

# to Cover U.S. Apparatus

## 1 FBI Ignore Espionage Ring Here

ivitsky's death remain to be established. The in-  
the police in Washington is pitifully inade-  
quately to be investigated—by experts more com-  
petent police. We hope that despite the blind at-  
tempt to inquire into the case, ways and means will be  
discovered.

...this advisedly, too—involves the problem of  
the safety and integrity of its free institutions.  
Krivitsky was murdered by agents of the G.P.U.  
in a life in a deal to spare his family. One thing is  
clear; his death is not a common suicide.

...earmarks of a carefully woven plan to drive him  
to no escape. He had but one alternative: to be mur-  
dered or to share the same fate, or to obey the com-  
mand in the hope that by doing so his family might

...thing to do is to look for the motive. In seeking  
for motives: personal and political. The personal  
one is Krivitsky's telling exposé of Soviet foreign pol-  
icy in the U.S.—in the type of Stalin's many murders. It played  
a part in the death of Trotsky. The political motive in Krivitsky's  
murder is immediate.

...residing in a country who was a serious obstacle  
has been in the process of organization on American  
soil. The deal concluded by Stalin in his pact with Hitler  
is Krivitsky's story told with perfect accuracy.  
It has been an index into the United States of the most  
important of the Comintern and G.P.U. Many of them,  
(continued on Page Seven)

### Attention, America

**G**ENERAL 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 wide-  
ranged, well-equipped, generously financed murder ring.

Before him died in violence:

**Ignace Reiss,**  
machine-gunned to death in Switzerland.

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

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

**Andres Nin,**  
Poetist leader, abducted and killed in Barcelona.

**Mark Rein,**  
son of Rafael Abramovitch, who was kidnapped and mur-  
dered in Madrid.

**Carl B. Bernstein,**  
Editorial Leader, assassinated.

**Adolf Knold Rubens**  
Disappeared from Lubyanka Prison and later executed in  
Russia.

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

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

**Leon Trotsky,**  
hacked to death by a GPU machete man.

# Leader

# 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 bring 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, large 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 Krivitsky's death was engineered. All the authorities need do is to look and they will find. Let them look in New York. Let them look in Washington, where the police, ignorant of 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 story to tell when properly deciphered. No less significant will become the detailed circumstances surrounding the "suicide" if approached with an earnest determination to unravel the crime.

But first there must be such earnest determination. The State Department, the Department of Justice and the F.B.I. must abandon their blind attitude. They must understand that the blow struck at Krivitsky is only the first of a series being prepared against the security of the United States. For the G.P.U. had tried to kill Krivitsky in France under the direction

of Hans Bruesse because he had warned the Blum government against the very same conspiracy now being organized by Stalin on its own soil against this country. Krivitsky was stubbornly shadowed and hunted here after his arrival 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 attitude of the F.B.I.—we repeat the word criminally 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 Krivitsky'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, in 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 minimize the importance of the case? What is your game in supporting the interpretation which the Daily Worker—for reasons obvious—is seeking to give to Krivitsky'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 propaganda sheet. Your handling of the Krivitsky case gives the lie to your denial!

You will not succeed! There are others in this country who intend to see this fight—the battle on Stalinism in all its aspects—through to a finish!

## The Heritage of Lenin



# 'Out of the Night' Uncover's Underworld of a Rotted Religion

By SIDNEY HOOK

LIKE many great works of art and literature, 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 perspective of the last twenty years, it is only the fact that we know we are not reading a work 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. Phillips Oppenheim, 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 but even the imaginative Hamlet. Our experiences have become so segmented 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 defections among the Stalinist parties after the Stalinist pact and the invasion of Finland.

*Wish-thinking critics of Stalinism have invariably over-estimated the political intelligence of the Stalinist rank-and-file 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 moved neither by reason nor by fear. They are political walkers whose ears and eyes and hands mechanically execute the commands of the G.P.U. The historical dialectic is Allah and Stalin is his prophet!

### Success of Bolsheviks Rested On Sacrifice of All Ideals

VALTIN'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 counter-espionage, 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

After all, the Bolshevik Party sets itself up as the self-constituted vanguard of the working 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 unconscious" enemy of the working class. If one remains unrepentant, he is forthwith a conscious enemy; if he repents, then at the first suitable occasion he is branded as a hypocritical enemy. ("It is not accidental, etc., that he once was an objective saboteur, etc.") But in any event, according to Leninist theory, an enemy of the working class is an enemy of mankind. And the method of getting rid of enemies of mankind, i.e., enemies of the ruling bureaucracy, is a matter of mere detail!

That a political party is necessary to implement any Socialist program is an important truth—a truism, if you prefer, were it not that this is being forgotten by many who have recoiled in horror and disgust at the practices of the Bolshevik and Nazi parties. But the political party must always be organized, controlled, criticized and revised in the light of principles which are continuous with the aims of democratic Socialism. Otherwise it becomes an end in itself. The perpetuation of the power of the ruling bureaucracy appears as the 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 pitch to which the subsidiary virtues of courage, tenacity, and administrative efficiency are brought, the worse the effects upon the objectives of a Socialist society—the development of free, intelligent, emotionally rich personalities in a world where poverty and superstition have been conquered by science.

sional 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, 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 Nazi activities from hub to periphery. After reading his book, not even the most innocent of fellow-travelers can plead the excuse of ignorance.

### Reveals Communist Underworld With Impressive Authority

IN what follows I shall undertake not a literary analysis, or an historical 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 evaluation in the reader'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 frigid, if not indifferent, response that greeted the better documented accounts and accurate predictions of Krivitsky, Barmine, Souvarine and Gitlow. The treatment these latter authors received at the hands of the literary fellow-travelers is a chapter by itself. But in respect to Valtin's book, the most case-hardened skeptic 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 many events

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 Valtin's "Out of the Night" know to what lengths Comintern agents go in carrying out assignments in the name of the "Socialist Fatherland." This fanaticism has developed into a Leninist religion which Sidney Hook discusses in the accompanying article.**

are brought, the worse the effects upon the objectives 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

VALTIN'S recital of the deeds of the action squads 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 a 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 survive. 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 proclaiming 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, already demanded in Lenin's day, under Stalin no longer tolerated even a formal distinction between Party and Leader. Having accepted the knout under Lenin, they learned to kiss it under Stalin. That was their real infamy.

The degeneration of the Communist movement is to be found in every branch and rootlet 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 virtues they developed subsequently were the result of the fact that they were in opposition; and even then their own organizational disciplines recapitulated on a minute scale, the evolution of the parent body.

*Il n'y a que le premier pas qui coûte.* It is only the first step that costs. Everything else is easy. In no field is this truer than in politics. A. Valtin tells his story, one cannot help but like the freshness, courage and generosity of his sentiments. But the deeds make the man; even when he falls back on a religion which takes away the sting of responsibility

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Perhaps the outstanding feature of Valtin's book is the way in which it makes psychologically 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 transmuted 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



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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 is revealed in the fact that they were able to organize tightly the concentration camps and jails of the Gestapo in the teeth of Hitler'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 of orders and counter-orders from Moscow, they would have made their revolution. It is extremely unlikely, however, that their revolution would have borne anything but the bitter dead sea fruit of the Russian October revolution.

For the profoundest political lesson of Valtin's book is that no Socialist movement with the Bolshevik conception of the political party can "succeed" except by sacrificing all the needs, values and ideals in behalf of which the Socialist movement came into existence. The Leninist conception of a minority political party of professional revolutionists exercising a dictatorship in the presumed interests of the workers, consolidating all political, economic, and cultural power in its hands, identifying any opposition to its arbitrary decrees with treason to the people—naturally leads to the fetishism of the party which, in practice, means the dictatorship of the Secretariat and the cult of the leadership. It creates a domestic regime which we have since learned to call Fascism. (Cf. my chapter "Reflections on the Russian Revolution" in *Reason, Social Myths and Democracy*.)

