The GERMAN-BOLSHEVIK CONSPIRACY
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The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

Russian Workmen Betrayed

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

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

The first document is a photograph of a report made to the Bolshevik leaders by two of their assistants, informing them that, in accordance with their instructions, there had been removed from the archives of the Russian Ministry of Justice, the order of the German Imperial Bank "allowing money to Comrades Lenin, Trotsky, and others for the propaganda of peace in Russia"; and that, at the same time, "all the books" of a bank in Stockholm had been "audited" to conceal the payment of money to Lenin, Trotsky, and their associates, by order of the German Imperial Bank.

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

Protocol Signed by Leaders

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

On the bottom of the protocol the German adjutant acknowledges receipt of the two incriminating circulars with his cipher signature.

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

And Lenin and Trotsky surrender them in conformity with a working agreement between the Bolshevik leaders and the German General Staff, of which agreement a photograph is included in the series as Document No. 5.

This is dated October 23, 1917. It is from a division of the German General Staff. It is addressed to the Government of the People's Commissars, of which Lenin and Trotsky were the heads. It begins: "In accordance with the agreement which took place in Kronstadt, in July of the present year, between officials of our General Staff and leaders of the Russian revolutionary army and democracy, Messrs. Lenin and Trotsky, Raskolnikov, and Dybenko, the Russian Division of our General Staff operating in Finland is ordering to Petrograd officers for the disposal of the Intelligence Bureau of the staff." Among the officers named are Maj. Luberts and Lieut. Hartwig whose cipher signature, Henrich, is given as it appears on the receipt for the two circulars accompanying Document No. 3. And an indorsement on this letter (No. 5) from the German General Staff records that the German officers assigned to Petrograd had appeared "before the military revolutionary committee" and had "agreed on conditions with regard to their mutual activities."

Mutual Activities Shown

What their "mutual activities" were to be is sufficiently indicated by Document No. 7, which is a photograph of a letter signed in cipher by this Maj. Luberts and his adjutant, Lieut. Hartwig. They notify the Bolshevik leaders, on January 12, 1918 (Russian calendar), that "by order of the German General Staff" the German Intelligence Bureau "has reported the names and the characteristics of the main candidates for re-election" to the Russian Bolshevik "Central Executive Committee," and "the General Staff orders us to insist on the election of the following persons."

They add a list of Russian leaders satisfactory to the General German Staff. The list is headed by Trotsky and Lenin. They were elected, and the rest of the present Bolshevik executive committee were chosen from the same German list.

Document No. 8 gives evidence of the quid pro quo. It is a photograph of a letter from the representative of the German Imperial Bank to the Bolshevik Commissar of Foreign Affairs. It is marked "Very secret" and dated January 8, 1918. It says: "Notification has today been received by me from Stockholm..."
that 50,000,000 roubles of gold has been transferred to be put at the disposal of the People's Commissioners," which is the title of the Bolsheviki leader. "This credit," the letter continues, "has been supplied to the Russian Government in order to cover the cost of the keep of the Red Guards [the Bolsheviki revolutionary troops] and agitators in the country. The Imperial Government considers it appropriate to remind the Council of People's Commissars of the necessity of increasing their propaganda in the country, as the antagonistic attitude of the south of Russia and Siberia to the existing Government in Russia is troubling the German Government."

War Materials at Vladivostok
Four days later the same representative of the German Imperial Bank sent another 5,000,000 roubles to the same address to provide for the sending of a Russian revolutionary leader to Vladivostok, to get possession of the "Japanese and American war materials" at that port, and if necessary to destroy them. A photograph of letters which passed between the Bolsheviki leaders and the German General Staff, or the German officers in Russia, Document No. 21 shows that on November 1, 1917, when Russia was still regarded as an ally of Great Britain, France, and America, the German General Staff was having "the honor to request" the Bolsheviki leaders to inform it "at the earliest possible moment" concerning "the quantity and storage place of the supplies which have been received from America, England, and France, and also the units which are keeping guard over the military stores."

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

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

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

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

Letters are given to show how the Bolsheviki leaders and the German officers arranged for the assassination of Russian Nationalists in Iceland (Document No. 13, 14), for the destruction of the Polish legionaries in the Russian army (Documents 40 to 42), for the disorganization of the Romanian army and the deposing of the Roumanian king (Document No. 37), for the substitution of officers satisfactory to Germany in command of Russian troops instead of patriotic Russian generals (Documents 31 and 32), for the suppression of patriotic agitation among the Russian soldiers (Documents 13 and 14), for an attack upon the Italian ambassador in Petrograd and the theft of his papers (Documents 26 and 27), and for the employment of German soldiers in Russian uniforms against the Russian national armies in the South (Document 35).

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

**Acted as German Agents**
Moreover, these Bolsheviki leaders acted as German agents by suppressing their own socialist revolution in the Russian provinces where their doctrines interfered with German plans of annexation. Document 46 is the original letter from the Petrograd Intelligence Bureau of the German General Staff addressed to the Bolsheviki Commissar of Foreign Affairs. It reads: "According to instructions of the representative of our General Staff, I have the honor once more to insist that you recall from Esthonia, Lithuania, and Courland all agitators of the Central Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies.

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

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

THE BASIC CONSPIRACY

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

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

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

It is not yet possible to name those who helped, but in three weeks' time the judgment of facts became apparent. By themselves they were plausible but not substantiated. Having first performed the obvious duty of analyzing them for surface values and transmitting them and the analyses to Washington, I turned, therefore, to the task of further investigations.

It is not yet possible to name those who helped, but in three weeks' time the judgment of facts became apparent. The text of the documents discloses both the methods and the effects of the German conspiracy not alone against Russia but the world. With each document is an interpretative note.

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

The Germans who maneuvered in Russia were letter perfect in Russian form (See Document 8, "who use the Russian language perfectly and who are acquainted with Russian conditions.") But the date, March 2, may be either German or Russian, for any important bearing it has on the documents. If German, it was written before the March Revolution, but in preparation for getting into it as soon as it started. Many persons, both in Russia and in Germany, knew of an impending effort at Revolution. What more natural on Berlin's part than to desire to get its "agents - disturbers" there? And if they were at that moment widely scattered over the world, the more reason to begin quickly to call them in.

**DOCUMENT NO. 3**


**PROTOCOL**

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

1. Circular of the German General Staff No. 421, dated June 9, 1914, concerning the immediate mobilization of all industrial enterprises in Germany, and
2. Circular No. 93, dated November 28, 1914, of the General Staff of the High Sea Fleet, concerning the sending into enemy countries of special agents for the destruction of war supplies and materials.

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

Authorized by the Council of People’s Commissars.

F. ZALKIND.
E. POLYANOFF.

(Ilegible, but may be Melkonishin.)
A. JOFFE.

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

Adjudant: HENRICH.
GR. GENERUS.

munitions. who are receiving and shipping the observing agents of enemy countries neutral shipping offices as a means of anarchists and escaped criminals, and gangs, among whom there are many mending to your attention loaders’. for this purpose we are especially recom­

patching, and unloading of ships. For and difficulties during the loading, dis­

and for arranging delays, embroilments, on ships bound for enemy countries,

many agents for arranging explosions to the official representatives of Ger­

third parties who stand in no relation being loaded on ships going to England,

military ports where munitions are tioned. It is necessary to hire through tions, and where fighting units are sta­

ly all destruction agents and Caprivi, of June 27, 1887. 

Commanders:

No. 3—Facsimile of June 9 Circular

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

Gr[er]al[ernal] Staff, Central Division, Section M, No. —, Berlin.

CIRCULAR OF JUNE 9, 1914, TO DISTRICT

COMMANDERS:

Within 24 hours of the receipt of this circular you are to inform all industrial concerns by wire that the documents with industrial mobilization plans and with registration forms be opened, such as are referred to in the circular of the Commission of Count Waldersee and Caprivi, of June 27, 1887.

