

Mr. Leon Moore  
625 Park Avenue  
New York 21, New York

OCT 12 1955

Dear Leon:

I read with interest your letter of 4 October with enclosure on the 'fake' Litvinov diary. I see no reason whatever why you should not consult Bob McDonald. As I have not seen the charges made, it is hard for me to pass upon their seriousness. I don't know what I can do about the publication of the diary itself. Possibly you could find a way of discreetly letting some friends in the press know about it so that they can be cautious in their reviews.

What do you think about Molotov's self-confession? I should be interested in your views and whether you think this does or does not mean that his political life is coming to an end.

Sincerely,

/s/

Allen W. Dulles  
Director

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625 Park Avenue  
New York City 21

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October 4, 1955

Dear Allen,

I enclose a copy of my answer to Lord Strang about Litvinov's "diary."

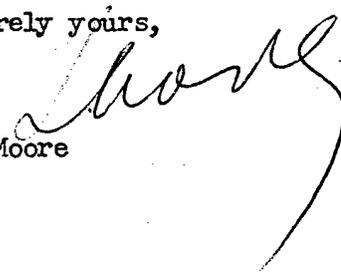
It is really amazing how two publishing houses - in New York and in London - could print such an evident fake.

I feel quite disturbed that in the footnotes they repeat the insinuations about myself which appear in the text of the "diary," and I wonder if I should react to it.

Don't you think that I ought to consult Bob McDonald on the subject?

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

  
Leon Moore

LM DS  
Enc

October 4, 1955

Dear Lord Strang:

I have read the American edition of "Notes for a Journal," which I obtained before the arrival of the copy you sent me. It is the same material which I mentioned to you in my letter of September 16th and which was given to me by Charles Bohlen in February or March of 1953. I am enclosing for your information a memorandum which I wrote about this material in March 1953. Now, after the evident failure to sell this fake in 1953, the author revised it substantially, adding a lot of new things. It evidently did not matter to the author that Litvinov died early in 1952. He continued to write the "diary" even after March 1953 when I last saw it. For instance in the manuscript I saw in 1953, there was no mention of myself. Now I am honored with a prominent place in it. The same applies to many others. At the same time some material was eliminated, for example, the conflict between Bessedovsky and the Soviet financial agent in Paris on account of the latter's wife. But basically it is the same cheap, naive, and primitive falsification written in its main part, or in the whole by Bessedovsky, who broke away late in 1929 taking with him all the Embassy and Ukraine funds he could put his hands on.

After his "escape" from the Embassy, Bessedovsky wrote a series of articles and a book of memoirs in two volumes. While describing the Soviet Paris Embassy, he mentioned my name many times, because, from the end of 1927 until the end of 1929, we served together, never connecting me with any activities of OGPU.

Now in the "revised" edition of the "diary" he makes a lot of fantastic statements. In fact, I was never connected with OGPU activities in any way either in Moscow or in Paris or elsewhere. Ambassador Rakovsky could not have "insisted" on my recall in 1926 as the "diary" claims on pp. 28-29 (American edition), since I only arrived in Paris in 1926. I was a career diplomat and after returning from Paris to Moscow late in 1929, I was immediately appointed Vice Director of the Anglo-Roman Department in which capacity I remained for four years until my transfer to the Embassy in Rome and in which position you knew me in Moscow. Consequently, Litvinov could not have discussed my employment in the Foreign Office and could not have appointed me Director of the Central European Department which I never had anything to do with. All the other stories are similarly false like the statement that my wife was born in Riga, or that she was a Latvian citizen -- she was always a Soviet citizen, that we were married in Riga, that her maiden name was Sophia Shats, or that I was secretary to Trotsky, or had anything to do with the disappearance of Kutepov -- all these stories and others about our defense of the Soviet Embassy are false from beginning to end.

Oct. 4, 1955

Bessedovsky, with whom I was in Paris for two years, knew little fragments of truth and partly remembers some minor facts: for instance, that I was born in the Poltava region and that I knew Trotsky, and, not having enough material for a "diary," wrote all this nonsense. But would Litvinov, who for so many years played an important part in Soviet history, describe all these unimportant events, which he did not even know, when he had such very interesting things to write in his diary?

