

we'll dance and we'll talk." They had no fear at Zigers' home. That's why they always had a problem and couldn't get an exit visa back to Argentina, because they always said what they thought. Sometimes they spoke badly about Russia. Maybe that is why they weren't given permission to leave USSR for a long time.

KGB did contemplate a possibility that Oswald would use these Zigers to pass on information, but all the same, there was no need to summon that family, or warn them. As Igor said, they had contacts to keep an eye on both Oswald and Zigers.

May 1 Mayday came as my first holiday. All factories, etc., closed. Spectacular military parade. All workers paraded past reviewing stand waving flags and pictures of Mr. K., etc. I followed the American custom of making a holiday by sleeping in the morning. At night I visit with the Zigers' daughters at a party thrown by them and about forty people came, many of Argentine origin. We dance, play around, and drink until 2 A.M. when party breaks up. Eleanora Ziger, oldest daughter, 26, formerly married, now divorced, a talented singer. Anita Ziger, 20, very gay, not so attractive, but we hit it off. Her boyfriend Alfred is a Hungarian chap, silent, brooding, not at all like Anita. Ziger advised me to go back to USA. This is the first voice of opposition I have heard. I respect Ziger, he has seen the world. He says many things, and

relates many things I do not know about the USSR. I begin to feel uneasy inside, it's true!

From KGB Observation

Performed from 07:00 on May 1, 1960
till 01:50 on May 2, 1960

At 10:00 Lee Harvey came out of house N4 on Kalinina Street, came to Pobedy Square where he spent 25 minutes looking at passing parade. After this he went to Kalinina Street and began walking up and down embankment of Svisloch River. Returned home by 11:00.

From 11:00 to 13:00 he came out onto balcony of his apartment more than once. At 13:35 Lee Harvey left his house, got on trolley bus N2 at Pobedy Square, went to Central Square, was last to get off bus, went down Engelsa, Marksa and Lenina streets to bakery store on Prospect Stalina.

There he bought 200 gr. of vanilla cookies, then went to cafe <Vesna>, had cup of coffee with patty at self-service section and hurried towards movie theatre Central. Having looked through billboards he bought newspaper <Banner of Youth>, visited bakery for second time, left it immediately, and took trolley bus N1 to Pobedy Square and was home by 14:20.

At 16:50 Lee Harvey left his house and came to house N14 on Krasnaya Street. (Residence of immigrant from Argentina--Ziger.)

At 1:40 Lee Harvey together with other men and women, among whom there were daughters of Ziger, came home. Observation was stopped at this point till morning.

Chapter 8 -- In Love with Ella

Pavel had begun to notice that Lee and Ella Germann would spend time together at Horizon. Their work-place was a big room, open enough so you could see who came up to whom, and Lee was often at her table, and they were often together at lunch. Lee never spoke about his friendship with Ella, so Pavel didn't know if he liked her a lot, but then, Lee was not one to go out of his way to show feelings. He never talked about girls. Maybe you could make some comment about a girl's body, but not how she is in bed. For that matter, he wouldn't even say he had been to bed with a girl. There was one, for example, huge as a horse, Jenya. She was easy to get. Some people said her husband made her that way. When men were on late shift, some would even have a dispute whose turn it was to have a poke. She weighed 120 kilograms--264 pounds. She was called Our Horse, Our Refrigerator.

Pavel doesn't remember whether Lee did anything with Jenya. . .but he could tell you this: Oswald did not play Romeo. With Ella, he wasn't dropping on his knees in front of her, but if in open shop, somebody comes up to somebody else five times a week, that becomes suspicious. Pavel thought

Ella was interesting in her way, but he did not consider her pretty. Maybe she just wasn't his type. Also, she was Jewish. Pavel wanted to explain that he was not an anti-Semite, but she, personally, was not his type.

June. Ella Germann--a silky black-haired Jewish beauty with fine dark eyes, skin as white as snow, a beautiful smile and good but unpredictable nature. Her only fault was that at 24 she was still a virgin due entirely to her own desire. I met her when she came to work at my factory. I noticed her and perhaps fell in love with her the first moment I saw her.

Now at fifty-five, Ella is soft-spoken and very careful in her choice of words. She has a high crown of dark hair turning gray, and delicate aquiline features.

She would say that her childhood is not of interest because she had been very timid as a child. She always did as she was told to do and stayed at home a lot. And even when she was adolescent her friends told her that she consisted of nothing but complexes. So maybe she was of no interest at all.

Her recollection is that she was four years old when the war started. She was living in Magilov, a small place, with her grandparents. First time their town was bombed she was so frightened that all memories from that time are lost. Her grandmother, however, told Ella what happened.

This grandmother was very strong. At her job she cut huge pieces of meat from cattle, and the child respected her for her strength. When German planes started to bomb overhead, Ella just "jumped into her," as it was put, and hugged her neck and stayed there through an entire day. Nobody could remove her. It was as if Ella's grandmother had to "wear" her all day long. Other children cried, other children talked, but Ella was quiet. Some parents even remarked, "Look at her. She doesn't express emotion." They thought she was strong, but she realizes now she had a great shock. Maybe it was at this time that she lost so much of her early memory.

Ella's family happened to be Jewish but she knew nothing about it. Her grandmother was born in a very religious family and told her about a talis and a yarmulke but she had never seen either.

Unlike her grandmother who took care of her, Ella's mother had her own life. She was single at that time since Ella's father was dead, and she'd been married twice, and

always wanted to arrange her life in a proper way. But she had problems. Ella's mother was a very good singer but unable to make her career. She would work all day at other jobs and then at night would often be out with her girlfriend at a movie or going to one club or another; in fact she was always busy and did not pay a great deal of attention to her children. Ella's mother was pretty and had presence, yet she did not become that good singer and fine actress everyone expected. Finally, in order to make a living, she had to work in a chorus and such difficulties went on through Ella's childhood.

She remembers that when her family came back to Minsk after the war, only a few houses were left standing. Everything was ruined. One big word commonly used at the time was pogareveshii--it means "whatever is left after the fire." Sometimes nothing remained of a house but a wall and a chimney and they would call this house pogareveshii.

Ella did not go to such places to play because it was dangerous. There were bandits hiding there, she was told, who could rob you or kill you. She heard of boys who were too brave and went to play there, and hidden shells sometimes exploded.

At one point she remembers her mother was fired from a job and stayed home and wept for several days. She had two

children to support and two grandparents. Her grandfather was ill, but used to go and buy something from somebody for one price, then move to a marketplace and try to sell it for more.