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

*Il n'y a que le premier pas qui coûte.* It is only the first step that costs. Everything else 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 sentiments. But the deeds make the man, even when he falls back on a religion which takes away the sting of responsibility.

What he does. Valtin himself has long since expiated (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 he spends with his wife, Firelei. At times he seems mad with foolhardiness or an adventurer with an uneasy conscience. Only at the end, when we share his grief at the tragic loss of his wife and child, are we reconciled to him as a symbol of a betrayed generation. Even at that point, the story shows that he has, in a certain sense, come to the end of his rope rather than to the end of his belief.

I cannot tell what effect this book will have on the politically unsophisticated, on those who have just discovered Socialism yesterday, or on those who think they can discover the truth about Russia and the Communist Party merely by reading its literature. But upon all who are capable of reflection, particularly upon decent liberals and democrats who have been taken in by Stalinist periphery organizations, this book should have a liberating influence. It exhausts a genre in political writing. The whole truth about the way the G.P.U. and Gestapo work here and abroad can never be known; but we know sufficient to guide us in combating them and the world of which they are the underworld, and to attempt to build better foundations for a new world in which they will be only dark memories.

# Letters

# 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 smear in the manner of your reporter 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 pants-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 questioned 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 escaped survivor of Stalin's purges"

is a neat way to discredit a man, especially when one has already tied to him the tin cans of "red-baiting" (such a useful piece of mud) and Stalin-hating.

Neater still is the completely untruthful statement that Isaac 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 Committees "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 call 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 buzzards have not taken their elbows off your city desk.

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I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated March 15, 1941, [REDACTED] 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,

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\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
100 - 11146 - 37x , 37x1

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

~~SECRET~~

c  
o  
p  
y gran

September 29, 1941

PJH:AJ

[REDACTED] (s) b1  
100-11146-37X1

b.  
X

WALTER G. KRIVITSKY

RECORDED

[REDACTED] (s) b1

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

[REDACTED] (s) b1

It is believed you intended Mrs. 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.

CLASS. BY 2210SKJC

DATE OF REVIEW 10-6-82

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

114  
13  
185

~~SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~

PJW:MES  
100-11146

June 28, 1941

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

Re: HANS BRUESSE, et al;  
ESPIONAGE - R.

Dear Sir:

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

b7c

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,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-6-82 BY [signature]

- Tolson
- E. A. Tamm
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Ladd
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Carson
- Coffey
- Hendon
- Quinn Tamm
- Nease
- Gandy

RECORDED

MAILED  
\* JUL 25 1941 \*

100-11146-38
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
2 JUL 8 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CH-6

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR



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

**SECRET**

PJW:AJ  
5:30 P. M.

September 8, 1941

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Foxworth \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FOXWORTH

RE: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY,  
ESPIONAGE - R.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *Classification*  
DATE *1/11/78* *GAJ/RS*

[REDACTED] b1

Agent [REDACTED] advised that he was of the opinion that Special Agent [REDACTED] of the New York Office was in possession of information concerning Mrs. Krivitsky and that Agent [REDACTED] would obtain the information and submit the same to the writer on September 9, 1941. b7c

At 2:25 P. M. September 9, 1941, Special Agent [REDACTED] telephonically advised the writer that Special Agent [REDACTED] possessed no information regarding the present whereabouts of Mrs. Walter G. Krivitsky and the file of the New York Field Office contained no information concerning her whereabouts. Agent [REDACTED] further advised that Agent [REDACTED] was of the opinion that he could obtain the requested information through three possible sources, namely, Mr. Paul Wohl, Miss Suzanne LaFollette and Mr. Berman Zimels, Vice President of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of Brooklyn, New York. The writer advised Agent [REDACTED] that in view of the close relationship which existed between Paul Wohl, 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 [REDACTED] 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 [REDACTED] that he, [REDACTED] would be notified as to whether Zimels should be interviewed regarding this matter. In view of Zimels' position it is believed that he could be contacted for the purpose of obtaining information regarding Mrs. Krivitsky's present whereabouts.

RECORDED

100-11146-39

Attached hereto is a letter to the New York Field Office requesting that appropriate contact be made with Zimels for this purpose.

INDEXED

Respectfully,

SEP 15 1941

P. J. Wacks

**SECRET**

MISS WY ~~BA~~ SKTE  
DATE OF REVIEW 10/6/82

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

CONFIDENTIAL  
CH-6  
168

Classified by *2333*  
Exempt from GDS  
Date of Declassification *12-1-75*  
*bal: g*

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR



PJM:AJ  
4:40 P. M.

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.  
September 19, 1941

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Foxworth \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Grayson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FOXWORTH

RE: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY

CLASS. BY SP10SKT  
DATE OF REVIEW 10/6/82  
BY CMR

[REDACTED]

In an endeavor to obtain information concerning the present whereabouts of Mrs. Walter Krivitsky, the New York Office was recently requested to consider the advisability of contacting Mr. Berman Zimmel affiliated with an insurance company in Brooklyn, New York, who according to Special Agent [REDACTED] of the New York Office possessed information concerning her whereabouts.

At the above-stated time Special Agent [REDACTED] of the New York Office telephonically contacted the writer and advised that Agent [REDACTED] had ascertained that Zimmel is employed with the Consolidated Mutual Taxpayers Insurance Company of Brooklyn, New York. He further advised that this insurance company was closed by the Department of State three or four years ago at which time Zimmel was an officer. Agent [REDACTED] stated there was some question as to whether Zimmel could be contacted in confidence regarding the whereabouts of Mrs. Krivitsky.

In view of the unreliability of Zimmel the writer advised Agent [REDACTED] that the interview of Zimmel should not be conducted.

Respectfully,

*P. J. Wacks*  
P. J. Wacks

RECORDED

INDEXED

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE 10/19/41

Classified by 2373  
Exempt from GDS category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
12-1-77 bag:cy

CH-13

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-11146-40

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 OCT 1 1941

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FOXWORTH

SECRET

GEA:BMM

100-11146

March 10, 1944

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-6-82 BY SP1B3KJC

SAC, Philadelphia

RE: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY  
INTERNAL SECURITY (R)

Dear Sir:

The Bureau is at the present time in possession of information indicating increased activity upon the part of the NKVD 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 E Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., stated that he was formerly the head of Soviet Military Intelligence for Western Europe from 1936 to 1937.

Krivitsky, 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 Krivitsky 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.

RECORDED

100-11146-4

The New York Field Division is requested to ascertain infor-

tion relative to Krivitsky and his activities. It is to be noted that the Bureau files reflect that Walter Krivitsky, during December of 1939, contacted the New York Police Department Radical Squad and advised them that he was afraid that he might be assassinated by OGPU agents in the United States. It is believed that he may have requested police protection at this time.

- Tolson
- E. A. Tamm
- Clegg
- Conroy
- Glavin
- Ladd
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Acers
- Carson
- Harbo
- Hendon
- Mumford
- Starke
- Quinn Tamm
- Nease
- Gandy

4/11/44  
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
 New York  
 San Francisco

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

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

HMA: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 [redacted] relative to KRIVITSKY and his activities. b7D

[redacted] had no information relative to this matter. He stated that [redacted] personally recalled that in 1939 a meeting was held in New York at Town Hall at which KRIVITSKY and GEORGE SOKOLSKY, 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. [redacted] has no record concerning this meeting, and was unable to recall either the date or sponsor. [redacted] received no other information concerning KRIVITSKY's activities. b7C b7D

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

Very truly yours,

*E. E. Conroy*  
E. E. CONROY,  
SAC.

