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C FIVE UNTITLED COMPOSITIONS ON
POLITICAL SUBJECTS

The following pages comprise a typewritten copy of certain unlabeled handwritten compositions in the English language dealing generally with political subjects.

The first of these compositions begins with the words, "I have often wondered why it is that the communist, capitalist and even the fascist"

The second composition begins, "There have already been a few organizations who have declared that they shall become effective only after"

The third composition begins, "Where I first went to Russia in the winter of 1959"

The fourth composition was written on the pages of a small notebook and begins, "When the emerging industrial revolution"

The fifth of these compositions is in the form of a chart and sets forth certain advantages and disadvantages of the communist system.

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"I have often wondered why it is that the communist, capitalist and even the fascist and anarchist elements in America, always profess patriotism toward the land and the people, if not the government, although their movements must surely lead to the bitter destruction of all and everything.

I am quite sure these people must hate not only the government but the culture, heritage and very people itself, and yet they stand up and piously pronounce themselves patriots, displaying their war medals, that they gained in conflicts between themselves.

I wonder what would happen if somebody was to stand up and say he was utterly opposed not only to the governments, but to the people, too the entire land and complete foundations of his socially

2

I have heard and read of the resurgent americanism in the U.S., not the ultra-right type, but rather the polite, seemingly pointless americanism expressed by such as the "american fore group" and the freedom foundation.

And yet even in these vised, harmless, patriotic gestures, there is the obvious 'axe being ground' by the invested interests of the sponsors of these expensive undertakings.

To where can I turn? to factional mutants of both systems, to odd-ball Hegelian idealists out of touch with reality. too religious groups. to revisionist or the absurd anarchists. no!

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Too a person knowing both systems and their factional accessories, there can be no mediation between those systems as they exist to-day and that person.

"He must be opposed to their basic foundations and representatives

and yet it is immature to the sort of attitude which says 'a curse on both your houses!'

there are two great representatives of power in the world, simply expressed, the left and right, and their factions and concessions.

Any practical attempt at one alternative must have as its nucleus the traditional ideological best of both systems, and yet be utterly opposed to both systems.

for not system can be entirely new, that is where most revolutions industrial or political, go astray. And yet the new system must be opposed unequivocally to the old that also is where revolutions go astray.

4

At the turn of the century in America in the emerging industrial revolution private enterprise triumphed because it offered a new, efficient and promising future while still observing the idealistically democratic ideals of its overthrown predecessor, i.e. rural small enterprise.

and at about the same time in Russia the aristocracy was overthrown by the peasants and workers and the road laid open for the gaining of power by the Bolsheviks because they too, offered a bright new future without violating historical traditions of Russian working class life.

in history there are many such examples of the nucleus of the new order rooted in the idealistic tradition of the old.

"The Industrial revolution favored the present atomic age and yet it has developed as a intricate part of its system its own shortcomings

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automation for instance. Automation may be compared to the run away robot who displays so many faults that it is obvious it is run away, rather it is the much more subtle aspects of Industrialization and mechanization which bring the greatest hardships upon the people a general decay of classes into shapeless societies without real cultural foundation regimentation, not so much of people since industrialization actually provides far more free movement of classes around each other, but rather of ideals, although those regimented ideals have more freedom of expression throughout all the classes.

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the biggest and key development of our era is of course the fight for markets between the imperialist powers themselves, which lead to the wars, crisis and oppressive friction which you have all come to regard as part of your lives.

and it is this prominent factor of the capitalist system which will undoubtedly eventually lead to the common destruction of all the imperialistic powers already many lesser imperialist countries have become dependent upon other factors than domination of colonies through force, they have been devastated of other's former colonies by the great imperialist countries or in some cases even given up their colonies themselves as unprofitable and many cases the oppressed peoples rose up and physically through the colonist out and this process is continuing even today as we all can see. but what is important to remember

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Is that the old system of capitalism even within itself is revising and what is most evident, forming imperialist economic collation, such as the common market.

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"In the communist experamint seveal factions and in-
aviodable developments have emerge which Marx and Engles
could not possibly have foreseen their emerges with in-
creasing clarity two monamentle mistakes which Marx and
Engles made, not all mention the very keystone of Marx's
economic theory the doctrine of surplus value which has
always been unshakey and controversial.

The first mistake is fairly well known even at this
stage in the communist development the 'withering away of
the state' as it was called Marx envisualized that the
aboliation of class'es would lead to the gruaual reductin
of state apparous. however this is not the case and is
better observed than contemplated, the state rather be-
comes more extensitve in that while the powers of central
ministrys or delagated they are not reduceded in the divid-
wing of a organ of state power into smaller units at lower
levels so although the same minsters have actually dis-
appered in Moscow they have become more entrenced than ever
at lower levels thus

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in dividing power you multiply units and in eveyday life you
become more and more depent on these organs of state power.
Wherever you turn you meet them and they touch the lives of
the people more and more. A new beauracraoy, rather than
a withering away of the state. In Russia in the last two
years their has been a shift of power from the capital of
Moscow to the so-called 'Republics' but state apparist,
simply grow into a greater maze througout these republics,
thus in Minsk the capital of Belorussia the ministry of
Interia become responsible in 1760 for determining the
eligibility of appllicants for hard to get exit visas to
leave the USSR. formaly the official progrative of Moscow.

"alone but now that this state ministry in Moscow has 'withered away' it becomes all the more difficult to get an exit visa since now one has to go to the area, city and republican state

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capital committees of bureaucrats and on top of all that a last final OK. has to come from incredibly the Moscow Ministry of foreign affairs!! the withering away of the state as Marx envisaged was a unforeseeable mistake pointed out by many critics of Marx.

The second mistake Engels and Marx made is much more obscure but fundamentally just as important.