Of course, children are children and they really cannot accept too many tragic events. While now she can see it was a miserable life, at that time she never felt unhappy. In her school, other children were no richer, all were equal, and she had friends and a lot of happy moments. There were activities. They even played tennis, and sang and had games. She does not feel that her life then was unhappy.

Of course, she had no boyfriends when she was a teenager, but then, she didn't care. She started to go out with young men very late--indeed, she was 19 before she had her first date. And in the meantime, her mother got a steady job as a typist in a lecture bureau of an Officer's Club.

7 | Still, theater was always present in their family. They knew actors and actresses, discussed their performances, and there was never a year in Ella's life when she did not go to theater. Her mother remained mysterious, however. Even when Ella was 16 or 17, she did not know her mother's private life. Since her mother was was a beautiful woman, however, and very emotional and romantic, she kept waiting for someone who would be up to her standards, "the prince in her life." Maybe that was why she never married again.

Ella was romantic too. It might just as well have been a family tradition. Now, she is less romantic, and her daughter even less. Every generation of women seems to be losing this love of romance a little more. In her mother's case, men came to visit and saw two children plus two grandparents in one room, and maybe it frightened them out of any desire to marry her.

As Ella grew up, she liked to dance waltzes, but then each year had a different dance and her favorite soon became foxtrot. She did hear of this American band leader, Glenn Miller, and then saw Mr. Miller and his orchestra in a film called in Russia "Serenade of Sunny Valley." [which might even translate into "Sun Valley Serenade."] But she remembers that one U.S. film she liked was "Twelve Angry Men," because she was able to compare jury systems in both countries and after that she started not to trust what she was being told about America--that rich people were only a small group, most people were poor and she remembers that people she lived among at home and in school would whisper how unemployed men and women in America had an equal level of life to Russians who were employed. On the other hand, she believed that government--not Americans but United States government--could really start a war.

Still, she was interested neither in technology nor

politics. When she and her girlfriend went to films, a program would usually start with ten minutes of news showing Soviet film achievements in agriculture and industry. When they showed capitalist countries, there were pictures of demonstrations and unemployment. It was a boring ten minutes. She and her girlfriend would usually come one quarter of an hour late for when the real movie would begin.

She loved all films in which Deanna Durbin sang. She thought everything in those films was beautiful--a beautiful woman, beautiful stories, everything beautiful, nice clothes, nice furniture. She was much more attracted by this side of life than politics, but then, she already understood at age fourteen that something in politics was wrong. She remembers walking along a street with a girlfriend and saying, "I think that Stalin doesn't understand what's going on in our country because he is receiving false reports." This was a close friend of hers and they could share such a thought. She couldn't say it at home but her closest friend was completely on her side and agreed completely. They saw already how small bosses lied to bigger bosses, trying to promote their own careers, always showing only best side of everything in their work, and always claiming to have over-achieved. She thought that if people on this small level were trying to flatter higher-ups, then people on a higher level were of course doing

that with Stalin, so when Stalin celebrated his 70th birthday, for example, he was given wonderful gifts that had been made with great skill by very talented people, carpets, as one example, that were truly refined jobs, all to show Stalin what nice work could be done in Russia. So what he saw proved to him that his country was prosperous.

Not many of her girlfriends were political. Dates with boys interested them more. It left Ella a little apart, but that was all right. Ella considered herself a person who was not envious. Maybe not 100 per cent not-envious, but mostly. And she liked girlfriends who were advanced beyond her because they came to her and shared experiences. She could learn about their life because they needed somebody with whom to share stories. One of her friends once came to her and said, "Listen, I like one young man, and I want to meet him but it's difficult. Could you do it with me? We'll walk past where he lives and maybe we'll see him." So Ella immediately put on her coat and went along because she had begun to understand how important it was for her friend to meet this young man. And never once did the thought occur to Ella, "Maybe he will like me." No, she just wanted her friend to have her chance.

Sometimes she would feel as if the death of her father had left her very sad. Maybe her life would have been more exciting if he had been alive, for he had been an engineer who

constructed bridges and had a good job. Her grandmother had taken Ella to a Jewish cemetery nearby to show his grave, but this cemetery had been bombed and she and her grandmother only walked around, trying to find his stone, but couldn't locate it.

At that time, her mother was still a temple of perfection to Ella, and interested most in herself. Ella pities her now. Her mother never had a normal personal life. At a time when they were really pressed for money, Ella's mother went out once and bought stockings, newspapers and candles. Now, Ella lives with her daughter and her grandchild and is a teacher and worries whether she has time for her own children and grandchildren because teachers are always a little bit crazy. They give so much time to other people's children, yet when they come home to their own, they have notebooks to check. They don't have time to talk to their own sons and daughters. Still, Ella cooked for her children, washed for them, worked for them as her grandmother had cooked for her.

In photographs of Ella when she was younger, all through her childhood and adolescence, she now recalls, that she always tried to be off to one side, in a corner. Whereas, in photographs of Lee, as she points out, he usually managed to be dead center of every snapshot.

All the same, there was a time when she thought she might

be an actress like her mother, and Ella performed a lot in a public theater, but then she decided she was more ready to go to a university.

She failed her entrance exam, however. Her intention had been to enter Pedagogical Institute, yet she couldn't pass an exam in Byelorussian. All her other marks were very good, all 5's and 4's, not even one 3. But she couldn't sit and wait another year to pass Byelorussian, so in September, along with a good many other girls and boys who couldn't get into Minsk University, she went around to a few factories to look for a job, and was taken on at Horizon as a trainee.

When she turned 19, she started to date. All the while, she kept trying to enter Minsk University. But for two years, she couldn't. Now that Stalin had died, bribery was prevalent. People in University Entrance Commission even told her that they would be given lists of people who should be accepted. If you weren't on such a list and did well, they might insert commas or other false marks to create mistakes for you. All she knows is that her Byelorussian was good after two years of study, yet she kept receiving 2's, very low mark. She thinks it's possible that being Jewish could have retarded some of her effort to obtain an education.

Of course, she did not consider herself as somebody who could be combative. She was not one to become stronger

through adversity. Once, she recalls, taking part in a competition of poetry reading, and one of her judges spoke of giving Ella the highest prize but then, as she learned later, she was rejected because she was not Byelorussian, not "national cadre". Therefore, she couldn't represent Minsk in any national competition; being Jewish was looked upon as belonging to a separate nation. It didn't matter if you were Jewish Communist or Jewish Orthodox--you were part of another nation and could not represent Byelorussia. That did not build her confidence.

In her factory, however, it was not so bad. It depended on who was your boss. If you happened to be working under some person who hated Jews, you could have problems, but it didn't mean everyone was anti-Semitic, and if your boss was good, you could have quite a nice life and job. So, she didn't have factory problems.

