as too fantastic. Whatever May have been the relation between literature and life in the past, contemporary literature has not caught up with the world which has existed since the first World War. It is not only Horatio who would be surprised at what the earth and heavens contain today hus even the imaginative Hamlet. Our experiences have become so sogmented and specialized that just as soon as we step outside the circle of our professional pursuits, we discover unfamiliar worlds.

The unfamiliar world of Jan Valtin is the political underworld of the Communist and Fascist movements. It is an underworld which,

others. This accounts for the fact that there was no mass depletions among the Stalinist parties after the Stalinant parties after the Stalinant parties after the Stalinant parties after the invasion of Finland.

Wish-thinking critics of Salinton have invariably over-estimated the political intelligence of the Stalinist rank-and the and underestimated its fanaticism.

Whatever strength it has, this is the chief source of it. For like the rank-and-file of the ancient religious cult of Assassins of the East, most of these zealots are any another by reason nor by Tear. The walkers whose cars and are and hands mechanically execute the commands of the G.P.U. The historical dialectics is Allah and Stalin is his prophet!

Success of Bolsheviks Rested On Sacrifice of All Ideals

\/ALTIN'S book is a treasure trove of information on the organizational apparatus which ties the ends of the earth into one great knot at Moscow. The techniques of sabotage, kidnapping, espionage and counterespionage, of psychological and physical terror against innocent men and women, even against one's own comrades, are laid bare in all their gruesomeness and ingenuity. A flood of light is also thrown on the maneuvers of the legal apparatus, on how united fronts and popular fronts are born, on how close Stalinist sympathizers who technically do not hold membership cards, like the Corliss Lamonts and Harry Wards of all countries, are used as fronts or apologists or stooges. Here is the evidence of direct organizational cooperation between the Stalinists and the Nazis to break

we Contain Convention of a teleform and Hauldate

After all, the Bolshevik Party sets itself up as the self-constituted vanguard of the workng masses. As a vanguard it knows what the best interests of the masses are better than they do themselves. Consequently, whoever disagrees with the party line, laid down by the leadership, is either "a conscious or inconscious" enemy of the working class. If ne remains unrepentant, he is forthwith a conscious enemy; if he repents, then at the dirst suitable occasion he is branded as a Hypecritical enemy. ("It is not accidental, etc., finat he once was an objective amboteur, etc.") But in any event, according to Leninist theory: .. n enemy of the working class is an enemy f mankind. And the method of getting rid L enemies of mankind, i.e., enemies of the buling bureaucracy, is a matter of mere etail!

That a political party is necessary to im-Hement any Socialist program is an important buth-a truism, if you prefer, were it not hat this is being forgotten by many who have ecoiled in horror and disgust at the practices f the Bolshevik and Nazl parties. But the political party must always be organized, conrolled, criticized and revised in the light of brinciples which are continuous with the aims M democratic Socialism. Otherwise it becomes an end in itself. The perpetuation of the hower of the ruling bureaucracy appears as he be-all and end-all of every measure. Among the rank-and-file, a core of mystic attachment to symbols, leaders, and slogans replaces intelligence; and the higher the bitch to which the subsidiary virtues of bourage, tenscity, and administrative efficiency are brought, the worse the effects upon the phjectives of a Socialist society-the development of free, intelligent, emotionally rich permonalities in a world where poverty and auperstition have been conquered by science.

sional pulsuits, we discover unfamiliar worlds.

The unfamiliar world of Jan Valtin is the political underworld of the Communist and Fascist movements. It is an underworld which, like all underworlds, has many hidden and important connections with the conventional world from which it takes directives and which it influences in turn. No understanding of the Nazi or Communist, movement can be adequate which lacks knowledge of its underworld, of its unique character, and of its pervasive influence upon the entire circle of Communist and Nasi activities from hub to periphery. After reading this book, not even the most innocent of fellow-travelers can plead the excuse of ignorance.

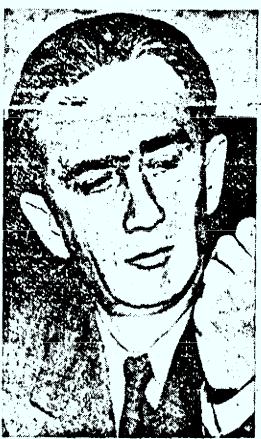
Reveals Communazi Underworld With Impressive Authority

IN what follows I shall undertake not a literary analysis, or an listorical interpretation, but a political evaluation of the book. I shall assume that the reader is either acquainted with the book directly or that he has read some review of its contents.

Preliminary to the question of political i- evaluation in the cender's mind may be the question of the authenticity of the book. The Stalinists and the Nazis will do all in their power to discredit the author and the bare facts of his story. They will not succeed; for they have lost many of their fellow-travelers among the book-reviewers of periodicals and newspapers. It is really astonishing how effective their campaigns have been in the past. Compare the enthusiastic reception which the revelations of the ex-Nazi Rauschning received in the press, with the frigit, if not indifferent, response that greeted the better documented accounts and accurate predictions of Krivitsky, Barmine, Souvarine and Gitlow. The treatment these fatter authors received at the hands of the literary fellowtravelers is a chapter by itself. But in respect to Valtin's book, the most, case-hardened akentic can set his mind at rest, provided he has some familiarity with the history of the Communist movement. The more he knows the more impressive will the evidence of the book's authenticity appear to him. The details of conversations cannot, of course, be verified; but the order of succession in the manifold changes in the party line and its repercussions in the trade unions and transmission-belt organizations, the chief dates. names, places—all of these can be objectively verified. What is more important, the timing , of name number

ship cards, like the Corliss Lamonts and Harry Wards of all countries, are used as fronts or apologists or stooges. Here is the evidence of direct organizational cooperation between the Stalinists and the Nazis to break up Socialist meetings, to kidnap and liquidate outstanding Socialists and dissident Communists not only before the Stalinazi pact but even before Hitler came to power.

In reading Valtin's account, one cannot fail to be impressed by the daredevil courage dis-



Murder or "suicide" the GPU is responsible for Krivitsky's death. His knowledge was dangerous to the existence of the "Apparat"; his successful break from Stalin's Intelligence Service provided an example that many more could follow. Readers of Jan Vaitir's "Out of the Night" know to what lengths Comintern agents go in carrying out assignments in the name of the "Socialist Fatherland." This fanatacism has developed into a Leninist religion which Sidney Hook discusses in the accompanying

Jare brought, the worse the effects upon the bjectives of a Socialist society—the development of free, intelligent, emotionally rich personalities in a world where poverty and superstition have been conquered by science.

Analysis of Party Psychology Explains Moscow Trial Confessions

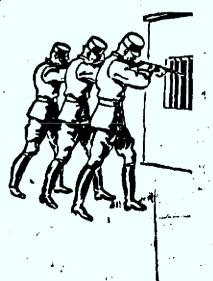
TALTIN'S recital of the deads of the action aquada within and without the Communist International lend dramatic point to these observations. Things came to such a pass that there was no objective test of who was h scoundrel and who a hero, for a scoundrelly assignment might be assigned to a hero, whose eyes had been put out of his head by party discipline, and many scoundrels had to be heroic in order to furvive. Although it does not discuss the Moscow Trials, this book is the most plausible account of the psychology of those who cooperated with Vyshinsky in prolaiming their imaginary infamy to the world-The threat of torture to dependents does not explain the effusiveness of the confessions of all in the prisoner's dock. Blind loyalty to the Party, aiready demanded in Lenin's day, under Stalin no longer tolerated even a formal distwiction between Party and Leader. Having accepted the knout under Lenin, they learned to kiss it under Stalin. That was their real nfamy.

The degeneration of the Communitat movement is to be found in every branch and lootlet which sprouted from the political seeds of Leninism. Stalin hogged the whole show because the other candidates for the mantle of Lenin didn't get a chance. Opposition tendencies cried out for democracy only when they became the victims of the ruthless despotism they had helped force. Whatever virtics they developed subsequently were the result of the fact that they were in opposition; and even then their own organizational destibles recapitulated on a minute scale, the evolution of the parent body.

only the first step that costs. Everything else it only the first step that costs. Everything else it only the first step that costs. Everything else it only the first step that the truer than in policity. A. Valtin tells his story, one cannot help but like the freshness, courage and generosity of his sentiments. But the deeds make the ment even when he falls back on a religion which takes away the sting of responsibility.

a me conversely to poole that greeted life better documented accounts and accurate predictions of Krivitsky, Barmine, Souvarine and Gitlow. The treatment these latter authors received at the hands of the literary fellowtravelers is a chapter by itself. But in respect to Valtin's book, the most case-hardened skeptic cap set his mind at rest, provided he has some familiarity with the history of the Communist movement. The more he knows the mose impressive will the evidence of the book's authenticity appear to him. The details of conversations cannot, of course, be verified; but the order of succession in the manifold changes in the party line and its repercussions in the trade unions and transmission-belt organizations, the chief dates, names, places—all of these can be objectively verified. What is more important, the timing. dange arances in personnel, we now clarified.

Perhaps the outstanding Matthe of Valtin's book is the way in which it makes psycho-. logically plausible the intense fusion of high political religion and the lowest forms of criminal depravity. This is a phenomenon which has puzzled many observers. Valtin's life shows how the generous idealistic impulses that led him to dedicate his life to a worthy cause are gradually treansmuted into blind fixations upon the instrument when the instrument itself-the political party-is not critically tested by Socialist and democratic principles. It is only the top leadership and the intermediate cadres of many years' standing that have been corrupted by cynicism. The lower ranks are sustained by the same blind faith which upheld Valtin when he was being tortured or when he was torturing





Murder or "suicide" the GPU is responsible for Krivitsky's death. His knowledge was dangerous to the existence of the "Apparat": his successful break from Stalin's Intelligence Service provided an example that many more could follow. Readers of Jan Vaitin's "Out of the Night" know to what lengths Comintern agents as in carrying out assignments in the name of the "Socialist Fatherland." This fanatacism has develpped into a Leninist reliaion which Sidnev Hook discusses in the accompanying _article.__

played by the German Communists and their remarkable aptitude for organization. The courage is evident in their history except when they were called off by the Russians; their organizational talent in revealed in the fact that they were ably to organize, tightly the concentration camps and falls of the Gestapo in the teeth of Hitter's terror. Even though they lacked political intelligence, there is some probability that if they had been left to their own devices, if they had not been demoralized by the signing for orders and counter-orders from Moscow, they would have made their revolution. It to extremely unlikely, however, that their brevelution would have borne anything but the letter dead sea fruit of the Russian October revolution.

For the profoundest political lesson of Valtin's book is that ne Socialist movement herope rather than to the end of his belief. with the Bolshevik conception of the political i I cannot tell what effect this book will have party can "succeed" except by sacrificing all . the politically unsophisticated, on those the needs, values and ideals in behalf of to have just discovered Socialism yesterday, which the Socialist movement came into ex- on those who think they can discover the istence. The Leninist conception of a minority trith about Russia and the Communist Party nolitical party of mindemonal revolutionists merely by reading its literature. But upon all exercising a dictator thin in the presumed in who are capable of reflection, particularly terests of the workers, consolidating all po- upon decent liberals and democrats who have litical, economic, and cultural power in its been taken in by Stalinist periphery organizahands, identifying any opposition to its arbi- time, this book should have a liberating intrary decrees with treason to the people- figure. It exhausts a genre in political naturally leads to fibe fetishism of the party wilting. The whole truth about the way the which, in practices means the dictatorship of GP.U. and Gestapo work here and abroad can the Solivetarist and the cult of the leadership. never be known; but we know sufficient to It creates a domestic regime which we have guide us in combating them and the world of since learned to sail Fascism. (Cf. my chap- which they are the underworld, and to attempt in Heason, Seek! Muths and Democracy.) which they will be only dark memories.

Lendencies cried out for democracy only when tley became the victims of the ruthless despotism they had helped force. Whatever virtues they developed aubsequently were the result of the fact that they were in opposition; and even then their own organizational destipies recapitulated on a minute scale, the evolution of the parent body.

Il n'y a que le premier pas qui souts. It he only the first step that costs. Everything eluc is easy. In no field is this truer than in politics. As Valtin tells his story, one cannot help but like the freshness, courage and generosity of his contiments. But the deeds make the mant even when he falls back on a religion Mah-dalam-saware-the-attney of -wanasaibilit what he does. Valtin himself has long sirce explated (in the torture chambers of the Gestapo) for whatever political crimes he has committed. But the knowledge of the kind of religion to which he committed himself and the activities that resulted from it make a difference in our evaluation of him as-we-read his book. At times he seems like an automaton whose only natural moments are those be spends with his wife. Firelei. At times he seems mad with foolhardiness or an adventhrer with an uneasy conscience. Only at the end, when we share his grief at the tragic The of his wife and child, are we reconciled fi him as a symbol of a betrayed generation. on at that point, the story shows that he its, in a certain sense, come to the end of

"Reflections on the Russian Revolution" to build better foundations for a new world in

To the Editor

Attacks PM Smear Story on Krivitsky Death

From RALPH DE TOLEDANO

To the Editor:

The following is a copy of a letter I sent to Ralph Ingersoll, editor of PM.

Dear Mr. Ingersoll:

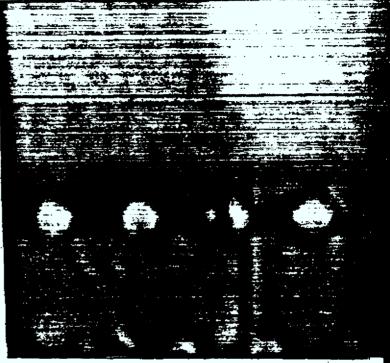
This morning, I came across an old editorial of yours in which you described some of the vicious attacks made by the Communists against your paper. This week, in PM, I read a new story concerning the "suicide" of Walter G. Krivitsky which in tone, content, viciousness, and dishonesty might be the product of a Daily Worker columnist.

I don't know whether your Penn Kimball is a Communist. I know that he is spouting the Communist line of the indiscriminate amear in the manner of your re- I is a neat way to discredit a man. porter who covered the murder of Leon Trotsky. You will remember that PM's story was such a gem of journalistic completeness that it could point to Trotsky's (mythical) past as a panta-presser but neglected to mention his part in the Russian Revolution.