Another change from the 1953 manuscript which I noticed is that many people are called only by their fathers' first names, something I have never heard in Russian before. As you know, the usual way to address a person in Russia is to call him by his first name together with the first name of his father. For instance, Trotsky would be called Lev Davidovich; Kamenev, Lev Borissovitch, etcetera. Close relatives and the closest friends would call each other by their first names alone, but no one would ever call anyone by the first name of his father. The revised edition of the "diary" calls Trotsky "Davidovich;" Kamenev, "Borrissovitch", Yoffe, "Abramovitch" etcetera. This is pure nonsense and could never have been used by Litvinov.

The fact that the "diary" starts in 1926, the year when Bessedovsky entered into Soviet foreign service, is significant. Normally, a man like Litvinov would start his diary in 1918 when he was appointed Soviet Ambassador to England and would continue through the most interesting years of the Revolution and the development of the Soviet Regime in which he was Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs. But Bessedovsky, who now makes his living by falsifications, does not know anything about this period. He was in the Ukraine and through some connections got an appointment in the Soviet Embassy in Poland. At this time several Soviet embassies abroad had positions for a Ukrainian representative. After a few months, Bessedovsky was transferred to Tokyo and by the end of 1927 was appointed counselor in Paris. Consequently, he had some material regarding Poland, the Far Eastern Soviet Policy in 1926-1927, and finally, knew of the Soviet relations with France from 1927 through 1929. Describing this whole period, Bessedovsky gives from time to time some genuine facts but this covers only a period of four years, while the "diary" pretends to describe 25 years. Furthermore, Bessedovsky never worked in the Soviet Foreign Commissariat in Moscow and had no knowledge either of the personnel or of the system of relations between the Foreign Commissariat, the other Soviet Commissariats, and the Central Committee of the Party. When Bessedovsky was in Japan, the head of the Far Eastern Department was Melnikov (who like myself, contrary to the "diary's" assertion, was not related to Litvinov in any way). Bessedovsky did not know that after his break, Melnikov was transferred to Harbin and Mr. Koslovsky was appointed head of the Far Eastern Department. That is why, all through the "diary" Litvinov is consulting Melnikov in Moscow on Far Eastern Affairs without even mentioning Koslovsky's name.

In the same way, through the entire book, innumerable times, the "diary" mentions the name of Zoia Mossina as the head of the "Auxiliary" Department of the Foreign Commissariat. As you can see from published Soviet "annuaire" of that period, neither such a department nor Mossina herself ever existed in the Foreign Commissariat. The "diary" also describes Mossina on many pages as Secretary of the Communist cell of the Foreign Commissariat, with great influence over all affairs, fighting competitors like Negrelov, Zhuravleyev, being on unusually intimate terms with Stalin's wife, with M. Molotov etc. It even appears that Mossina's exile in the second half of the "diary" played a prominent part in Stalin's Wife's suicide.

As you can see from my memo of March 1953, Mossina and all the other persons mentioned as leaders of the Foreign Commissariat cell never existed. The cell as such never had any great importance, certainly none in the handling of international affairs, and as in all the Soviet Ministries, handled only educational and internal problems.

Some examples of other falsifications are:

1) On Page 28 -- Stalin orders Artuzov, who was at this time assistant chief of Soviet Military Intelligence, to "make without delay a list of all persons high up in the government departments who are moved by the music of the Czarist anthem" and Litvinov noticed in the audience of the theatre in 1926 "plain clothes men who were watching the public reaction to this anthem."

2) Many times the "diary" mentions as a member of the collegium of the Foreign Commissariat, Aralov, who was not a member of the collegium at this time. How could Litvinov have written this when the collegium was comprised of men closest to him?

3) On Page 54 -- Stalin "regarded himself as an expert linguist." It is well known that he never spoke any foreign language or esperanto.

4) On several pages, 46, 47 etc., Litvinov is supposed to be describing the attempts to close the Foreign Office barber shop where "the most important State secrets were being discussed" but due to the friendship between the non-existent cell secretary Mossina and Stalin's wife Alliluyeva (Page 47), Stalin had personally ordered "to leave our hairdressers alone."

5) A certain Maslova is mentioned a few times as secretary to Litvinov. Litvinov never had a secretary with this name. His personal secretary was always Petrova but Bessedovsky does not know it.