In the last 1800's Engels wrote Vanti Duhring which rightly criticized Eugen Duhring's, a German idealist who was supposedly not consistent enough in his materialism for the dialectical materialist Marx. In his critique analysis of Duhring Engels said with much heavy sarcasm that Duhring only changed a word in his putting forward of his social revolutionary ideas that 'changed word' was the word community from the word state whereas Duhring wanted Social Democracy at a local or

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community level, Marx and Engels advocated a centralized state which would later 'wither away'.

But in this Engels was mistaken again.

as history has shown time again the state remains and grows whereas true democracy can be practiced only at the local level. While the centralized state, administrative, political or supervisory remains there can be no real democracy

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▪ (a loose confederation of community & at a national level
(without any centralized state what so ever.

In equal disison, with safegaurds against collation
of communities there can be democracy, not in the centra-
lzeied legally state delagating authority but in numerass
equal communities practicing and developing democracy at
the local level.▪

"1A

"There have already been a few organizations who have declared that they shall become effective only after conflict between the two world systems leaves the country. Without defense or foundation of government, organizations such as the minute men for instance, however they are preparing to simply defend the present system and reinstate its influence after the mutual militarily defeat of both systems which is more or less taken for granted.

These armed groups will represent the remaining hard core of fanatical american capitalist supporters.

There will undoubtedly be simpler representation of this kind by communistic groups in communist countries.

There will also be many divided religious segments of putting forward

2A

their own alternatives and through larger memberships than the minute men etc.

There will also be anarchist pacifist and quit probably fascist splinter groups however all these, unlike the minute men and communistic partisan groups, will be unarmed.

The mass of survivors however will not belong to any of these groups. They will not be fanatical enough to join extremes, and will be too disillusioned to support either

"the communists or capitalist parties in their respective countries. after the atomic catastrophe they shall seek an alternative to those systems which have brought them misery.

But their thinking and education

3A

will be steeped in the traditions of those systems they would never except a 'new order' complete beyond their understanding any more than they would except the extremist idea, logically, they would deem it necessary to oppose the old systems but at the same time support their cherished traditions.

I intend to put forward just such an alternative.

~~In making such a declaration I must say that in order to make this alternative effective, supporters must prepare now in the event the situation presents itself for the practical application of this alternative.~~

~~in this way the militarist minute men in their narrow support of capitalism have been most far-sighted, however they present only a suicide force whereas~~

What is needed is a constructive and practical group of persons desiring peace

4A

but steadfastly opposed to the revival of forces who have led millions of people to death and destruction in a dozen wars and have now at this moment led the world into unsurpassed danger.

"We have lived into a dark generation of tension and fear.

But how many of you have tried to find out the truth behind the cold war cliches!!

I have lived under both systems, I have sought the answers and although it would be very easy to dupe myself into believing one system is better than the other, I know they are not.

I despise the representatives of both systems whether they be socialist or christian democrates. Whether they be labor or conservative they are all products of the two systems.

"1B

"Where I first went to Russia in the winter of 1959 my funds were very limited, so after a certain time, after the Russians had assured themselves that I was really the naïve american who belived in communism they arranged for me to recive a certain amount of money every month. Oh it came technically through the Red-cross as fincial help to a poor polical iminegeafe but it was arranged by the M.V.D.. I told myself it was simply because I was broke and everybody knew it. I accepted the money because I was hungry and there was several inches of snow on the ground in Moscow at that time but what it really was was payment for my denuciation of the U. S. in Moscow in November 1956 and a clear promise that far as long as I lived in the USSR life would be very good. I didn't relize all this, of course for almost two years.

2B

As soon as I became completely disgrunted with the Sovit Union and started negotitions with the American Embassy in Moscow for my return to the U. S. my "Red Cross" allotment was cut off.

This was not diffical to understand since all correspondence in and out of the Embassy is censored as is common knowlege in the Embassy itself.

I have never mentioned the fact of these monthly payments to anyone. I do so in order to state that I shall never sell myself intentionly or unintentionly to anyone again.

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"As for the fee of \$_____ I was supposed to receive for this _____ I refuse it. I made pretense to accept it only because otherwise I would have been considered a crackpot and not allowed to appear to express my views. After all who would refuse money?!?"

WRH:gmf

"When the emerging industrial revolution herased the birth of capitalism, the struggle between the new society and fuedlism calmination in the desturtion of (Illegible) because capitalism promises abundance under a new system.

And in Czarist Russia, the serfs at about the same time, rose against the old order and communism replaced the aristocracy because it too, prosised abundance and justice

But in a conflict between these two systems the peoples of both socialties will seek a new system.

A system which would not violate the instilled good ideas about the relative systems one which would be untedy opposed too both because of the ruin the conflict of those ideas would have brought.

A system embodying the best tendencies of the Cap. Comm. society as we not them today but absolutly opposed to bough

Without any regard to the creation of a new type of person or man but serving and being administered by man as we see him now. Taking into effect his weakness and making the necss. allowences for the unforeseen contradictions of man's mind, body and spirt.

Against	In so far as	Reason
<p>communisium (International)</p> <p>Taxe</p> <p>sale of arms</p> <p>extremest of purely racial charcter or religional</p> <p>unemployment</p> <p>For medical aid, free</p>	<p>limitations on freedom of travel, press, religion, speech, elections</p> <p>Income taxes, and some building hncese taxe</p> <p>pistols should not be sold in any case, rife only with police permission, shotguns free.</p> <p>anti-negro or jew or na- tionality or anti religion.</p> <p>it is caused by other than voluntary means of employere such as automation</p> <p>hospital beds and operations</p>	
<p>aid to educa- tion</p> <p>welfare all em- comp.</p> <p>disarmerment</p>	<p>state and national substity of universties and free or paid expenere for studente of higher educationale unite</p> <p>higher pensione independt of amount of work; only curbed as to type of work and rank of worker upon retirement.</p> <p>general disarmerment and aboli- ution of all armie except civil police forcee armed with small arme</p>	

D SIX COMPOSITIONS ENTITLED:

- 1) "Speech"
- 2) "The Atheism System"
- 3) "A System Opposed to the Communist"
- 4) "A System Opposed to the Capitalist"
- 5) Questions and Answers Beginning
"Why did you go to the U.S.S.R.?"
- 6) Untitled composition on Communist
Party of the United States

The following pages are copied from handwritten manuscripts and appear to be compositions on varied topics. The different compositions are labeled:

1. "Speech Before....."
2. "The Atheism System"
3. "A System Opposed to the Communist."
4. "A System Opposed to the Capitalist...."