Let me point out a few things which Mr. Kimball thought well to suppress. Samuel Ginsburg (and I am fed up with the snide remarks about "Schmelka" and the surreptitious anti-Semitism) was no more "alias Krivitsky" than Djougashvilli is alias Stalin. Those are both legal Soviet names, adopted during the Revolution. Again, it is good pamphleteering to use "self-styled" when mentioning the fact that he was Chief of Soviet Military Intelligence in western Europe. It throws doubt in the readers' mind. But this was ques-tioned by no one, including French and British Intelligence, except the Communist press which will also deny that Trotsky and other ex-Bolshevik leaders were

murdered by the Ogpu.

The use of "supposedly an escape's survivor of Stalin's purges"



especially when one has already tied to him the tin cans of "redbaiting" (such a useful piece of mud) and Stalin-hating.

Nester still is the completely untruthful statement that lease Don Levine had ghost-written the famous Saturday Evening Post articles, using Krivitsky's name as a front Levine merely put Krivitsky's Russian into English. a function which was later taken over by another writer. Nor was the tale told to the Dies Contmittees "lurid" in any sense of the word. The "alleged" inner workings of the Ogpu in the U.S., as disclosed by Krivitsky was enough to put Dozenberg in prison and to give FBI much thought. Krivitsky predicted the Nazi-Soviet pact and at the time that too was considered lurid and far-fetched by the Commies and their newspaper friends.

These things are not half so important as an attempt to show that Krivitsky was a phony and that his death was being used as a weapon against the poor Ogpu. Mr. Kimball is more interested in hiding facts and glossing over implications with smart-aleck humor and wise-guy callousness than in doing his job as a newspaperman.

Frankly, Mr. Ingersoll, I don't see how this fits in with your last December's stand against playing footie with the Communists and the assorted plagues they bear. Does PM offer a policy on page 2 and take it back on page 10? Is PM a consistent paper with consistent ideas or am I reading the Bungle Family? Or still again are we back in the days when Leo Huberman made a shambles of your Labor section? If Walter Krivitsky (or shall we eall him Schmelka and have our little laugh) fired the bullet which killed him, it may be technically suicide. But I still remember the men who "confessed" to crimes they did not commit and I remember that this terrible Krivitsky loved his child very dearly. And I wonder, as PM might have wondered, whether one can draw the line between murder and a blackmail that causes suicide.

I'm afraid, Mr. Ingersoll, that though you still occupy the Editor's chair, the bezzards have not taken their albows off your city



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PJW:MA

CONFIDENTIAL.

March 26, 1941

CONSCRIPTION

cc...X-.....

RECORDED / 00-11146-36 PRISONAL AND COMPRESENTAL

Cheeffed in 2333
Extr.
Date of Local Control of the Cheeffed in 2333

I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated March 15, 1941 wherein you furnished information to this Bureau concerning the case of Hans Bruesse and Gertrude Schildbach.

Your cooperation in this matter is sincerely appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

AFF THE CONTAINED TO CONTAINED TO CONTAINED

HASS BY ODIOS KITO

10.28. (1) reales

Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichola
Mr. Nichola
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hen Jon
Mr. Tracy

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100-11146-37XI

September 29, 1941

2. ONRDED

WLATER G. KRIVITSKY

(3)

No additional information concerning his background and activities has been developed.

It is believed you intended are. Walter G. Krivitsky. No information is available regarding her present whereabouts.

Any information which you have in your possession regarding Mrs. Walter Krivitsky would be appreciated.

MISS BY DDIRCKARD

ALL INFORMATION CONERS NED MERETH TO CARROSPIFILD EXCENTS CTHERWITE

185

1200 LE

PJW: NES 100-11146

June 28, 1941

Assistant Director E. J. Connelley New York, New York

> Re: HARS BRUESSE, et al; ESPIONADE - R.

Dear Sire

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent dated March 19, 1941, at New York City, 67C regarding the above-captioned matter.

A review of the Bureau file fails to indicate that this matter has received appropriate attention since the submission of the above-mentioned report.

It is requested that you bring this matter to a logical conclusion and submit a report concerning the same in the very near future.

Very truly yours,

MI PROPERTY OF CONTAINED

John Edgar Hoover Director

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FEDERAL BUNEAU CONVESTIGATION

2 JUL 8 1941

U.S. DEPARTS OF A STICE

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JOHN EDGAR HOOVER DIRECTOR occural Bureau of Investigat United States Department of Justice Washington, B. C. September 8, 1941 5:30 P. M. APPROPRIATE AGENCIES וועדה תודדים תא≰ WALTER G. KRIVITSKY. RE: ADVISED BY ROUT ESPIONAGE - R. SLIP(S) OF Agent advised that he was of the opinion that Special of the New York Office was in possession of would obtain information concerning Mrs. Krivitsky and that Agent the information and submit the same to the writer on September 9, 1941. At 2:25 P. M. September 9, 1941, Special Agent telephonically advised the writer that Special Agent possessed no information regarding the present whereabouts of Mrs. Walter G. Krivitsky and the file of the New York Field Office contained no Further advised information concerning her whereabouts. Agent that Agent was of the opinion that he could obtain the requested information through three possible sources, namely, Mr. Paul mohl, Miss Suzanne Lafollette and Mr. Berman Limels, Vice President of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of Brooklyn, New York. The writer advised that in view of the close relationship which existed between Paul Wold, Miss Suzanne Lafollette and Walter Krivitsky prior to the latter's death these two contacts should not be consulted regarding the present whereabouts of Mrs. Krivitsky. Agent was of the opinion, however, that Mr. Zimels who occupies a position of trust with the above-mentioned insurance company could be approached in confidence regarding this inquiry. The writer advised Agent that he. would be notified as to whether Zimels should be interviewed regarding this matter. In view of Zimels' position it is believed that he could described that he could described the could described the could described the could describe th be contacted for the purpose of obtaining information regarding Mrs. Krivitsky's present whereabouts. Attached hereto is a letter to the New York Field Office requesting that appropriate contact be made with Zimels for this purpose. INDEXED Respectfully & Cleasified by

100-11146

Merch 10, 1944

The second

10-6-82 BYADIOSKIC

SAC, Philadelphia

RE: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY INTERNAL SECURITY (R)

Dear Siri

The Bureau is at the present time in possession of information indicating increased activity upon the part of the NEVD and other Soviet agencies. It is to be noted that Walter G. Krivitsky, who was found dead on February 10, 1941, in his room at the Bellevue Hotel, 15 % Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., stated that he was formerly the head of Soviet Military Intelligence for Western Europe from 1936 to 1937.

Krivitaky, in his testimony before the Dies Committee, and in his book published in November, 1939, and several articles appearing in the Saturday Evening Post, has named various individuals as being engaged in Soviet Intelligence work; however, information in the Bureau files at the present time relative to Krivitaky is incomplete.

The Philadelphia Field Division is requested to make a review of Immigration and Naturalization Service files relative to Walter G. Krivitsky who entered the United States during the latter part of 1938 under the name of Samuel Ginsberg in the company of his wife, Mrs. Tonia Ginsberg, and son. From information in the Bureau's files, Mr. Louis Waldman, Krivitsky's Attorney, who represented him in Immigration hearings, indicated that Krivitsky furnished Immigration authorities information relative to possible Soviet espionage agents in the United States.

The Philadelphia Field Division is also requested to ascertain the present citizenship status and address of Mrs. Tonia Ginsberg, Krivitsky's wife, and information as may appear in Immigration files concerning her.

The New York Field Division is requested to acceptain Iron

tive to Krivitsky and his activities. It is to be noted that the Bureau files

Tolson
E. A. Tempellect that Malter Krivitsky during December of 1939, contacted the New York

Cless Coffey Police Department Radical Squad and advised them that he was Effect that he might

Clayin be assassinated by OGPU Keetys in the United States. It is believed that he may

Nichols have requested police protection at this bims.

MAN BAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Very truly yours,

Trans

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Hew Tork

John Edgar Hoover Director

Federal Bureau of Investigation Anited States Department of Justice New York 7, New York

HDMA: GAW 100-59589

April 5, 1944

Director, FBI

Re: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY INTERNAL SECURITY - R (Bureau File No. 100-11146)

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated March 10, 1944 in which the New York Field Division was requested to ascertain information in possession of relative to KRIVITSKY and his activities.

アンこ had no information rela-DDD tive to this matter. He stated that personally recalled that in 1939 a meeting was held in New York at Town Hall at which KRIVITSKY and GEORGE 60KOLSKY, columnist of the New York "Sun", were speakers. Prior to the meeting, SOKOLSKY, who was responsible for KRIVITSKY's being a speaker at this meeting, advised the police that he was afraid that either he or KRIVITSKY might be assaulted. Captain DONNELLY sat on the platform during the speeches. However, no bodyguard was assigned for either of the men. has no record concerning this meeting, and was unable to recall either the date or sponsor. received no other information concerning KRIVITSKY's activities.

In the absence of further instructions this matter is being considered closed by this office.

BYAPIGGETE

Very truly yours,

DO

ffice Memorandum UNITED STATES

DIRECTOR, F.B.I.

DATE:

FROM

SAC, PHILADELPHIA

KRIVITSK ALTER G INTERNAL SECURITY - R Classified by Exempt from C in Indefinite Date of Decinesia

Reference is made to the Bureau letter of March 10, 1944 requesting the Philadelphia office to review the files of the Immigration and Maturalisation Service for information which KRIVITSKY is reported to have furnished to Immigration authorities relative to possible Soviet Espienage Agents in the United States. The reference letter also requested the present ditisenship status of KRIVITSKY's wife as well as her current address.

A review of the Immigration file Number 56011 regarding KRIVITSKY does not reflect the substance of any information he may have furnished to that Service regarding Espionage Agents. This file deals with matters relating to more of an administrative nature regarding his entries into the United States. and does not reflect any details of an investigative nature concerning him, ether than information which he furnished to the Immigration authorities at the time he entered the United States. The Immigration authorities indicated that the file pertaining to KRIVITSKY at New York, where he entered the United States, may have additional information concerning him, as well as material regarding information which he may have furnished to officials of the Immigration Service there. However, as the Bureau letter indicates that the information in the Bureau files concerning KRIVITSKY is incomplete, I am setting forth a summary of the background information concerning him available in the Immigration file here.

KRIVITSKY was born en June 28, 1899 as SAMUEL GINSHERG at Podwoloczyska, Russia. He advised he was an official of the Russian Government from 1919 to 1937, and joined the Communist Party in Moscow, Russia, in 1920. From 1919 to 1929 he indicated he was in the Infantry Division of the Russian Army, and the remainder of this time, or from 1929 to 1937 that he was active as a member of the Military Intelligence Division of the Soviet Army. He stated he had no definite rank, but that he was a member of the High Command, and his work and position would correspond to that of a Colonel in the United States Army.

An Alien Registration Form which he filed and subscribed to en December 19, 1940 in New York stated under arrests that he was arrested in Austria in 1920, and again in 1924 on Polish charges, and on both eccasions was ordered out of the country. On a supplemental sheet attached to this form, KRIVITSKY submitted the following explanation of these arrests: "The above do not constitute Judiciary indictments or convictions, being merely administrative acts of the police. While in the service of the Russian Government and he mass detained by the Austrian police on the above occasions as politically undesirable.

EX - 25 4 INDEXED According to the information furnished by KRIVITSKY, he was sent by the Russian Government to Paris, France, about August 1937 as the Head at all 1944

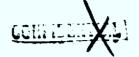
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Director, F.B.I.



Commission to negotiate for the purchase of ammunition. In October 1937 he severed his connection with the Russian Government and the Communist Party and advised that he considered himself and was considered by the Soviet Government as a deserter from the Army.

In October of 1937 he started doing some writing and worked for the Institute Internationals d'Histoire Socials.

KRIVITSKY first entered the United States at New York on the SS Normandie on November 10, 1938 under the name of SAMUEL GINSHERG on a visitor's permit. He stated his purpose was to collaborate with the Stanford University in writing a history of Russia. As the Bureau is aware, KRIVITSKY wrote a series of articles for the "Saturday Evening Post" in 1939, and the Immigration files reflect that a "ghost writer" for these articles was ISAAC DON-LEVINE, a former newspaper man with the "Chicago Daily News". He apparently had some contact with CASS CANFIELD, of HARPER AND EROTHERS, relative to publishing a book, and a letter from CANFIELD states that HARPER AND BROTHERS paid him a sum of two thousand dollars, which was a partial payment in regard to the book which he was writing for that organization.

A memorandum in his Immigration file reflects that Mr. WARREN of the State Department advised the Immigration authorities that "GINSHERG furnished valuable information in connection with the fraudulent use of passports by the Russian Communists and on other subjects". The Bureau may desire to obtain the information available in the State Department files which KRIVITSKY furnished through the Bureau's liaison channels.

KRIVITSKY received several extensions of his visitor's permit, but departed from the United States in December 1939 (exact date possibly December 26), and went to Canada.

A letter in the file from H. R. LANDIS, the St. Albans District Director of Immigration and Naturalization Service, St. Albans, Vermont, dated February 11, 1941, reflects the following information: "While in Canada, SAVUEL GINSHERG is said to have been employed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police".

On October 31, 1940, he re-entered the United States on a visa from Canada under the name of WALTER POREF (a newspaper clipping in the file indicated he had changed his name legally to WALTER POREF), at Rouses Point, New York, at which time he gave his address as 36 W. Gun Hill Road, Bronx, New York, and listed his occupation as a writer, stating he intended to remain in the United States permanently. The file also reflects that he had filed his first papers for citizenship.

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- 2 -

SEXTRET

Director, F.B.I.

In regard to KRIVITSKY's wife, the files reflect that she submitted an Alien Registration Form on December 19, 1940 under the name of ANTONINA-POREF. This form reflects she was born on February 18, 1902 in St. Petersburg, Russia, and that she has one son, AIEXANDRIA, born in Moscow, Russia in 1933. It lists her other names as ANTONINA-KRIVITSKY, ANTONINA GINSHERG, and ANTONINA-PORFIRJEVA. The latter is her maiden name. This form reflects her address as 36 W. Gun Hill Road, Bronx, New York, which is the latest address available concerning her, and the information available indicates that she has filed her first papers for citizenship, but no additional information is available regarding her present citizenship status.

Very

The Immigration files also reflect an earlier Alien Registration form dated October 31, 1940 in which her address was given as the Hotel Chelsea, 222 W. 23rd Street, New York, but her Alien Registration receipt which was mailed to her at this address, was returned with the notation "Not at the Hotel Chelsea, and address not known".