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-11146-42  
F B I  
APR 8 1944

EX-7

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-6-82 BY SP1GSE/TC

APR 7 1944

# Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

**SECRET**

TO : DIRECTOR, F.B.I.  
FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA

DATE: April 10, 1944

**CONFIDENTIAL**

SUBJECT: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Classified by 3333  
Exempt from GDS Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
11-28-77 *luf*

CLASS BY 2011/3/20

DATE OF REVIEW QADR  
10-6-8

Reference is made to the Bureau letter of March 10, 1944 requesting the Philadelphia office to review the files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service for information which KRIVITSKY is reported to have furnished to Immigration authorities relative to possible Soviet Espionage Agents in the United States. The reference letter also requested the present citizenship 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, other 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 on June 28, 1899 as SAMUEL GINSBERG 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 on 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 occasions 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, he was detained by the Austrian police on the above occasions as politically undesirable."

According to the information furnished by KRIVITSKY, he was sent by the Russian Government to Paris, France, about August 1937 as the Head of all 1944

*Refer to 100-11146-4*  
*RC*  
*5 APP*  
*Let to Bureau 4/2/44*  
*Let to Phila 4/1/44*  
*Let to NYC 4/1/44*  
*Let to JH 4/1/44*  
*Let to JAC 4/1/44*

COPIES DESTROYED 4-29-81 1974

**CONFIDENTIAL**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

**SECRET**

~~SECRET~~

Director, F.B.I.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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 Internationale d'Histoire Sociale.

KRIVITSKY first entered the United States at New York on the SS Normandie on November 10, 1938 under the name of SAMUEL GINSBERG 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 BROTHERS, 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.

Refer

A memorandum in his Immigration file reflects that Mr. WARREN of the State Department advised the Immigration authorities that "GINSBERG 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.

Refer  
D. J.

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, SAMUEL GINSBERG is said to have been employed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police".

Refer  
A. J.

[REDACTED]

(S) b1

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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Director, F.B.I.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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, ALEXANDRIA, born in Moscow, Russia in 1933. It lists her other names as ANTONINA KRIVITSKY, ANTONINA GINSBERG, 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.

*Refer*  
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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

GEA:IS  
100-11146-43

RECORDED

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 [redacted] 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.

Refer

The letter from Philadelphia referred to indicates that Walter Krivitsky 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 Antonina Poref at 36 West Gun Hill Road, Bronx, New York.

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/16/82 BY SP18SKJc

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Acers \_\_\_\_\_
- Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mumford \_\_\_\_\_
- Starke \_\_\_\_\_
- Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
 MAILED 6  
 APR 25 1944 P.M.  
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

APR 24 7 22 PM '44

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

~~SECRET~~

CEA:IS  
100-11146-43  
4/24/44

Classified by 2333  
Exempt from GDS  
Date of Declassification  
11-28-77 bag: g

RECORDED

April 24, 1944

[REDACTED]

(S) (b)  
(S) (b)  
(S) (b)

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

Dear Sir:

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 Naturalization files at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Krivitsky first entered the United States at the Port of New York on the SS Normandie, November 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 Immigration and Naturalization Service, St. Albans, Vermont, dated February 11, 1941, reflects the following information:

"While in Canada, Samuel Ginsberg 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. Krivitsky 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.

[REDACTED]

- Gravin
- Ladd
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Acers
- Carson
- Harbo
- Hendon
- Mumford
- Starke
- Quinn Tamm
- Nease
- Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 12  
★ APR 26 1944 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

DATE OF REVIEW

~~SECRET~~

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR



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

CC-287  
3/25/44  
3/25/44  
3/25/44

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Acers \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Starke \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

GEA:LP

March 8, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

Re: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

It is noted from a review of the files of the Bureau that 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 Bureau.

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 OGPU 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 Keiss 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 G. Krivitsky with particular reference to the memorandum prepared by a certain Mr. 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.

Respectfully,

*F. L. Welch*  
F. L. Welch

100-11146-44  
B I



*Memorandum 4-12-44*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 06-82 BY SP13SKJC/83

RECORDED & INDEXED

APR 18 1944

EX-44

*"P 1 and 3 declassified per State Dept letter dtd 3/2/78 S.H.H/gbc"*

*Sent to 4/15/44*

*J*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

RRR:ems

TO :

MR. LADD

FROM :

R. R. Roach

SUBJECT:

WALTER G. KRIVITSKY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

DATE: April 12, 1944

*FF 2 declassified  
Per Dept of State  
letter dtd 3/3/78  
attn 288/4hr*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/6/82 BY [signature]

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Jones
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

Reference is made to the attached memorandum to you from Mr. Welch dated March 8, 1944, 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 service.

**ENCLOSURE ATTACHED**  
**INTERNAL SECURITY - R**  
**RECORDED**

100-11146-45 [signature]

A review of the State Department files 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.

It is suggested that this memorandum be forwarded to the Internal Security Section for its information.

Attachments

*H.B. WB*

EX-44



XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

28

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

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E.A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Kramer
- Mr. McGuire
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Beahm
- Miss Gandy

April 22, 1944

CLASS. BY DP1GCK/80  
DATE OF REVIEW 10/6/82

Classified by 2235  
Date of Declassification 11/28/22

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

Re: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF DATE 11/1/82



(S)

Walter G. Krivitsky was born on June 28, 1899, in a city of the Western 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 1920, 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 manpower for a German Red Army. From 1924 to 1926, he worked for the Third Bureau of the General Staff and, in 1925, he became the Central Russian Chief 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 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 passport and visa to enter the United States is unknown at the present time. Since his arrival in the United States, he has published a book "In Stalin's Secret Service" and several articles which have appeared in the Saturday 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 Canada 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.

Krivitsky was found dead on February 10, 1941, in his room at the Bellevue Hotel, 15 E Street, N. W., 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 Waldman and one to Suzanne LaFollette.

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 Mr. Page at that time; and a copy has been made available to the Bureau. (u)

On March 15, 1939, 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 had on March 7, 1939, in New York City with Bassoff whom he stated was a former Soviet sailor who had joined the secret police in 1920 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. (u)

*This has been declassified  
Per Dept of State  
7/21/78*

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

Information Furnished 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 302, 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 Robert Osmo when he was retried and acquitted of espionage for the Russian

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Memorandum for The Director

Government after having been previously convicted and court-martialed 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 1938.

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

Krivitsky was also questioned relative to General Kleber whom he stated was an intimate acquaintance. It is to be noted that General Emil Kleber has been identified as Moische (Maurice) Stern who directed a group of Russian espionage agents operating in the United States during 1930 and 1931. Krivitsky 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 Bassoiff by the Bureau; 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 OGPU and its organization, stating that the OGPU and Soviet Military Intelligence operated independently, although they coordinated their activities whenever necessary.

Individuals mentioned as having operated under the Soviet Military Intelligence in the United States by Krivitsky were the following: Felix Wolf, from 1924 to 1929; Alexander Karen, 1929 to 1933; Valentine Markin, 1933 to 1934; Boris Shork, from 1936 until 1937; and Boris Rykov, 1936 until the date of his testimony. Krivitsky also mentioned one Alfred Bilden, believed to be identical with Alfred Bilton, who operated in the United States from 1929 to 1933. He also inferred that Juliet Stuart Poyntz, who mysteriously disappeared in New York in 1937, was a member of the Soviet Military Intelligence.

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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 Post. In addition to individuals that were previously mentioned in his testimony before the Dies Committee. Krivitsky stated that Kitty Harris, alias Katherine Harrison, the former common law wife of Earl Browder, Communist leader in the United States, had worked for him as an agent for Soviet Military Intelligence in Central Europe.