6) The "diary" is full of very flattering remarks about Bessedovsky himself: everywhere referring to the Charge d'Affaire in France. Such references in 1927, 1928, and 1929 on many pages: 59, 65, 66, 67, 68, 118, 122, etc. always refer to Bessedovsky as "Charge d'Affaire" whom Litvinov consults in this capacity many times. This is ridiculous because Bessedovsky was counselor of the Embassy and, with the exception of a few days as Charge d'Affaire, "was under the Ambassador Dovgalevsky whom Litvinov would consult on matters mentioned in the "diary." At one time Litvinov is supposed to say (Page 118) that "Charge d'Affaire" Bessedovsky is "writing uncensored poetry with (the greatest Russian poet) Mayakovsky." Further - Bessedovsky always, as "Charge d'Affaire," earns Litvinov's displeasure because he receives "instructions directly from Koba," (Page 68).

Never at this time would a counsellor or even an Ambassador get direct instructions from Stalin.

7) On Page 72 Molotov "instructed" Litvinov to assign "the singer" - ("apparently Koba's singer was admitted twice to the clinic for operations" .P. 72) to "our consulate at Kandahar." Apart from the fact that the whole story is fantastic, you can see from official Foreign Commissariat publications that the Soviet Union never had a consulate in Kandahar.

8) Oumansky, who never had anything to do with the Russian Secret Police is identified as "head of the diplomatic espionage in Europe" (P.78).

9) The "diary" describes "affairs" of Stalin and the old peasant Kalinin with a singer (Page 72). Kalinin, who was the head of State, as a result of Stalin's "jealousy" was exposed in the Soviet magazine "Krocodile" undressed with a young woman on his knees. "Kalinin had a heart attack when he saw the drawing." Page 159.

10) The "diary" describes on page 119 the arrest of Syrtzov, two years before it happened. It refers to Kirov's assassination about a year and a half before it happened (Page 230) etc. On Page 192 the "diary" describes the "scandal" in Rome and the recallof half of the staff of the Embassy and of a Commercial mission (which was not in Rome but in Milan) which never happened. (I was in Rome at the time.) The "diary" mentions that agents of the Secret Police "stole" the second counselor's wife; this not only never happened but there was never a second counselor in Rome.

11) The description of the Zoological Garden (Page 179) which purportedly existed at Stalin's private country home, or of Litvinov and Molotov playing chess together (Page 167), or Litvinov playing tennis with Rozengoltz. In fact there were no animals in Zubalovo, Litvinov played neither chess nor tennis but liked and often played exclusively bridge, which is not even mentioned.

12) The statement on Page 151, referring to the end of 1931, that Stalin "some time gives in for fear of Klim and Molotov. It is amazing to see him in this situation." - is sufficient for anyone who knew the extent of Stalin's dictatorship at that time to see how false this is.

13) The statement on Page 249 that "Krestinsky and Rozengoltz shall be in charge of the Foreign Affairs Commissariat during my absence" -- (Rozengoltz was a commissar of Foreign Trade and never had anything to do with the Foreign Commissariat).

14) Another example: Many times on pages 230 to 251 etc. the "diary" describes a certain "Zakovsky" as the first assistant of Yezhov who heads the purges.

As you know I was in Rome until July 1940 and went to Moscow during the big purges in 1936 and 1937. It was widely known that Yezhov's assistants were Agranov and Prokofiev and nobody ever heard the name "Zakovsky." In 1938 Yezhov and both his assistants were purged and Beria was installed.

I could make many additional comments. I have many more pages of notes but I believe this is sufficient to show how spurious this "diary" is.

But let us suppose for a moment that Litvinov would dictate a diary. Don't you think that the most important events in Soviet Foreign Policy in which he participated, as well as the most important events in Litvinov's personal life would find a prominent place in a diary? I can enumerate here only a few most important events of this kind and none of them are even mentioned in the "diary."

Litvinov, from his first days in the Foreign Commissariat as a First Deputy, fought the political conceptions of Chicherin, who was the Commissar. This fight continued over a period of eight to nine years and ended with the de facto elimination of Chicherin as Foreign Commissar, followed by his de jure retirement in the late summer of 1930. Chicherin, who was always supported by Asst. Commissar Karakhan, had the conception that the Soviet Union could expect nothing from the Western Powers, which would always remain hostile to the Soviet regime and would fight this regime, whenever they could militarily, and always politically and economically. The future of the Soviet Union, according to Chicherin, lay in the Orient in the friendship and economic penetration of Persia, Turkey, Afghanistan, and especially of China and India. The many millions of people in these underdeveloped areas, living as a rule under miserable conditions, appeared to be the natural allies of the Soviet Union. Consequently Chicherin insisted that Soviet propaganda and force should be concentrated in the Orient, with attention to the Western Powers limited only to an effort to obtain some kind of modus vivendi with them.