BLC:ebn 100-26044

cc: New York
San Francisco

Cantra Curino

SKILT

ŒA: IS 100-11146-43 ~ ECURDED

SAC, New York

April 24, 1944

J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

EX - 31

WALTER G. KRIVITSKY, with aliases; INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated March 10, 1944, in the above-captioned matter, requesting information appearing in the files of relative to Krivitsky. Reference is also made to a letter to the Bureau from the Philadelphia Field Division dated April 10, 1944, in the above-captioned matter, setting forth information appearing in the files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service at Philadelphia, a copy of which was designated for the New York Field Division.

The letter from Philadelphia referred to indicates that Walter Yrivitsky had his name legally changed to Walter Poref and that he had filed first papers for citizenship. It further states that his wife was last known to be residing under the name of Antonian Poref at 36 West Gun Hill Road, Bronx, New York.

The New York Field Mivision is instructed to obtain complete information concerning Erivitaky's change of name to Halter Poref. You are also instructed to conduct a discreet investigation to ascertain the present location and activities of his wife, now known as Antonian Poref. It is not desired that a complete investigation of Mrs. Krivitaky be conducted at the present time. However, her address, employment and the identity of her associates should be determined.

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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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APR 25 1944 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
S. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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CEA: IS 100-11146-43 4/24/44 RECORDED THE IMPOUNTION CONTENED RE: WALTER C. KRIVITSKY, with aliases: morni is element in in in in in

INTERNAL SECURITY - R

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN ---OTLERWISE.

Dear Sire

Walter G. Krivitsky was born June 28, 1899, as Samuel Ginsberg at Podwoloczyska Russia. He was an official of the Russian government from 1919 to 1937, and during most of that time was employed as an agent of the Soviet military intelligence. In 1936-37 he was in charge of Soviet military intelligence for Western Europe.

From information appearing in the Immigration and Maturalisation files at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Erivitaky first entered the United States at the Port of New York on the SS Mormandie, Movember 10, 1938, on a visitor's visa. He received several extensions of his visitor's visa but departed from the United States on approximately December 26, 1939, for Canada.

A letter in the files of Immigration Service from H. R. Landis, the St. Albans District Director of Ismigration and Naturalization Service, St. Albans, Vermont, dated February 11, 1941, reflects the following information:

> "While in Canada, Samuel Cineberg is said to have been employed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

On October 31, 1940, Krivitsky re-entered the United States on a quota visa from Canada, under the name of Walter Poref, at Rouses Point, New York. Erivitsky was subsequently found dead in his hotel room on February 11, 1941, in Washington, D. C. His death was officially reported as a suicide following an investigation by the Washington, D. C. Metropolitan Police Department.

fery truly yours) N1chol COMMUNICTIONS SECTION MAILED 12 has not Rendo APR 26 1944 P.M. Hd 25 / John Bdgar Hoover POTRIL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION U. B. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE



GEA:LP

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Iustice
Washington, D. C.

March 8, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LAAD

Re: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY INTERNAL SECURITY - R

It is noted from a review of the files of the Bureau Minthat Walter G. Krivitsky called at the State Department in January of 1939 and furnished them information concerning "certain aspects of Soviet developments with which he was familiar. A memorandum containing the results of this interview was prepared by Mr. Page of the State Department at that time; however, no copy of the memorandum was made available to the Eureau.

It is also noted that Walter G. Krivitsky's book In Stalin's Secret Police" mentions one Renata Steiner as having been born at Saint-Gall, Switzerland, in 1908, and in the employ of the CGPU service since 1935. Krivitsky states that Renata Steiner was identified as the person who had hired an American-made car employed by the assassins of Reiss and was one of the three accomplices in this assassination apprehended by the police in Switzerland.

Action

It is suggested that the Liaison Section contact the appropriate official of the State Department and obtain all information in their possession relative to statements made by Walter C. Krivitsky with particular reference to the memorandum prepared by a certain kr. Page in January of 1939.

It is also suggested that appropriate contact be made with the State Department in order to ascertain whether they have in their possession a description of the Renata Steiner apprehended by the Swiss Police and also such additional information as they might have relative to this individual.

BUY BONDS STAMPS

Respectfully,

G L Welch

F. L. Welch

100 - 11146-41

APR 18 1914

INDEXED

BYCARGET C83 EX

Mr. Carson Mr. Harbo Mr. Hendon Mr. Mumfore Mr. Starke

Mr. Mumford____ Mr. Starke____ Mr. Quinn Tamm

Mr. Tolson

Mr Glavin

Mr. Ladd___ Mr. Nichols

Mr. Rosen_ Mr. Tracy

Mr. E. A. Tamm Mr. Clegg____ Mr. Coffey

Tele. Room__ Mr. Nease__

Miss Beahm_ Miss Gandy_

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

RRR:ems

FROM

R. R. Roage

SUBJECT:

WALTER G. KRIVITSKY INTERNAL SECURITY - R

ached memorandum to you from Mr. Welch
est that the Liaison Section review the

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Reference is made to the attached memorandum to you from Mr. Welch dated March 8, 19hh, containing a request that the Liaison Section review the State Department files concerning one Renata Steiner, who was allegedly apprehended by the Swiss Police and who is believed to be employed by the Soviet secret sample TTACHED

A review of the State Department Times on this individual reflects that all information of a pertinent nature has already been supplied to the Bureau and that the majority of the material in the State Department files is that supplied to them by the Bureau. There is attached, however, a copy of a letter to Mr. Berle from the American Embassy in Paris dated February 28, 1940, concerning Renata Steiner, as well as a copy of a photograph. It is to be noted that the attached letter contains a description of Steiner as requested in the reference memorandum.

Section for its information.

Attachments

EX - 44

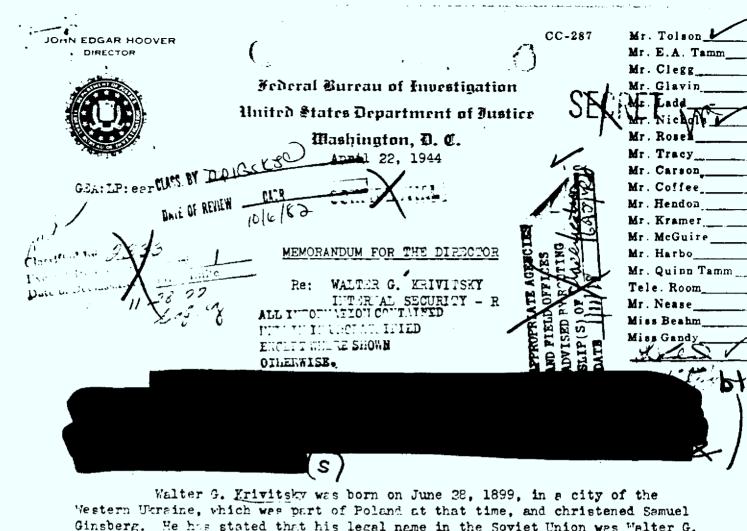






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	Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
X	Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.
	Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).
	Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):
	For your information:
X	The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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Walter G. Krivitsky was born on June 28, 1899, in a city of the Vestern Ukraine, which was part of Poland at that time, and christened Samuel Ginsberg. He has stated that his legal name in the Soviet Union was Walter G. Krivitsky and he was a member of the Communist Party from 1917 until 1937. From 1917 to 1990, he worked for the Communist Party in the Ukraine and White Russia during the early days of the revolution. From 1920 until 1937, he was in the employ of the Soviet Military Intelligence.

Krivitsky stated to the Dies Committee that from 1921 until 1923, he worked for the Second and Third Bureaus of the General Staff of the Red Army. In 1923, he was sent to Germany to prepare for the German revolution and to organize menpower for a German Red Army. From 1924 to 1926, he worked for the Trird Bureau of the General Staff and, in 1925, he became the Central Russian Clief of the Third Section of the Soviet Military Intelligence and retained that position until 1933. In 1933, he was appointed Director of the War Industries Institute and, in 1934, he returned to intelligence work in the General Staff continuing in that capacity until his break with the Communist Party in 1937. In 1936 and 1937, he was Chief of the Soviet Military Intelligence for Western Europe. During the Fall of 1937, he stated that he be broke with the Communist Party and Stalin as he felt that he was likely to be purged.

Krivitsky entered the United States during the latter part of 1938, accompanied by his wife and child. His exact method of obtaining a passbort and visa to enter the United States is unknown at the present time. Since his errival FORVICTORY in the United States, he has published a book "In Stalin's Secret Service" BUY and several articles which have appeared in the Saturdar Evening Post.

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Memorandum for The Director

Krivitsky was reported to have voluntarily departed from the United States in December of 1939 for Cameda in order to reenter legally and be eligible for naturalization. He apparently reentered the United States during the early part of 1940. During that period of time, he made statements to the effect that he feared some members of the CGPU organization would make an attack upon him or upon members of his family while in the United States.

Erivitary was found dend on February 10, 1941, in his room at the Tellevue Hotel, 15 I Street, I. V., Washington, D. C. His death was officially reported as a suicide following an investigation by the Metropolitan Police. At the time his body was found, three-letters were found — one directed to his wife, one to his attorney, Louis Faldman and one to Suzanne La Follette.

Information Furnished to the State Department

In January of 1939, Krivitsky called at the State Department and furnished information concerning certain aspects of Soviet developments with which he was familiar. A memorandum containing the results of this interview was prepared by a Hr. Page at that time; and a copy has been made available to the Bureau \mathcal{U}

On March 15, 1979, he again furnished information to the State
Department relative to Serge Bassoff which was transmitted to the Bureau
and to the Military Intelligence Service relative to a contact he stated he
had been notice of the Soviet With Bassoff whom he stated was a
former Soviet sailor who had joined the secret police in 1980 and had since
been active as an agent of the Soviet Union in the United States. He stated
that Bassoff had previously been used as a courier because of his American
passport and, on one occasion, had been arrested in Holland while transporting
funds but later released (2/)

It has been ascertained that Krivitsky furnished information to the State Department which was relayed to British Intelligence through the British Ambassador in Mashington, D. C. This data was the basis for a subsequent investigation that led to the prosecution in England of Captain John Merbert King for Soviet esmionage within that country. (2)

Information Turnished the Federal Bureau of Investigation

On July 27, 1939, Walter G. Krivitsky was interviewed by Bureau Agents at the office of Louis Waldman, Attorney at Law, Room 303, Broadway, New York City, an attorney who had previously represented Krivitsky in hearings of the Immigration authorities. It might be noted that Waldman represented Corporal Pobert Ceman when he was retried and accounted of espionage for the Russian

CONTACT SEXPET



commoximal)

Memorandum for The Director

Government after having been previously convicted and court-mertialed in the Panama Canal Zone. Osman, subsequent to his acquittal, was identified as a Soviet agent by Robert Gordon Switz who was convicted of Soviet espionage in France in 1933.

Krivits'ty, at the time of his interview by Bureau agents, furnished information relative to Serge Rassoff, whom he alleged was an agent of the CGPU. The information obtained at that time was substantially the same as set forth in an article Krivits'ty wrote for the Saturday Evening Post on August 5, 1939 and in his book "In Stalin's Secret Service."

Mriviteky was also questioned relative to General Kleber whom he stated was an intimate accommintance. It is to be noted that General Emil Kleber has been identified as Moische (Maurice) Stern who directed a group of Passian espionage agents operating in the United States during 1930 and 1931. Mriviteky stated that Kleber, whose real name he admitted was Stern, had never done espionage work in the United States and had been in New York for brief intervals only and then not in connection with his official duties.

A subsequent investigation was conducted of Serge Bassoff by the Bureru; however, no evidence was developed at that time indicating he was involved in Soviet espionage activities.

Information Furnished the Dies Committee

Krivitsky testified before the Dies Committee on October 11, 1939, at which time he described the organizational structure of the Communist International and its relationship with the Communist Party of the United States. He described the organization and operation of the Soviet Military Intelligence stating that it had the same functions as the military intelligence of any other country; however, its unique feature was that it was able to enlist and recruit members of the Communist Party in the countries within which it operated. He also set forth information relative to the OCPU and its organization, stating that the OCPU and Soviet Military Intelligence operated independently, although they coordinated their activities whenever necessary.

Individuals mentioned as having operated under the Soviet "ilitary Intelligence in the United States by Krivitsky were the following: Felix Wolf, from 1924 to 1929; Alexander Karen, 1929 to 1933; Valentine Farkin, 1933 to 1934; Boris Shork, from 1936 until 1937; and Poris Bykov, 1936 until the date of his testimony. Trivits'ny also mentioned one Alfred Tilden, believed to be identical with Alfred Tilton, who operated in the United States from 1929 to 1933. We also inferred that Juliet Stuart Poyntz, who mysteriously disappeared in New York in 1937, was a member of the Soviet Military Intelligence.



SEXPET

Memorandum for The Director



Information in Printed Articles

(

A review of Krivitsky's book published November 9, 1939, disclosed that it was a "re-hash" of articles previously published in the Saturday Evening Fost. In addition to individuals that were previously mentioned in his testimony before the lier Committee. Krivitsky stated that Mitty Harris, alies Katherine Harrison, the former common law wife of Harl Prowder, Communist leader in the United States, had worked for him as an agent for Soviet Military Intelligence in Central Europe.

Krivitsky also mentioned Markaret Browder, a sister of Barl Browder, whom he stated had been in the service of Soviet Military Intelligence for ouite a while functioning in Central Europe where she had been laying the ground work for the establishment of a secret radio station. We stated that she was a graduate of a special course in Moscow as a radio operator and was living abroad under the grise of a student operating under a passbort issued in the name of Jean Montgomery. He also mentioned one Pans Dechov, alias Count Von Bulow, who operated in the vicinity of Chicago, Illinois, in conjunction with Micholes Dozenberg, another agent of the Soviet Military Intelligence who was associated with Dr. Malentine Gregory Burtan in the passing of counterfeit money that had been issued by the Soviet Government to finance their espionage activities.

Information Precently Available Concerning Persons Mentioned

Serge Bassoff, the subject of a closed espionage case, New York origin, is presently residing in New York City.

Alfred Tilton was reported by Krivitsky to have been shot in May, 1937; however, there is no substantiating evidence.

Margaret Browder was lest reported by her brother as residing in the vicinity of Karsas City, Missouri, in 1939.

Valentine Markin was killed in an automobile accident in New York City in 1935.

Hens' Dechow was last reported to be in South American in 1941.

Dr. Valentine Gregory Eurten presently confined in Mortheastern Federal Penitentiary, Lewisburg Pennsylvania is the subject of a pending Internal Security - R case.

- 4 -

2000

Memorandum for The Director



to information appears in the Bureau files indicating the present whereabouts or activities of the following individuals: Felix Wolf, Alex Koren, Boris Shoek, Boris Bykov, Juliet Stuert Poyntz, and Kitty Harris.