No. 421, Mobilization Division.

Central Division, No. 93.

CIRCULAR OF NOVEMBER 28, 1914, TO DISTRICT

COMMANDERS:

The circulars inclosed are

NOTE.—Both the circulars bear the penciled notation that “one copy has been given to the German Intelligences Bureau” at Petersburg. The German intent here was to remove from the records of the old Russian Government the evidence, first, that Germany was beginning in June, 1914, its active preparations for the war that surprised the world in August, 1914, and second, to re­

move the evidence of its responsibility for incendiarism and explosions in the United States, a country with which Germany was then at peace. The result was to give new evidence of the truth of the charges. The evident mixture of bad and good German in these circulars seems to me evidence of an attempt to provide an alibi against the almost inevitable day when the circulars would be revealed. (See also page 90.) Have original of protocol and have the printed circulars.

CIRCULAR

vom 9 Juni 1914

an Bezirkscommandanten.

Nach 24 Stunden vom Erhalt des vorliegenden Circulares alle Besitzer der industriunternehmungen telegraphisch zu benachrichtigen die Pakette mit mobilisations—gewerbliche ones graphischen Darstellungen und Plänen zu eröffnen, die im Circular der Kommission von Graf Waldersee und Caprivi vom 27 Juni 1887 angegeben sind.

N 421 Der Mobilisationsabtheilung.

Document No. 3—Facsimile of June 9 Circular

G. S. der HÖHSEEFLOTTJE.

CIRCULAR

vom 28 November 1914

den Marineagenturen und den Flottenverwesern.


Es wird Ihnen vorgeschrieben, den notwendigsten Personen, Agenten zu erwerben, um Explosionsstoffe in feindliche Länder zu schicken, um Verwendung für Andeutungen und Ablegung der entsprechenden Abgaben, und ferner die Entfernung der Kriegsmaterialien zu gewährleisten.

To THE COMMISSARIAT OF FOREIGN

AFFAIRS:

The Bureau has received exact in­

formation that the leaders of the socialist party now ruling in Russia,
embassies and military missions and the government will perform the espionage and counter espionage work on the internal fronts, for which purpose agents will be assigned to the various cities.

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

Chief of the Russian Division, German General Staff: D. Rasseh. Adjutant: U. Wolfs.

(And below on the same letter:)

To the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs:

The officers indicated in this paper have been before the military revolutionary central committee. The agreement was reached on conditions with Munavieff, Boie, and Danischevski with regard to their special duties. They have all come under the direction of the committee. The consultants will appear as called for.

Chairman Revolutionary Committee, Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies: A. Joffe. Secretary: P. Kruglyavitch.

October 27, 1917.

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

Have photograph of the joint letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 6

Greatest General Staff, Central Division, No. 812.

November 19, 1917.

To the Council of People's Commissars:

This is to advise you that the following persons have been put at the disposal of the Russian government as military advisers: Maj. Erich, Maj. Bode, Maj. Sass, Maj. Zimmerman, Maj. Anders, Luet. Hase, Luet. Klein, Luet. Breit.

The Intelligence Bureau, in accordance with the agreement with Messrs. Lenin, Trotsky, and Zinovieff, will have the surveillance of the foreign government, as was agreed at the treaty. The representatives in Stockholm when Lenin, Zinovieff, and others were traveling through Russia.

The representatives in Russia are:


Note.—Maj. Anders took the Russian name Rubakov and Maj. Erich the Russian name Erpoe. Lenin and Zinovieff passed through Germany and Stockholm together.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 7

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section B, No. 97. (Confidential)

January 12, 1918.

To the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs:

By the order of the local department of the German General Staff, the Intelligence Department has reported the names and the characteristics of the main candidates for the reflection of the Central Executive Committee. The General Staff orders us to insist on the election of the following persons:


Note.—The inducement are: "Copy handed to chairman Council's workers and Soldiers' Deputies, No. 156." "Deliver to Comrade Zinovieff and to secret department.

M. O.—(?) January 19, 1918(Russian calendar) tell. The week of the 8th of the week after the sentence of the Constituent Assembly. The election came at the end of the week and was a perfunctory re-election of practically the whole former executive committee of commissioners. Listing the exact list, I nevertheless can state that the present executive committee was drafted from this group. The name there surprising to me is that of Martov, the head of a supposedly separate faction. Martov is an able writer, was associated with Trotsky in his Paris journalistic venture, but was supposed to have split with him in Russia. The evidence that he is still agreeable to Germany is pertinent. Madame Kollontai, the only woman on this list, was the Commissar of Public Welfare. She was personally engaged for foreign propaganda in February, but did not get beyond Stockholm and later returned to Russia. Kameneff, who went out of Russia with Kollontai, also sought to return, but was arrested by the Finnish White Guards (not the Germans) on the Åland Islands, and his release was the subject of negotiations. Martov's brother-in-law. Sverdlov was temporary chairman of the All-Russian Soviet, Lunacharsky is Commissar of Education. Steckel is editor of the official paper "Posesia." Volodyarsky, who has tried in the United States, was in close confidence with Lenin. He was killed in Moscow the last week in June. Agaser, who delivered the order in behalf of Rausch, is Maj. Luberts. Have photograph of letter.
CHAPTER II.

RÔLE OF THE REICHSBANK

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

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

DOCUMENT NO. 8

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

January 8, 1918.

To the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs:

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

Representative of the Imperial Bank:

G. von Schanz.

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

DOCUMENT NO. 9

Imperial Bank, No. 8. Berlin.

(Very Secret)

January 12, 1918.

To the Commissar of Foreign Affairs:

I am instructed to convey the agreement of the Imperial Bank to the issue out of the credit of the General Staff of 5,000,000 rubles for the dispatch of the assistant naval commissar, Kudriashoff, to the Far East. On arrival at Vladivostok he should visit the retired officer of the Russian Fleet, Mr. Panoff, and instruct Battenhoff and Staufacher, who are known to Panoff, to come to see him. Both the mentioned agents are acquainted with them. Messrs. Edward Shinder, William Koberlein, and Paul Disse [or Deze]. With these persons it is necessary to think out a plan for carrying out the Japanese and American war materials from Vladivostok to Japan. If this is not possible then they must instruct Disse [or Deze] and his agents to destroy the stores. Shinder must acquire the confidence of the Chinese agents at Nikolaev. These persons should receive the agreed amounts and should be dispatched to China to carry on an agitation against Japan.

Representative of the Imperial Bank:

G. von Schanz.

NOTE.—This committee was conducted the wrecking of the Russian banks, a maneuver that deprived all Russian capitalists of the necessity of increasing their propaganda in the country, as the antagonistic attitude of the South of Russia and Siberia to the existing Government in Russia is troubling the German Government. It is of great importance to send experienced men everywhere in order to set up a uniform government.

Representative of the Imperial Bank:

G. von Schanz.

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

DOCUMENT NO. 10

Imperial Bank, No. 5.

January 11, 1918.

To the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries:

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

1. The conflict of the Russian revolution with the Russian capitalists absolutely does not interest German manufacturing circles, in so far as the question does not arise as to the necessity of destroying Russian enterprises. You can destroy the Russian capitalists as far as you please, but it would not be possible to prevent the destruction of Russian enterprises. Such a situation would produce a constant ferment in the country, supported by the double use of products abroad and in consequence of that, of products also. The English, American, and French capitalists may adopt this double order and understand how to establish here corps of their commercial agents. It is necessary to remember that German industry in the first years after the general peace will not be in a position to satisfy the purchasing demand of the Russian market, having broad similar parallel tasks in the Near East, in Persia, in China, and in Africa.

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

3. Trade with Germany may be in the first period of the occupation by the occupation authorities exclusively for exchange for wheat and for any re­mainding products to receive household necessities. Everything which exceeds the limits of such trade should be paid for in advance to the amount of 75 per cent of the market value, with the payment of the remaining quarter in a six months' period. In place of such an arrangement, probably, it would seem to be possible to permit the private groups of German capitalists to own dividend shares on the Russian financial market, or solidly guaranteed industrial and railroad loans.