Also copied is a series of questions and answers which in the original manuscript are in English handwriting beginning "1. Q - Why did you go to the USSR?"

There is also copied an unlabeled handwritten English composition which begins, "The Communist Party of the United States has betrayed itself."

"Speech before....."

1. Americans are apt to scoff at the idea, that a military coup in the U.S., as so often happens in Latin American countries could ever replace our government, but that is an idea that has grounds for consideration. Which military organization has the potentialities of executing such action? Is it the army? with its many constripes, its unwieldy size its scores of bases scattered across the world? The case of Gen. Walker shows that the army, at least, is not fertail enough ground for a far right regime to go a very long way for the simple reasons of size and disposition. The Navy and air force is also to be more or less disregarded. Whⁱⁿ service then can qualify to launch a coup in the U.S.A.? Small size, a permanent hard core of officers and few bases is necessary. Only one outfit fits that description and the U.S.M.C. is a right wing infiltrated organization of dire potential consequences to the freedoms of the U.S. I agree with

"former President Truman when he said that 'The Marine Corps should be abolished.'

2. My second reason is that undemocratic country wide institution known as segregation. It is, I think the action of the active segregationist minority and the great body of indifferent people in the South who do the United States more harm in the eyes of the world's people, than the whole world communist movement. As I look at this audience there is a sea of white faces before me. Where are the Negroes amongst you (are they hiding under the table) surley if we are for democracy, let our fellow negro citizens into this hall. Make no mistake, segregationist tendencies can be unlearned. I was born in New Orleans, and I know.

In Russia I saw on several occasions that in international meeting the greatest glory on the sport field was brought to us by negroes. Though they take the gold metals from their Russian competitors those negroes know that when they return to their own homeland they will have to face blind hatred and discrimination.

The Soviet Union is made up of scores of nationalists, Asians and Eurpr-Asians, Armenian and Jews whites and dark skinned peoples yet they can teach us a lesson in brotherhood among peoples with different customs and origins.

3. A symbol of the American way, our liberal concessions into existance in our mist of a minority group whose influence and membership is very limited and whose dangerous tendencies are sufficiency controlled by special government agencies. The Communist Party U.S.A. bears little resemblance to their Russian counterparts, but by allowing them to operate and even supporting their right to speak, we maintain a tremanuses sign of our strenght and liberalism. Harasment of their party newspapers, their

"leaders and advocates, is treachery to our basic principles of freedom of speech and press. Their views no matter how misguided, no matter how much the Russians take advantage of them, must be allowed to be aired. After all Communist U.S.A. have existed for 40 years and they are still a pitiful group of radicals.

4. Now-a-days most of us read enough about certain right wing groups to know how to recognize them and guard against their corrosive effects. I would like to say a word about them, although there is possibly few other American born persons in the U. S. who have as many personal reasons to know and therefore hate and mistrust communism. I would never become a pseudo-professional anti-communist such as Herbert Philbrick or McCarthy. I would never jump on any of the many right wing bandwagons because our two countries have too much to offer to each other to be tearing at each others throats in an endless cold war. Both our countries have major shortcomings and advantages but only in ours is the voice of dissent allowed opportunity of expression. In returning to the U.S., I hope I have awakened a few who were sleeping and others who are indifferent.

I have done a lot of criticizing of our system. I hope you will take it in the spirit it was given. In going to Russia I followed the old principle 'Thou shalt seek the truth and the truth shall make you free.' In returning to the U.S. I have done nothing more or less than selecting the lesser of two evils."

"The Atheism System

A system opposed to Communism, Socialism, and Capitalism.

- "1. Democracy at a local level with no centralized state.

A. That the right of free enterprise and collective enterprise be guaranteed.

- "B. That Fasism be abolished.
- C. That Nationalizion be excluded from every-day life.
- D. That racial segregation or discrimination be abolished by law.
- E. The right of the free, uninhibited action of religious institutions of any type or denomination to freely function.
- G. Universal sufferage for all persons over 18 years of age.
- H. Freedom of deslmanation of opions through press declaration or speech.
- I. That the desemanation of war propoganda be forbidden as well as the manufactor of weapons of mass destruction.
- J. That free compulsory education be universal till 18.
- K. Nationalization or communizing of private enterprize or collective enterprize be forbidden.
- L. That monoply practices be considered as capitalistic.
- M. That combining of separate collective or private enterprizes into single collective units be considered as communistic.
- N. That no taxes be levied against individuals.
- O. That heavy grauated taxes of from 30% to 90% be leveled against surplus profit gains.
- R. That taxes be collected by a single ministry subordanite to individual communities.
That taxes be used solely for the building or improvement of public projects."

"A system opposed to the communist.

"In that the state or any group of persons may not administer or direct funds or value in circulation, for the creation of means of production.

- A. Any person may own private property of any sort.
- B. Small business or speculation on the part of a single individual be gauranteed.

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"C. that any person may exchange personal skill or knowlege in the completion of some service, for remunation.

"D. that any person may hire or otherwise remunerate any other single person for services rendered, so long as; that service does not create surplus value.

"E.

A system opposed to the Capitalist in that:

No individual may own the means of production, distrubution or creation of goods or any other process wherein workers are employed for wages, or otherwise employed, to creat profit or surplus profit or value in use or exchange.

"A. In that all undertaking of production, distribution or manufator or otherwise the creation of goods must be made on a pure, collective basis under the conditions:

"1. equall shares of investment be made by members.

"2. equal distrubution of profit after taxes, be made to all investors.

"3. that all work or directive or administrative duties connected with the entersprize be done personally by those investors.