PJC PJO

Action

It is believed that investigation to establish the identity and contacts of inmividuals mentioned by Krivitsky as operating in the United States for the Soviet Military Intelligence would be productive and letters have been directed to the Field requesting appropriate investigations in

Respectfully

- 5 -









Lalter G. Arivitoky (Ginsberg) Taken from Nov.1939 issu of National Republic, page 10



100-11146-47





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June 6, 1944

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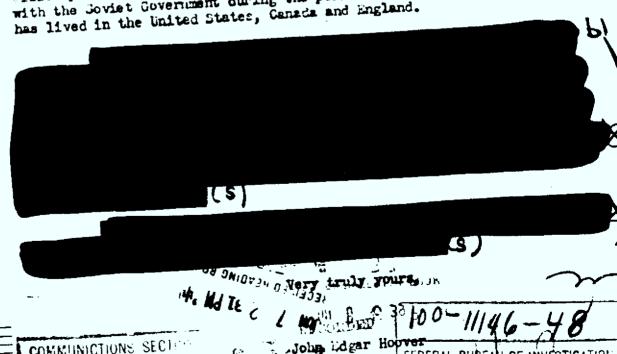
PURSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL VIA U. S. ARMY AIR TRANSPORT COMMAND

Er. E. J. Lynch Legal Attache The American imbassy Lendon, ingland TI O CONTAINED

RE: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY, with alianes INTELLIAL SECURITY (R)

Dear Sir:

Walter G. Krivitsky, prior to 1937 was an agent of the Soviet Military Intelligence. Between 1936 and 1937 he was in charge of Soviet "ilitary Intelligence activities for Western Europe. Following his break with the Joviet Government during the period of the "purge trials" he has lived in the United States, Canada and England.



COMMUNICTIONS SECTION MAIL CO 14

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SAC. New York

June 15, 1944

J. Edger Hoover - Director, Jederal Bureau of Investigation

WAITER G. ERIVITSKY, with aliases;

JETER A. RECUEITY - P.

Reference is made to the Bureau letters dated March 10 and April 24, 1944 in the above captioned matter.

A review of the files in the Bureru fails to disclose the receipt of a report. You are instructed to place this case in line for immediate investigation and a report should be transmitted in the near future.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUN 17 1944
U. S. DEDARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

28_	Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1 THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT	NEW YORK, N.Y.	MT	FILE NO. 100-59589	PAS
MEW TORK CITY	7/24/44 FRIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/11.13.6/14,15	15,22: 19,29;	ь» Бэ	c ,
Walter Ginsbe	VITSKY, with aliases: rg, Walter Ginsberg, Walter Thomas	CHARACTER OF	L SECURITY - R	/
M SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:	Public records do not disci	•	AL INDEXING	
*	of name by subject (decease Bronx County Clerk's record legally changed her name as ALEXANDER, age 11, 4/28/41 presently residing Apartment Street, MYC 24. She filed Intention to become citizen reported at one time to havin care of Miss SUZAHNE Lalate "BOB" of Wisconsin and LABOR LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHT REGISTER AFL. She is closed ZIMELS. Mr. ZIMELS, formed in Vienna, is presently stocked to the consolidated TAX PATERS MUBrocklyn. Mrs. THOMAS is in Thomas is the consolidated to the	od 2/10/41), but its revealed his want that of minor to THOMAS. She at 1-D, 107 West Declaration of a 1/14/42. She is re been left by he POLLETTE, sister is who is active in ETS and United Marchael friend of the Its class mate of a class mate o cla	dow son. is 84th susband of the ations summan	
	- P	ALL DIFORM	NIXIN CONTAINE	D
er perence :	Bureau File 100-11146.	DATE 10-6	So BA≥ 10° CC	<i>O</i> 2
	Bureau letters to Philadel March 10 and April 24, 1		rk, dated	
DETAILS:	CHARGE OF BANG			ا ل
On.	The New York Times of			
COPIES DESTR	4-29-54 LOO	+ 1/146 -	BECORD	
5 Bureau - New Tor	76 19	JUL 27 1874	UNDEXE //	
2 0 1344	OOPY IN FILE	orrice T-2034		

MY 100-59589

the death of subject in a Washington Hotel on February 10, 1941, stated that subject registered at the hotel as WALTER POHEF. This was the name, according to his attorney that he had decided to adopt as his legal name in the United States. Application for permission to use this name was to have been submitted to the Supreme Court in New York City.

An examination of the change of name records in both the city court of the Boroughs of the Bronx, Brooklyn and Manhattan and of the supreme court for these boroughs failed to indicate that an application for change of name had been filed by the subject prior to his death. However, the records of the County Clerk of Bronx County, Miscellaneous Records Division Room 118, Bronx County Court House, Grand Concourse, New York, revealed that subject's widow, ARTCHIA/GHZHERG, made application to change her name on March 6, 1941 and to change the name of her minor son, ALEXANDER, on March 15, 1941. A petition therefore was filed on March 21, 1941 by LULS VALDMAN, attorney for the petitioner, 302 Broadway. In her petition, Mrs. GINZHERG stated she resided at 36 West Gun Hill Boad, Bronx; that she was a resident alien, having entered the United States on October 31, 1940, and that she was a widow with an infant son, age 7 years, named ALEXANDER GINZHERG and that she had never been convicted of a crime. As grounds for her application to change her name, she setout:

"I have used the name GINZHERS but infrequently, being better known under the name of THOMAS, which is the name under which both my deceased husband, my child and I have been known for considerable periods of time".

She further stated no previous application had been made for this relief.

On March 19, 1941, at a Special Term, Part II of the Supreme Court of New York, the Honorable LCUIS A. VALENTINE ordered that upon compliance with following instructions and publication of the order, subject's name and that of her son would be legally changed to THCMAS as of April 28, 1941. Proof of publication of the court's order was filed on April 10, 1941 indicating that publication had been made for one day in the New York Law Journal on March 26, 1941. The record of this change of name is found in Volume 41 of the Change of Name records, Pages 433-4.

DECLARATION OF INTENTION TO BECOME CITIZEN MADE BY SUBJECT'S WIDOW

The records of the Immigration and Maturalisation Service.

70 Columbus Avenue, reflect that Declaration of Intention #324458 was filed

MY 100-59589

in the United States District Court, Eastern District of New York, Brooklyn New York on January 14, 1942. Declarant stated her name was ANTONINA POEER and that her address was 36 West Gun Hill Boad, New York. She supplied the following personal history.

Born St. Petersburg, Russia, February 18, 1902; married WALTER POKEF May 15, 1926 in Moscow, Russia who was born in Podwolocyska, Russia June 28, 1899; lawful entry into the United States made by her husband by our at Rouses Point, New York on October 31, 1940 from her last foreign residence which was Montreal, Canada. A son, ALEXANUER, was born July 21, 1933 in Montreal. She gave the names of her parents as follows:

SEMUCE PORFIRJERA, father and ARTORIEA PORFIJERA (mother's maiden name). Her physical description was set out as follows:

Height: 5' 9"
Veight: 150 lbs.
Eyes: Elus
Hair: Blonds
Complexion: Fair
Color: White
Cocupation: Housewife

PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF MRS. THOMAS

did not recall the subject but stated

stated that the were of Enssian extraction and it was possible that subject's widow may have been friendly with them.

called the subject and his wife; that they resided in Apartment 4-B of the building at 36 West Gun Hill Boad. However, after the subject's death, his widow left the building to take up residence elsewhere but he did not know where she had moved.

Confidential Informent T-1 advised he knew of the residents in that apartment building of Mrs. GINZBERG but he did not know where she had gone following her removal from there nor was he able to affix the date she left the apartment building. He voluntered to secure this information from an individual whom he stated would know where she was, but would not give it to a stranger. However, he later advised reporting agent that he had been unsuccessful to learn her whereabouts.

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It was noted in the New York Times article, to which reference has previously been made that subject's body had been sent to the Fairchild & Sons Undertaking Parlor, 88 Lefferts Place, Brooklyn.

An examination of the records of the funeral establishment which were made available by indicated that the byc funeral was arranged for by Mr. BERMAN ZIMELS, a friend, 1929 East 18th byc Street, Brooklyn and subject's attorney, LOUISCALIMAN, 802 Broadway. Mr. ZIMELS paid for the funeral costs, amounting to \$108.22. It was noted that Mrs. GINZEERS gave ZIMELS' address as her own in this record. It is also noted that subject's body had been cremated in the Fresh Pond Crematory, Maspeth, Queens.

Confidential Informent T-2 advised that BERNARD ZINELS and his wife were close friends of the GINZBERGS, as they were known to them. Mr. ZINELS as a boy, attended school in Vienna with the subject. ZINELS is now a statistician with the TAX PAYERS MUTUAL INSURANCE Company, 100 Clinton Street, Brooklyn, New York. His residence is 1694 Mast 22nd Street, Brooklyn. Informant stated that subject's widow is ANTONINA THOMAS, presently residing at 107 West 84th Street, Apartment 1-D, New York City, and that she was employed in defense work, the nature and place of which the informant did not know.

On July 10, 1944, reporting agent verified Mrs. THOMAS' residence at this address by noting the mail box for Apartment 1-D listed the name of Mrs. ACMHOMAS and MORGANSTERS. Her apartment is apparently on the top floor of a four story brownstone building which is newly decorated and the building appeared freshly decorated and maintained in a nest and orderly fashion. Efforts to contact the superintendent met with negative results.

In an effort to locate Mrs. THOMAS, the following individuals were interviewed:

MIKLOS ZAKHAR, superintendent, 3510 Bainbridge Street, Bronx.

FRANK GLAZER, superintendent, 3424 Gates Place, former superintendent, 36 West Gun Hill Road;

JOHN HUMBERT, Present, superintendent, 36 West Gun Hill Road:

Mr. SCAPP, superintendent and

PJE PJC

RLSE LEVOR, Treasurer of the CHEMICAL CENTER Corporation, 826 Broadway; Mrs. BEULAH HAGEN, Secretary to President CANFIELD of

HARPER & Bros., Publishers, 171 Madison Avenue; PAUL WOHL, 153 West 33rd Street, New York City.

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ASSOCIATES OF MRS. THOMAS

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Confidential Informant T-3 advised that PAUL WOHL was a good friend of the subject. WOHL met ERAVITSKY in Paris in the early 1930's and was his first colloborator in connection with the writings which finally appeared in the Saturday Evening Post in 1939 and 1940 and were later reproduced in book form under the title "IN STALIN'S SECRET SERVICE", published by HARPER & Bros. and "ghosted" by ISAAC DON LEVIES. Informant stated that WORL was scientific adviser in 1935 to the Soviet Department of Land Transporation in Paris and is presently a writer en international affairs for BARRON's financial weekly and the Christian Science Monitor. WOHL had some difficulty with KRAVITSKY in connection with their early association, arising out of the production by them of the series of writings. Informent stated this difficulty arose when WOHL insisted that he be paid a sum of money for the work he had performed on subject's articles and that subject refused to do this, feeling that he owed him nothing for what he had done. As a consequence, their relations become strained and informant believed for this reason, Mrs. KRAVITSKY, following her husband's death, refused to have anything further to do with him.

This informant also stated that one BORIS SHUB, whose father is H. SHUB, editor on the staff of the Jewish Daily Forward, also did some work with KRAVITSKY and is of the opinion that some friendly relations had been maintained at least up to the time of KRAVITSKY's denise.

Informent also stated that the BERMAN ZINELS of Brooklyn were also close friends of the family, a friendship which sprung up from the association of the two men in their school days in Vienna. This informent also stated at one time when KRAVITSKY found it necessary to leave his wife on a business trip shortly after they came to this country, he left her in the care of Miss SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE, who informent believed was living at the Chelsea Hotel, 222 West 23rd Street, New York City. Informant did not know the connection between the subject and Miss LA FOLLETTE whom he described as a sister of the late BOB LA FOLLETTE, a leader of the progressive party in Visconsin.

The New York files indicate that Nies LA FOLLETTE is presently associated with the LABOR LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS and with the UNITED NATIONS EFLIEF, both believed affiliated with the MANERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Confidential Informant T-2 stated that he had reason to believe that the BERMAN ZIMELS of Brooklyn continued on friendly terms with Mrs. THOMAS and was probably closer to her than any other individuals in New York City. Confidential Informant T-1 intimated that Mr. and Mrs. LUIS HUDNICK previously mentioned, were also friendly with Mrs. THOMAS.

MY 100-59589

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE MEW YORK FIELD DIVISION - At New York City

Will ascertain Mrs. ANTONIKA THOMAS' employment

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MY 100-59589

The following are the confidential informants as appear in the report of Special Agent dated July 24, 1944 at Hew York. H. T.

> BIG Confidential Informant T-1 P Confidential Informant 7-2

Confidential Informent 7-3

All of the above informants requested that their identities be kept confidential.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

	FORM No. 1 THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT	N NORK CITY		NY FILE NO.	100-59589
	NEW NEK CITY	DATE WHEN MADE	8/16,27-29;9/	REPORT MADE BY	PJC
	WALTER G. KRIVITS	MY, with aliase Sinsberg, Walte	s: Walter_	CHARACTER OF CAME INTERNAL SECUR	ITY (R)
	SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:	at 107 West presently e ing Company Indices neg woman resid	: 84 Street, N.Y mployed as desi , 550 Fifth Ave ative on BRANIA	NINA THOMAS, has .C. since 8/1/22; gner, Revere Manufacture, apron manufacture, you and on other contactormant.	ifactur- icturers. inger icts bl
		description			Physical
JA	E 10/6/82 BY 2210		c		ADDITIONAL
	REFERENCE:	Report of 8	100-11146. pecial Agent 1044 at New York	City.	ited byc
	DETAILS:	Term of Res 107 West 84	idence of Subje	ct's Widow at	/
	10 2. 15 Ch	THOMAS is a Brown & She Mrs. THOMAS the informa August 1, 1	tenant of the inker, Room 1405 applied to thi int, for a lease 942, making an	real estate firm, 152 West 42 Str s concern, accord of the apartment application there formant stated se	of reet, ling to from ofor
ETT 7	APPROVED AND () 10 /0	her then p	resent address	as 1764 Bast 18 S ecupation was not	treet,
	FORWARDED 6 . CO	IN CHARG	100+111	46 +54	**** *** ()
	COPPESTED STR. 5 Bureau 4 New York	COYED 11-19-5	Sir Sir S	191°	ECORDED &
		MODY IN FILE	7	(-	2

NY 100-59589

in this application but under "business name" was written "Mrs. ROBERT C. LAFOLLETT", and under "business address" was written "31 West 84 Street, telephone SU 7-6118". B. ZIMELS was a witness to the execution of this application.