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

Representative of the Imperial Bank and Stock Exchange in Berlin:

G. von Schanz.

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

DOCUMENT NO. 11

Imperial Bank, No. 12378.

[Printed circular in Russian]

BERLIN, December 28, 1917.

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

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

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

NOTE.—The rating of such papers will be made by the German and Austrian stock exchange raters and the Russian office of the Imperial Bank.

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

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

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

G. G.-S.
NACHRICHTEN-BUREAU.

Facsimile Document Number 12

signed:
Chairman: von Gehenner.
Secretary: Bernbluet.

Note: The penned endorsement on the printed copy of this circular:
know the fate of the resolution on this, its early winter appearance.

Facsimile Document Number 13

signed:
Chairman: von Gehenner.
Secretary: Bernbluet.
To THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

February 7, 1918.

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

For the head of the Bureau:

R. Bauer
Adjutant: Henrich.

NOTE.—Across the top is written: "Urgent. To the Commissary of War and Special Staff, M. Skripnik." The last sentence is underscored, and in the margin appears a question mark, initialed "L. T."

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

The following naive comment adds to the attractiveness of the letter: "The pronouncement was made at Brest-Litovsk not to circulate so-called agitational literature among the German troops is not being fulfilled. I ask you to inform me what steps will be taken in this matter."

For the head of the Bureau:

R. Bauer
Adjutant: Henrich.

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

Have original letter.

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The GERMAN-BOLSHEVIK CONSPIRACY

President's views on peace requisites. He spoke English with very little accent, and
Brun.
record at our military control office in
He said he was a lieutenant. There is no
of German war, and that he wanted, to go
against Germany. I was not receptive.
ting to America. He was a good-looking
ivas Mayer, sought the aid of the Embassy,
was a deserting officer and that his name
sent here by Commissar Trotsky.
NOTE.—
the counter revolutionary work of

den, supplied with papers from the
German staff, in order to follow up
port in the name of the Lett, Ivan
Russian passport in the name of Dr.
port in the name of Hansen, a mer­

NOTE.—
the imperialists of England, France,
means for combating in the press with
patched will be placed the necessary
passports for the trip to the named

NOTE.—
months. The said persons
airly.
NOTE.—An odd comment given interest
to this letter. It is this: "An accusation
Communicate [to] Comrade Krilenko,"
signed "N. G."
Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 17

Commissar for Combatting the Counter Revolution and Poprons, No. 22.
Petrograd.
January 5, 1918.

To, THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS:
The plenipotentiary Commissar for Combating the Counter Revolution, Comrade Antonoff, requests the com­missariat for foreign affairs to issue passports for going to Denmark to the following comrades, who are go­ing to the allied countries to conduct peace propaganda.

To: England are going: Comrades Adolf Pavlovich Ribbs, Ilin Juljevitch Grietski, Vladislav Antivonovich Dzevaltovski.

To: France: Rimma Lvovna Orlova, Vladimir Konstantimonovich Schneur.

To: America: Issi Borisovich Kahn, Mark Visselvitch Gritske, Sofia Ar­turovna Mack.

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

named comrades at the places of their destination.

Authorised commissar: A. Shulinsk.

NOTE.—Trotsky indorsed this note: "To be urgently executed, L. T."
The plan of peace propaganda campaign in the allied countries is plainly outlined. These Bolsheviki-German agents will preach international Bolshevism and will crack the chains of war with Germany, with the very imperialistic offenses of which Germany is guilty. This also was the method used on the part of the Bolshe­viki-German press in attaching the United States, England, and France. In the for­mula of the propaganda, imperialism re­lates not only to territory but to business enterprise. The agents listed above likely sought entrance under different names. They and the centers from which they work should be recognized, however, by their words and their works. The com­missioner who signed the order of the com­mission for Combating the Counter Revolu­tion.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 18

Great General Staff, Central Division, Section M, No. 951.
December 20, 1917.

To the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs:

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

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

Chief of the Russian Division, Ger­man General Staff: O. Rausch.

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

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

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 19

Counter Espionage at Army Headquarters, No. —.
January 16, 1918.

To the Council of People's Com­missars:

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

officers have gone to the front in the Don region, part to the front against Douth, and part to eastern Siberia and the Trans-Baikal for the surveillance, and if shall be possible, to oppose the Japanese oc­cupationary detachment, and the counter revolutionary Trans-Baikal Council commanders.

Counter Espionage Official: P. Arkhipov.

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

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 20

Counter Espionage at Army Headquarters, No. 82.
Jan. 8, 1918.

To the Council of People's Com­missars:
The Supreme Commander Krilenko has received an offer from the Supreme Commander of the German army to send to the disposal of the German staff ten reliable officers of the revo­lutionary army. The said persons must arrive at Warsaw, when they will receive their further instructions.
The aim of the trip is to visit the camps of our prisoners of war on the propaganda of peace ideas. The staff points out the desirability of sending Dzevaltovsky, Simashko, Sabaroff, and Volodarsky.
For the Chief of the Counter Espionage: S. Kalmovich.
For the Commissar: Alexiev.

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

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 21

Gr. General Staff, Central Division, Sec­tion M, No. 796.
Berlin, November 1, 1917.

To the Council of People's Com­missars:

In accordance with an inquiry from the German General Headquarters, I have the honor to request you to in­form me at the earliest possible mo­ment the exact quantity of ammuni­tion at the following places: Petrog­rad, Archangel, Kazan, Tiffins.
It is necessary also to state the quantity and storage place of the supplies which have been received from America, England, and France, and also the units which are keeping guard over the military supplies.

Head of Division: O. Rausch.

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

Have photograph of letter.
DOCUMENT NO. 22

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R, No. 79.
Feb. 12, 1918.

TO THE HEAD OF THE BUREAU.

I have received a telegram under cover of the treaty of peace between the German Federal Republic and the United States of America.

TELEGRAM.

The Federal Republic of Germany, by its minister in Washington, D.C., sends this telegram:

'I hereby recognize the independence of the United States of America and the general principles of the treaty signed.

I, therefore, agree to the terms of the treaty of peace signed by the representatives of both countries on November 11th, 1918.'

The American minister states that the treaty of peace between the two countries was signed by the representatives of both countries on November 11th, 1918. The treaty provides for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, and for the mutual recognition of the independence of each.

I, therefore, agree to the terms of the treaty of peace signed by the representatives of both countries on November 11th, 1918.

The treaty of peace between the two countries was signed by the representatives of both countries on November 11th, 1918. The treaty provides for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, and for the mutual recognition of the independence of each.

DOCUMENT NO. 23

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R, No. 79.
Jan. 10, 1918.

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR.

The report of German agents through Pacific ports is apparent. The transporting according to the categorical demand, was begun immediately after peace was concluded. The only two communications of Capt. Miller that appear. Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 24

Commissar for Combating the Counter Revolution and Protocols. No. 49.
Petrograd, Feb. 21, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSAR OF WAR, SOKOLNYSKII.

Our agency on the Furhatskaya informs us that two people not seen before have been noticed in the territory of Petrograd, and, by the way, the place of business of the German agents. The two persons are suspected of being German agents. Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 25

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R, No. 168.
Dec. 17, 1917.

TO THE COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

At the request of the Commission on Combating the Counter Revolution of December 17, the Intelligence Bureau has been asked to forward a list of men watching the missions of the countries allied to Russia:

The British Embassy is watched by German agents and agents of the German Federal Republic. Therefore, it is necessary to charter ships sailing under the German flag. The method of outside surveillance is shown in Document No. 27. Have photograph of letter.
The GERMAN-BOLSHEVIK CONSPIRACY

The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy

Section R

March 1918

NACHRICHTEN-BUREAU.