"4. that no person not directly working or otherwise directly taking part in the creationial process of any enterprize, have a share of or otherwise recive any part of the resultant profit ot it.

"5.

"Stipend
Agronomist

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"1. Q. Why did you go to the USSR?

I went as a citizen of the U. S. (as a tourist) residing in a forieng country which I have a perfect right to do. I went there to see the land, the people and how their system works.

"2. A. What about those letters? I made no letters deriding the U.S.!! In corespondence with the U. S. Embassy I made no anti-American statements, any critizem I might have had was of policies not our government.

"2 B. Did you make statments against the U.S. there? No

"2 C What about that type recording? I made a recording for the Moscow Tourist Radio Travel log, in which I spoke about sight-seeing and what I had seen in Moscow Tourist circles. I expressed delight in all the interesting places. I mentioned in this respect the University, mesuem of art, Red square, the Kremlin I rember I closed this 2 minute recording by saying I hoped our peoples would live in Peace and ____

"3 Did you break laws by residing or taking work in the U.S.S.R." Under U.S. law a person may lose the protection of the U S by voting or serving in the armed forces of a foriengn state or taking an oath of alligence to that state. I did none of these

"4. Isn't all work in the USSR considered state work? No. Technically only plants working directly for the State, usually defense. All other plants are owned by the workers who work in them.

"5. What about statements you made to U.P.I. agent Miss Mosby in 1959? I was approched just after I had formally notified the U. S. Embassy in Moscow of my future residence in USSR by the newspaper agencies in Moscow including UPI API and Time inc. Who were notified by the Embassy I did not call them. I answered questions and gave statements to Miss Mosby of UPI. I requested her to let me OK. her story before she released it, which is the polite and usuall thing. she sent over her version of what I said just after she sent it, I immially called her to complant about this, at which time she apolizied but said

her editor and not her had added several things. she said London was very excited about the story (that is how I deduced that she had already sent it) so there wasn't much else I could do about it. And I didn't realize that the story was even more blown out of shape once it got to the U.S.A. I'm afraid the printed story was fabricated sensationalism.

"6. Why did you remain in the USSR for so long if you only wanted a look? I resided in the USSR until February 1961 when I wrote the Embassy stating that I would like to go back. (My passport was at the Embassy for safekeeping) they invited me to Moscow for this purpose however it took me almost $\frac{1}{2}$ year to get a permit to leave the city of Minsk for Moscow. In this connection I had to use a letter from the head consular, to the Russian authorities in Minsk (the Russians are very bureaucratic and slow about letting foreigners travel about the country hence the visa) When I did get to Moscow the Embassy immediately gave me back my passport and advised me as to how to get a exit visa from the Russians for myself and my Russian wife. this long and _____ process took _____ months from July 1962 until _____ 1962. Therefore, you see almost 1 year was spent in trying to leave the country. that's why I was there so long not out of desire!

"7. Are you a Communist? Have you ever know a Communist? No of course not. I have never even know a Communist, outside of the ones in the USSR but you can't help that.

"8. What are the outstanding differences between the USA and USSR? freedom of speech travel outspoken opposition to unpopular policies freedom to believe in god.

"Newspapers, Thank you sir; you are a real patriot!!

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"1. Q. Why did you go to the USSR.?"

I went as a mark of desire and protest against american political policies in forienign countrys, my personal sign of discontent and horror at the misguided line of resoning of the U.S. Goverment and people. Q.A What about those letters? I made serval letters in which I expressed my above feeling to the american Embassy when in Oct 1959 I went there to legally liquate my american citizenship and was refused this legalle right.

"Q. 2 Did you make statements against the U.S. there? yes

"Q. 2^a What about that type recording? I made a recording for Radio Moscow which was broadcast the following Sunday in which a spoke about the beauful capitol of the Socialist world and all its progress.

"3 Did you break laws by residing or taking work in the USSR?
I did in that I took an othe of alligence to the USSR.

"4 Isn't all work in the USSR considered State work?
Yes of course and in that respect I also broke U S law in accepting work under a forign state.

"5 What about statements you made to UPI agent Miss Mosby?

"I was approced by Miss Mosby and other reporters just after I had formally requested the american Embassy to legally liquate my U. S. citizenship, for a story, they were notified by the U. S. Embassy, not by me. I answered questions and made statements to Miss Mosby in regard to my reasons for coming to the USSR, her story was warped by her later, but in barest esscen it is possible to say she had the thruth printed.

"6 Why did you remaine in the USSR for so long it you only wanted a look

"I resided in the USSR from Oct 16 1959 to sprig of 1961 a period of 2½ years I did so because I was living quite comfortably, I had plenty of money, an apartment rent-free lots of girls, ect. why should I leave all that?

"7A. Are you a communitis? yes basically, although I hate the USSR and socialist system I still think marxism can work under different circumstances.

"7 A. have you ever know a communist? Not in the U.S.A.,

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- ✓ "1. Statements to reporter
- 2. Letters to Embassys
- 3. type recordings to Radio Moscow
- 4.

"1. tourist report to _____ (illegible), moscow sights and sounds ordinary to Log of events in moscow called, 'Moscow Tourist Travels'

"2. asking for emformation about how to dissolve 15-44-T. 18
"U S Code 7

(Above in brackets was marked through with writing instrument on original manuscript.)

"8. What are th othesting differants between the USSR and USA?

None, except in the U.S. the living standared is a little higher. freedoms are about the same. medical aid and the educational system in the USSR is better than in the U S A."

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"The Communist Party of the United States has betrayed itself!

It has turned itself into the traditional lever of a foreign power to overthrow the Government of the United States, not in the name of freedom or high ideals, but in servile conformity to the wishes of the Soviet Union and in anticipation of Soviet Russia's complete domination of the American continent.

The Forster's and the Flynn's of the subsidized Communist Party of the United States have shown themselves to be willing, gullible messengers of the Kremlins internationalist propaganda.

There can be no international solidarity with the arch-betrayers of that most sublime ideal.