Krivitsky also mentioned Margaret Browder, a sister of Earl Browder, whom he stated had been in the service of Soviet Military Intelligence for quite a while functioning in Central Europe where she had been laying the ground work for the establishment of a secret radio station. He stated that she was a graduate of a special course in Moscow as a radio operator and was living abroad under the guise of a student operating under a passport issued in the name of Jean Montgomery. He also mentioned one Hans Dechow, alias Count Von Bulow, who operated in the vicinity of Chicago, Illinois, in conjunction with Nicholas Dozenberg, another agent of the Soviet Military Intelligence who was associated with Dr. Valentine Gregory Burten in the passing of counterfeit money that had been issued by the Soviet Government to finance their espionage activities.

Information Presently 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 last reported by her brother as residing in the vicinity of Kansas City, Missouri, in 1939.

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

Hans Dechow was last reported to be in South American in 1941.

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

X

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Memorandum for The Director

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

No information appears in the Bureau files indicating the present whereabouts or activities of the following individuals: Felix Wolf, Alex Karen, Boris Shpak, Boris Bykov, Juliet Stuart Poyntz, and Kitty Harris.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ b7c b7D

Action

It is believed that investigation to establish the identity and contacts of individuals 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 this respect.

Respectfully,

*GW*

*[Signature]*  
D. H. Ladd

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~X~~

Walter G. Arivitsky  
(Ginsberg)  
Taken from Nov. 1939 issue  
of National Republic,  
page 10



100-11146-47

100-11146-47 enclosure

~~SECRET~~

EA:ELC

June 6, 1944

CLASS. BY DPJ/SK/JC  
DATE OF REVIEW 10/6/82

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

Classification 2333  
Exempt 1  
Date of Declassification 11-28-77 548:00

Mr. M. J. Lynch  
Legal Attache  
The American Embassy  
London, England

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/28/77 BY 548:00

RE: <sup>①</sup>WALTER G. KRIVITSKY, with aliases  
INTERNAL 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  
Military Intelligence activities for Western Europe. Following his break  
with the Soviet Government during the period of the "purge trials" he  
has lived in the United States, Canada and England.

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

Very truly yours,  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 14  
★ JUN 5 1944  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

100-11146-48  
JUL 9 1944  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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8572

SAC, New York

June 15, 1944

J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

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

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 Bureau 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.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-6-82 BY SP13SKJC

RECORDED

100-11146-50  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
JUN 17 1944  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
JUN 15 4 37 PM '44

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Jones \_\_\_\_\_

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK, N.Y.** NY FILE NO. **100-59589 PAS**

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK CITY</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>7/24/44</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>5/11, 13, 15, 22; 6/14, 15, 19, 29; 7/5, 10/44</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b> <span style="float: right;">b7c</span>
--	----------------------------------	--	--

TITLE <b>WALTER G. KRIVITSKY, with aliases: Walter Ginsberg, Walter Ginsberg, Walter Poref, Walter Thomas</b>	CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - R</b>
--	---

**ADDITIONAL INDEXING**

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:** Public records do not disclose legal change of name by subject (deceased 2/10/41), but Bronx County Clerk's records revealed his widow legally changed her name and that of minor son, ALEXANDER, age 11, 4/28/41 to THOMAS. She is presently residing Apartment L-D, 107 West 84th Street, NYC 24. She filed Declaration of Intention to become citizen 1/14/42. She is reported at one time to have been left by husband in care of Miss SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE, sister of the late "BOB" of Wisconsin and who is active in LABOR LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS and United Nations Relief - AFL. She is close friend of the HERMAN ZIMMEL. Mr. ZIMMEL, former class mate of subject in Vienna, is presently statistician with CONSOLIDATED TAX PAYERS MUTUAL INSURANCE Co., Brooklyn. Mrs. THOMAS is reported employed.

151

[REDACTED] b1  
- P -

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-6-82 BY SP18/SK/PC**

**REFERENCE:** Bureau File 100-11146.  
Bureau letters to Philadelphia, cc: New York, dated March 10 and April 24, 1944.

**DETAILS:** CHANGE OF NAME

The New York Times of February 11, 1941, in reporting

APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>E. B. Conroy</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <b>FR 19</b>							
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COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau 4 - New York  23 1944 <i>176</i>	<table border="1" style="margin: auto;"> <tr><td>F</td><td>B</td><td>I</td></tr> <tr><td>19</td><td>JUL 27</td><td>1944</td></tr> </table>	F	B	I	19	JUL 27	1944	INDEXED <i>17</i> <b>EX-42</b>
F	B	I						
19	JUL 27	1944						
COPY IN FILE								

the death of subject in a Washington Hotel on February 10, 1941, stated that subject registered at the hotel as WALTER POKEP. 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, ANTONINA GINZBERG, 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 LOUIS WALDMAN, attorney for the petitioner, 302 Broadway. In her petition, Mrs. GINZBERG stated she resided at 36 West Gun Hill Road, 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 GINZBERG and that she had never been convicted of a crime. As grounds for her application to change her name, she set out:

"I have used the name GINZBERG 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 LOUIS 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 THOMAS 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 Naturalization Service, 70 Columbus Avenue, reflect that Declaration of Intention #324458 was filed

NY 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 POKEF and that her address was 36 West Gun Hill Road, 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 Podvolocyska, Russia June 28, 1899; lawful entry into the United States made by her husband by car at Bouses Point, New York on October 31, 1940 from her last foreign residence which was Montreal, Canada. A son, ALEXANDER, was born July 21, 1933 in Montreal. She gave the names of her parents as follows:

SEMJON PORFIJEBA, father and ANTONINA PORFIJEBA (mother's maiden name). Her physical description was set out as follows:

Height:	5' 9"
Weight:	150 lbs.
Eyes:	Blue
Hair:	Blonde
Complexion:	Fair
Color:	White
Occupation:	Housewife

PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF MRS. THOMAS

[REDACTED] did not recall the subject but stated [REDACTED]

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

[REDACTED] was interviewed under pretext and advised he recalled the subject and his wife; that they resided in Apartment 4-B of the building at 36 West Gun Hill Road. 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 Informant 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 volunteered 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.

b7c  
b7D

NY 100-59589

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 [REDACTED] indicated that the funeral was arranged for by Mr. **BERMAN ZIMELS**, a friend, 1929 East 18th Street, Brooklyn and subject's attorney, **LOUIS WALDMAN**, 302 Broadway. Mr. ZIMELS paid for the funeral costs, amounting to \$108.22. It was noted that Mrs. **GINZBERG** 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. b7c b7D

Confidential Informant T-2 advised that **BERNARD ZIMELS** and his wife were close friends of the **GINZBERGS**, as they were known to them. Mr. ZIMELS as a boy, attended school in Vienna with the subject. ZIMELS is now a statistician with the **TAXPAYERS MUTUAL INSURANCE** Company, 100 Clinton Street, Brooklyn, New York. His residence is 1694 East 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. **A. THOMAS** and **MORGENSTERN**. 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 neat and orderly fashion. Efforts to contact the superintendent met with negative results.

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

**NIKOS ZAKHAR**, superintendent, 3510 Bainbridge Street, Bronx,

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

**JOHN HUMBERT**, President, superintendent, 36 West Gun Hill Road;

Mr. **SCAPP**, superintendent and [REDACTED] b7c b7E

**ELSE 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.

ASSOCIATES OF MRS. THOMAS

Confidential Informant T-3 advised that PAUL WOHL was a good friend of the subject. WOHL met KRAVITSKY in Paris in the early 1930's and was his first collaborator 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 LEVINE. Informant stated that WOHL was scientific adviser in 1935 to the Soviet Department of Land Transportation in Paris and is presently a writer on 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. Informant 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 became 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 SEUB, whose father is N. SEUB, 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 demise.

Informant also stated that the BERMAN ZIMMELS 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 informant 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 informant 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 Wisconsin.