When she started dating, you couldn't even say it was true dating. A boy might get tickets to opera and take her, but often, before she would accept, he would be talking her into going out with him for a whole month. She thinks her development was slow, very slow.

By the time she met Lee, she was already 23 and had dated many young men. She would go out with someone a couple of times but then realize she didn't feel anything toward this

person, so why continue? On the other hand, it was boring to sit home. Sometimes she would go out on a date without ever feeling it could be right man for her.

Meanwhile, she was still determined to get some higher education. Some girls with whom she entered Horizon had given up on this idea. Some married. Some worked on improving themselves at their job. But she was determined. Every year she tried her exams.

When she finally passed, it was not for Pedagogy, but Mathematical Faculty. What helped was that Byelorussian Minister of Education had just developed a new law: if you worked in a factory plant for two years, you were put on a list ahead of others who wanted to enter straight from school.

So Ella not only got into Minsk University but had a scholarship, and could quit factory work. Two years later, however, she received a bad mark on one of her exams and they took away that same scholarship. Now she had to go back to her factory. She moved, therefore, from day study to evening study, and resumed her job at Horizon, and in fact, they welcomed Ella back because she was already well known in this plant for participating in amateur concerts. Indeed, the person in charge of personnel told her he was going to put her into a new department called Device Shop. She would assemble parts for radios.

But when she came back, Lee was already working there. She remembers being introduced to him briefly. All that week he kept looking at her during lunch break and her instincts knew that if she went up to him and asked for something, he would like that.

Of course, lots of girls wanted to be a friend of this American. When he would walk through factory aisles, there were many who would keep saying, "Hello, Alik, hi!" as if he was of special importance, used to being a king. Of course, there were also young people who didn't like him because he considered himself so special, and some would say, "He walks around a lot; he doesn't work a lot; and he gets the same money we do."

She never actually saw him on a job so she couldn't judge. Her bench was in another part of a very big room, separated by different corridors.

Now, in her night school classes, she was working on some English text, and had to translate a number of pages by a certain date, so it was not wholly a pretext to get him to help her. There was some real need. While it would not characterize her in a positive way, she thinks, she sometimes did use men to do small things for her. For instance, there was an engineer she did not like particularly, but she was not good in drawing certain kinds of plans and wiring schemes, so

she asked him to help, even though she had no intention of dating him. For Lee, however, she did not have negative feelings. Since this American seemed to find her attractive, why not ask him to translate for her? In fact, when she asked, he smiled. Ella had begun to realize that many young men liked her, and wanted to date her. So, she was not surprised. Maybe she even took it for granted.

She and Lee agreed to meet at 3 o'clock to do her translation in a small room. She assumed there wouldn't be anyone else there although as it turned out, a few workers were present. She and Lee sat down at a small table where a small radio was playing music.

Lee spread out her pages and turned off that radio without asking whether anyone wanted to listen. But Max Germann was also working there, and he became indignant. He came up and turned the radio back on. Lee turned it off; Max turned it on. Then Lee turned it off, and said, "Russian pig!" Whereupon, Max stalked off.

It was unpleasant for Ella. In front of several people, Lee had turned off their radio because she had to study. So, she felt guilty. On the other hand, a well-brought-up person would have done exactly what he did, and Lee was indignant that all Max could think about was his own pleasure.

Frankly speaking, Ella could say that at that moment she

was on Lee's side. He was more subtle than people around him, maybe he was brought up better.

In the beginning, however, she also thought he was not too bright. His Russian was poor and he took everything like a joke. He laughed a lot. So they laughed a lot, too much maybe.

Yet, more she saw him, more interesting he became. It was interesting to talk to him and he would tell her about his country.

Before long he was inviting her to see movies. They went often for walks and to parks and sat on a bench. He would tease her, "You know, I am a rich bridegroom. I have an apartment."

It was interesting for her to be dating an American and she was curious. Besides, he did not create problems. He was not aggressive in courting. That was understood as their basis for going out together. Some men had been nasty, but he wasn't. And of course, he didn't have financial problems, he even hinted to her that he had high connections. He had met Chairman of City Council, Shaparov. "If we need something," Lee said, "for our future, I can go to the mayor. We can get what we need."

At Horizon, she did hear that when Lee first came to Minsk, Sharapov had talked to him, so Lee did seem a confident

person to her, and merry. He had a sense of humor. They still kept laughing a lot. In those days, friends used to call her Khartushka, a person who enjoys life, and so she and Lee did not have difficult or deep conversations, just talked like young people. She liked to tease him. Not in a bad sense, just to challenge him a little.

During all this time, they dated approximately twice a week but had lunch together at their cafeteria every day. During that break, they would arrange dates for their week: one day she couldn't, another she could. And they usually sat alone; other people respected their privacy and did not try to join their table.

She never felt: "Oh, I wish we'd go out with other people." She liked being alone with him. It was her way of dating. She had always had such relations with men. So she hardly knew anything about his friends or who else he saw.

Once at the theater, a man named Erich Titovets came up and started to talk to Lee. This man, Erich, didn't even put his eyes on her. It was as if she was furniture. He and Lee spoke together while she stood nearby and she had time to notice that Erich was in his twenties and blond and well-built and handsome. High cheekbones. Erich looked like an American model in magazines, and Lee could have been Russian, as if he was trying to understand what Erich said. Of course, Erich

spoke a kind of English you heard at school, a language of culture, precise, almost prissy. And Lee spoke casually.

Erich was impressive. Erich was the first young man she had met who could speak English without being a student at Institute of Foreign Languages, and when she remarked on that to Lee afterward, he said, "I would like to talk in Russian the way Erich expresses himself in English."

Nonetheless, she couldn't say she took to Erich. It is not easy to like someone for whom you do not exist. And Lee never talked about him at all. It was obvious even to her that Lee was a person with compartments in his life. So, it was hard to trust him altogether.

She believes Lee knew that she was Jewish, maybe from their very first meeting, but she remembers that he only mentioned it once and that was when he realized she was not exactly jumping into marriage with him. Such a question never got to yes or no for many months, but he did tell her, "I know you are Jewish and people, you know, don't like Jewish people, but I myself don't care about that." It was his way of saying, "It wouldn't stop me from marrying you." But it was his only reference about Ella belonging to such categories as Jewish nation.

Before Lee, a few men had already asked her to marry them. There had been one she liked, a captain, who went off

to do his service in Kamchatka, a far-off peninsula, but Ella felt indecisive and didn't go with him even though he proposed. So, Lee was not first in this kind of relationship. There had been one boyfriend she dated for a year, and he had proposed, and it had been serious. Now, it could be said after a time Lee was in love with her but she was not in love with him. Rather she felt it was not so bad to pity someone in a good way, understanding he was very lonely here. And so she pitied him enough to feel that if she rejected him in love, he would be even lonelier. So she didn't stop dating him. But, she knew she didn't like him in a way that one goes on to get married.