There can be no sympathy for those who have turned the idea of Communism into a vill curse to western man.

The Soviets have committed crimes unsurpassed even by their early day capitalist counterparts, the imprisonment of their own peoples, with the mass extermination so typical of Stalin, and the individual surpresstion and regimentation under Krushchev.

The deportations, the purposefull curtailment of diet in the consumer slighted population of Russia, the murder of history, the prositution of art and culture.

The Communist movement in the U. S., personalized by the Communist Party U.S.A., has turned itself into a 'valuble gold coin' of the Kremlin. It has failed to denouce any actions of the Soviet Government when similar actions on the part of the U. S. Goverment bring pious protest. Examples:

Denounced:

United States
Atom Bomb Test
Cuba
N.A.T.O. Manuvers

Not Denounced:

Russia
Atom Bomb Test
Hungary
Warsaw Pact Manovers

U-2
Congo
Negro Lynching

Sobel
Eastern Germany
Genocide

Only by declaring itself to be, not only not dependent upon, but opposed to, Soviet domination and influence, can dormant and disillusioned person's hope to unite to free the radical movement from it's inertia.

Through the refusal of the Communist Party U.S.A. to give a clear cut condemnation of Soviet piratical acts, progressives have been weakened into a stale class of fifth columnist of the Russians.

In order to free the hesitating and justifiably uncertain, future activist for the work ahead we must remove that obstacle which has so efficiently retarded him, namely the devotion of Communist Party U.S.A., to the Soviet Union, Soviet Government, and Soviet Communist International movement.

It is readily foreseeable that a coming economic, political or military crisis, internal or external, will bring about the final destruction of the capitalist system, assuming this, we can see how preparation in a special party could safeguard an independant course of action after the debacle, an American course steadfastly opposed to intervention by outside, relatively stable foreign powers, no matter from where they come, but in particular, and if necessary, violently opposed to Soviet intervention.

No party of this type can attract into its ranks more than a nominal number of fundamental radicals.

it is not the nature of such an organization to attract such a membership, as lets say, the Republicans or even the Socialist Party, but it is possible to enlist the aid of disenchanted members of the Socialist Party and even some from more 'respected', (from a capitalist viewpoint), parties.

But whereas our political enemies talk loudly now, they have no concept of what total crisis means.

The faction which has the greater basis in spirit, and the most far-sighted and ready membership of the radical futurist, will be the decisive factor.

We have no interest in violently opposing the U. S. Government, why should we manifest opposition when there are far greater forces at work, to bring about the fall of the United States Government, than we could ever possibly muster.

We do not have any interest in directly assuming the head of Government in the event of such an all-finishing crisis. As dissentent Americans we are merely interested in opposing foreign intervention which is a easily drawn conclusion if one believes in the theory of crisis.

The emplacement of a separate, democratic, pure Communist society is our goal, but one with union-communes, democratic socializing of production and without regard to the twisting apart of Marxist Communism by other powers.

The right of private personal property, religious tolerance and freedom of travel (which have all been violated under Russian 'Communist' rule) must be strictly observed.

Resoufullniss and patient working towards the aforesaid goal's are preferred rather than loud and useless manifestation's of protest.

Silent observance of our principles is of primary importance.

But these preferred tactics now, may prove to be too limited in the near future, they should not be confused with slowness, indesision or fear, only the intellectually fearless could even be remotly attracted too our doctrine, and yet this doctrine requirers the utmost restraint, a state of being in itself majustic in power.

"This is stoicism, and yet stoicism has not been effecteded for many years, and never for such a purpose.

There are orginizations already formed in the United States, who have declared they shall become effective only after the military debacle of the United States, organizations such as the Minutemen, or the opposite of a stoical organization. But these preformers are simply preparing to redefend in their own back yards, a system which they take for granted will be defeated militarily elsewhere, a strange thing to hear from 'patriots'.

These armed groups represent hard core American capitalist supporter's. There will also be small armed communist and probably fascist groups. There will also be anarchist and religious groups at work.

However, the bulk of the population will not adhere to any of these group's, because they will not be inclined to join any of the old factions with which we are all so familiar.

But the people will never except a new order presented by politicians or opportunist. Logically, they will deem it necessary to oppose those system of Goverment against whom they have been educated, but they will be againts anything resembling their former capitalist masters also.

Steadfastly opposed to the reviveal of the old forces they will seek a new fore.

This will be the sentiment of the mass'es. But any organization cleaverly manipulating word's may sway the mass'es

This is where a safeguard is necessary. And not only a safeguard, but a safety valve, to shut off opportunist forces from within, and foreign powers from without.

There can be no subsitute for organization and procurement work towards the aforestated ideals and goals. Work is the key to the future door, but failure to apply that

key because of possible armed opposition in our hypothetical, but very probably crisis, is as useless as trying to use force now to knock down the door.

Armed defenses of our ideals must be an accepted doctrine after the crisis, just as refraining from any demonstrations of force must be our doctrine in the mean time.

No man, having known, having lived, under the Russian Communist and American capitalist system, could possibly make a choice between them, there is no choice, one offers oppression the other poverty. Both offer imperialistic injustice, tinted with two brands of slavery.

But no rational man can take the attitude of 'a curse on both your house's'. There are two world systems, one twisted beyond recognition by its misuse, the other decadent and dying in its final evolution.

A truly democratic system would combine the better qualities of the two upon an American foundation, opposed to both world systems as they are now.

This than is our ideal.

Membership in this organization implies adherence to the principle of simple distribution of information about this movement to others and acceptance of the idea of stoical readiness in regards to practical measures once instituted in the crisis.

DL

100-10461

104-1

B OSWALD CORRESPONDENCE IN RUSSIA TO
HIS MOTHER AND BROTHER, ROBERT OSWALD

1
DL 100-10461
WRH:mvs

104-2

Under date of December 30, 1963, FBI Headquarters made available to the Dallas Office of the FBI, Zerox copies of certain letters from LEE HARVEY OSWALD to his mother and his brother, ROBERT. These copies were obtained by the Bureau from the U. S. Secret Service. Mr. ROBERT OSWALD has declined to release the originals of this correspondence, and has made the specific request that the copies of the correspondence be used in an official capacity only. The majority of this correspondence was written in Russia.