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

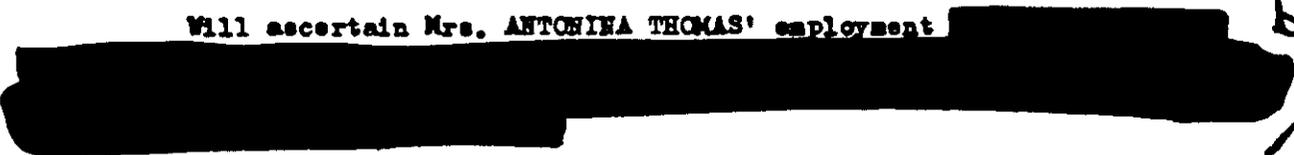
Confidential Informant T-2 stated that he had reason to believe that the BERMAN ZIMMELS of Brooklyn continued on friendly terms with Mrs. THOMAS and was probably closer to her than any other individuals in New York City. Confidential Informant T-1 intimated that Mr. and Mrs. LUIS HUDNICK previously mentioned,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

NY 100-59589

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION - At New York City

Will ascertain Mrs. ANTONINA THOMAS' employment



b1

NY 100-59589

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

The following are the confidential informants as appear in the report of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated July 24, 1944 at New York, N. Y. b7c

Confidential Informant T-1

[REDACTED] b7c b7d

Confidential Informant T-2

[REDACTED]

Confidential Informant T-3

[REDACTED]

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

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK CITY**

NY FILE NO. **100-59589**

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK CITY</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>9/19/44</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>8/16, 27-29; 9/1, 13, 15/44</b>	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] <b>b7c</b>
TITLE <b>WALTER G. KRIVITSKY, with aliases; Walter Ginsberg, Walter Ginsberg, Walter Poref, Walter Thomas</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY (R)</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Subject's widow, Mrs. ANTONINA THOMAS, has resided at 107 West 84 Street, N.Y.C. since 8/1/42; presently employed as designer, Revere Manufacturing Company, 550 Fifth Avenue, apron manufacturers. Indices negative on BRANIA MORGENSTERN, younger woman residing with her, and on other contacts whose names supplied by informant. [REDACTED] Physical description set out.

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**  
DATE 10/6/92 BY 271 GSK/JS

**REFERENCE:**

Bureau file 100-11146.  
Report of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated July 24, 1944 at New York City. **b7c**

**DETAILS:**

Term of Residence of Subject's Widow at 107 West 84 Street

Confidential Informant T1 advised that Mrs. ANTONINA THOMAS is a tenant of the real estate firm of Brown & Shenker, Room 1405, 152 West 42 Street. Mrs. THOMAS applied to this concern, according to the informant, for a lease of the apartment from August 1, 1942, making an application therefor on that date, which the informant stated set forth her then present address as 1764 East 18 Street, Brooklyn, New York. Her occupation was not given

APPROVED AND FORWARDED *E. E. Conroy* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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**100-11146-54**

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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 apartment after the expiration of this term as such as no steps have been taken to terminate it.

#### Employment

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

[REDACTED] residing in the basement 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. b7c b7D

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

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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

[REDACTED] established the identity of the MORGENSTERN, whose last name appeared on the apartment mail box, as Miss BRANIA MORGENSTERN. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

*Miss Brania*

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	About 35
Height	5' 8"
Weight	140 pounds

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Hair  
Complexion  
Features

Dark Brown  
Dark  
Rugged

[REDACTED] b7D

[REDACTED]

b7C

*investigated +  
interviewed  
at length by  
New 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 Ukraine and came to this country at the age of 16 in 1916. He styles himself as something of a Democrat Socialist.

Also believed to be a contact of Mrs. THOMAS is BORIS J. NICOLAEVSKY of 20 Cabrini Boulevard, New York. The files of this office likewise failed to disclose the identity of this individual.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7 D

b1

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b1

Description

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

Height	5' 9"
Weight	140 pounds
Hair	Striking blond
Complexion	Light
Skin	Unusually light
Peculiarities	"Piano" legs; walks stiffly and erectly

negative. [REDACTED] records on Mrs. THOMAS are b7D

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

- C L O S E D -

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CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

Confidential Informants mentioned in the report of  
Special Agent [REDACTED] dated September 19, 1944 at New York  
City are:

T1 is [REDACTED]

T2 is [REDACTED]

T3 is [REDACTED]

T4 is a highly confidential and, reliable source  
[REDACTED]  
who made the reported information available  
to Special Agent [REDACTED] on August 16, 1944.

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

b7c  
b7d

RECORDED

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SAC - New York City

October 2, 1944

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

WALTER G. KRIVITSKY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

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

b7c

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 Whittaker Chambers, a former Soviet intelligence agent and subject of a pending investigation in your Office.

The above data are for your information.

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JWB:VK Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
100-59589

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: November 16, 1944

FROM : SAC, New York

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/6/82 BY SP1 GSK/JK

On November 2, 1944, PAUL WOHL, presently a writer on international affairs for the "Christian Science Monitor" and "Barron's Financial Weekly" and an associate in the 30's and collaborator with the subject, who was first interviewed by Special Agent [redacted] in connection with the latter's efforts to locate KRIVITSKY's widow, as set out in Agent [redacted] 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 [redacted] and Special Agent [redacted] 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 KLAEGE or KLAEGES 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 KLEGES; INTERNAL SECURITY - R". Accordingly, on November 13, 1944, Agent [redacted] accompanied by Special Agent [redacted] recontacted WOHL and the information developed on these two talks with him is set forth as follows:

b7c

WOHL stated that prior to KRIVITSKY's coming to this country, the latter related to him that he was present on an occasion when the procedure of securing citizenship 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:

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

RECORDED & INDEXED

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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 exporting business, possibly having something to do with the canning industry.

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At the time KRIVITSKY was seeking funds with which to make his journey to this country, he remembered KLAEGE and led WOHL to believe that

Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page.

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November 16, 1944

KLAEGE owed him at least a moral obligation in exchange for earlier advice extended to him when KLAEGE operated under KRIVITSKY. WOHL was requested to see KLAEGE with the object in mind of securing from him passage money, KRIVITSKY feeling that their old association would prompt KLAEGE 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 Exposition 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 came to the attention of the Russian Government, with whom the French were negotiating in an effort to expand European Continental 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 he refresh his memory from a notebook to which he referred in the presence of the Agents. He said that he had a twenty minute interview with KLAEGE, whom 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.

KLAEGE professed a lack of acquaintanceship with KRIVITSKY, which greatly surprised WOHL as KRIVITSKY had carefully explained that KLAEGE had worked under him many years previous. However, KLAEGE offered 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 collaboration 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 KLAEGE is identical with the subject of Bureau file 100-293562 entitled "UNKNOWN SUBJECT, alias FRANK KLEGES; 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

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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 Commonwealth" 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 [REDACTED] b7c it will be noted that the individual BORIS 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 so-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 [REDACTED] 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. b7c

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 WALDMAN 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 [REDACTED] 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.

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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)

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

Feb 20/41

# Walter G. Krivitsky

A study of a man whose life was hidden behind his political significance.

By Paul Wohl

*"Dieu a fait les hommes droits, mais ils ont cherché beaucoup de détours."*

**H**AD KRIVITSKY come to America in the plenitude of his cryptic powers as he intended to in 1937, those who slandered him in 1939 would have spoken of him with awe and admiration. The few privileged to converse with him would have whispered reverently and with importance to their intimates in the most select and conspiratorial circles of "progressive" thought the message of this mysterious emissary of the Kremlin, the small wiry man with bushy eyed eyebrows, the dreaded commissar who could combine revolutionary discipline with urbane manners and political intransigence with brilliant versatility.