Facsimile Document Number 29

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

Have original letter, No. 26.

DOCUMENT NO. 27

Consular on Combating the Counter
Revolution and Pogroms, No. 22.

Petrograd, Feb. 21, 1918.

(Specialy Secret—Personal)

To the People's Commissar on For-

eign Affairs:

Our agents investigating the Italian
Embassy, I. F. Maev, Imenitski, and
Uron, followed up the ambassador
and conducted a search of him in the
street, with a confiscation. Docu-
ments referring to relations with Ger-
man diplomats and the special papers
of the ambassador to the allied am-
bassadors, mentioned by you, were not
found. In order to mask the attack
several articles listed in the protocol
furnished by Comrade Imenitski were
taken from the ambassador.

The watch on the British and
American ambassadors and the Ser-
bian minister has been intensified.

The supplementary observation point
on the British Embassy has been estab-
lished in the Marble Palace—Lieut.
Bekker and a member of the central
executive committee of the Council of
Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, Pru-
ne.

On the French Embassy, on the
French Quay, house No. 8, Comrade
Peters, member of the central execu-
tive committee of the council of
Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, supplemen-

ary. On the North American Embassy
observation has been established at
Puthstatstakaya Street, house No. 23,
apartments Nos. 1 and 4. In the lat-
ter Comrades Goldberg and Spitzberg
are carrying on the observation very
successfully. Telephones have been
installed in the above-mentioned places.

General management of the surveillance
has been intrusted to Alfred von
Geigendorf.

Commissar: Mitrochin.

For Secretary: R. Baltski.

Note.—Most of the names in this letter,
including the signatures at end, are un-
familiar. Peters, placed in charge of French
observation, is a Lettish sailor, active and
able, a former resident of England. The
robbery of the Italian ambassador took place
late in the evening on a lighted frequented
central street and was a day's sensation.

The observation point on the American
Embassy was a yellow apartment house al-
most opposite the entrance. After I got this
information I tested the watch and always
saw a head or hand retreating from a window.

But I doubt if the watchers profited much by
studying the visitors to the embassy.

Have photograph of letter.

GR. GENERALSTAB.

Central Administration

24 February 1919.

No. 929

To the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The present government, in its struggle
against autocracy and imperialism, has
decided to carry out the following
measures:

1. The government will take all
measures to ensure the safety
of the diplomatic representatives
of foreign nations accredited
in the country, and will ensure
the protection of the property
of the above-named representatives.

2. The government will take all
measures to ensure the safety
of the lives and property of
the representatives of the
sovereign states accredited
in the country.

3. The government will take all
measures to ensure the safety
of the lives and property of
the representatives of the
sovereign states accredited
in the country.

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of the lives and property of
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26. The government will take all
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27. The government will take all
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the representatives of the
sovereign states accredited
in the country.

28. The government will take all
measures to ensure the safety
of the lives and property of
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sovereign states accredited
in the country.
DOCUMENT NO. 28

Gr. General Staff, Central Division, Section M, No. 589. (Confidential)

February 24, 1918.

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSION OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

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

LONDON

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R.

(Very Secret)

March 9, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE COUNTER REVOLUTION:

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

SCHEDULE.

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

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

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

Adjutant: U. Wolff.

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

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

Head: R. Bauer.

Adjutant: M. K. (7)

NOTE.—Comments to "Telegraph Kobozeff" and "Telegram Streaberg," with an illegible signature, appear on letter, and below it is the order: "Give the list," initialed "D. Z.," corresponding with the signing habit of Dzerzhinsky, chairman of the Commission for Combating the Counter Revolution.

Have original letter.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PLOT FOR A SHAMEFUL PEACE

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

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

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

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

1. Staufacher Vladivosotok, Panoff's house.


4. F. Walden, Vladivosotok, his own house.


6. Dattan, Tomak, Nechévskyska Street (Initial A.).

7. (Brothers or Baron) Kurzberg, Harbin, offices of the Chinese-Eastern Railway.

8. Skribanovich (initial G.), Blagoveschenok, house of Kunst & Albers.


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

Have original letter.

FACSIMILE DOCUMENT NO. 30

DOCUMENT NO. 29

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R.

(Confidential)

February 24, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE COUNTER REVOLUTION:

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

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

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

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

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

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

**DOCUMENT NO. 30**

GREAT General Staff, Central Division Section M/1 No. 488.

(February 26, 1918)

To the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars:

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

Head of the Russian Division German General Staff: O. Rausch.\n
Adjoint: U. Wolff.

NOTE.—The chairman of the Council of People's Commissars is Lenin. At the top of the letter is the written comment, "Urgent. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars asks Volodyarsky to communicate this to the agitation department. Secretary Skripnik." Skripnik is the first secretary of the Council of People's Commissars."

The actual order he gave was for the immediate demobilization of the Russian army, leaving the German army unopposed.

At the same time, at the orders of Gen. Bonch-Bruevich, whose actions do not meet the approval of the German High Command, he took by the Germans without a fight.

The actual effect of the work of the detachments being sent to Pskoff and Narva, as indicated in document No. 30 was not fast enough to suit the German military. Paskhi was appointed to the command of the Petrograd district, and as late as June 14 still held the post. He formerly was in command of the city of Riga, which was surrendered to the Germans without adequate defense in the early autumn of 1917.

Have original letter.

**DOCUMENT NO. 31**

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R, No. 768.

(February 27, 1918)

To the President of the Council of People's Commissars:

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

At the same time, at the orders of the representative of our General Staff, I once more remind you of the desirability of naming Gen. Paskhi to the post of commander in chief of the Russian armed forces, in place of Gen. Bonch-Bruevich, whose actions do not meet the approval of the German High Command, but whose actions do not meet the approval of the German High Command, but whose actions do not meet the approval of the German High Command, and whose actions do not meet the approval of the German High Command.

The actual order he gave was for the immediate demobilization of the Russian army, leaving the German army unopposed.

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Have original letter.

**DOCUMENT NO. 32**

G. G.-S., Intelligence Bureau, Section R, No. 272/800.

(February 6, 1918)

To the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs:

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

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

For the head of the Bureau:

R. Bauer.

Adjoint: R. Bauer.
Counter Espionage at Army Headquarters, No. 311.

January 30, 1918.

To the Commission for Combating Counter Revolution:

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

Director of Counter Espionage:

FEIERABEND.

Commissioner: O. KALMANOVICH.

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

CHAPTER V.

TROTSKY AND ROUMANIA

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

Counter Espionage at Army Headquarters, No. 26.

January 2, 1918.

To the Commission on Combating Counter Revolution:

Commander in chief Krilenko has requested the Counter Espionage at the Army Headquarters to inform you that it is necessary to order the following persons to the Roumanian front immediately: From Petrograd, Commissar Maj. von Boehlke, with the passport of the secret officer referred to in Document No. 5. His cipher signature is Schott. Have photograph of letter.

NOTE.—This is a cold-blooded disclosure of a German-Bolshevik plan for the assassination of Kaledin and Alexiev, as well as proof that Kaledin was murdered by Trotsky's orders.

Counter Espionage at Army Headquarters, No. 37.

January 10, 1918.

To the Commission for Combating the Counter Revolution:

The Commissar in Commanding the Counter Revolution in a cipher telegram, No. 225, demanded the sending of special agents to Kiev and Novocherkassk.

There have been sent Comrades Trefilev and Shepshelevich, in connection with your report of the Double-Cross in the Ukraine; how the Germans toyed with their puppets to disorganize Russia, with disclosures of plans for the Central Powers, and for the restoring of counter revolution in a cipher telegram, No. 235, demanded the sending of special agents to Kieff and Novocherkassk.

The German High Command and will cooperate with him.

Head of Bureau: AGASFER.