Lee told Ella once that she knew more about him than any other person around and so she was surprised when she found out years later that he had a mother still living--he had told her he didn't. Also, he told her that he never wanted to go back to America. She was trying to understand why he had come here but when she asked a few questions, he gave very emotional answers. He tried to prove through his emotions what had happened to him.

Once, after they first started going out, he was quite upset. It was when news came to Minsk that an American U-2 had been shot down over Soviet territory, and its pilot was also an American, Francis Gary Powers. Lee asked her, "What

do you think, Ella? Can this somehow affect relationships between Russia and America? Can it damage me because I'm American?" She told him not to worry personally because "no one can say you are responsible." She tried to calm him down and talked to him nicely. She wasn't really sure if it would damage him or not, but she did want to support him. It was their most emotional moment yet, emotion between them.

Lee told Ella that when he lived in Moscow he was afraid of Americans more than Russians. Authorities had sent him to Minsk because he was afraid of Americans in Moscow. He even said: "Here in Minsk I'm invisible. But when I came to Moscow, I was really outstanding." Americans were very much interested in him, he told her, and were hunting him and wanted to kill him. She thought maybe he had some information that he had given to obtain a Soviet citizenship, information Americans didn't want given out. Now they were after him. He said, "If I go back to America, they'll kill me."

It made him more interesting, but she didn't think it was real. She just thought it was passing remarks; he was not that brave. She recalls an episode when they were coming down a street that led to her house, and a young girl ran up and said, "I've just been attacked, they took my bag, help me!" Well, most Soviet men would have run off to try to catch the thief, but Lee just consoled this girl, and Ella said, "Well,

we probably won't get her bag--such thieves don't wait around." Lee even asked if they could take another street.

They did continue on a different route and everything was fine except this girl took it very hard. She had, after all, lost her bag. At first Ella was content that everything had worked out without trouble but later, thinking about it, she decided maybe he was a bit of a coward. Or, maybe, if it was as he had said, Americans in Moscow wanted to kill him, maybe he thought that here too, somebody was looking to provoke him. So, he was staying out of trouble. He certainly didn't talk about political matters. Once she even went so far as to ask him why many people in America wanted war, and he answered, "Americans don't really understand what war is because there was no war on their territory." She told him, "I know what it is, and I don't like it." He just said, "Yes, yes, you are right. War is not good, and I know how much you suffered." He just agreed with what she said.

Otherwise, they did chat about many matters. At that time Ella was quite talkative. And he would listen carefully. But there were also moments on summer evenings when they just sat on a bench and enjoyed a silence as if he was a Russian man. She felt he reacted to everything with understanding, but was very reserved. Even though they dated for many months, maybe eight months, it was still too short a

period for her to comprehend his nature. She didn't see herself as a good observer, and he never showed much. He was always even, kind-hearted, smiling, nice, without ups or downs. Only twice, in fact, did they have a quarrel. Of course, she was also easy-going. People even said to her, "You laugh so quickly. If I show you my finger, you start to laugh. So easy you are."

It is possible she did laugh too easily. When she read his diary all these thirty and more years later, she could not believe how distorted was his sense of time. He had had them meeting after summer of 1960 when, in fact, they had known each other back in May when American U-2 was shot down, and they had talked about Gary Powers. How little she had known of Lee, and how little, obviously, he had known of her.

From KGB Observation

Performed from 12:00
till 24:00
Saturday, July 2, 1960

At 14:30 Lee Harvey left his work and went for lunch to Cafe-Automat, situated on Pobedy Square. Had his meal, was home at 15:00.

At 16:00 he left apartment house, got on trolley bus

N1 at Ploshad Pobedy and went till Central Square without paying his fare. He got off bus through back door and went to newspaper store N1 at Marksa street.

There he bought some newspaper and went to grocery store N13 at Prospect Stalina. He did not buy anything, left store, went to GUM. Took a look at goods at Plastic Department and without buying anything left store and went to Florist shop, then to Bakery and then to Cafe <Vesna.> Left Cafe in 5 minutes, got on trolley bus N1 to Komsomolskaya stop, got off at Ploshad Pobedy and was back home at 16:50.

At 20:20 Lee Harvey left his house and walked fast to Opera Theater. There he started walking up and down near main entrance. After 10 minutes he headed for square, there at central alley he met with an unknown woman by nickname <Dora>. They greeted each other by shaking hands and started talking. Having talked for about 3 minutes they parted without saying goodbye to each other. <Dora> went to apartment house N22 at Lavsko Nabereshnaya Street while Lee Harvey stayed in square. After 20 minutes <Dora> came back, told him something, and both went to Circus building holding hands.

They looked at photo display window after which walked along Prospect Stalina for about 35 minutes talking to each other about something.

At 21:45 Lee Harvey and <Dora> went to Circus Theatre. Lee Harvey showed tickets and they took their seats in row 10 and began watching American feature film <Lili>. At 23:45 after movie was over they went slowly to house N22 at Lavsko Nabereshnaya Street, stopped there, talked for about 15 minutes after which they parted. <Dora> went inside her house (she is being identified)

while Lee Harvey went home and was there by 24:00.
Observation stopped here until next morning.

Dora proved to be Ella.

June-July--summer months of green beauty, pine forests,
very deep. I enjoy Sundays in the environs of Minsk with
the Zigers who have a car, "Mosvik". . .

Later that summer, Pavel and he once went boating.
Oswald liked the water, but as far as working the oars and
doing a lot of rowing, this was one American who didn't mind,
Pavel decided, if somebody else did it. Pavel, for example.

From KGB Observation

Performed from 8:00
till 23:00
Sunday, July 3, 1960

At 10:35 Lee Harvey left his house, got on trolley bus N6

at Ploshad Pobedy stop, bought a ticket and got off at Komsomolskaya stop through back door. He went straight to Bakery shop, bought himself a piece of cake and glass of coffee, ate it all up and left. Outside he looked around, went to movie theatre Centralny, bought newspaper Banner of Youth at paper stand, browsed it through and turned back. At corner of Prospect Stalina and Komsomolskaya Street he stopped, looked through newspaper again, crushed it and threw it away in trash bin. After that he went to GUM, looked at goods in household department, left store, bought some paper at Newspaper store N1 and returned home.