The letters to OSWALD's mother were directed to her address at 1808 Eagle Street, Apartment 3, or Box 982, Vernon, Texas, and the letters to ROBERT OSWALD were directed to his address at 7313 Davanport Street, Fort Worth, Texas. This correspondence where appropriate is quoted or summarized below:

1. A letter from OSWALD addressed to his mother at Vernon, Texas which bears the postmark at Vernon, October 30, 1961. The letter is dated October 22, 1959, but in view of the postmark and a reference to the year 1961 in the letter, it is apparent that the letter is dated wrong and probably should be dated 1961. This letter is quoted as follows:

Oct. 22, 1959

Dear Mother,

Sorry too take so long to write but I thought something might have come up but we're still waiting.

I recived your birthday card on the 14th thanks for the thought.

I'll be glad to get any books you send in the future you might include some fashion magazines for Marina also if you remember it.

Marina's maiden name was Proosakova, her aunt and uncles address in Minsk is

Minsk
U. L. Kalinina 42,
Apt 20
Proosakova

they don't speak any english, however, her uncle is a army colonel, soon to retire.

You needen't worry about my losing American citizenship I can only do that if I want too, and I don't want too.

For my birthday Marina sent me a gold and silver cup with the inscription 'to my Dear Husband on his birthday 18/X/61' very nice don't you think, Marina is on her vacation now, she is spending it with her aunt in the city of 'Kharkov' about 600 miles South-East of here. She's just relaxing and taking it easy from work and the house work.

We both agreeded that she should go to a new environment on her vaction; but she comes back in a few more days on the 29th of October. Her Aunt ~~Palina's~~ address is the city of - 'Kharkov'

V'ezd Treehklera
House 5, Apt. 7
Mikhailovich, P. U.S.S.R

Marina, unfortunately, doesn't speak any English at all. I would like her to learn, and I've bought some books for her on the subject but for now she doesn't want to learn, she speaks a little French allready, (she learned in grammer school), and she doesn't want to study another lanugage for now, she really does not have the time you know, what with her working from 10 - 5 and then the house-work but it doesn't matter for now.

3
DL 100-10461

104-4

Well, thats about all for now.

I'll try to write more often.

Love
Lee

P.S. Did you recive my letter with some pictures of Minsk in it??

2. A letter from OSWALD to his mother at Vernon, Texas bearing the postmark at Vernon, March 29, 1962, which is quoted below:

March 21.

Dear Mother

In the last few days I have recived 5 letters from you dated Feb. 25 clippings and March 1st. Also in one letter some more clippings thanks alot for them.

I'm glad you know about the baby also.

They seemed to write alot about me in the paper's, Robert talked too much, but I'm glad to see you supported me in your own way.

I had written a letter to the Secretary of the Navy in Jan. 1962 I got a reply yesterday from some General telling me about the reversal of my honourable discharge into an undesireable one.

We should be in the States in May at the latest the Embassy has agreeded to loan me \$500.00 for the trip, and also they excepted my own affidavit of support so your's won't be necessary after all, however don't try to get that business man friend of your's to cancel his affidavit, it may come in handey some day.

"As you say my trip here would make a good story about me. I've allready thought about that for quite awhile now, in fact, I've allready made 50 pages of longhand notes on the subject.

All is well with Marina and the baby, her lenght at birth was 50 centametres (I don't know how many inchs that is, but everything is normal, right down to June's little fingernails.

I don't think we'll be at this address much longer so it is not advisable for you to write here.

The reason for the delay in some letters and the speed in others is because of the Russian censor who reads all letters.

I was not aware you sent other letters to me in the Hotel when I lived in Moscow as I left there for Minsk after I wrote that letter.

I cannot say where we shall go at first probably directly to Vernon.

Love XXX
Lee"

3. A letter from OSWALD to his mother at Vernon, Texas, which bears the postmark April 28, 1962 at Vernon, is quoted below:

"April 22.

"Dear Mother,

Well as you see we still have not gotten off yet. the holdup is from the Embassy which is apparently trying to get us money from other sourse's than itself for our tickets to the U.S.

"Probably they'll approach you for money again.
don't pay any attention to them.

June is getting big now allready 2½ months old.

she's real cute I know you'll like her.

Who is Mr. ^{USA}Phillips? Since you work at a new
place now, do you still have contact with him?

When will the elections for governor be in Texas?

Do you get any word from Pic?

Write soon.

love
Lee"

4. A letter to ROBERT OSWALD, postmark illegible.
In this letter, OSWALD told ROBERT he had just returned from
maneuvers to Camp Pendleton. He asked news of ROBERT's family.
In this letter he stated:

"Well, pretty soon I'll be getting out of the
corp and I know what I want to be and how I'm
going to be it, which I guess is the most
important thing in life."

5. An OSWALD letter to ROBERT which is quoted as follows:

Nov. 8, 1959

Dear Robert

Well, what shall we talk about? The weather perhaps? Certainly you do not wish me to speak of my decision to remain in the Soviet Union and apply for citizenship here, since I'm afraid you would not be able to comprehend my reasons. You really don't know anything about me. Do you know for instance that I have waited to do this for well over a year, do you know that I (Cyrillic writing) speak a fair amount of Russian which I have been studying for many months.

I have been told that I will not have to leave the Soviet Union if I do not care to. This than is my decision. I will not leave this country, the Soviet Union, under any conditions, I will never return to the United States which is a country I hate.

Someday, perhaps soon, and than again perhaps in a few years, I will become a citizen of the Soviet Union, but it is a very legal process, in any event, I will not have to leave the Soviet Union and I will never leave.