On the basis of this application, Mrs. THOMAS was given a lease for a period extending from August 1, 1942 through September 30, 1943 at an annual rental of \$630. The informant advised that the lease provides for an automatic renewal when certain conditions have been met and that she will continue to reside under the terms of this lease in Apartment 1D at 107 West 84 Street until September 30, 1944. The informant is also led to believe that the tenant will continue to occupy the spartment after the expiration of this terminassuch as no steps have been taken to terminate it.

Employment

An inspection of the address 31 West 84 Street, where the IAFOLLETTES, reside, revealed that the IAFOLLETTES have a studio apartment on the fourth floor of this building. The name on the mail box listed the IAFOLLETE Studios and DOROTHEA ANDERSON IAFOLLETTE.

apartment of the four-story apartment building and the only tenant available for interview at that time, was not acquainted with the LAFOLLETTES except to say that they were piano and viola teachers, both of whom she believed were now engaged largely in defense work.

Confidential Informant T2 advised that no information had come into the informant's possession as to Mrs. THOMAS' employment other than that she was working as a designer.

On September 15, 1944 the reporting agent observed Mrs. THOMAS leave her apartment at 8:30 A.M. and proceed by bus to 46 Street and Seventh Avenue where she alighted and walked over to Fifth Avenue. She was seen to enter the building at 550 Fifth Avenue, and it was ascertained through Confidential Informant T3 that she entered the Revere Manufacturing Company on the eighth floor. T3 stated that this is a small concern with probably about fifteen employees engaged in the manufacture of aprons, card table tops, and cloth novelty articles. The informant stated that Mrs. THOMAS has been employed

NY 100-59589

there for at least two months.

In view of the fact that this is a very small manufacturing concern and in view of the limited scope of the instant investigation, it was felt inadvisable to make direct verification of her employment.

Associates

of the MORGENSTERN, whose last name appeared on the apartment mail box, as Miss BRANIA WORGENSTERN.



Confidential Informant T4 advised that apparently Miss MORGENSTERN was in the employ of the Presbyterian Hospital, New York City. The reporting agent observed during the course of the investigation that Miss MORGENSTERN left her apartment at approximately 10:15 each morning. She is believed to be described as follows:

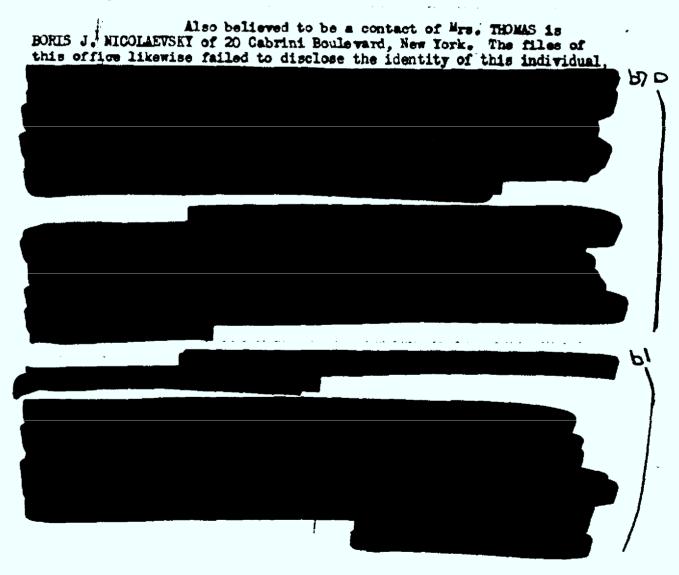
Age Height Weight About 35 5' 8# 140 pounds MY 100-59 589

Hair Dark Brosn Complexion Derk Festures Rugged 670 67c investigated of interviewed try at county the key hew york office in 1942.

The indices of this office failed to identify any of these individuals.

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In addition, the informant stated that Mrs. THOMAS is in contact with LOUIS WALDMAN. The reference report identified WALDMAN as the attorney who represented Mrs. THOMAS in her petition to change her name. WALDMAN, whose autobiography "Labor Lawyer" has recently been published, has his law offices at 305 Broadway. The book reveals that WALDMAN was born in the Ukrain and came to this country at the age of 16 in 1916. He styles himself as something of a Democrat Socialist.



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Description

From agent's observation, the following physical description of Mrs. THOMAS is set out:

Height
Weight
Hair
Complexion
Sin
Peculiarities

5' 9"
140 pounds
Striking blond
Light
Unusually light
"Piano" lgs;
walks stifly and erectly

negative.

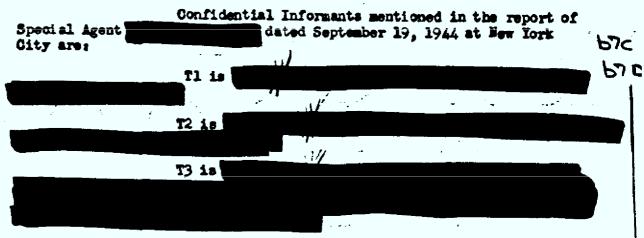
records on Mrs. THOMAS are

This case is being closed upon the authority of the Special Agent in Charge.

-CLOSED -

NY 100-59589

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS



T4 is a highly confractial and, reliable source

to Special Agent

who made the reported information available on August 16, 1944.

The identity of the individual informants is concealed at their requests.

100 - 1/146 - 54 SAC - New York City ಒೆ:≎ನಿ೨೮

October 2,

PJC

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

WATTER G. KRIVITSKY INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Eeference is made to the closing report of Special Agent at New York City September 19, 1944 in the above-captioned matter.

A review of reference report discloses the statement that Mrs. Antonina Thomas maintains some contact with one Chambers Whittaker and that the indices of the New York Field Division fail to reflect any information relative to this individual.

Your attention is called to the fact that this person may be identical with Thittaker Chambers, a former Soviet intelligence agent and subject of a pending investigation in your Office.

The above data are for your information.

MERGINEZ BYSDIGSKITO





Memorandum UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mirector, FBI

November 16, 1944

SAC. New York

SUBJECT:

WALTER G! KRIVITSKY, with aliases; INTERNAL SECURITY - R. (Bureau file #100-11146).

On Nevember 2, 1944, PAUL WOHL, presently a writer on international affairs for the Christian Science Moditor and "Barron's Financial Weekly" and an associate in the 30's and collaborator with the subject, who was first interviewed by Special Agent in connection with the latter's efforts to locate KRIVITSKY's widow, as set out in Agent closing report as above captioned dated September 19, 1944, at New York City, was reinterviewed at his residence, 153 East 33rd Street, New York City, by Agent and Special Agent in connection with the case entitled "SERGE BASSOFF; INTERNAL SECURITY - R". The interview developed no new information concerning BASSOFF, other than that KRIVITSKY after the meeting with BASSOFF, was quite agitated and paced the floor the greater part of the night trying to determine whether the meeting was planned or accidental. WOHL briefly refers to this meeting in the attached article, described below, on page 466. WOHL also mentioned that the man known to him as KIAFGE or KIAEGES was known to KRIVITSKY as a Soviet agent and on the date of this particular interview supplied certain information. It was determined later by the Agents that there is a pending investigation entitled "UNKNOWN SUBJECT, alias FRANK LIEGES; INTERNAL SECURITY - R". Accordingly, on November 13, 1944, Agent accompanied by Special Agent recontacted WOHL and the information developed on these two talks

with him is set forth as follows:

WOHL stated that prior to KRIVITSKI's coming to this country, the latter related to him that he was present on an eccasion when the precedure of securing citisenship in the United States was explained to STALIN. When STALIN learned that it was possible to become naturalized after a residence of five years in this country, he exclaimed, as nearly as WOHL could recall KRIVITSKY's repetition of his words:

Wonderful - send a thousand men to America at ence and let them sit there."

WOHL then related that one such individual who apparently came to this country under such an arrangement was the man known to him as KLAEGE or KLAEGES. This individual, who he believed had assumed this name, had acquired citizenship but severed his connection with the Soviet Union, later returning to Paris as a businessman engaged in the importing and experting business, possibly having semething to do with the earning industry of

COPIES DESTROYED 4-19-57 At the time KRIVITSKY was seeking funds with which to make his journey to this country, he remembered KIAEGE and led WOHL to believe that

al hored

Letter to Director NY 100-59589

November 16, 1944

KLAFGE owed him at least a moral obligation in exchange for earlier advice extended to him when KLAFGE operated under KRIVITSKY. WOHL was requested to see KLAFGE with the object in mind of securing from him passage money, KRIVITSKY feeling that their old association would prompt KLAFGE to put forth the necessary funds. At this time, WOHL believed it was in December, 1937, as near as he could recall, WOHL was Technical Adviser at the Paris International Expesition and Traffic Adviser to the official freight agency of the French Railroad. He later lost this latter position because of his association with KRIVITSKY, which finally same to the attention of the Russian Government, with whom the French were negotiating in an effort to expand European Centinental freight traffic with the USSR.

WOHL related that he made an appointment with KLAEGE to see him at his office, the address of which he could not recall, nor could be refresh his memory from a netebook to which he referred in the presence of the Agents. He said that he had a twenty minute interview with KLAEGE, when he had not known previously and about whom he knows nothing further. He advised that KLAEGE was a Latvian then about forty-five years of age, short and stocky build, with dark brown hair and the coarse, rough features of his nationality.

MIAECE prefessed a lack of acquaintanceship with KRIVITSKY, which greatly surprised WOHL as KRIVITSKY had carefully explained that KLAEGE had worked under him many years previous. Hewever, KLAEGE effered to help KRIVITSKY to some extent, which struck WOHL as being rather extraordinary and which he pointed out to KLAEGE, who quickly replied that he felt this was a tragic situation in which KRIVITSKY found himself and that he was merely doing this to be helpful and sympathetic. It developed, however, that KLAEGE was not prepared to go as far as KRIVITSKY had expected him to and nothing further was done in the matter. In the meantime, proceeds from the sale of certain articles which WOHL in cellaboration with KRIVITSKY produced, some of which were/incorporated in the "Saturday Evening Post" articles which ISAAC DON LEVINE later prepared for KRIVITSKY, became available and KRIVITSKY was therefore enabled to come to this country without the assistance of KLAEGE. WOHL is under the impression that these incidents which he related did not appear in any of the published writings of KRIVITSKY.

WOHL said at the time of being interviewed that he was certain he could identify KLAEGE if he could see a picture of him.

It is possible that KIAEGE is identical with the subject of Bureau file 100-293562 entitled "UNKNOWN SUBJECT, alias FRANK KIEGES; INTERNAL SECURITY - R*. A picture of this individual is available in the New York files and it will be exhibited to WOHL, at which time he

Letter to Exector NY 100-59589

November 16, 1944

will be interviewed to determine if he can disclose any further information which might be of assistance in establishing the whereabouts and activities of this particular subject.

WOHL made available to Agents an article entitled "Walter G. Krivitsky, A Study of A Man Whose Life Was Hidden Behind His Political Significance", which he had written for the publication "The Commenweal" and which appeared in the issue of February 28, 1941. Photostatic copies of this article were prepared and one copy is being transmitted to the Bureau to add to the completeness of the Bureau's file in the KRIVITSKY matter. The second copy is being retained in this office as a part of the closed KRIVITSKY file for purposes of future reference.

With reference to the closing report of Special Agent it will be noted that the individual BCRIS J. NICOLAEVSKY was not identified. WOHL, in speaking of KRIVITSKY, mentioned that this individual, whose name he spelled NIKOLAYEVSKY, came to see KRIVITSKY in the latter's apartment in Paris. KRIVITSKY said that this man was the only se-called Aryan among the Mensheviki. He was a scholar and headed an institute of learning in Paris financed by LEON BLUM. He was a French Socialist and was acquainted with LENIN. He was also a friend of KRIVITSKY, who quarrelled with him, too, a few years prior to KRIVITSKY's death. WOHL stated that NIKOLAYEVSKY came here as a refugee, knows some French and German, and WOHL believes, speaks only Russian. He is thought to be connected with some institute in New York City. He is reportedly given to writing very fantastic stories, two of which have appeared in the "New York Times".

WOHL was also asked if he was acquainted with WHITTAKER/CHAMBERS, a former Soviet Intelligence Agent, and subject of a pending investigation in this office who was brought to attention in connection with the KRIVITSKY matter by Bureau letter of October 2, 1944, in which reference is made to Agent closing report of September 19, 1944, which mentions CHAMBERS WHITTAKER as being a contact to an undetermined extent of KRIVITSKY's widow. WOHL, however, stated that this individual was not known to him.

Attention is called to the final page of the KRIVITSKY article supplied by WOHL which gives a resume of WOHL's life. WOHL also stated that he understood he has been attacked by LOUIS WALDAN in the latter's book "Labor Lawyer" but advised that he had not seen a copy and did not know exactly of what the attack consisted. At the time of this writing, Agent was unable to obtain a copy of this book to review it for determining the nature of WALDMAN's charges against WOHL, as a matter of information.

Letter to Director NY 100-59589

November 16, 1944

This information is set out in detail with respect to WOHL inasmuch as it is felt that Agents of this office may have occasion to interview him on other pending matters on which he may be able to supply information as a result of his association with KRIVITSKY. WOHL is cooperative and is highly regarded in his field, as was indicated by a letter which he exhibited to Agents, which letter was written by a foreign news editor of the "New York Herald Tribune", with which paper he was at one time connected, praising his work. WOHL has taken out his first papers and hopes to return to Europe after the war as a correspondent for some American newspaper.

A copy of this communication is being submitted for each of the Bureau files in the cases entitled "SERGE BASSOFF; INTERNAL SECURITY - R" and "UNKNOWN SUBJECT, alias FRANK KLEGES; INTERNAL SECURITY - R". Copies are also being designated for these respective files in the New York Office.

Enclosure (1)

ec Bureau file entitled "SERGE BASSOFF; INTERNAL SECURITY = R" .
Bureau file entitled "UNKNOWN SUBJECT, alias FRANK KLEGES;
INTERNAL SECURITY - R", Bureau #100-293562.

Walter IG. Krivitsky

A study of a man whose life was hidthen behind his political mignificance.