Krivitsky was the first of those close to the inner councils of the Kremlin who stepped out of the ranks without seeking refuge in another revolutionary group. He refused to join Trotsky who publicly sneered: "Krivitsky has fled into the petty bourgeoisie; he 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 exulted in his conversion to their particular interpretation of political philosophy. Walter Krivitsky was the one prominent Bolshevik who did not try to be anything else than that which he was: a poor man who stood at the crossroad of his life at the age of forty and had the courage to say: "That which we have done was bad. We did not want it thus. How it happened I cannot explain."

If this trained dialectician had given one of the many superficial and pretentiously "scientific" explanations dear to our "liberal" rationalists, he might have stunned their emancipated masterminds. Instead, he simply revealed that which actually had happened. In his first articles which we wrote together in Europe he strictly avoided interpretations. His American articles too are based on his personal observations and on the experience of his closest friends, though—at the request of his American literary collaborator—occasionally he tried to interpret the tragedy he

had witnessed. He gave these interpretations hesitatingly; 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 death," he told me in the beginning. "My head is deep in the earth," again and again he complained.

No other Bolshevik ever left the Soviet world to become so lonely and desperate as Krivitsky. Trotsky made himself the center of a new party. Scheinmann, ex-president of the Soviet State Bank, made a financial arrangement with his former chiefs and was allowed to live abroad in precarious peace. Barmine was a diplomat who through his 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 stock, a skilled mechanic able to make a living anywhere.

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

Krivitsky was not afraid of accusing himself. He exposed that which he knew and that which he had seen. His articles and his book are a lasting monument. Those who ignored them deliberately chose to go forward into crime. Alas, only a few learned the lesson and even they did not pardon him for having shattered their illusions. They

This French version of Ecclesiastes vii. 30 is thus rendered in the Douay-Rheims translation: "God made man right, and he hath entangled himself with an infinity of questions."

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had neither love nor pity for him—even after his death.

#### *Krivitsky's character*

Krivitsky was not a golem, not a ruthless fanatic, not an underground gang leader, but a sensitive, nervous intellectual, a man whose life had been divided between Russia and Western Europe, between dutiful, believing party members and critical individuals in the bourgeois world. He knew both worlds: the walled-up, one-purpose world of the communist militants and the vacillating capricious world of personal venture and ambition. He had lived and dealt with workers and engineers, with artists and intellectuals, scientists 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 subject. It 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 independent. Bonded to the Order of the Bolsheviks, to the Russia of Stalin, he had himself become enslaved to a system he dreaded, admired and never completely understood—though he probably knew more about it than did anyone outside the Kremlin.

Krivitsky did not find time to study the theory of Marxism methodically. The "red professors" whom he abhorred belonged to a later generation. At the age of seventeen, he and his comrades had walked into the revolution "like young girls into the month of May." The revolution demanded their entire lives, the surrender of their critical faculties, the defilement of inherited moral standards. They were eager 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 Anabaptists—these young revolutionists of the Russian border provinces were ready to destroy the world if 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

of 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 idealism of these two early years a dim ray, for moments only, seemed to reappear, and later—after the collectivization and the purge—even that went out. Nothing remained but desolate emptiness.

#### *Agent in Central Europe*

The first great disappointment came with Lenin's New Economic Policy. Private property was re-established, a civil code proclaimed. "Communists must learn business" was the slogan. Thousands of young communists then committed suicide. 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 little group of Old Bolsheviks landed in Stettin. Lenin, whose principal purpose then was world revolution, had use for them abroad. With several million rubles, they were sent to help organize 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. It was a responsible mission.

In the morbid atmosphere of post-War Germany many 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. Others became speculators or engaged in the fur business. Most of the older Ukrainian Bolsheviks lost their time in sterile factional discussions in Vienna and Prague. Krivitsky remained 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 crooked. *Krivoi*, says A. Aleksandrov's Russian-English dictionary, means also unjust, false, iniquitous, unrighteous; Krivitsky, or he who goes in crooked, unrighteous 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 Berlin to Vienna and from Vienna to Prague with loads of "illegal" propaganda leaflets, secret instructions and bags full of Czarist 300-ruble bills which the State bank in Moscow printed at full speed—"tackers," as they were called by the underground brokers. In Vienna, in June, 1919, Krivitsky had his first revolutionary experience in Central Europe. In order to force the Social

Democratic Austrian Government to take sides with the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic, the dwarf Communist Party of Austria staged a revolt. The nineteen-year-old Krivitsky marched in the first rows of the demonstrators. The demonstration was crushed in blood. The dead bodies of many scores 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 rôle in Germany as much as he learned to love the German workers with whom his mission brought him into contact. The International did not see him in the revolutionary vanguard. He was a member of the Russian party and had to remain "illegal" and underground. During the critical weeks in 1923 which eventually led to the ill-fated uprising in Hamburg, Krivitsky was in Western Germany, one of a score of Russian, Latvian, Caucasian instructors without authority of his own. The party leadership was rigorously centralized. Krivitsky then was but a cog in the machine. Like "Valtin," he became its prisoner. The sly, underground functions of these years gradually pervaded his character. Yet 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 irresponsible and anonymous politicians in the International.

The picture of the German workers and their grim and devoted families who had been betrayed and killed around him were in his memory when he returned to Russia in 1924. He had never forgotten these people. They spoke to him, they assailed him with their questions during the night. The Russian and the Polish workers he knew were very different from these cultured and self-confident German "proletarians" 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 sacrifice of these upright, disciplined and firmly believing German worker-students of communism of 1923-24 cemented his faith. They had looked up for guidance to the young and resourceful representative of Moscow and it was he who derived his strength from them.

#### *Return to Russia*

In Russia, he was attached, together with others who had distinguished themselves in political secret activities abroad, to the so-called fourth department of the newly organized general staff.

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 staff 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 clever and reliable, and so he became a "Kombrig," or brigade commander, with one rhombus 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 government 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 except for his exploits in Italy where he obtained blueprints of Italian submarines and airplanes from almost under the nose of Mussolini, he was concerned even then more with political than technically military matters. In that period, the intelligence 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 Krivitsky*

I first made his acquaintance in Germany, in December, 1925. All I knew of him then was that he 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, an unrecognizable Krivitsky—in the meanwhile he had grown a long red beard—that I had a premonition of the nature of his illegal activities. I was very much intrigued by this mysterious Russian. Never in the course of my international career did I meet a man of such unusual qualities. The information he possessed was vast, his understanding of political events unique. Though our ways led in different directions we developed a lasting mutual sympathy. Later, I met Krivitsky in Paris where we spent many evenings together.

At that time I planned to found an international economic-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 with 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 Year Plan became organized along its present lines, the party claimed those staff officers who were neither military specialists nor political organizers like Krivitsky's chief, Gamarnik. Krivitsky was one of the victims of this reorganization. Relieved from active service with the rank of "Komdiv" or commander of a division and the right to a second rhombus on the facings of his uniform, he was—after a brief but effective interlude 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 organization 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 Western Europe. About his activities in the West, he has told everything he thought fit for publication.

In his innermost heart the Krivitsky of these years 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. Like many others he tried to silence his doubts with a new kind of faith in the Stalinist Soviet State. This faith he used to call "gossudarstvennoye schuvstvo," 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. Men like Krivitsky who were engaged in political underground work abroad, isolated from their friends and most of them also from their families, facing a presumably 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. Their own lives seemed negligible to them, astonishingly unreal, fortuitous, insufficient. That they had become so

was their tragedy. They felt it more than they could admit to themselves and fled into a world in conformity with their doctrine. In this imaginary 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 responsibility," an artificial "unio mystica" with what they called "the creative forces of mankind," an ersatz religion of men who had delivered themselves into the bondage of a soulless system. Krivitsky 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 that great and clean revolutionary Gamarnik, his former chief who at the time of the Tukhatchevsky affair had preceded Krivitsky in "suicide." The idea, however, that his work was directed against Hitler kept him going. It was only 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 in June, 1937, he was strangely pale and restless. For many hours we walked up and down the lonely beach of Scheveningen. At times he paused for long minutes as if he had to gather his words from far away. Gropingly, with much apprehension, he hinted at "the possibility" of a collaboration between the Soviet Union and the Nazis. After his return from Moscow, he knew, however, that it was in reality a certitude. At dusk, he accompanied 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, I 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, 1937. These diaries revealed that Krivitsky, under the vivid impression of the horrors of the purge, had 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 of the publication of his papers.