NOTE.—At this early time there was hardly any all around on the Ukraine program. Germans, Austrians, and the Commissars of Counter Espionage at Army Headquarters to inform you that the German and Austrian officers located at Kiev now have private meetings with members of the deposed Rada. They insistently inform us of the inevitable signing and ratification of peace treaties both between the Ukraine and the Central Powers, Russia, Roumania, and Austria and Germany.

Director of Counter Espionage:

FEIERABEND.

Secretary: N. DRACHEFF.

NOTE.—So stands disclosed the manner in which Germany set about to double-cross the Bolshevik servants who in success had betrayed the Revolution to acquiesce in the deposed government. They in fact were the mouthpieces of Germany, who, in the margin of comment, oppose the assassination paragraph, "Who sent them?" is in an unknown handwriting. Maj. von Boehlke is a German agent in this operation. 

THE UKRAINIAN DOUBLE-CROSS

How the Bolsheviks themselves were double-crossed in the Ukraine; how the Germans toyed with their puppets to disorganize Russia, with disclosures of plans for the Central Powers, and for the restoring of counter revolution in a cipher telegram, No. 235, demanded the sending of special agents to Kieff and Novocherkassk.

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

Facsimile of reverse of Turkish passport. Notice the stamp of year 1912, in which year a Russian passport first was given bearer. Notice also the recent stamp of Nachrichten Bureau.
Facsimile of face of Turkish passport surrendered by Missiroff. Notice that the passport was given him by Turke in 1911. Letter No. 32 indicates that he had a previous Russian passport delivered to him in 1912, on basis of Turkish passport.
The GERMAN-BOLSHEVIK CONSPIRACY

western calendar) Trotsky, at the request of
on, Hoffman, ordered the arrest in Petrog-
ins, the minister Diamandi. [See Document 37A.]

At about the same time the Roumanian govern-
riers to convoy with the captured government
the walls at Moscow were seized by the
ussian Government. Diamandi was re-
 again on one excuse and
reign Minister in the absence of Trotsky
ment of Zalkind, who was acting as
ogram. Ambassador Francis
ited diplomatic delegations at Petrograd,
remlin walls at Moscow were seized by the
ussian and AustrianChief Com-
nering the necessity of an I

[Italics in the original]

The letter may imply that von
signed with Ms cipher name. (See docu-

2. In Finland have been installed
3. Between Gen. Kaledin and the

Major von Boehlke

ESTEMMRED COMRADE: I bring to your notice that
borades, Hakhis, Pakko, and Entrot have
vised the Commissar for Combating the
report above in italics marked] To conclude.

Reprinted January 4, regarding the
hers.

January 5, 1918.—To the Chancery:

M. SHITKEVITCH.

[Marginal Notations]

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

A. JOFFE.

[ Marginal Notations]

The german-Bolshevik conspiracy

The contents of this letter, written by
agine a copy of letter for-

Brest-Litovsk, December 31, 1917.

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COM-

Comrade L. Trotsky has charged

Trotsky, personally to Comr. Zalkind.

M. SHITKEVITCH.

Commission for Combating the Counter
Revolution and Pogroms.


MAJOR VON BOEHLKE

EXTREME COMRADE: I bring to your notice that

The general expressed his opinion

The Roumanian armies, which, according
to the information in possession of
the German staff, enters into the cal-
culations of Kaledin and Alexieff. It
is greatly in the interests of the Ger-
man and Austrian powers that complete
harmony should prevail on
the entire Russian front as regards the con-
clusion of an armistice and adopt-
ing the terms of the peace between
Russia and Germany, seeing that
in this event the German and
Austrian General Staff will propose
to Roumania their terms of peace, and
will be in a position to take up their
operative actions on the western front
on a very large scale; at the same time
Gen. Hoffman, in the course of a con-
servation with Comr. Trotsky, twice
hinted at the necessity of immediately
beginning these war operations.

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

After this interview Comr. L.
Trotsky hastened to arrest the
Roumanian mission in Petersburg
with all its members. This report is
being sent by Special Comrade I.
Brossoff, who has to personally transmit to Commissar Podlovs-
skiy some information of a secret character regarding the sending to the Roumanian
army of those persons whose names
Comr. Brossoff will give. All these
persons will be paid out of the cash
of the "German Naphtha-Industrial
Bank," which has bought near Bore-
slav the business of the joint-stock
company of Fanto and Co. The chief
direction of these agents has been
instructed, according to Gen. Hoffman's
indication, to a certain Wolf Vonigel,
who is keeping a watch over the mil-
tary agents of the countries allied with
us. As regards the English and
American diplomatic representatives
Gen. Hoffman has expressed the agree-
ment of the German staff to the measures
adopted by Comrade Trotsky for
Combating the Counter
Revolution and Pogroms, No. —.

DOCUMENT NO. 38

Affairs, personally to Comr. Zalkind.

Commission, for Foreign

F. Zalkind.

NOTE.—The written comment at the top of
letter is: "Commissar for Foreign
Affairs. I request with evident
Schott." It is von Boehlke's question,
signed with his cipher name. (See docu-
ment 5.) The letter may imply that von
tiers at the expense of Lithuania, White Russia, and Galicia.

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

The situation which has arisen was discussed on the 15th of January at the Stavka in the presence of Maj. von Boehlke, sent by the Petrograd branch of the German Intelligence Bureau, and it was there decided:

1. To take the most decisive measures, up to shooting from a mouse, against the Polish troops which have submitted to the counter revolutionary and imperialist propaganda.


3. To arrange a surveillance of the Polish legions.

4. To send agitators to the Polish legions to consult regarding this the Polish revolutionary organizations known to the Counter Espionage.

5. On learning of the counter revolutionary activity of Polish officers to immediately arrest them and send them to the Stavka at the disposal of the Commissar on Naval Affairs.

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

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

(a) The military committee.

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

(c) Inter-Party Union.

(d) The Union of Polish Invalids.

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

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

(g) Boleslav Jalovtski.

(h) Vladislav Grabski.

(i) Stanislav Shuritski.

(j) Roman Catholic Polish clergy.

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

(l) It is necessary to verify the private reports of several Lithuanian revolutionaries that among the Church Benevolent Funds, which are at the disposal of the Polish clergy, are the capitals of private persons who hid their monies on the pretext of declaring all Polish troops outside the law, when that measure should present itself as imperative.

From Petersburg, observers announced that the Polish organizations are displaying great reserve and caution in mutual relations. There has been established, however, an unquestionable contact between the high Military Council located in Petersburg and the Polish officers and soldiers of the bourgeois estate-owning class with the counter revolutionary ringleaders among the Polish troops, and the commission recognized the possibility of declaring all Polish troops outside the law, when that measure should present itself as imperative.

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

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The GERMAN-BOLSHEVIK CONSPIRACY

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Ote Arnellisen ajotukset 5/18. p hobbies Kirstäinen 1903

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Above is shown facsimile of reverse of Nevalainen's Finnish passport, which he surrendered in receipt for Russian passport.
Facsimile of front of Finnish passport surrendered by Nevalainen in order to receive the Russian passport referred to in Document Number 43.
The GERMAN-BOLSHEVIK CONSPIRACY

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

Chief of Counter Espionage:>[4x785]

[4x785]

[4x785]

February 28, 1918.

To the Commission for Combating the Counter Revolution:

At the request of the commander in chief, in answer to your inquiry, I inform you that troops were sent to Ma. Bayermeister has been received here. Among the troops acting on the front against the counter revolutionaries have been prepared several divisions for conflict with the Poles and Romanians. We will pay 12 roubles a day, with an increased food ration. From the signed letter the agents acting on the front against the legionaries have been formed two companies, one from the best shots for the shooting of officer-regiments, the other of Lithuanians and Latvians for the spoiling of food reserves in Vitbeks, Minsk, and Mogilev. They have informed the places where the Polish troops are situated. Various battalions for conflict with the Poles in chief, in answer to your inquiry, I inform you, supplementary to the supplementary to the Great General Staff, Central Division, Section No. 41.