At 13:30 Lee Harvey left his house for second time and walked slowly to Stationery store at Gorky Street where he bought a portable radio and returned home. In 30 minutes Lee Harvey left his house again, got on trolley bus N1 at Ploshad Pobedy stop, got off at Komsomolskaya stop through back door and came to GUM to records department. There he took 20 minutes looking through lists of records, didn't buy anything, left store and went to Electrical Goods store N71. There Lee Harvey bought a couple of records after which got on tram N7 at Polshad Svobody stop and without talking to anybody got to Opera and Ballet Theatre stop, got off tram, visited stationery and consumer goods stores. 15:45 walked home.

Lee Harvey did not leave his house until 23:00. Observation was stopped at this point.

The interviewers did obtain one SERVICE REPORT, filed by Rosa of Minsk Intourist, on July 8, 1960.

SERVICE REPORT
July 8, 1960

As a result of their meetings, source has established good relations with Lee Harvey. He sees source as someone with whom he can spend his time pleasantly. Has not exhibited any interest in source's biography with exception of her age. Lee Harvey is quite happy with his apartment and conveniences which it contains. It is still unfurnished, but entirely suitable for a bachelor. While she was at Lee Harvey's place, he managed to ask her in conversation, "Why isn't source interested in his impressions of Soviet Union?" Source replied: "I think you will share those impressions with me. . ." "Of course." Lee Harvey's answer followed. And he began to share his impressions. His narrative was composed of enthusiastic responses to Soviet reality. Having paid attention to two pairs of boots that he had acquired (tarpaulin or boxcalf) source asked with surprise: "What do you need boots for?" He said, "I love everything Russian, I want to look like a Russian."

While sharing impressions of his acquaintances, he showed source several photographs, in which he was photographed in company of friends -- an engineer -- an Argentinian and his wife. At same time, he informed her

that he had yet another friend, who was also an engineer, a Russian fellow, who worked at clock factory. Lee Harvey's general development, his range of interest, seems rather limited to our source. He has a poor conception of art, music, painting, to say nothing of Marxist-Leninist theory. He is trying to enroll in Institute of Foreign Languages and intends in addition to English to study German on an independent basis.

In Lee Harvey's behavior, a striving to become acquainted with girls, primarily blondes who have a command of English, has been noted, as well as a kind of calculatedness which borders on stinginess. For instance, he is capable of going on a date with a girl, but then go to a restaurant alone, considering that it is cheaper to go alone. He has arranged many meetings with source, since he can go to source's place of work, or call. Source is inclined to think that Lee Harvey has recently cooled down in his courting of her, since his demands that "he deserves a kiss after six months of dating" have not been satisfied. He pretended to be hurt or offended and after that began to visit source less frequently.

8 July 1960

Pavel was interviewed by Stepan who wrote:

REPORT

5 August, 1960

OSWALD told about himself that he had served from age of 17 in American army in Japan, Philippines and Hawaiian Islands. While residing in USA, he was member of a night club. As concerns relatives in USA, he has an uncle, with whom he does not have contact. According to his own words, OSWALD does not have any other relatives.

After OSWALD's arrival at factory, confidante "G" inquired as a matter of interest, why he came to Soviet Union to live. OSWALD, citing his poor knowledge of Russian as his reason, was unable to say anything concrete in response to confidante "G's" question. "G" did not approach OSWALD with that question again.

OSWALD is positively disposed toward Soviet reality. In conversations with confidante "G," he stated his intention of enrolling in an Institute for study. He recently joined his trade union and once half-jokingly stated to the confidante "G" that he was thinking of becoming a member of Komsomol soon.

At work, his manager once said to Pavel that Lee Oswald would soon be tuning radio sets but, in fact, Oswald never attained such a job. The head of shop said, "I have a lot of my own fools to whom I have to explain how to do it and I don't need somebody else whose language I don't even

understand. It's not easy to work with him."

While living alone for that summer, Oswald made improvements in his apartment. Small ones. He had started to improve his environment but only bit by bit. For example, he got a cheap case for his records, and he bought a turntable.

Once, when he realized that Pavel was a radio fan, he asked Pavel to make him a short-wave radio. With local radios, you could only get Soviet news. Pavel told him he could put together such an apparatus, but it wouldn't look nice--all of its parts would be sticking out--so Oswald then bought himself a short wave radio that looked as pretty as a lady's purse. It had only two frequencies, high and medium, but on MF, 257 meters, Voice of America was transmitted. Since it was all in English, they didn't even bother to jam it.

People talked about Oswald as if he were a spy. Later, people told Pavel that he was a spy, but he remembers Lee Oswald coming to him with a simple Soviet camera and he wasn't able to put film in it. Pavel had to show him how. Once, Oswald bought a radio set and put batteries into it--you had to open it from behind--and trying to do that much, Oswald ripped a few wires loose. For another example, Oswald liked to listen to Voice of America, but he didn't know how to make adjustments for it on his radio set. Pavel, using a penknife,

had to play with one part and move it a little so Lee could listen. Pavel assumed that if Oswald was James Bond, he would come over to Soviet Union able to take care of small details.

From KGB Chronology

4.IX.60	Oswald saw "The Wind" in "Letny" movie house KC2
4.IX.60	Oswald visited a party for youth in "Officers' House." KC2
6.IX.90	Oswald saw "Babetta is going to war" in "Mir" movie house. KC2
7.IX.60	Oswald saw "A Partisan's Spark" in "Pobeda" movie house. KC2
8.IX.60	Oswald saw "Babetta is going to war" for second time in "Mir" movie house. KC2
9.IX.60	Oswald saw "The Commander of the Detachment" in "Letny" movie house. KC2

From September 4th to September 9th he saw five movies, one of them twice, and all but one were war movies. He had

bought a single-barrel shotgun in August, and joined a hunting club organized by Horizon. But it was not until September 10, filled by now, one may assume, with images of himself as a participant in war movies, that he finally went out with his hunting club.

From KGB Observation
From 13:00 till 15:20
on September 10, 1960

At 14:30 Likhoi left work and walked quickly home.

At 14:55 he left home carrying hunting rifle in a cover with him and a grocery bag partly filled, and came back to entrance of radio factory.

There Likhoi came to a group of 7 men some of them also having rifles and started talking with them.

After about 15 minutes, Likhoi and other men got into parked car No. BO 18-89 and at 15:20 left city via Storozhevskaya St. and Dolginovsky Trakt.

Upon agreement with head of department, surveillance of Likhoi is cancelled at this point until September 17, 1960.

Leonid Stepanovitch Tsagiko, a lathe operator all his

life, became interested in hunting around 1955. After August 15th, they could go out for fowl, then ducks, partridge, waterfowl. In October, they started looking for fox. Wolves you could hunt all year round, but wild boar only with a special license. Boar was usually reserved for high Communist Party members.