#### Paris

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 quite possible that they considered another attempt, or at least tried to lure him back to Moscow. There

were various alarms but nothing happened. I have no doubt that the OGPU could have kidnapped or killed Krivitsky in Paris in spite of the protection afforded him by the French Government. 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 personnel. The OGPU, like most Continental intelligence 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.

#### Over here

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 protected. It is probable of course that responsible Soviet officials, 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 assassinations. 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 appreciation 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 collaboration with Germany. When Krivitsky's articles 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 Krivitsky. He had listened attentively to Krivitsky'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 fled 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 rank.

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 revolution and its reverberations in Europe. Differences on fundamentals prevented the completion of this work. This was in 1938-39. We were both worried 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 endowed with a genius for political divination. This was no time for writing history. On the advice and with the devoted assistance of his American literary 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 was responsible for his wife and for his child. Antonina Semionovna Porfiriev had courageously shared his exile though she knew that by doing so she exposed her 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 his American collaborator who struggled hard to draw from him plausible explanations of the unexplainable. It was in the course of these writings that Krivitsky became fully 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 denominator was a negative one.

Krivitsky hated Stalin from the bottom of his heart. He had seen him several times and spoke to me about him. In the months following his break, he used to say, "Stalin and Trotsky are the only two consistent Bolsheviks and Stalin is the more consistent." Though 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 suffering brought upon his own comrades during the great purge, he recognized Stalin's crafty and powerful statesmanship.

Personal considerations did not *per se* count for Bolsheviks. Despite the grief they would have felt at the assassination of their closest relatives, Krivitsky, and even his wife, might have overcome it—provided it served the cause. They had depersonalized themselves 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. Under the personal "superstructure" of these Bolsheviks, intent upon wiping out the "ideological superstructure" of society such as religion, philosophy and law, the eternal human motives, even though repressed, were still at work. It was only through the dire suffering

of those close to him that Krivitsky perceived the whole ruthlessness of Stalin's régime. Like most of his former comrades, he did not oppose its principle, 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." Krivitsky writhed in the midst of painful and incomprehensible interpretations. He was torn between the alternatives of justifying the opposition of his dead comrades in order to defend their political honor, and that of revealing the errors of men for whom a rationally correct judgment 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 that they wanted to render a last absurd service to the régime 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. The only way out was to charge Stalin personally with the responsibility for the horrible failure of the revolution.

It went beyond his force to state clearly, as he had said to me during the many days and nights I 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 principle of his policy as it developed after 1927, they were inconsistent in conspiring against it, hampering its consequent application whatever suffering might ensue. Regard for human suffering has never been a Bolshevik argument. The conflict between Stalin and his Bolshevik critics was related only to percentage plan figures and to questions of practical convenience. That was not enough to justify the endangering of the State. Krivitsky told me in Paris that many of the accused had been brought at night from their prison cells in the Lubyanka 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 hopelessness of their position, and of what Bolsheviks ceased to call their "political bankruptcy." The fundamental issue inherent in the Marxist theory of revolution was never raised. Nor did Krivitsky ever have the strength to raise it publicly. He was afraid of losing his "political face" as a former Bolshevik and did not know a positive solution to his dilemma. So he said what he could say: a half truth—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 suffering. 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 ears 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 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 parted.

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 anti-fascist 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 Nazism and Fascism, effective action by men in responsible position 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 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 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 reactionary, 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 conservative 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.

P. W. W. W.

GEA:mr

SAC, New York

November 22, 1944

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 [redacted] b7c  
dated at New York City September 19, 1944, in the above captioned matter,  
[redacted]

[redacted] the subject of some investigation in connection  
with the Comintern Apparatus case. Your attention is also called to the report  
of Special Agent [redacted] dated at New York City February 9, b7c  
1944, captioned "Haakon M. Chevalier, Internal Security - C", and to the reports  
of Special Agent [redacted] dated at New York City December 29, 1943,  
and March 15, 1944, captioned "Comintern Apparatus, Internal Security - R".  
[redacted]

[redacted]

- Tolson.....
- E. A. Tamm.....
- Clegg.....
- Glavin.....
- Ladd.....
- Nichols.....
- Rosen.....
- Tracy.....
- Carson.....
- Coffey.....
- Hendon.....
- Holloman.....
- McGuire.....
- Tele. Room.....

10/8/44  
SP1GSKJ  
EX - 39

100-11146-36  
RECORDED & INDEXED  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
NOV 24 1944  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
[Handwritten signature]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK, NEW YORK**

NY FILE NO. **100-59589** JEM

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK, NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>5/25/45</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>12/7, 8/45; 2/8, 9, 13, 20; 3/22; 5/10, 15; 16, 18/45</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b> b7c
TITLE <b>CHANGED</b> <b>ANTONINA THOMAS, was: Mrs. Walter G. Krivitsky, Mrs. Walter Ginsberg, Mrs. Walter Ginzberg, Mrs. Walter Poref, Mrs. Walter Thomas</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - R</b>

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:



**[REDACTED]** considers subject anti-Communitic. Both state that subject might, because of her past, have contact with individuals working against best interests of this country, but think that her loyalty to our form of government is sincere. **[REDACTED]**

- P -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated November 22, 1944

DETAILS: The title of this report is being marked changed to reflect the true name of the subject of this case as she is known at the present time and also all other names by which she has been known since her entry into the United States.

COPIES DESTROYED **4-29-51**

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: **[Signature]** SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

- 5-Bureau
- 2-Washington Field
- 2-Philadelphia
- 3-New York

COPY IN FILE

**100-11146-57**  
RECEIVED  
JUN 1 1945

RECORDED & INDEXED

EX-29

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XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) b1 b7c b7E with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
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For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
100 - 11146 - 57 page 2

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[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A search of the New York Field Office indices failed to reveal any record of this individual.

b7c

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, [REDACTED] at 107 West 84th Street [REDACTED] advised that he had observed subject rather closely for a period of three or four months [REDACTED] 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. [REDACTED]

b7c

b7d

NY 100-59589

[redacted] was contacted at the above address and advised that he knows nothing of the background or loyalty of [redacted] and that [redacted] was hired through a newspaper advertisement. b7c b7D

On May 10, 1945, Special Agent [redacted] of the New York Office contacted Confidential Informant T-2 concerning subject. b7c

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b7c  
b7D

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### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) b7c b7D b7E b1 with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
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For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
100 - 11146 - 57 pages 5 + 6

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NY 100-59589

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT

Confidential Informants mentioned in the report of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated May 25, 1945 at New York, New York are: b7c

T-1 Indices of the New York Office

T-2

[REDACTED]

b7c  
b7D

T-3

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

GEA/dm

100-11146-57  
RECORDED

SAC, New York

June 22, 1945

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

EX-68

ANTONIRA THOMAS, was  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R.

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

b7c

[Large redacted block]

b1

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

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 13  
★ JUN 23 1945 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CLASS. BY SP18SKJC  
MAILED  
RECEIVED  
JUN 23 1945  
[Handwritten signatures and initials]

X-540

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

8  
17  
21  
2

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK**

FILE NO. **100-17272**

REPORT MADE AT <b>WASHINGTON, D. C.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>8/1/45</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>7/20, 26/45</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED] b7c</b> <b>TCR:vvh</b>
TITLE <b>ANTONINA THOMAS, was., Mrs. Walter G. Krivitsky, Mrs. Walter Ginsberg, Mrs. Walter Ginsberg, Mrs. Walter Poref, Mrs. Walter Thomas</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - R</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

**MARGARITA 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.**

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10/6/82 BY SP18SKJ**

- HUC -

**REFERENCES:**

Report of Special Agent **[REDACTED]** dated **b7c** May 25, 1945, at New York City.