February 26, 1918. (Very Secret)

To the Council of People's Commissars:

According to instructions from the Head of the German Army, I have the honor to remind you that the withdrawing and disarming of the Russian Red Guard from Finland must be commenced immediately. It is known to the staff that the chief opponent of this step is the head of the Finnish Red Guard, Yaro Haapalainen, who has a great influence on the Russian tovaricha [comrades]. I request you to assign for this struggle with Haapalainen our agent, Walter Neralainen (Nervalaislo), bearer of Finnish passport 3681, and supply him with a passport and passes.

Head of the Division:


Note.—Written at the top of the letter and signed N. G., the initials of Lenin's secretary, N. Gorbunov, is the order: "Send to the Commissar of Foreign Affairs and execute!" In the margin is written "Passport 211—No. 292," but unfortunately the name under which the new passport was given is not mentioned. This order explains the withdrawal of the Russian Red Guard from Finland in early March and the abandonment of the Finnish Red Guard to its fate. The latter, however, took care of the disarming both of Russian soldiers and sailors as they left Finland, for the Finns needed guns and ammunition. The Russians sometimes fought but were surrounded and disarmed. In Helsingfors while I was there in March the Red Guard and the sailors were fighting each other nightly with rifles and machine guns. One of two Finnish Red Guard leaders almost surely is Neralainen, but under the circumstances I do not care to speculate.

The order to hold all foreign embassies in Red Finland was given coincidentally with the appearance of one of them upon the scene. The excuse offered was that foreigners were carrying information to the White Guard. Simultaneously influence was exerted in the White Guard to increase difficulties in passage between the lines. It is reasonable to place the obstacles to passage created on both sides of the Finnish line to German effort, for the latter, to its fate. The latter, however, took care of the disarming both of Russian soldiers and sailors as they left Finland, for the Finns needed guns and ammunition. The Russians sometimes fought but were surrounded and disarmed. In Helsingfors while I was there in March the Red Guard and the sailors were fighting each other nightly with rifles and machine guns. One of two Finnish Red Guard leaders almost surely is Neralainen, but under the circumstances I do not care to speculate.

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VARIED ACTIVITIES

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

DOCUMENT NO. 48

Counter Espionage at the Army Headquarters,
No. —
January 22, 1918.

To THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARs:

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

Commissar: KALMANOVICH.

NOTE.—This indorsement on this is by General Staff: O. RUTSCH.

Chief Adjutant: R. KAIJSER.

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

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 49

General Staff, Intelligence Bureau, Section K, No. 151. December 4, 1917.

TO THE COMMISSARiAT OF MILITARY AFFAIRS:

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

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

Head of the Bureau: G.A. AGAFER.

Adjutant: H. HENRICH.

NOTE.—Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 50

General Staff, Central Division, Section M, No. 22. January 14, 1918.

(Very Confidential)

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

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

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

Chief of the Division of General Staff:

O. RUTSCH.

Chief Adjutant: R. KAIJSER.

NOTE.—As a sign of the operations against Alexieff and Kaledin.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 51

Counter Espionage at the Army Headquarters,
No. 685/79.
January 23, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSARIAT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

To your inquiry regarding those agents who might be able to give an exact report of the sentiment of the troops and population in the Provinces, I transmit to you a short list of the Russian-German agents-informers: In Voronezh, S. Sirtsoff; in Rostoff, Goloff and Melikoff; In Tiflis, Easkhov and Gavrilov; in Kazan, Piatz; in Samark, Oapoff and Voening; in Omsk, Blagoveshchenovsky and Sipko; in Tomsk, Datian, Torskov, and Rodinoff; in Irkutsk, Zhinzherova and Gese; in Vladivos-tok, Battenhoff, Pannoff, and Erlanger.

Chief of Counter Espionage:

FEIERABEND.

Commissar: KALMANOVICH.

NOTE.—Apart from the list of agents this letter has interest from the comment: "To the company of Comrade Bruevelich, Brouvelich and Secret Department. The signature is illegible.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 52

Counter Espionage at the Army Headquarters,
No. 395.
January 21, 1918.

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE COUNTER REVOLUTION:

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

Commissar: A. SIJIK.

Secretary: F. ALEXEY.

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

Have photograph of letter.
APPENDIXES TO THE REPORT

APPENDIX I
DOCUMENTS CIRCULATED BY ANTIBOLSHEVIK IN RUSSIA

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

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

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

Two of the documents among these circulars are the circular of industrial mobilization of June 9, 1914, and the "destruction agents" circular of November 28, 1914. (See Document 3 of my Report.) This group of circulars came into my hands the first week in February, 1918, in an English version with the unknown translator's notes and a few days later two other sets, one in English and one in Russian, reached me. I prepared a digest of the set and Ambassador Francis cabled the message in code to the State Department February 9. It was nearly four weeks later before I secured the matter referred to in my Report as "Original." The German-Bolshevik conspiracy.

Notwithstanding the case of the circulars of the appendix considered as evidence.

EDWARD SISSON.

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

DOCUMENT NO. 54

Circular February 18, 1914.—From the Ministry of Finance to all groups of German banks and, by agreement, within the Austro-Hungarian Government, the Oesterreichische-Kreditanstalt. Bank, are hereby advised that the Imperial Government has deemed it to be of extreme necessity to ask the management of all institutions of credit to establish with all possible dispatch agencies in Russia in Petrograd and in Moscow, Kandinsky, and Yarve, on the frontier of Finland, and in Bergen and Amsterdam. The establishment of such agencies for a more effective observation of the financial interests of German shareholders of Russian, French, and English concerns may become a necessity under certain circumstances, which would after the situation of the industrial and financial organization.

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

In charge of Division for Foreign Operations.

NOTE.—This is the outline of the basic financial structure begun in February, 1914, five months before war was launched, and still in operation. Notice the reappearance in subsequent Lenin messages of bona fide and Venice. Likewise the reference to American bank.—Olof Asberg, one of the heads of the Nia-Banken, came to Petrograd a month ago (January, 1918) and on the way boasted that Nia-Banken was the Bolshevik bank. He was overheard by one of our own group. He secured from Smolny permit for export a thousand thousand gallons of oil.

The latter is the more likely date, and has the corroborative support of Document No. 3.

DOCUMENT NO. 56

Circular, June 9, 1914.—General Staff to all (district) intendancies.

Within 24 hours after receipt of this circular you are to inform all industrial concerns by telegram that the documents with industrial mobilization plans and with registered number to be opened, such as are referred to in the circular of the Commission of Count Waldenburg and Count Zemski. 27, 1887.—No. 421 REVOLUTION.

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

NOTE.—This is the content of circular which I have original German printed circular in the form in which it is reproduced in my report in connection with Document No. 5, E.S., July 6, 1918.

DOCUMENT NO. 57

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

At the present time there have been concluded conversations between the authorized agents of the Imperial Bank and the Russian revolutionaries in Messrs. Zinovieff and Lunacharsky. Both the mentioned persons addressed themselves to several financial men, who for their part addressed themselves to our representatives. They are ready to support the agitation and propaganda projected by them in Russia on the basis of the following arrangement that the agitation and propaganda noted [planned] by the above-mentioned Messrs. Zinovieff and Lunacharsky will touch any Cornish and at the front. In case the agents of the Imperial Bank should address themselves to your banks we beg you to open them the products, deprivation of large towns of their electric energy, stocks of fuel and provisions. Special agents, detailed to be at your disposal, will deliver to you explosive and incendiary devices, and list of such persons to the country under your observation who will assume the duty of agents of destruction. (Signed) Dr. [E.] Fischer, General Army Councilor.