7 Paul Wohl

Dieu a fait les hommes droits; mais ils ont cherche

AD KRIVITSKY come to America in the plenitude of his tryptic powers as he intended to in 4937, those who slandered thim in 1939 would have spoken of him with awe and admiration. The few privileged to converse with him would have whispered reverently and swith importance to their sintimates in the most inclet and conspiratorial circles of Uprogressive" thought the message of this mysterious emissary sof the Kremlin, the small wiry man with bushy ared eyebrows, the dreaded commissar who could combine revolutionary discipline with urbane manners and political antransigeance with ibrilliant eyersatility.

Krivitsky was the first of those close to the inner councils of the Kremlin who stepped out not the ranks without seeking refuge in another prevolutionary group. He refused to join Trotsky who publicly ancered: "Krivitsky has fied into the petty bourgeoisie; the has become a democrat." He did not join the Russian Social Democrats or Mensheviks and turned down the invitations of the many Marxist factions who would have expected in his conversion to their particular interpretation of political philosophy. Walter Krivitsky was the one prominent Bolshevik who did not sarry to be anything else than that which he was: a poor man who stood at the crossroad of his life that the age of forty and had the courage to say: "That which we have done was bad. We did not twant it thus. How it happened I cannot explain."

If this trained dislectician had given one of the smany superficial and pretentiously "scientific" explanations dear to our "liberal" rationalists, he smight shave atunned their remancipated master-minds. Instead, he simply revealed that which metually had happened. In his first articles which more wrote together in Europe he strictly avoided interpretations. His American articles too are abased on his personal observations and on the experience of his closest friends, though—at the arequest of his American diterary collaborator—inoccasionally he tried to interpret the tragedy he

had witnessed. He gave these interpretations hesistatingly; he felt their insufficiency in the face of the enormity of the events and he suffered under the shifting contradictions in which, as he wrote, he became involved. "These articles will be my ideath," he told me in the beginning. My head his deep in the earth," again and again he compolained.

No other Bolshevik ever left the Soviet world to become so lonely and desperate as Krivitsky. If rotsky made himself the center of a new party. Scheinmann, ex-president of the Soviet State Bank, amade a thinancial arrangement with his former schiefs and was allowed to live abroad in precaritous peace. Barmine was a diplomat who through this functions had mingled with the so-called bourgeois world. His wife had never lived in the orbit of the revolution. It was easy for him to establish normal contact with his new surroundings. Besides, he was a young, healthy man of peasant matock, a takilled mechanic able to make a living manywhere.

Rivitsky's forces were exhausted. He had lived during the last years the tense life of a secret ingent, of the thief political agent of the Soviet Union in Western and Central Europe. The world winto which he fled was a hostile world which originally he had set out to destroy and to which he secould not now adjust himself. His less courageous intellectual brethren among us did not facilitate the transition. They, who never had been in the adilemma of perhaps having to give up their lives for their cause, who combined easily the comforts of a "legal," hourgeois existence with revolutionary opinions, have heaped abuse and slander on Krivitsky. Albeit, he rendered them the greatest therefore. His apparently so incredible revelations thave been confirmed. The few interpretative distortions which resulted from the clash between this mind formed in the Soviet world and the contemptions of his American associates were accidental. They cannot diminish his historical imerit.

Krivitsky was not afraid of accusing himself.

He exposed that which he knew and that which she had seen. His articles and his book are a lastling monument. Those who ignored them delibmerately chose to go forward into crime. Alas, only
few learned the lesson and even they did not pardon him for having shattered their illusions. If hey

This French version of Societastes vil. 80 is thus rendered hin the Dougy-Rheims translation: "God made man right, and be thath entangled himself with an infinity of questions."

haracter Line 1

Reivitaky was not a golem, not a withless fa-itatic, not an underground gang leader, but a sen-litive, nervous intellectual, a man whose life had been divided between Russia and Western Europe, between dutiful, believing party members and criti-cal individuals in the bourgeois world. He knew both worlds: the walled-up, one-purpose world of the communist militants and the vacillating capri-sions world of personal venture and ambition. He had lived and dealt with workers and engineers, with artists and intellectuals, ecentists and busihad lived and dealt with workers and engineers, with artists and intellectuals, accentists and businessmen. He was at home in Russia and in Germany, in France and Holland, in Scandinavia and Italy. Everywhere and nowhere. He read enormously, but never could concentrate deeply on one inbject. Ht is not without significance that only once he began to engage in serious research: in the library of the Vatican where he outlined and started an historical study on slavery. Krivitsky was attracted by the human problem in slavery even though he apparently tackled his subject only from the economic angle. Historical materialism was a part of the doctrine to which he had submitted. He was never a free man, never indenitted. He was never a free man, never inde-pendent. Bonded to the Order of the Bolsheviki, to the Russia of Stalin, he had himself become malayed to a system he dreaded, admired and never mompletely understood—though he probably knew more about it than flid anyone outside he Kremlin.

Marxism methodically. The Ared professors' whom he abhorred belonged to a later generation. At the age of seventeen, he and his comrades had ralked into the revolution like young girls into the month of May." A he revolution demanded their entire lives, the surrender of their critical faculties, the defilement of inherited moral standards. They were easer to sacrifice everything for this cause which in a wave of enthusiasm had lifted them above themselves. In these years, and to them, the revolution seemed to embody the ideas of ideal justice and universal brotherhood. They leaped to the sacrifice. It could not be great enough. The strength of love and faith is measured by that which men are willing to give up for the sake of their love or for their faith. Like the conspirators of "Hell" and "People's Will," the Russian terrorist groups of fifty years ago-like the French Jacobins and the German Anabaphists—these young revolutionists of the Russian border provinces were ready to destroy the world as it was for the sake of the world to be. Anyone who wants to see their faces should go through the pages of Soviet magazines of 1918 to 1920. There he will find the obituary notes of hundreds

him-leven after pof young idealists with many scores of pictures.

Beacons were shining from their foreheads—beacons, not plan-figures. These were Krivitsky's comrades. He survived them. And of the shining indealism of these two early years a dim ray, for moments only, seemed to reappear, and laterafter the collectivization and the purge-even that went out. Nothing remained but desolate emp diness.

Agent in Central Burope

"The first agreat adisappointment came with Lenin's New Economic Policy. Private property was re-established, a civil code proclaimed. "Com-munists must dearn business" was the slogan. Thousands of young communists then committed puicide. Krivitsky was not in Russia in these years. Together with the exiled leaders of the ephemeral West Galician Popular Republic, he had gone to Germany. In the guise of returning war prisoners, in long Russian military coats, this fittle roup of Old Bolsheviks Landed in Stettin. whose principal purpose then was world revolution, had use for them abroad. With several million rubles, they were sent to help organite the revolutionary movement in Central Europe.
They had proved themselves valuable in the underground "work" of the revolution; they spoke German, Polish, Ukrainian and knew the Western world. 🗐t was a responsible mission.

"In the morbid atmosphere of post-War Germany most of these young men stepped out of the ranks. A few fled to America to start a new life with their relatives who had emigrated before the War. Dthers became speculators or engaged in the fur business. Most of the older Ukrainian Bolsheviks lost their time in sterile factional dis-cussions in Vienna and Prague. Krivitsky re-mained in line. It was shortly before his departure for Germany that young Samuel Ginzberg of Podvolosciska had adopted this name. Krivitsky is derived from krivoi or scrooked. Mrivoi, mays A. Aleksandrov's Russian-English dictionary, mmeans also anjust, false, aniquitous, aunrightrighteous ways. The name is not uncommon in the Western Ukraine. It was given him by the Party. Little did the young idealist of 1919 see in it an omen of the ways he would be compelled ≝to follow.

As a reliable young Bolshevik, he was utilized by his elders as a courier who scurried from Berlingto Vienna and from Vienna to Prague with loads nof "illegal" propaganda leaslets, aecret instrucwhich the State bank in Moscow printed at full speed—"tackers," as they were valled by the underground brokers. In Vienna, in June, wo19, Krivitsky had his first revolutionary experience in Central Europe. In order to force the Social

Mustrian Government to take sides ort-lived Llungarian Soviet Republic, he swarf Communist Party of Austria staged a evolt. The mineteen year-old Krivitsky marched the first rows of the demonstrators. The demontration was crushed in blood. The dead bodies of many acores of workers lay on the pavement. Krivitsky escaped unhurt. In 1921 and 1923, he operated as a revolutionary underground agent in Germany. He disliked his role in Germany as much as he tearned to love the German workers with whom his mission brought him into contact. The International did not use him in the revolutionary wangered. He was a member of the Russianary wangered. He was a member of the Russianary wangered. onary vanguard. He was a member of the Rus-ian party and had to remain "illegal" and underround. During the critical weeks in 1923 which eventually led to the ill-fated uprising in Hamourg, Krivitaky was in Western Germany, one of secore of Russian, Latvian, Caucasian instructors without authority of his own. The party leader-thip was trigorously centralized. Krivitsky then was but a cog in the machine. Like "Valtin," he became its prisoner. The sly, underground func-tions of these years gradually pervaded his char-acter. Wet it was his tragic fate to feel and realize the process of corruption which even then began to creep through the communist organizations of Europe. Krivitsky was too intelligent not to notice that they had become pawns in the hands of irreponsible and anonymous politicians in the Inter-

mational.

The picture of the German workers and their prim and devoted families who had been betrayed and killed around him were in his memory when ne returned to Russia in 1924. He had never forrotten these people. They spoke to him, they issailed him with their questions during the night. The Russian and the Polish workers he knew rere very different from these cultured and selfconfident German "sproletarians" whose well kept apartments seemed to contradict their revolutionary catechism. This was the last time Krivitsky was in contact with organized and politically agitated workers in Central or Western Europe. In later years, his underground activities compelled him to keep away from the "proletarian" masses. They were the legendary justification of the cause he served. The individual honesty, the spirit of pactifies of these incripht edisciplined and firmly sacrifice of these upright, disciplined and firmly believing German worker-students of communism of #923-24 comented his faith. They had looked up for guidance to the young and resourceful representative of Moscow and it was he who derived trength from them.

Return to Russia

since he worked in one of the central bureaus of the staff and was on the army pay-roll, he was given army rank. The Red Army and especially the fourth department of the stall in this period did not follow the routine which usually governs appointments in the military career. Krivitsky had an unusual knowledge of the West, he had shown himself dever and reliable, and so he became a "Kombrig," or brigade commander, with one shombus on the facings of his uniform. His brigade, of course, never existed. But Krivitsky, though mainly concerned with political and economic intelligence, took military work very seriously. He even attended classes in the Military Academy and participated in field maneuvers. This was probably the happiest period of his life. It was then that he married Antonina Semionovna Porfiriev, the daughter of a skilled worker in the Putilov plants in Leningrad, a blond tall Russian girl of peasant type. This marriage had a deep influence on Krivitsky. His wife linked him to the Russian people. She was herself a Soviet govern-ment employee and in later years accompanied him abroad. In exile she remained a part of the Soviet world attached to this homeless harassed wanderer. He must have thought of Antonina Semionovna and her Russian family when in the course of one of our last discussions in New York, in September, 1939, he defiantly and desperately cried out: "Die Soviet Welt ist eine gute Welt!" (The Soviet world is a good world).

Krivitsky's military assignments led him again to Germany and later to France and Italy. But sexcept for his exploits in Italy where he obtained blueprints of Italian submarines and airplanes from almost under the nose of Mussolini, he was Aconcerned even then more with political than techsinically military matters. In that period, the intel-Eligence service of the general staff was also the political and economic secret service of the Soviets abroad. The OGPU had not yet invaded the world.

My first meeting with Erivitsky

I first made his acquaintance in Germany, in December, 1925. All I knew of him then was that The was an important emissary of the Bolsheviks. It was only in 1926, when I returned to Berlin for a brief visit and met, in the Soviet Embassy, man unrecognizable Krivitsky-in the meanwhile the had grown a long red beard—that I had a predesentiment of the nature of his illegal activities. was very much intrigued by this mysterious Russian. Never in the course of my international speareer did I meet a man of such unusual qualities. The information he possessed was vast, his understanding of political events unique. Though our who had distinguished themselves in political sevents abroad, to the so-called fourth described the mediant of the possessed was vast, his understanding of political events unique. Though our ways led in different directions we developed a cret activities abroad, to the so-called fourth described to the possessed was vast, his understanding of political events unique. Though our ways led in different directions we developed a cret activities abroad, to the so-called fourth described to the possessed was vast, his understanding of political events unique. Though our ways led in different directions we developed a cret activities abroad, to the so-called fourth described to the possessed was vast, his understanding of political events unique. Though our ways led in different directions we developed a cret activities abroad, to the so-called fourth described to the political events unique. partment of the newly organized general staff. Jan Paris where we spent many evenings together.

At that time I planned to found an international acconomico-political review and we envisaged collaboration. Then, for the first time, I began to ask him direct questions about himself. He remained shrouded in mystery. Soon afterwards, he disappeared from Paris. A few weeks later I got an unsigned postcard from Leningrad. Only after his departure from Paris in 1929, through the indiscretion of a person he had recommended to me, did I learn that he was not only concerned swith political and economic information but also with military espionage.