Litvinov was always supported by members of the Collegium of the Foreign Commissariat, Rothstein and later Stomoniakov (the latter was one of Litvinov's closest friends and, for many years, his assistant - but he is hardly even mentioned in the "diary.") Litvinov, defending the concept of cooperation with France, England, United States, etc. emphasized that these democracies could eventually become closer to the Soviet regime, and that their economic help was indispensable for the industrial and agricultural development of the Soviet Union.

The fight over these two basic concepts, which brought about a complete break between Litvinov and Chicherin personally to the extent that they were not even on speaking terms from 1926 on, is not even mentioned in this "diary." On the contrary on Page 99 the "diary", referring to the end of 1928, states: "the year is closing on a sad note; Chicherin probably will leave us soon, his health is deteriorating. I shall have to take over the People's Commissariat; I do not relish the prospect. I would have preferred to resign and take up some academic activity but Koba would not listen." All these lines are stupid fakes. Litvinov was dreaming about taking Chicherin's place but Stalin (Koba) did not want to give it to him as yet. For several years Litvinov remained in an interim position and only finally in August or September of 1930 was he appointed Commissar. It was a great day in his life and I remember it very well. Returning to his office after the nomination (simultaneously Krestinsky was appointed his first assistant), Litvinov organized a little celebration with his closest associates; Stein, Rubinin, Gumansky, myself, and several others were present.

Don't you think that it is rather amazing that Litvinov did not mention in his "diary" such a long awaited event, which was the culmination of his career?

There are plenty of other facts --

The fulfillment of the long-cherished desire to enter the League of Nations in 1934 for which Litvinov wrote a speech that he called the most important of his life is not even mentioned in the "diary." The innumerable conferences on disarmament, and the large and small conflicts in the League of Nations -- all would be too long to enumerate here -- are also not mentioned. Litvinov's trip to Washington in 1933 to meet President Roosevelt and the negotiations to establish diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States; Litvinov's return and conferences with Mussolini which brought about a non-aggression and friendship pact between Italy and Russia - none of these are mentioned. Innumerable other important facts about relations between the Soviet Union and other countries are not in the "diary."

Lord Strang

- 7 -

Oct. 4, 1955

Rather, in this so-called "diary" we find a primitive and stupid compilation of notes, hastily made from old newspapers, mentioning the different events of international life at that time.

If Litvinov desired to write sensational stories about various happenings around the Soviet Commissariat in Moscow, he had plenty of factual data available -- but none of this is even mentioned in the "diary." Don't you think that the trial "Prompartia," which was the highest point of the anti-French policy and which happened in 1930, would have been mentioned? Or the Metro-Vickers trial in which you and Sir Esmond Ovey intervened so much? Such trials were not only the culmination of anti-French or anti-British propoganda; but also represented a victory of the Secret Police over the Foreign Commissariat.

If Litvinov wanted to include such sensational stories, would he not mention that through practically all these years the British secret *code* was broken and he could read all the instructions which the British Embassy received from London even before you or Sir Esmond got them? He could describe a lot of real stories which were happening in the diplomatic corps in Moscow.

At the same time, don't you think that Litvinov would mention in his "diary" such very important events as the visits of Eden, Herriot, Laval, Ismet Inoum (the Turkish Prime Minister), Pierre Cot, and others to Moscow? Important negotiations were connected with these visits, some of them involving Molotov and Stalin, and not even one of these visits is mentioned in the "diary." I am really amazed that two publishing houses in London and New York spent money on this fake without preliminary investigation. There are plenty of people who would understand that this "diary" is false. They could ask you, Bohlen, Kennan, and other experts. They could ask me or Alexander Barmine, who is the head of the Russian Division of the Voice of America in Washington. Barmine was in Paris at the same time as Bessedovsky and myself.

What is annoying is that the publisher, in footnotes, which can be attributed to editors only, repeats the same falsehoods about me which appear in the text.

I would disregard them in the "diary" because it is such an obvious fake but I am not sure that should be the same position taken about the footnotes.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

*Leon Moore*  
Leon Moore

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