**DETAILS:**

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

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 Tunlaw Road, N.W.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED

*[Signature]*

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

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100-11146-58

RECORDED

& INDEXED

EX-42

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  - 3 - New York
  - 2 - Washington Field

**COPY IN FILE**

**1 AUG 9 1945**

Confidential Informant T-2 was able to furnish the following information with reference to the DOBERTS: EITEL 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. on February 9, 1941, at which time he was driven to Washington by Mrs. DOBERT.

General KREVITSKY 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 [REDACTED] dated August 1, 1945, at Washington, D. C. are: b7c

T-1

[REDACTED]

b7c  
b7D

T-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 [REDACTED]

b7c

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

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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100-11146-59 pages 1-4

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GEATED

~~SECRET~~

100-11146-60

August 25, 1945

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EX-6E

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

ANDREW THOMAS

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b1

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

cc - Mr. Glanahan  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Tamm

CLASS BY SP10SKED

DATE OF REVIEW OADR  
10-6-82

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

EX-6E  
AUG 25 1 38 AM '45

Class  
10/14/82

100-11146-60

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Egan \_\_\_\_\_
- Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Pennington \_\_\_\_\_
- Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SWR:DMD:  
100-59589

DATE: October 2, 1945

TO : Director, FBI  
FROM : SAC, New York

SUBJECT: ANTONINA THOMAS, was.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R  
(Bureau file 100-11146)

[REDACTED]

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.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b1

b1

b7E

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 10/6/82 BY SP1GSKIC~~

*PAC letter, Sac, N.Y.  
GCA/nd 10/9/45*

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100-11146-63

EX-45

58

*[Handwritten signature]*

16

*100-11146-43*

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK**

NY FILE NO. **100-99589** RBS

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>10/11/45</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>5/19; 6/25; 7/17; 8/7, 20, 21; 9/4, 14; 10/2, 9/45</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b> <b>b7c</b>
TITLE <b>ANTONINA THOMAS, was: Mrs. Walter G. Krivitsky, Mrs. Walter Ginsberg, Mrs. Walter Ginzberg, Mrs. Walter Porer, Mrs. Walter Thomas</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - R</b>

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

[REDACTED]

b1  
(S) b7c  
b7D  
b1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/18/80 BY SP1/BSK/JC

- P -  
CLASS. BY SP1/BSK/JC  
DATE OF REVIEW 10/6/82

REFERENCE: Bureau File 100-11146.  
Report of Special Agent [REDACTED] New York, 5/25/45.

b7c

DETAILS:

[REDACTED]

b1  
(S)

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COPIES OF THIS REPORT DESTROYED 3-29-76		100-11146-	64	INDEXED
5 Bureau	2 Albany	<i>[Handwritten initials]</i>		
2 Boston	3 New York			
5 OCT 22 1945				

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100-11146-64 pages 2-6

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NY 100-59589

UNDEVELOPED LEADS (continued)

[REDACTED]

b7c  
b7D

\*\*\*\*\*

For the benefit of the offices 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 ~~W~~ HIES COMMITTEE he had named various individuals as being connected with Soviet Intelligence work.

[REDACTED]

b1

~~SECRET~~

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

**NEW YORK, NEW YORK**

FILE NO.

**100-16731**

md

REPORT MADE AT <b>BOSTON, MASS.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>11-1-45</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>10-30-45</b>	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] <b>b7c</b>
TITLE ① <b>ANTONINA THOMAS with aliases</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY (R)</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:** Max Eastman, Chilmark, Massachusetts, is well known author and anti-Soviet lecturer, resident of New York City with summer home at Chilmark.

-RUC-

**REFERENCE:** Report of Special Agent [REDACTED] New York, 10-11-45 **b7c**

**DETAILS:** The Boston indices reflect that MAX EASTMAN is a well known resident of New York City with a summer home at Chilmark, Massachusetts, and is publicly known as an anti-Soviet lecturer and author.

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/6/82 BY SP10SC/STC**

-REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN-

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*Class*  
*10/14/82*

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

NEW YORK

NY

FILE NO.

100-59589

MV

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 12/14/45	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 10/29/45; 11/1, 6, 30/45	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c
----------------------------	----------------------------	---	----------------------------------

TITLE ANTONINA THOMAS, with aliases	CHARACTER OF CASE ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE INTERNAL SECURITY - R
--	---

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:  
 CLASS. BY *DP/BSK/SC*  
 DATE OF REVIEW *03/29 10/16/82*  
 [REDACTED] *Declassified by 62333 Bfg.g 5/11/80-82*  
 - P -

REFERENCE: Bureau File #100-11146  
 Report of Special Agent [REDACTED] New York, 10/11/45. b7c

DETAILS:  
 [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED] (S)

In connection with the publication "New Leader", referred to by the above informant, it may be noted that in the report of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated July 25, 1945 at New York, in the case entitled [REDACTED] the "New Leader" is reported to be located at 7 East [REDACTED] b7c

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
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COPIES DESTROYED 4/20/82		

NOV 6 1946

(OVER)

~~SECRET~~

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 LISTON [REDACTED]

b7c b7D b1

[REDACTED]

(S)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(S)

[REDACTED]

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For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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100-11146-69 pages 3-5

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK**

NY FILE NO. 100-59589 CC

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>5/21/46</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>3/19, 20, 21/46</b>	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] <b>b7c</b>
TITLE <b>ANTONINA THOMAS, was.</b>		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY-R</b>	

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:** Subject continues to reside at 107 West 84th Street, NYC. Information concerning identities of [REDACTED] **b7c**

- R -

**REFERENCE:** Bureau file 100-11146  
Report of Special Agent [REDACTED] New York, 12/14/45 **b7c**

**DETAILS:** The Manhattan Telephone Directory for February 1946 reflects that Mrs. ANTONINA THOMAS resides at 107 West 84th Street, New York City, Apartment 1-D; telephone Trafalgar 4-5698.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

10/6/82

<p>APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>E. E. Courcy</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE</p> <p>COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5-Bureau 3-New York</p> <p><b>COPIES DESTROYED 4-29-54</b></p> <p><b>50 JUN 27 1946</b></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</p> <p style="font-size: 2em; text-align: center;">100-11146-70</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MAY 28 1946</p> <p style="text-align: center;">RECORDED &amp; INDEXED</p> <p style="text-align: center;">EX-133</p>
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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.

- P E N D I N G -

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 Special Agent [REDACTED] dated May 24, 1946 at New York, are as follows: b7c

T-1:

[REDACTED]

b7c  
b7D

T-2:

[REDACTED]

T-3:

[REDACTED]

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

SECRET

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, New York

SUBJECT: ANTONINA THOMAS, was;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R.  
(Bureau File 100-11146)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/6/82 BY SP10SKJ

DATE: May 24, 1946

CLASS BY SP10SKJ  
DATE OF REVIEW 3-11-82  
DATE 5/30/82

*Class*  
*11/18/82*  
*Q*

Enclosed is the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 24, 1946 in connection with the above-captioned case. b7c

A review of the file in this case reflects that subject ANTONINA THOMAS is the wife of WALTER G. KRIVITSKY who was found dead on February 10, 1941 in his room at the Bellevue 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 work.

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.

[Large redacted section containing multiple lines of blacked-out text]

GVS:els  
100-59589

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*Director*  
*6/10/46*  
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JUL 12 1946

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