Krivitsky's appointment to the intelligence department of the general staff did not last. When the Soviet State in the period of the first Five Mear Plan became organized along its present Mines, the party claimed those stall officers who were neither military specialists nor political or-aganizers like Krivitsky's chief, Gamarnik. Krivit-aky was one of the victims of this reorganization. Relieved from active service with the rank of "Komdiv" for commander of a division and the right to a second rhombus on the facings of his uniform, he was after a brief but effective inter-lude as director of the Technical Institute of War Industries—attached to the foreign division of the OGPU. In the OGPU he was eventually promoted commissar of public safety. The OGPU took over virtually the whole not strictly military Army Intelligence. Krivitsky did not like his association with the OGPU. In several instances he reminded his new chief, Yagoda, that he remained a general staff officer on special duty. The OGPU was an proganization even then the object of hatred and contempt among the Soviet people. In 1935, Krivitsky was sent abroad and soon became chief of the Soviet Intelligence Service in Vestern Europe. About his activities in the West, he has told everything he thought fit for pubication.

will his innermost heart the Krivitsky of these wears probably no longer had any illusions about the prospects of the revolution, but he was walled up in the party hierarchy and a prisoner of its doctrine. Elike many others he tried to silence his doubts with a new kind of faith in the Stalinist Soviet State. Ethis faith the mased to scall thousand arstvennoye achievstvo," the feeling of State responsibility. It was not so much a definite idea, but a feeling, and it had come to pervade many Bolshevik officials. When like Krivitsky who were sengaged in apolitical underground swork abroad, isolated from their friends and most of them also from their families, facing a presumbly hostile world under varying disguises, had to lean on something that could support them, hide behind something bigger than themselves, derive inspiration from a purpose. If heir own lives seemed negligible to them, astonishingly unreal, fortnitous, insufficient. If hat they had become so

pawas their tragedy. They felt it more than they would admit to themselves and fled into a world in conformity with their doctrine. In this imag-inary world they appeared as "conscious" if cryptic executives of a powerful, ideal State, of the State of the oppressed masses and of the toilers of the world. This was "the feeling of State re-possibility," an artificial "unio mystica" with what they called "the creative forces of mankind," man ersatz religion of men who had delivered them-maclves into the bondage of a soulless system. Kriwitsky himself was a relentless realist. He knew that the Soviet Union had no longer much use for intellectuals of his ilk, for internationalists who were still linked up with the old revolutionary generation. Behind him loomed the figure of what great and clean revolutionary Camarnik, this former chief who at the time of the Tuk-thatchevsky affair had preceded Krivitsky in "sui-mide." The idea, however, that his work was discretted against Hitler kept him going. It was monly when he learned that Stalin was about to capitulate to Hitler that deep despair came over him. When I called on him in The Hague early whim. When I called on him in the Hague early win June, 1937, he was strangely pale and restless. For many hours we walked up and down the shonely sheach of Scheveningen. At stimes he paused for long minutes as if he had to gather his twords from far away. MGropingly, with much apprehension, he hinted at "the possibility" of a secollaboration between the Soviet Union and the massis. After his return from Moscow, he knew, enazis. Mafter his return from Moscow, he knew, however, that it was in reality a certitude. At dusk, he secompanied me to the street car and suddenly the tenseness which held his fragile frame gave way. As if his heart were breaking he sank down on a bench and on his ashen face was an expression of unspeakable pain. Walter is very ill, A thought.

Nevertheless Krivitsky would have returned to Moscow had it not been for the publication of the diaries of his assistant Ignace Reiss—trapped and killed by the OGPU in September, 2037. These indiaries revealed that Krivitsky, under the wivid impression of the shorrors of the purge, thad thought of breaking away. In his loneliness he had told his old friend and countryman Reiss more than was good for him. Reiss had fled into the open arms of the Trotskyites. In order to show his new party his devotion he had spied on the man who still believed in him. The Trotskyites did not hesitate to draw political capital out the publication of his papers.

The second second

The real tragedy of Krivitsky began after his break. The OGPU made an attempt to kidnap him in Marseilles, and later in Paris it is muite possible that they considered another attempt, or at least tried to lure him back to Moscow. If here



were various alarms but nothing happened. have no doubt that the OGPU could have kidnapped or killed Krivitsky in Paris in spite of the protection afforded him by the French Govern-ment. However, it would have been absolutely necessary that such an attempt succeed. A second failure would have called the attention of the entire world to Krivitsky and that was precisely what Stalin wished to avoid. Since Krivitsky was generally accompanied by Government detectives an effective attempt required a very efficient per-sonnel. The OGPU, like most Continental intel-ligence services, is much less efficient than is generally believed; the number of its "highly qualified technicians" is limited. The principal impediment was Stalin's desire not to strain relations with a friendly French Government which had warned the Soviet Ambassador that Krivitsky enjoyed the protection of the French Republic. It is not probable though that Stalin—had he considered the immediate death or the capture of Krivitsky as of paramount importance—would have had so much regard for smooth diplomatic relations with France at a time when people were so forgetful of the most extraordinary incidents. For the time being it seemed sufficient to minimize Krivitsky's testimony by letting him drop into oblivion.

In America, Krivitsky's safety was even more precarious. There were ways to find out where he lived. He carried no weapon and was not prosected. It is probable of course that responsible Soviet oilicials, had they foreseen the vehemence of his American articles and their publication in the Saturday Evening Post, would have used all means to suppress them. They would certainly not have recoiled from one or two more assassing nations. Once the articles had appeared, however, it was difficult to do anything without raising a storm of indignation in America. It is not impossible that Stalin was not so worried by Krivitsky's articles as we generally assume. Krivitsky's revelations of Stalin's long-standing desire to come to terms with Hitler and of his apprecia-tion of the nazi strength may have helped the Russian negotiators of the Soviet-Nazi pact to convince Hitler that the master of the Kremlin was really determined to engage in a policy of col-laboration with Germany. When Krivitsky's ar-ticles appeared, this was—in the secluded realm of secret diplomacy—the one all important issue. It has always been Stalin's forte to disregard incidentals. He was well aware that the announcement of his pact with the nazi war-lord would expose his foreign adepts to a much harder test than any revelations of Krivitaky. He had lis-tened attentively to Krivitaky's last report in May, 1937, and was too good a psychologist not to know that the frail and nervous Krivitsky who was bound by a thousand threads to the Bolshevik Party would find it hard to stand alone against it in a hostile world that regarded him with suspicion.

What Basoff, his former comrade of the OGPU, whom he met near Times Square early in 1939, really told Krivitsky was this: "We know, you cannot stand it. You will break down under the weight. You will not be able to live by yourself in a world to which you never have belonged." This Krivitsky had told me himself again and again long before he met Basoff. And it was true. His faith in life had been destroyed. This poor haunted man who had started out to build a new world had become incapable of loving anything for its own sake, anything that did not belong to him; nor did he want anything to belong to him. He was wounded to the core like a transplanted tree whose roots cannot draw nutrition from an unaccustomed soil. Wherever he went, he remained walled up under the invisible vault of the Soviet world. Everywhere he saw conspiracy and intrigue. To him even the most simple spontaneous gesture seemed suspect.

There was nobody whom he did not hold capable of betraying him. He lived in constant fear of the many tricks which form the texture of secret diplomacy and underground warfare. He hated them: yet he could no longer depart from them

entirely.

At first he sought moral justification for his break with the party in utter selflessness. This man who, as one of the most important Soviet agents abroad, had vast sums at his disposal, left the party and the State he had served for nineteen years so poor that he had to travel third class in the train in which he fied from Dijon to St. Raphael. His style of life remained simple, almost frugal. He was not out to play a rôle. Just as he had declared in France, after the Government had decided to recognize him at his face value and to issue identification papers to him, that he was Samuel Ginzberg of Podvolocziska when he might have called himself, say Walter or Frank, he registered as Walter Ginzberg in the small boarding house in upper Manhattan where we lived together during the first months. Walter, his family and his friends called him. He himself never called himself a general and it was only very reluctantly that he eventually gave in to the insistence of his American associates and authorized the Saturday Evening Post to publicize his official Soviet name with the title which, outside of the Soviet Union, corresponded to his former army

In the continental editions of his book he explicitly forbade his publishers to call him a general. When he came to America, he had hoped to live a life of his own, unnoticed, devoted only to his wife and to his child.

Collaboration

We planned to write a history of the Bolshevik olution and its reverberations in Europe. Differences on fundamentals prevented the comple-tion of this work. This was in 1938-39. We were both worsied by the complacency of the American public. Krivitsky again and again predicted the coming disaster. He foretold almost everything that has happened. At moments, he seemed enflowed with a genius for political divination. This lowed with a genius for political divination. This was no time for writing history. On the advice and with the devoted assistance of his American iterary collaborator, Krivitsky prepared a series of sensational articles. When the Saturday Evening Post offered \$5,000 for each of these articles, he believed that it was his duty to accept. He did not know how long he would remain alive and he ras gesponsible for his wife and for his child. Intonina Semionovna Porfiriev had courageously hared his exile though she knew that by doing so whe exposed ther family in Russia to deadly peril. It seems improbable that anyone of those who today slander his memory would have turned down so favorable an offer. The fees Krivitsky received he divided with this American collabprator who extruggled hard to draw from him plausible explanations of the unexplainable. It vas in the course of these writings that Krivitsky became July aware of the cleavage between him and those who had never known the problems of the Soviet world and of the revolutionary generation to which he belonged. Their one common

Menominator was a negative one.

Mikrivitsky hated Stalin from the bottom of his heart. Whe had seen him several times and spoke to me about him. Who she months following his break, he used to say, "Stalin and Trotsky are the only two consistent Bolsheviks and Stalin is the more consistent." Whough he hated him as the man responsible for the sufferings inflicted during the collectivization period upon the peasant relatives of his wife—who in 1917 had been among the first to join the revolution—and later for the inflering brought upon his own comrades during the great purge, he recognized Stalin's crafty and powerful statesmenship.

Bolsheviks. Despite the grief they would have felt at the assassination to stheir relocest greatives, Krivitaky, and even his wife, might have overcome to provided the served othe scause. Whey had the personalized whemselves sufficiently to think in class terms only. But the living sources of love and pain cannot be stopped up with the cement of artificial terminology. Monder the personal super-tructure sof these Bolsheviks, intent upon wiping but the Bideological superstructure sof society such as Thiggion, philosophy and law, the eternal suman motives, even though repressed, were still at work. But was pay shrough the dire suffering

it Krivitsky perceived the nof those close to him whole ruthlessness of Stalin's régime. Like most of his former comrades, he did not oppose its sprinciple, but thought it was not "necessary" and therefore "criminal" to go so far, and the color of his thought was hate. Later, facing the dilemma of having once more to play a political part, his hatred overshadowed all other considerations. This conflict became particularly acute during the writing of the article "Why They Confessed." rivitsky writhed in the midst of painful and in-ecomprehensible interpretations. He was torn between the alternatives of justifying the opposistion of his dead comrades in order to defend their political honor, and that of revealing the terrors of men for whom a rationally correct judg-ement had always been the one important quality and to whom an error of judgment was equivalent to crime; between the assumption of his American collaborator that they had publicly incriminated themselves to save their lives, and the admission sthat they wanted to render a last absurd service to the regime by publicly justifying it in the eyes of the Russian people. Most of them, he knew, had lived courageous, selfless lives of sacrifice to a cause which had been his own cause. He did not dare to condemn this cause entirely. only way out was to charge Stalin personally with the responsibility for the horrible failure of the revolution.

at went beyond his force to state clearly, as he and said to me during the many days and nights we spent in discussion after his flight, that the Zinovievs and Smirnovs, the Bukharins and Rykovs had surrendered because they understood that their conflict with Stalin concerned points of technique. Once in agreement with him on the prinriple of his policy as it developed after 1927, they were inconsistent in conspiring against it, hampering its consequent application whatever suffering night ensue. 🔫 Regard for human suffering has never been a Bolshevik argument. El he conflict be-tween Stalin and his Bolshevik critics was related only to percentage plan figures and to questions of practical convenience. That was not enough to ustify the endangering of the State. Krivitsky told me in Paris that many of the accused had been brought at night from their prison stells in the Lublyanka to Stalin's rooms in the Kremlin where the dictator, in long personal sessions, "persuaded" them of the logic of his policy, of the utter hope-lessness of their position, and of what Bolsheviks undamental issue inherent in the Marxist theory of revolution was never raised. Nor did Krivitsky over have the strength to raise it publicly. He was a fraid of losing his "political face" as a former Bolshevik and did not know a positive solution to his dilemma. So he said what he rould say: a half grath—explaining the self-abasement of his comrades as "a last political manoeuvre," a last sacrifice to the unity of the party.

Toward the end

Krivitsky's death resembles the end of his former comrades in Moscow who solicited their own extinction by accusing themselves of absurd crimes. Stalin once again has won a silent victory. He struggled with the despairing Krivitsky in the lonely hotel room in Washington and was the stronger. Krivitsky died like so many big and little Bolsheviks because he could not live without the Party, without a purpose outside himself, without the legend of the revolution. He was hounded and hounded by the memories of the past.

Since he had no longer a party or a State to stand for, he enhanced, in a last effort, his own political importance: Stalin or Molotov made no

statement which was not aimed directly at him.

In his eyes the whole might of the Kremlin was bent on his destruction. That Stalin wished to get rid of him, there is no doubt. If the question whether Krivitsky committed suicide or was killed should be answered according to the principle cui bono, we must hold Stalin and his secret police responsible. In a higher sense they are irresponsible. They and Krivitsky were possessed by demons which the revolution had unleashed. From these demons there is no escape. Krivitsky did not come entirely under their spell. He suffered where Stalin and his bureaucracy only inflicted suf-fering. Krivitsky had retained a conscience. The thousands of victims of the machine of which he so long had been an important part, the scores of men and women he had "broken" because they stood in the way of the machine, the faces of his dead comrades, of those whose lives had become imperilled by his flight were constantly present in his mind. Could so much sacrifice, so much blood, such convulsions have been in vain? Day and night he searched for a rational explanation and could not find it. His anxious questions will always ring in my cars as a reproach: "What can you give, Paul? I have lost everything. What can you give me so that this flight may not have been in vain?" Alas, I could not give him anything but affection, and I was insufficient.

The sensation aroused by his articles and the political passions of his new associates soon drew him once more into the political arena. With all the force he could muster, he struck at Stalin and at the party he had served. When he stepped out of the ranks in October, 1937, he was persuaded that Stalin's régime would not last more than six months. This was his one great political error. Stalin was stronger than he thought and Krivitsky Stalin was stronger than he thought and Krivitsky became only more bitter and more desperate. "We have to pay for everything with pain," he once said. The share of pain he carried was too great for him.

In a winter night in 1939 on Riverside Drive, in the course of one of our long and gloomy discussions of the errors of the past, he suddenly pointed at the dim light in the windows of a little chapel behind an iron fence: "Ah, if one could be there and quiet." "Let us go in," I said. The door was closed.

I was born in Berlin, November 20, 1900. I came to this country in June, 1938, as correspondent for Czechoslovak newspapers, deliberately preceding Walter in order to secure an affidavit for him. In December, 1939, I severed relations with him. The literary collaboration which we intended to continue in America had become impossible. There was no longer any agreement between us, either on principles or on methods. Krivitsky had been drawn into new associations. Our ways

From January, 1936, on I saw Walter Krivitsky frequently. I had first known him in 1925, in Germany. In 1936, on his return from Russia, he called on me in Paris. At that time I was on the board of the Committee for Freedom in Germany under

the chairmanship of Heinrich Mann.

I then abandoned all associations with the various antifascist organizations with which I had come in contact through my open letter to the World's Students Congress, following my voluntary resignation from various official international bodies in protest against the nazi régime which, I held, "had made

constructive international cooperation impossible."