I recived your telegram and was glad to hear from you, only one word bothered me, the word 'mistake'. I assume you mean that I have made a 'mistake' it is not for you to tell me this. You cannot understand my reasons for this very serious action.

I will not speak to anyone from the United States over the telephone since it might be taped by the Americans.

"If you wish to corespond with me you can write to the below address, but I really don't see what we could talk about if you want to send me money, that I can use, but I do not expect to be able to pay it back.

Lee

"Lee Harvey Oswald
Metropol Hotel Rm. 233
Moscow, U.S.S.R."

6. A letter to ROBERT from OSWALD which is quoted as follows:

"Nov. 26, 1959

"Dear Robert

I shall begin by answering your question on why I and my fellow workers and communist's would like to see the present capitalist government of the U. S. overthrown.

Do you remember the time you told me about the efforts of your milk company to form a union? try to see why workers must form unions against their employers in the U. S. It is because the government supports an economic system which exploits all its workers, a system based upon credit which gives rise to the never ending cycle of depression, inflation, unlimited speculation (which is the phase America is in now) and war. In this system art, culture, and the spirit of man are subjected to commercial enterpraising, religion and education are used as a tool to surpress what would otherwise be a population questioning their government's unfair economic system and plans for war.

"Science is neglected unless it can be directly used in making war or producing more profit for the owners of business's - these are some of the reasons. look around you, and look at yourself. See the Segregation, See the unemployed and what automation is, remember how you were laided off at Convair?

I remember well the days we stood off-shore at Indonesia waiting to surpress yet another population, when they were having a revolution there in Mar. 1958. I can still see Japan and the Phillipines and their puppet governments. More important I can see the American in uniforms. Men who were there because they were drafted or because they were adventursom or unemployed in civilian life. I will ask you a question Robert, What do you surpport the American government for? What is the Ideal you put forward? Do not say 'freedom' because freedom is a word used by all peoples through all of time. Ask me and I will tell you I fight for communism. this word brings to your mind slaves or injustice, this is because of American propaganda, look this word up in the dictionary or better still, read the book which I first read when I was 15, 'Capital', which contains economic theorys and most important the 'communist Manifesto'.

I will not say your grandchildren will live under communism, look for yourself at history, look at a world Map! America is a dieing country, I do not wish to be a part of it, nor do I ever again wish to be used as a tool in its military aggresions.

This should answer your question, and also give you a glimpse of my way of thinking.

So you speak of advantages. Do you think that is why I am here? For personal, material advantages? Happiness is not based on oneself, it does not

"consist of a small home, of taking and getting, Happiness is taking part in the struggle, where there is no borderline between one's own personal world, and the world in general I never belived I would find more material advantages at this stage of development in the Soviet Union than I might of had in the U. S.

When I talked to a reporter I gave most of my reason's, however the story I found out later was badly slanted and left out my real reasons, the reporter was interested only in a colorful story. I have been a pro-communist for years and yet I have never met a communist, instead I kept silent and observed, and what I observed plus my Marx'ist learning brought me here to the Soviet Union. I have always considered this country to be my own.

I left you out of the matter because I did not want to get you into any sort of trouble because of me. also this desision is one which I only could make, and you would not have been able to understand me.

You probably know little about this country so I will tell you about it. I did find, as I suspected I would, that most of what is written about the Soviet Union in America is for the better part fabrication. The people here have a seven hour work day now and only work till three o'clock on Saturdays with Sunday's off. They have socializism which means they do not pay for their apartments or for medical care the money for these come's from the profit they help to create in their labor, which in the U. S. goes to capitailist. here in Moscow there is a housing shortage because of the war but its not bad now there is no unemployment here and in fact a slight shortage of manpower even with a 250,000,000 population this is because this country is building at a pace which will put it first in all fields of endeavor in 15 years. Most

important is the fact they do not work for employers at all, a milkmen or a factory supervisor are both socially equal, this does not mean they have the same salary of course, this just means that their work goes for the common good of all.

These people are a good, warm, alive people These people would never think of war, they wish to see all peoples live in peace but at the same time they wish to see the economicly enslaved people of the west free, they belive in their Ideal and they support their government and country to the full limit.

You say you have not renounced me, good I am glad, but I will tell you on what terms I want this arrangement.

I want you to understand what I say now, I do not say lightly, or unknowingly, since I have been in the military as you know, and I know what war is like.

1. In the event of war I would kill any American who put a uniform on in defense of the American government - any American.

2. That in my own mind I have no attachment's of any kind in the U. S.

3. That I want to, and I shall, live a normal happy and peaceful life here in the Soviet Union for the rest of my life.

4. That my mother and you are (in spite of what the newspaper said) not objects of affection, but only examples of workers in the U. S.

You should not try to remember me in any way I used to be, since I am only now showing you how

"I am. I am not all bitterness or hate, I came here only to find freedom, In truth, I feel I am at last with my own people, but do not let me give you the impression I am on another world, these people are so much like Americans and people the world over. They simply have an economic system and the Ideal of communism which the U. S. does not have. I could never have been personally happy in the U. S.

I wish you would do me a favor since that other bad newspaper story went over I have been thinking I would like to give people, who are interested the real reason. If you would, give the contents of this letter (except that which is for your benefit) to some reporter, it will clarify my situation, use your own judgement, however.

I have no money problems at all. My situation was not nearly as stable then, as it is now, I have no troubles at all now along that line.

It is snowing here in Moscow now, which makes everything look very nice, from my hotel window, I can see the Kremlin and Red Square and I have just finished a dinner of (Cyrillic writing) meat and potatoes. So you see the Russians are not so different from you and I.

Lee

Hotel Metropol
RM 201 -- (New Room No.)
Moscow, U.S.S.R. ■

DL

100-10461

WRH:mja

104-13

7) A letter to ROBERT, received by addressee
December 17, 1959, which is quoted as follows:

Dear Robert.

I will be moving from this hotel, and so you need not write me here. I have chosen to remove all ties with my past, so I will not write again, nor do I wish you to try and contact me, I'm sure you understand that I would not like to receive correspondence from people in the country which I fled. I am starting a new life and I do not wish to have anything to do with the old life.