Maybe there were fifty people at that time in his hunting club. There was a chairman who collected dues, and obtained licenses for elk, and on occasion, even wild boar, although you had to pay a lot for that, about 150 rubles.

In beginning of 1960, when Lee Oswald came to work at experimental shop, Tsagiko met him that first day. It was almost a celebration. Everybody came up to him immediately to get to know him. Then, at breaks, since Oswald didn't smoke, he would sit with his feet on a table, and once one of them said, "Well, why are you sitting like that?" and he said, "I am on strike. I am striking." He was just joking, just being funny. Stereotypical image: Americans put their feet up on a table. That's what they do.

Now at Horizon, they had what they called sections-- people played basketball, soccer, volleyball, and on Sundays, some would go on hunting trips. It wasn't that important whether they'd kill; it was to get out into nature. So when Oswald asked one of metal workers if they would take him

along, he said, "Of course." They didn't bring much to eat and they didn't carry any vodka or brandy along, because they were fairly serious about getting something. After they reached a village, they walked a lot on foot, passed through collective farms, fields, and villages, sparsely forested areas.

They were hunting for rabbit that day. There was no snow yet, so they would flush rabbits with their feet. Walking single file, Oswald was next to last, Tsigiko was last, and Oswald was holding his gun crooked in his arm. No rabbits. Then, one practically jumped out from under Oswald's feet, and he went "Aooaoh!" and shot into the air. Tsigiko said, "God, Oswald, you're going to kill me with that gun!" And Oswald said, "That rabbit scared me." Later, he had another try at a rabbit and missed again. In Tsigiko's opinion, he could have done a better job.

The fact that he was a bad shot and could not fix his radio tended to alert Igor and Stepan. How was it that a former Marine with Sharpshooter rating in U.S. Marine Corps--yes, KGB had information that he was not a bad shot--could miss his targets so?

Certainly when KGB was informed that Oswald had bought a gun for hunting, and so would have opportunities to travel as part of a hunting party to an area where there were also military objects, they were alert. Hunters were prohibited from hunting past a certain point in specified regions; they weren't allowed to walk up to particular fences. If Oswald were an agent, he might have special equipment and use it to record nuclear activities or military broadcasts--with right technology, you could collect a lot of information. That he had joined a hunting club put them on guard.

Reports came in, but were puzzling. Such a bad shot. If they had had any inkling that he would later be suspected of carrying out a crime of highest magnitude, they would have studied his rifle marksmanship in more detailed manner. As it was, however, they made no attempt to find out whether he was an excellent shot trying to create the impression he was a bad shot, or had been incompetent that day.

August-September As my Russian improves, I become increasingly conscious of just what sort of society I live in. Mass gymnastics, compulsory after-work meeting, usually political information meeting. Compulsory attendance at lectures, and the sending of the entire shop collective (except me) to pick potatoes on Sunday in a state collective farm. "A patriotic duty" to bring in the

harvest. The opinions of the workers (unvoiced) is that it's a great pain in the neck. They don't seem to be especially enthusiastic about any of the "collective" duties, a natural feeling. . .

After Ella had known him for a half year, he actually
 October The coming of fall, my dread of a new Russian winter, mellowed in splendid golds and reds of fall in Byelorussia. Plums, peaches, apricots and cherries abound for these last fall weeks. I have a healthy brown color and am stuffed with fresh fruit, at other times of the year unobtainable.

October 18 My twenty-first birthday sees Rosa, Pavel, Ella and a small party at my place. Ella is very attractive Russian Jew I've been going walking with lately. She works at radio factory also. Rosa and Ella are jealous of each other. It brings a warm feeling to me. Both are at my place for first time. Ella and Pavel both give ashtrays (I don't smoke). We have a laugh.

was not sad, and always carried himself very straight, although he was not as graceful as Titovets.

Ellen was, however, a little shocked when Pavel disappeared to come back with her because at her factory all these women, Lee had never dated any of Ella's friends, nor anyone but herself. Oh, she didn't know he was seeing other women. She assumed he dated; she understood that; but then by this way she was introduced. It was clear he dated her in another way and that hurt Ella. By October, Lee was

Chapter 9 -- Ella and Lee

After Ella had known him for a half year, he actually invited her to his apartment, and Pavel was there with a girl named Rosa from Intourist. Then a girl named Ennatachina arrived. Ella doesn't even remember her last name. Pavel disappeared for a short period of time and when he came back, this girl was with him. And he said, "OK, Lee, dance! Look who I've brought for you. Ina!"

Earlier, Lee had met Ella near his building and brought her upstairs. It was only when he opened his door that she saw there were other people. Of course, she had expected that, and did not object. She enjoyed dancing with Lee who was not bad, and always carried himself very straight, although he was not as graceful as Titovets.

Ella was, however, a little shocked when Pavel disappeared to come back with Ina because at her factory all these months, Lee had never dated any of Ella's friends, nor anyone but herself. So, she didn't know he was seeing other women. She assumed he dated; she understood that; but then by this way Ina was introduced, it was clear he dated her in another way and that hurt Ella. By October, Lee was

already hinting that they were going to have a serious relationship, but if it was so serious, why was he dating this Ina?

It started a big fight. Ella was very emotional, very angry, and when she left this party, he had to walk out with her. She told him, "Listen, if you wanted to have a nice time with Ina, I was not needed. I would have felt more comfortable staying home." He said, "I wasn't the one. Ina was brought by Pavel. You saw I was with you all evening, and now, I'm leaving Ina and Pavel behind." He persuaded her. He said, "Look, I left all my guests. I'm walking you to work at the plant." She was on night shift then and had come to his party before going to her job. "That ought to prove you are a most special person to me."

Afterward, Ina was often mentioned by Ella. She would tease him about it: "So there's another woman in your life?" and he would answer, "Don't you understand that you are my true love? She's just passion." Ella's attitude was, well, if I can't, or don't want to, give this young man something he needs, well, a young man needs some kind of physiology. If he gets it elsewhere, that's normal. She certainly had never loved anyone so much as to be possessive about everything, including their physical relationship. That was not as important as real love to her. What he did could happen.