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

The case of the next circular, however, No. 56, of the date June 9, is different. Here the date is right, and has the corroborative support of Document No. 3.
necessary credit which will be covered completely as soon as you make de- 
mand on Berlin—where I am acting as Russian consul. The account has been intercepted in the correspondence of

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

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

DOCUMENT NO. 58

Circular, November 28, 1914.—From Naval General Staff to the naval attaches [Version C reads: agents]. You are ordered to mobilize immediately all destruction agents and ob- 
servers [observers and agents-destroyers] in those commercial and military ports where munitions are being loaded [may be loaded] on ships going to England, France, Canada, the United States of North America, and Russia, where there are storehouses of such munitions and where naval fighting units are stationed. It is necessary to hire through third parties who stand in a relationship to the official repre- 
sentatives of Germany, agents for ar- 
ing explosives [explosions] on ships be- 
ing agency countries, and for ar- 
ranging delays, embroilments, and con- 
fusions during the loading, dispatching, and unloading of ships. For this purpose we are specially recommending for your attention leaders' gauges, amongst whom there are many anarchists and escaped criminals [and that you get in touch with] German and neutral [ship- 
ing] offices, and as a means of observ- ing the operations necessary for the designated purpose will be placed at your disposal at your request.—(Signed) No. 53, Secret Service Division of the Naval Staff. KOENIG.

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

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

NOTE.—This is an English translation, by an unknown translator, of circular of which I have German printed circular in form in 

version as I have seen it, but probably this is 

error, as instruction is a direct sequel to 
document of November 28 (No. 3). (Later)— 

Nov 9 is right. Nov. 28 was to naval agents. This is to military agents.—E. S.

DOCUMENT NO. 60

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

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

(Signed) BARTHELME.

[Original translator's comment (as part of document)]: According to reliable 
information to this category of persons 
belonged: Prince Hohenlohe, Bjornson,
Epeling [Eveling], Kunberg [Ken- 
berg], Sukennikoff, Parvus, Fursten- 
berg [Furstenberg], Ripke, and probably Kolyshko [Kolshko].

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

DOCUMENT NO. 61

Circular, October 14, 1916.—From 
president of Kirdorff's Rhenish- 
Westphalian Industrial Syndicate to the central office of Nn-Banken in Stock- 
kholm, to Sevmu-Balter, rep- 
earative of the Diskont-Gesell- 
schaft in Stockholm, and to Mr. 
Kirch [Krenek], representative of Deutsche Bank in Switzerland:

The Rhein-Westphalian Indus- 
trial Coal Syndicate charges you with the management of the account of 
which you have been appointed for 
the support of Russian emigrants desir- 
ing of conducting propaganda amongst 
Russian prisoners of war and the 
Russian army.—(Signed) Kirch.

NOTE.—This document already figures in the archives and has been intepreted in the correspondence of 

Prince von Buelow. It has no direct 

perspicuity on the Lenin-Trotsky data which follows herewith.

DOCUMENT NO. 62

COPENHAGEN, June 18, 1918. 
Mr. REFFNEN [REFFNER], Helsingfors.

DEAR SIR: Please be advised that from the Disconto-Gesellschaft ac- 
count 515,000 marks have been trans- 
ferred to Mr. Lenin's account in Kron- 
stadt, as per order of the Syndicate. 
Kindly acknowledge receipt: Nylinder- 
way 48, Copenhagen, W. Hendriksen & Co.—SYENSEN.

NOTE.—Kronstadt, the navy base, was the nerve center from which Lenin's activities radiated during the summer, both before and after he fled Petrograd. He was not always there but it was the Bolshevik domain. The seniors mentioned still are his first dependents. Hansen & Co. are named in Document No. 64.

DOCUMENT NO. 63

GISEYEA, June 16, 1917. 
Mr. FURSTENBERG, Stockholm:

Please note this and a request of Mr. Raphael Scholman [Schaumann] in 
27,000 marks has been paid for the publication of Maximalist- 
Socialist pamphlets. Advise by tele- 
gram that you deliver the consignment of pam- 
phlets, number of bill of lading, and 
write the amount of arrival.—(Signed) KRENEK, Deutsche Bank.

NOTE.—Furstenberg is named in Document No. 64 and is Ganetsky in Petrograd.

DOCUMENT NO. 64

STOCKHOLM, September 21, 1917.
Mr. RAPHAEL SCHOLMAN [SCHAUMANN], 
Haparanda.

DEAR COMRADE: The office of the 
banking house M. Warburg has opened in 
agreement with telegram from presi- 
dent of Rheinish-Westphalian Syndi- 
cate an account for the undertaking of 
Comrade Trotsky. The attorney [agent] purchased arms and hav- 
ized their transportation and delivery 
up to Laloo and Varde. Name to the 
account 315,000 marks have been 

Mr. FURSTENBERG, Stockholm:

NOTE.—This is the first reference to 
Trotsky, and connects him with Banker 
var and Furstenberg. Laloo and Varde are 
Svenska banken, the former near to Hapar-

andes, which is on the border of Sweden and 

FINLAND.

DOCUMENT NO. 65

STOCKHOLM, September 12, 1917.
Mr. FABEN, Kronstadt (via Hels- 
ningfors) Carried out our commis- 
sions; passports and the indicated sum 
of 207,000 marks as per order of your 
Y Lena, have been returned to the 
people mentioned in your letter. The 
selection found the approval of his 

NOTE.—See Document No. 61. Lenin had 
recovered more than half a million marks at this 

(See also Document No. 68),
Mr. Antonov, Haparanda: Comrade Trotsky's request has been carried out. From the account of the Syndicate and the ministry (original translator's note: probably Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin, press division) 400,000 kroners have been taken and remitted to Comrade Sonia, who will call on you with this letter, and will hand you the said sum of money.—J. Frostenberg.

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

**DOCUMENT NO. 67**

**BERLIN** (COPENHAGEN), August 25, 1917.

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

NOTE.—This letter from Scheidemann, the German Socialist leader, links him with Furstenberg-Genesky, with the Nia-Banken, and with the subidity of the Russian revolution. "Vorsarts" refers to Scheidemann's organ at Berlin. Scheidemann's rôle both as German peace propagandist and as German strike querler is illumined by this letter.

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

**APPENDIX II**

ILLUSTRATING THE "OFFENSIVE TACTICS" OF THE BOLSHEVIK LEADERS AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

—A CONVERSATION BY TELEGRAPH BETWEEN CHIEFENIN AT PETROGRAD (WHO IS SPEAKING) AND TROTSKY AT BREST-LITOVSK, IN FIRST WEEK IN FEBRUARY, 1918, A FEW DAYS BEFORE TROTSKY MADE HIS "NO PEACE—NO WAR" CEREMONY, WITH ITS PRACTICAL ASPECT OF DEMOBILIZING THE ARMY AND OPENING RUSSIA'S UNARMED BREAST TO GERMAN.

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

He explained that if we should not spoil the situation our recognition is a question of the near future, but something would have to be ceded on our part. He said that peace could tolerate intervention in its internal affairs. If we are going to raise the British people, if our agents in England will attempt to cause strikes, England will not tolerate this. It proved later that this had reference to Petroff's mission. Concerning the latter special Lockhart said that his appointment would be difficult for England to swallow and should be explained in England or not be allowed to land. We would probably reply by reprisals, and thus the whole business would be spoiled. He begged that we postpone this matter for 10 or 12 days.

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

Lockhart stated that he was very well impressed and promised to telegraph advising that the visit should be granted. We await further developments.

He stated that according to English information the German troops on the eastern front were so badly infected by our propaganda that no second course of barrack regime could cure them. He said that our method of fighting militarism was the most effective. We listened to this and laughed up our sleeves.

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

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

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 18, 1918.