I hope you and your family will always be in good health.

Lee

DL

100-10461

WRH:mja

104-14

8) A letter dated May 5, 1961, from OSWALD to ROBERT, quoted as follows:

Dear Robert.

Its been a long time since I have written you, more than a year, alot has happened in that time.

I am now living in the city of Minsk which is located about 400 miles S-W of Moscow. Minsk is the capital city of the Soviet State of bellerussia.

I shall have been living here already a year and three months. I came to live in Minsk after I wrote my last letter to you. I have been working at the local radio-television plant as a metal-smith.

On April 30 of this year, I got married. My wife is nineteen years old, she was born in the city of Leningrad, which is the second largest city in the U.S.S.R., her parents are dead - and she was living with her aunt and uncle here in Minsk when I first met her.

Not too long ago I recived a letter from mother but I lost the address.

I would like you send it to me if you write.

We have a small flat near my factory and are living nicely. In general I have found the living conditions here to be good but there is alot of things still to be done.

DL

100-10461

WRH:mja

104-15

I hope to send you some things from here if you like. the Soviet Union is one of the most interesting country's I have seen in My travels. You should try to vist us some time I some times meet american tourist here especialy in the summer.

Well thats about all for now hope to hear from you:soon.

Regards to Vatta and Kathy.

Lee

DL 100-10461
WRH:mja

104-16

9) A letter to ROBERT, dated October 22, 1961, advising he is still attempting to obtain exit visa from Russia for himself and his wife. He stated his wife, MARINA, is in the city of Kharkov, about 600 miles southeast of Minsk (on vacation) and living with her aunt. He said, ".....we both agree that change of senerey was good for her, she comes back on the 1st of November.

"From 'Kharkov' she sent me beautiful gold and silver cup with inscription 'To my Dear Husband on his birthday 18/X/61'".

OSWALD inquired about the hunting at the farm.

10) A letter to ROBERT, dated November 20, 1961. He said, "I notice you seem to be worried about wheather we are reciving each others letters and weather we can write each other in the future, by all means keep writing. I think we get all of each others letters. They take 12-14 days from you to me." He then speaks of ROBERT'S daughter, KATHY, and a present he had bought for her. He mentioned it had been four months since he had made his request for his exit visa. He mentioned it would cost about \$800 to fly from Moscow to New York for two people, and said he did not have that much money, but is expecting help from the Embassy. He mentioned bringing ROBERT back a pair of Russian boots. He extends personal greetings.

DL

100-10461

WRH:mja

104-17

11) A letter to ROBERT, dated November 30, 1961. He advised he sent a package with some Christmas presents. He said that he had not received any word about their visas. He said, "Our deal about the visas is not getting any better, and I think about New Years, I'll fly into Moscow, and go to the Embassy about it." He extends personal greetings.

12) Christmas greetings to ROBERT and family, dated Minsk, 1961.

13) A letter to ROBERT, dated December 14, 1961. He said, "First of all, I can confirm what you thought about some of your letters. I did not receive any letter with 'certain' questions. its quite possible they destroyed it.

"Did you get my letter about how they took down the statue of Stalin?"

He mentioned receiving a package of books and magazines from his mother. He said it was interesting to read of the stories in Time about the life and politics in the U.S.S.R., as most of the stories are wrong. He mentioned that MARINA had worked on some table napkins for VADA (ROBERT'S wife) for two weeks. He extends personal greetings.

DL

100-10461

WRH:mja

104-18

14) A letter to ROBERT with illegible postmark, but probably in late 1961 or early 1962, quoted as follows:

Dec 20.

Dear Mother

Recieved today the third package of books and magazines in the last three weeks thanks alot I really do appreciate all of your help.

I had better give you my new address they just changed the name of this street so the address is
(illegible)
Ulisita Kommunistecheski
House 4 Apt 24.

We still don't have any word about our vista.

The American Embassy in Moscow wrote me a letter and stated they think the Russians have to let us go. I shall keep you informed.

That's about all for now.

Lee xxx

P.S. Marina sends her love and thanks for the sewing book.

DL

100-10461

WRH:mja

104-19

15) A letter to ROBERT, dated January 5, 1962. He said that they would get their visas about the first of February and would, therefore, arrive in the United States about the first of March, depending on any possible changes by the Soviets. He mentioned spending New Years at a friend's place.

16) A letter dated January 30, 1962, to ROBERT, which is quoted as follows:

January 30, 1962

Dear Robert.

Well, I haven't heard from you for quite awhile either you're not writing or your letters aren't getting through to me.

I told you in my last letter that we have finally been granted exit visas for leaving the Soviet Union will probably be in the states in the spring.

You once said that you asked around about weather or not the U. S. government had any charges against me, you said at that time "no", maybe you should ask around again, its possible now that the goverment knows I'm coming they'll have something waiting.

Mother wrote me a letter the other day in which she informed me that the Marine Corps had given me a dishonorable discharge in Nov. 1959 Did You know this?

DL

100-10461

WRH:mja

104-20

Of course, this is not too bad, since it relieves me of reserve duty, but still I should take this into account.

I wrote a letter to John B. Connally Secretary of the Navy who lives in Ft. Worth asking about my dishonorable discharge maybe you could ask him to look into the case since I don't know whether the Russians will let that letter through.

You said you were sending us something but we still haven't gotten anything don't worry packages are very slow coming and going.

The Embassy said they will see about a loan for us when we leave so it seems our money problem will not be too acute.

Marina still has a month to go so by the time you get this letter you'll be pretty close to being an uncle. March 1 is the big day.

Marina sends her love to all, as I do hope to see you all soon I really don't know where we'll settle I'd sort of like New Orleans.

How's the hunting out at the farms?

How the weather and all?

If you find out any information about me, please let me know, I'd like to be ready on the draw so too speak we'll keep writing until we get ready to leave so don't quit writing

Your Brother

Lee & Marina