Of course, it was Pavel who had brought over Ennatachina, and Ella didn't really like Pavel. He had had a little trouble at Horizon which left Pavel with a bad reputation. He had been in a tuning process in another part of their factory along with several girls doing an equal job. Occasionally, they would come across radios very difficult to tune; they didn't receive very well and sounded dead. Such an inert radio was called a "coffin," and it took a lot of time get one to sound properly. When your salary and your bonus depended on how many radios you could tune during a day, substandard sets pulled your level down. One girl working at Pavel's station realized that she had left a radio on her table at quitting time that was almost tuned, yet next day it was dead; a coffin. And Pavel kept delivering a good number of radio sets. So they suspected that Pavel, when he came to work evenings, might exchange his device, a complete coffin, for hers. He wouldn't do it to another man, these girls felt, because men are more precise. A man would remember what he had tuned yesterday. But girls forget. Their minds were not really on such a subject. So it was easier to fool girls, Ella felt.

This got to be a bad story. There was a big meeting and a group came to check Pavel's behavior. His father, who was a general and twice a Hero, was even present, and with tears in

his eyes said at this meeting, "Please, forgive him. Please, people, don't spoil his biography. He will never do it again."

So, of course, after this, Ella's estimate of Pavel was not high. If he had had a large family and had been really poor she could understand; you could justify it a bit for your children, but he was what she'd call well-to-do and he was robbing poor girls who made less than him. So he was not, in her opinion, a decent man, and now he had come with Ina, and said, "It's a girl for you, Lee." She also had some feeling maybe Pavel didn't approve of her because she was Jewish. She was told that in his private circle, among military people in Russia, there was more anti-Semitism than among civil people, and he was son of a general, after all.

November finds the approach of winter now. A growing loneliness overtakes me. In spite of my conquest of Ennatachina, a girl from Riga, studying at the Music Conservatory in Minsk. After an affair which lasts a few weeks, we part.

From EXTRA PAGE in his diary
Warren Commission Exhibit No. 2758

Ennatachina. . . I met her in 1960 at the Zigers, her family (who sent her to Minsk) apparently well off. ENNA likes fancy clothes, well-made shoes and underthings. In October 1960 we begin to get very close culminating in intercourse on October 21. She was a virgin and very interesting. We met in such fashion on 4 or 5 occasions ending November 4, 1960. Upon completion of her last year at Minsk Conservatory she left Minsk for Riga.

Chapter 10 --- Stradstvy

-1-

Some time that fall, Albina realized that a problem had developed for these Zigers. They suddenly became very suspicious. Started to suspect everybody, and even acted a little as if everybody was reporting on them. Here is how it began. They had a cousin in Wilno, Poland, who wanted to visit them in Byelorussia, but Ziger's cousin didn't have a visa to Minsk. Zigers took their car, then, a Moskvitch, and travelled to Wilno in order to drive her back to Minsk. But on their return trip, halfway back, highway police demanded documents, and their cousin did have her passport but, of course, no visa to Minsk. So, they lost a day at provincial police office getting permission and visa. Not to mention how much worse it could have been. So, Zigers got very angry. How did those police know to stop them? Somebody among their friends probably told somebody that they were going to Wilno to get their cousin. Albina noticed that they stopped inviting Ernst to their place, and after a while stopped inviting a lot of other people too. Ernst was not even

surprised at what had happened, but then he was not much interested in these Zigers. To be introduced to Alik had been his goal, now achieved, Albina could see. And he invited Alik to go out together to other places, other social functions. Albina never saw much of either of them after that.

When she was asked if she ever thought Ernst had been a source for KGB, she could say that when you are young, you can't keep that kind of thought in your head, can't worry that everybody around you is an informer. When they were all young and inexperienced, they only had three problems--where to get good food, good clothes, and where to find a place to have a good dance. But, she can say that Zigers' psychology was certainly changed by all this, and they soon stopped being happy about having people visiting them.

Their first need in this Oswald case, Igor remarked, was, of course, for people who knew English. "To speak to Lee intimately, one had to know English well. While Oswald had some increasing capacity in Russian--not much, but some--we had to contact him with people who could exchange conversations with him in English until Lee could start speaking Russian. After all, how can you develop a person

without knowing his language? So people were taken on who could understand Oswald in his native tongue."

Given the need, said the interviewers, to find a person who knew English well enough to go out with Oswald socially, be friends with him, and have insight into some of his thoughts, they would now ask whether Erich Titovets had been of such use to Igor Ivanovitch over a long period of time or for a short period, and he replied, "If I recall, he was not the only one. There were other people, especially at Institute of Foreign Languages at Minsk."

Obviously, Igor would agree, those students who were studying English became a center of Service attention. Titovets, of course, had helped him make and widen his contacts with women there. "You would have to assume," said Igor, "that Foreign Institute girls were in a position to inform us how Oswald was behaving. Counter-intelligence monitored this entire process, and was kept informed."

In fact, they had perhaps a dozen people who were on a list of sources they could go to periodically, although not necessarily on a daily or weekly basis. A few of them they only went back to once or twice. But in any event, there were three main sources: Pavel, Erich, and Rosa, and of them, KGB could say only one "was able to penetrate Oswald's soul." That gave them a lot of information in building Oswald's

Shouldn't
we
know this
earlier?

psychological portrait. Titovets, for example, had made tapes while alone with Oswald in order, as he told Oswald, to be able to study his accent in English and so improve his own colloquial abilities.

Of course, such technical material could be analyzed as well by KGB professionals at Moscow Center who not only knew English perfectly but American dialects. So, Igor would not exclude "our possibility to reconsider what was done first by others," which was a way of saying that these English-speaking tapes had been gone over carefully to determine whether Oswald's Southern accent was bona fide, while his Russian-speaking tapes were studied to explore any possibility that he was concealing a better knowledge of their language than he pretended to have.

Stepan would only say: "Interpreters, if experienced, can figure out how well someone really knows Russian. After a while, Oswald did begin to master our language to a certain degree, but he put a lot of effort into it. His increasing command was carefully monitored, however, to determine whether he was still concealing even better knowledge of Russian, or not. That was always a very important sign. That was always studied."

Stepan added: "It's important that information from a source can be double-checked in order that trust in one's

source can be built. We always tried to combine surveillance with reports from human sources, plus what we could learn from other technical possibilities."

"To create an artificial situation, however, to set up an experiment to determine whether a person gives ground for suspicion, is risky. The person might show interest by accident, out of curiosity, but that would still pique counter-intelligence's concerns. Thereby, we could lead ourselves astray." Stepan considered it fortunate that he had an opportunity to study Oswald in a natural manner. If Likhoi--this was their name for him: Likhoi, which meant dashing--had consciously attempted to make a particular contact, it would have been of interest to the Service. "If, for example, it had become known to us that Lee Oswald was attempting to meet a scientist in a certain field, then we might have arranged such a meeting." But Likhoi didn't make any such attempts. So, they studied those incidents that arose naturally, monitored them thoroughly, and generally found nothing suspicious. He never made attempts to make special acquaintances, or to penetrate some secret military object in any way; he didn't exhibit any such desire. Not

yet, at any rate.