Professor JosiEh SCHeizer, Vice-Chairman National Board for Historical Service, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR,—Professor Ford tells me that the National Board for Historical Service are meeting this afternoon at four o'clock, and I have asked him to bring the following subject to the attention of the committee:

When only the opening installments of the series of seven had been published, the question of authenticity was raised by the New York Evening Post. The rest of the Press of America, virtually without exception, accepted the fact of publication as evidence of the genuineness of the documents. The series of the New York Evening Post to rally the forces of doubt failed absolutely, only two men with any pretension of historical knowledge joining in any degree with the Post. As a matter of course, the Committee on Public Information was committed from the first to a policy of absolute openness with regard to these documents. While never submitted to any unofficial body for purposes of investigation, we have never seen any evidence that they have been gone over time and again by various agencies of the Government, and were not released for publication by this Committee until express sanction had been received from the highest authorities of the Government.

The situation that now faces us is this: The documents were given to the press with our idea now, to make pamphlet presentation of them, and our promise is out to present the documents, together with facsimiles of all the more important originals. This task, attended by many mechanical difficulties, has just been completed.

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

Believe me,

Very truly,

GEORGE CREEL,
Chairman.

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

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

October 26, 1918.

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

DEAR SIR,—By your letter of October 15, addressed to the vice-chairman of the National Board for Historical Service, you have asked that body to appoint a committee to examine, in respect to their genuineness, the series of documents purporting to show the relations of Bolshevist leaders and the German Government, which were released for publication in the September number, by the Committee on Public Information. You have asked that such committee should take into careful consideration the arguments against the genuineness of these documents put forward in the columns of the New York Evening Post, with a view to determine the validity or invalidity of those arguments. The undersigned were on October 19 appointed by the Board named to serve as a committee, and were requested by you to report our findings with the utmost frankness, regardless of any positions already publicly taken by you or by the Government. In pursuance of these instructions, we beg leave to submit the following report.

As a basis for our work we have laid before us pamphlet presentation of the documents, entitled The Bolshevik Conspiracy, and containing facsimiles of some sixteen of the documents in question, together with a report thereto. This report consists of the documents bearing the numbers 1 to 53, inclusive. Our second step was to make photographic reproductions of originals. We cannot, in any manner, afford to appear dilatory or evasive, nor do we refuse to publish the pamphlet without taking cognizance of the charges that have been made.

In presenting the results of our investigations, we find it desirable to distinguish between what is indisputably the largest, (I) those presented to us in Russian originals or photographs—four-fifths of the whole set, (II) the two documents which appeared in the newspaper publication—the two documents presented to us in circulars printed in Russian from which were made the translations in Russian; (III) those documents for which no originals or photographs are presented, but the translations of which rest solely on typewritten texts in Russian, purporting to represent originals in or from Russian archives.

In other words, our first group (I) consists of the documents bearing the numbers 1 to 53, inclusive. Our second group (II) consists of the documents which appeared in the newspaper publication—two annexes to document No. 5. They also appear, with facsimiles, after No. 3 in the proposed pamphlet; and they are identical with Nos. 56 and 58 in the appendix. Our third group (III) embraces documents of Appendix I (Nos. 54 to 68, inclusive) except Nos. 56 and 58. We comment upon these groups separately.

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

II. The two documents of our second group are of course, too confident, and a less simple verdict. Printed in German, they purport to be official German documents. They are dated to July 12, 1914—the one addressed on June 9 of that year, several months before the outbreak of the war, by the
The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy

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

The errors of typography, of spelling, and even of grammar, in these German circulars, make it impossible to accept them as original prints of the General Staffs named. Certain peculiarities of expression tend in the same direction. In the naval circular the explanation, in parenthesis, of the Russian word Vereinsungen (Russian word with German plural ending) makes it impossible to think of the document as one printed by the Russian Naval Staff for use indirectly in all the various countries in which there were German Naval representatives. Furthermore, the reference to the United States is puzzling. On the other hand, Document No. 2, a protocol which presents exceptional evidences of genuineness, records the transfer from Russian archives, into the hands of German military officials in various countries in which there were German Naval representatives. There is other evidence in connection with the existence of two such "copies," said to be of the dates named, in Petrograd archives in 1915. Attention should also be called to the manuscript annotations on the circulars, plainly visible in the facsimiles.

On both appears, in blue pencil, a note which, properly translated, reads: "One copy given to the Nachrichten-Bureau Archive. This is to say, one printed copy has been handed over, in accordance with the formal record made in Document No. 3, to the Military Intelligence Bureau of the German General Staff (a bureau which then or soon after was housed under the same roof with the Bolshevist Government, in the Smolny Institute), while this present printed copy is to be put in the Russian archives. The circular dated June 9 bears also the annotation in red ink, "To the protocol [of Nov. 2, 1917], confirming the connection asserted.

We do not think these two printed circulars to be simply forgeries. We do not think them to be, in their present shape, documents on whose entire text historians or publicists can safely rely as genuine. If we were to hazard a conjecture, it would be that they are derived, perhaps at one or two points, from original documents, which may have been copied in manuscript and at a later time reproduced in print. In any case, there is no solid connection to the Bolshevist Government, except indirectly through their connection with Document No. 3, which, with reason was referred to the Petrograd office of the German General Staff desirous of withdrawing certain papers from the Russian archives, and the Bolshevist Government complying with its desires.

III. For the documents of our third group, apart from Nos. 56 and 58, we have only the Russian mimeographed texts. The originals of nearly all of them would have been written in German. We have seen neither originals nor photographs, nor has Mr. Sisson, who rightly relegates these documents to an appendix, and expresses less confidence in their evidential value than in that of his main series, Nos. 1 to 53. With such insufficient means of testing their genuineness as can be afforded by Russian translations, we can make no confident declaration. Thrown back on internal evidence alone, we can only say that we see in these texts nothing that positively excludes the notion of their being genuine, little in any of them that makes it doubtful, though we are bound to point out that there was an unusually accurate copy, and accurately translated into Russian, are obviously lacking. We should say the same (except that its original is not German) of the telegraphic conversation between Chicherin and Trotsky, which Mr. Sisson prints as Appendix II. The letter of Joffe, on the other hand, dated December 31, 1917, which he prints after his No. 37, stands on as strong a basis as documents Nos. 1 to 53, for Mr. Sisson had at one time a photograph of it, derived in the same manner as his other photographs.

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

It remains to consider the specific criticisms, as to genuineness of the documents, advanced by the New York Evening Post and its correspondents. Most of them fall away when it is known that the main series of documents, Nos. 1 to 53, are written in Russian and dated in accordance with the calendar currently used in Petrograd, and with conditions prevailing within the boundaries of the old Okhrana organization "Government (Pravitelstvo) of People's Commissaries" instead of "Council (Soviet) of People's Commissaries," the designation actually adopted.

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

A correspondent of the Post, Mr. E. J. Omeltchenko, in its issue of October 4, rightly finds it singular that Dr. von Schanze, in Documents Nos. 8 and 9, should be represented as signing himself on January 8, "Representative of the Imperial Bank," and on January 12, "President of the Imperial Bank." It should be explained that the Russian word used is the same in both cases, Predstavitel', but that the translator of No. 9 wrongly translated it "President," while the translator of No. 8 translated it rightly, "Representative." Mr. Omeltchenko also, with reference to Document No. 8, prints figures of the gold reserves of the Reichsbank and of the Bank of Sweden, November, 1917, to January, 1918, in the belief that, if the Reichsbank had at the beginning of January given the Bolshevist officials a credit in Sweden of 50,000,000 roubles gold, these figures would show the fact. We are informed on high authority that the Reichsbank would be able to effect such a transaction by means much less easily traced. Mr. Omeltchenko questions whether a credit transaction, but the insecurity and unsettled conditions prevailing within the boundaries of the old Russian empire might easily account for the desire of the Bolsheviki to establish a large gold credit abroad without the necessity of actually exporting gold. Professor Edward S. Corwin, in the same issue of the Evening Post, rightly criticizes the date June 9, 1914, for Document No. 55. Its proper date appears to be November 2, 1914. The mimeographed Russian text under the title "Predstavitel'," probably by confusion with No. 56, gave it the June date.

Respectfully submitted,

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

SAMUEL N. HARPER.