Instead, I now suggested to a number of reliable friends in independent positions the formation of a loose group for personal and direct action against the nazis. "Men and women of ill will" toward Hitler and his associates, we used our influence quietly to counteract nazi machinations abroad and to establish contacts with morally conservative and politically liberal circles in Germany, Austria and Italy. We gladly sought Krivitsky's collaboration. Though a few of the younger members of our group in post-war years had been connected with the revolutionary movement in Central Europe, there was at that time not one communist among us. My association with Krivitsky was based solely on our one common purpose: action against Naxism and Fascism effective action by men in responsible posi-Nazism and Fascism, effective action by men in responsible posi-tion rather than public oratory.

In these years I contributed to a number of French, British and

American newspapers and magazines. In spring 1936, I was appointed Technical Adviser at the Paris International Exposition and traffic adviser to the official freight agencies of French

tion and traine adviser to the ductal treight agencies of French railways.

In October, 1937, I helped to organize Krivitsky's flight from his OGPU guards and to identify him with the French authorities. In 1937/38, we collaborated on his first series of articles, which were published in the leading Social Democratic newspapers of Europe and to a large extent included in his American articles written in collaboration with Isaac Don Levine.

My various official functions in international administration:

Director of the International Chamber of Commerce, permanent

Director of the International Chamber of Commerce, permanent secretarial delegate to the Communications and Transit Organization of the League of Nations and numerous other governmental and private international bodies. Secretary General, Danube Navigation Conference. Attached to Economic Section, Institute of Comparative Legislation, University of Paris.

I am working on a book on Georges Mandel and am looking for American associates to found a non-sectarian, morally reacsor American associates to found a non-sectarian, morally reac-tionary, politically constructive weekly magazine to deal on an international scope with the men, ideas and events of our time, spiritual, political, economic and technical. A fine team of con-servative Austrian, French, German, Italian, Scandinavian and Swiss writers await American collaboration.

I came to this country on a French passport. Today, I am a Hebrew-Christian without a country. The best of my generation are dead or "broken." Those who survived are not the best. I am a survivor,

......

PAUL WOME.

SAC, New York

Movember 22, 1944

PI

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

WALTER G. KRIVITSKY, with aliases INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Reference is made to the closing report of Special Agent 670 dated at New York City September 19, 1944, in the above captioned matter,

the subject of some investigation in connection with the Comintern Apparatus case. Your attention is also called to the report of Special Agent dated at New York City February 9, b)c 1944, captioned "Haakon M. Chevalier, Internal Security - C", and to the reports of Special Agent dated at New York City December 29, 1943, and March 15, 1944, captioned "Comintern Apparatus, Internal Security - R".

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EX - 39

EX - 39

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

	Form No. 1 THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT	NEW YORK, NEW, YORK		NY FILE NO. 10	0-59589 JEM
19	NEW YORK, NEW Y	ORK 5/25/45	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 12/7,8/43;	WT MADE BY	₽°C
	G. Krivitsky, k	, was: Mrs. Walter irs. Walter Cinsberg Walter Poref, Mrs.	16,18/48 , Wrs. Walter	INTERNAL SECURI	TY - R
	SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:			7	PI
	-				
	Silvar 4	Both state that su have contact with interests of this	individuals working	se of her past, g against best	PJO PJC
	Pilip	loyalty to our for	of government is	sincere.	LON CONTAIN LON CONTAIN
•	REFERENCE:	Bureau letter date	d November 22, 194	45 ATF 10/6/83	RYSLACE
	DETAILS:	The title of this the true name of t at the present time has been known sin	he subject of this s and also all oth	case as she is er names by which	known th she
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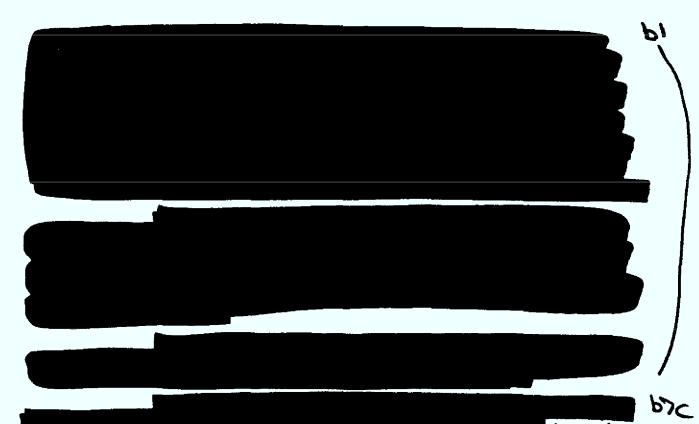


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FBI/DO



of the New York Field Office indises failed to reveal any record of this individual.

The files of the New York Field Division reflect that "The New Road" is a publication allegedly Communistic in character. It is published by F. I. DAN, 510 West 123rd Street, New York City.

On February 9, 1945, at 107 West 84th Street advised that he had observed subject rather closely for a period of three or four months and that she appeared to have very little company or contact with outside individuals. He stated that she lived with Mrs. BRONJA MORGENSTERN at the West 84th Street address.

PX

PJD

老女子 新典司

was contacted at the above address and advised PJC that he knows nothing of the background or loyalty of was hired through a newspaper advertisement. PJO and that On May 10, 1945, Special Agent of the New York Office contacted Confidential Informant T-2 concerning subject. PJ C PJC PJC



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NY 100-59589

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT

Gonfidential Informants mentioned in the report of Special dated May 25, 1945 at New York, New York are: 57C

T-1 Indices of the New York Office

T-2

T-3

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GEA/dm

100-11146 - 57 BECOFFED SAC, New York

June 22, 1945

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

ANTONINA THOMAS, was INTERNAL SECURITY - R.

Reference is made to the pending report of Special Agent at New York dated May 25, 1945 in the above-captioned matter.



The Bureau further desires that this matter receives immediate and continuous investigative attention.

Mr. Tolson Mr. E. A. Tamm Mr. Clegg Mr. Coffey	Miles,
Mr. Glavin Mr. Ladd Mr. Nichols Mr. Rosen	COMMUNICTIONS SECTION
Mr. Trecy Mr. Carson Mr. Ezan Mr. Ezan Mr. Pennington	MAILEDIS
Mr. Quinn Tamm Mr. bease Miss Gandy	# JUN 23 1945 P.M.
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1 THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT NEW YORK FILE NO. 100-17272 **670** REPORT MADE AT DATE WHEN MADE PERIOD FOR REPORT MADE BY TCRzwh 8/1/45 7/20.26/45 WASHINGTON, D. C. ANTONIKA THOMAS, was., Mrs. Walter G. Krivitsky CHARACTER OF CASE Mrs. Walter Ginsberg, Mrs. Walter Ginsberg, Mrs INTERNAL SECURITY - R Walter Poref, Mrs. Walter Thomas SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: WARGARITA K. and EITEL WOLF DOBERT, reside at 3972 Tunlaw Road, N.W. EITEL DOBERT was born November 16, 1906, at Leipzig, Germany, and entered the United States February 6, 1939. MARGARITA was born January 19, 1910, at Istanbul, Turkey. General WALTER G. KREVITSKY, former head of the Soviet Military Intelligence, spent a few days visiting the DOBERTS at their farm near Charlottesville, Virginia, prior to his death February 10, 1941. DOBERT, a former Nazi Army officer, renounced Nazism. Last reported teaching at Maryland University. - HJC -EATE/6/6/82 BY SPIGSET dated by C Report of Special Agent REFERENCES: May 25, 1945, at New York City. AT WASHINGTON, D. C. DETAILS: It might be noted that the leads set out in reference report gave DOBERT's address as 3972 Tinlow Road, N.W. The correct address is 3972 Tunlaw Road, N.W., there being no Tinlow Road, N.W. in Washington, D. C. Through the cooperation of Informant T-1, it was ascertained that an individual by the name of M. or MARGARET-DOBERT resides at 3972 APPROVED AND DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES RECORDEL DIFFEREN - Bureau COPY IN FIL - New York 2 - Washington Field EX - 42

WFO 100-17272

Confidential Informant T-2 was able to furnish the following information with reference to the DOBERTS: BITEL WOLF DOBERT was born November 16, 1906, at Leipzig, Germany, and was trained in a Prussian Military Academy. He was too young to see action in World War I, but was converted to Nazism and rose to leadership as a Hitler Storm Trooper. He subsequently visited Switzerland, France, and other countries. He fled Germany on the night the German Reichstag was burned in 1933. He finally settled on a farm near Charlottesville, Virginia, in August, 1940, and engaged in running a poultry farm on a ninety acre track of land in Gilbert, Virginia. In addition to his activities as a farmer, he engaged in writing and lecturing. During 1939, he met WALTER KREVITSKY in New York City. KREVITSKY visited DOBERT's home on February 6, 7, and 8, 1941, and returned to Washington, D. C. en February 9, 1941, at which time he was driven to Washington by Mrs. DOBERT.

General KHEVITSKY was a former head of the Soviet Military Intelligence in Washington and Europe and was found dead in his hotel room in the Bellvue Hotel on February 10, 1941. It might be noted that he had lived in this hotel on February 9, 1941, after having spent the preceding few days on the DOBERT's farm.

Confidential Informant T=2 continued advising that DOBERT's wife's name is MARGARITA KATARINA REGINA SINIOSSOGLOU-DOBERT, but that she is known as MARGARITA-DOBERT. She was born on January 19, 1910, at Istanbul, Turkey, and came to the United States on March 31, 1939. The DOBERTS have two small children and Informant stated that as of March 17, 1945, Mr. DOBERT, according to Mrs. DOBERT, was teaching at the Maryland University. He was at that time a citizen of the United States, having recently obtained his citizenship papers.

From the review of the files of this office, Mrs. DOBERT is an alien and her registration number is 3359087. This file reflects that on May 14, 1943, Mrs. DOBERT stated that she was working for the organization of CLARENCE STREIT, which is the Federal Union, Incorporated, 1728 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. It might be noted that the Federal Union, Incorporated, is a company which advocates the Union of the United States, England and most large countries. Under their plan each country would have limited sovereignty.

Confidential Informant T-2 advised that on January 14, 1944, Mr. DOBERT was voluntarily inducted into the United States Army. He has since been released; no date given.

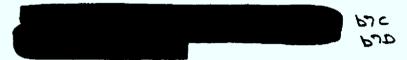
- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

WFO 100-17272

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

Confidential Informants mentioned in the report of Special Agent dated August 1, 1945, at Washington, D. C. are: 670

1-1



1-2

Washington file 65-2019, case entitled HANS-BRUESSE; EITEL WOLF DOBERT alias Eithel W. Dobert; MARGARITA DOBERT alias Marguerite Dobert. Character, ESPIONAGE - R. Origin, New York; date when made, 6/20/41; period for which made, 3/28, 4/1,3; report made by

P2 c

It might be noted that further information is available in the files of the New York office on the DOBERTs.



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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GEAILE 11146-60 August 25, 1945 MENOGRAPHIE FOR THE ATTORNET CEMERAL AND STATES THOUAS Respectfully, MISS W SPICE TO DATE OF REVIEW _ John Edgar Hoover 10-6-82 cc - Mr. Clanahan Director Mr. Ladd Mr. Tamm 30HS0 خ الحريب FYORKT SHEAZ S OTHERWISE Collings .h. H₩ 8€ |.



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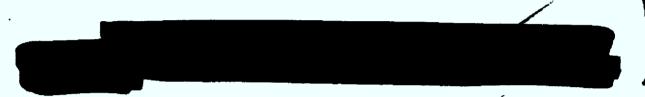
Director, FHI

DATE: October 2, 1945

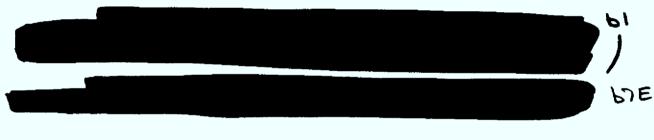
: SAC, New York

6 SUBJECT: ANTONINA THOMAS, was.

INTERNAL SECURITY - R (Bureau file 100-11146)



It is to be noted that Mrs. THOMAS is the wife of the late WALTER G. KRIVITSKY who was formerly the head of the Soviet Military Intelligence for Weastern Europe and who was found dead on February 10, 1941 in his room at the Bellevue Hotel in Washington, D. C.



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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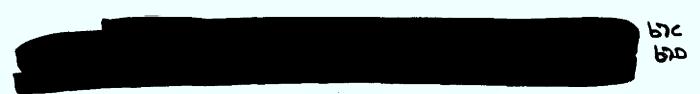
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NY 100-59589

UNDEVELOPED LEADS (continued)



For the benefit of the effices receiving copies of this report for the first time, it is to be noted that Mrs. ANTONINA THOMAS is the wife of WALTER G. KRIVITSKY who was found dead on February 10th, 1941 in his room at the Bellevue Hotel, 15 East Street, Northwest Washington, D. C. KRIVITSKY had stated that he was formerly the head of Soviet Military Intelligence for Western Europe from 1936 to 1937, and that in testimony before the DIES COMMITTEE he had named various individuals as being connected with Soviet Intelligence work.



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NY 100-59589

15th Street, New York, N. Y. According to this report the publication is reportedly socialistic and anti-Communist in policy and its editor is one LISTOR-CAK PJC PJO



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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EBI/DO

NY 100-59589

Inasmuch as there is no further information concerning subject in the files of the New York Field Division, this case is being placed in a pending inactive status at the present time.

-PENDING-

NY 100-59589

UNDEVELOPED LEAD

NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION

AT NEW YORK, N.Y.

Will follow and report future activities of subject.

NY 100-59589

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

The confidential informants mentioned in the report of dated May 21, 1946 at New York, are as 57c 57p

T-1:

T-2:

Temporary symbols were used to protect the identity of the informants.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED STIFIED DATE: L'AY 21 1946 Director, FBI RIGHTOM SAC, New York SUBJECT: ANTONINATHOMAS, was; INTERNAL SECURITY - R. (Pureau File 100-11146) dated b7C Enclosed is the report of Special Agent Lay 24, 1946 in connection with the above-captioned case. A review of the file in this case reflects that subject ANTONINA THOMAS is the wife of WALTER G. KITVITSKY who was found dead on February 10, 1941 in his room at the Hellevue Hotel, 15 E. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. KRIVITSKY had stated that he was formerly the head of Soviet Military Intelligence for Western Europe from 1936 to 1937 and in testimony before the Dies Committee, KRIVITSKY named various individuals as being connected with Soviet intelligence Subject ANTONINA THOMAS presently resides at 107 West 84th Street, New York City. She filed a declaration of intention to become a citizen on January 14. 1942 in the United States District Court, Eastern District of New York, Brooklyn. PJC. ALC KECONUMU 100 -1/146-70 COPIES DESTROYED GVS:els



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