November 15 In November I make the acquaintance of four girls rooming in the Foreign Language dormitory in Room 212. Nell is very interesting, so is Tomka, Tomis, and Alla. I usually go to the Institute dormitory with a friend of mine who speaks English very well. Erich Titovets is in the fourth year at the Medical Institute. Very bright fellow. At the dormitory, we six sit and talk for hours in English.

As Pavel saw it, maybe some girls at Foreign Language Institute were more available. Their psychology was different. They dealt with other languages, had to think a little in a different culture, and so wanted to explore more. They could see foreign films. In general, these woman were more relaxed--they smoked, they drank, they read literature. Erich Maria Remarque was very popular, and Hemingway wrote about women being free before marriage in The Sun Also Rises. So maybe they were trying to take on such an image. Some of them.

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Inna Pasenka, not to be confused with Oswald's friend Ina (also known as Ennatachina), was in her first year at Foreign Language Institute, and mad about English. That, she would want to tell you. Any time she heard somebody speaking this language, she was happy just to stand and listen. It was her dream to know it well. (She was also mad about swimming, and was at that time, champion of Byelorussian swimming in freestyle and dolphin.)

On a given Saturday, she went with her friend Galya to Philharmonic Society, and during concert break, they heard two people speaking English. One of them was dark-haired and dressed in a gray jacket with dark trousers, the other was in a dark suit. This first one was Oswald, as she learned later, and the other was Erich Titovets: Both were conversing in her favorite language. Inna said to Galya, "Let's bet the first one is American and the other is not." She went to them and began, "Excuse me--am I right or wrong: You, sir, are just Russian speaking English and, you are a real Englishman or--I don't know, American?" And Erich said, "We are both British," and Oswald said, "No, no, no, don't believe him." It was

obvious he didn't want to be mixed up in this "we." He had his own identity. Inna said, "Don't tell me lie," and Erich said, "No, no, we are both"--but she could hear his accent because phonetics was her favorite subject. She even did a Ph. D. in English Phonetics later.

They all started speaking and Inna said, "Let's meet after this concert," which they did and walked down from Philharmonic Society to Victory Square near the Foreign Language Institute. Her house was just five minute's walk away. She gave her telephone number and Erich said, "Certainly we will phone you and we will come and see you." And she and Galya were so excited that they had spoken English and nothing else for half an hour. Galya roomed in her Institute dormitory but Inna lived in her father's apartment where her mother and herself and her entire family dwell at present.

Next day, Sunday, Erich phoned and asked if they could come around, and Inna arranged for Galya to be there also.

At this point, she would say a few words about her family. Her father was, at that time, a high Party figure, Deputy Party Leader of the Byelorussian Air Force, and a Colonel. A very patriotic man. He would not have put up with anyone from abroad being in his house. Even listening to a radio caused suspicion. But her mother was at home, not her

father, so Erich and Lee came over some time in the afternoon. And Galya joined them.

On introduction, Lee happened to say stradstvy to Inna's mother instead of stradstvyte and her mother took Inna into her kitchen and said, "Where do you find such rude boys who don't even know how to address grownups?" and Inna said, "Mother, he's not a Russian; he's an American." Her mother became pale, then said, "Take him away because Father will be home soon." But Inna said, "Mama, no, that will not do, we will stay on the first floor, we will not make noise, we will look through our dictionary and listen to some music." And her mother said, "All right, but only for a little while before Father comes home."

And so they did listen to music and had tea and spoke a good deal. She remembers that Galya and herself did ask how he had come here and he said that he had chosen Minsk because it was a nice city. At first he wanted to go to Leningrad but then decided otherwise. "It's quieter here, the climate is better. I wanted Minsk." He also said, "They gave me an apartment to live," and when they asked him where, he said it was also off Victory Square and added, "Why don't you come and see it? I've got a lot of English books." Galya and Inna said yes, of course we'll come. And managed to get their visitors to leave before her father came back.

Lee had wanted Inna to visit his apartment alone but her upbringing was such that she would not go to anyone's place in that manner. She said, "I'll take Galya," and he agreed, and so they went a few days later. In conversation, Lee told Inna he was working at Horizon radio plant from 8 to 5 and that he was very busy, and that he got very tired and felt very lonely. He mentioned he missed his brothers in America and that he also missed his mother very much. And that his mother was intending to visit him here. He said, "Yes, I miss her so much," and he even showed Inna a photo, and said, yes, she was coming to visit.

She remembers they had gone over before dark, about 5 o'clock, and she still recalls her excitement because she thought "Here I am coming to a place that will be full of English books"--indeed, that was her main reason for seeing him since he didn't produce any other real sort of impression on her. She was expecting to find Hemingway and Faulkner in his bookcase, or something forbidden, some knowledge that wasn't easily obtainable, but she remembers so well that when he opened the door and they entered, there was just a small kitchen plus a small room to their left and in a corner of this second room was a little--you couldn't call it a bookcase, but a few planks of wood; its lowest level had some newspapers, next was empty, and top shelf held Karl Marx and

Lenin both in English. That was all. His bed was almost in their way, a military bed of iron covered with a grey blanket that had white stripes. He didn't even have a table in his kitchen. The girls were just standing there so they finally sat down on his bed, and he made tea. He did have good tea, that she remembers, and he put it on a little stool in front of his bed.

After a while, she asked, pointing to Marx and Lenin, "Is this what you read?" and he said, "I find it really interesting, don't you?" She said, "We studied all this in Russian--why should we read it in English?" and he said, "Well, I haven't read it before and I find it very interesting."

He was neat. She recalls there was no mess scattered around. He was wearing gray slacks and a blue tie and a striped shirt and he had boots on, brown military boots with seams in the front. On his finger he had a silver ring--he said it was his mother's--with initials. He was pleased with the apartment, said he paid only 7 rubles for it, and she of course was less impressed because her family lived in a large, fine apartment with three rooms for four people, which at that time was a lot, and now, in fact, they are seven in that same apartment.

All the same, their visit did impress her. For the first

time in her life she had seen a real American. She was so interested in his accent, she was fascinated with all these variations between American English and British English. He, in turn, was very proud of his apartment, and kept speaking of it as his, as if he had been given it in perpetuity. He was also paying a lot of attention to Inna. Even Galya said as much later. Inna, however, had no real interest in this man. She was fascinated but not attracted and when he complained that he was lonely, and didn't have anything to do, Inna said, "Let's go to my place once again," and he replied, "Your father's very strict." She remembers him adding "No, no more at your house." Then he said to Galya, "I'd like to visit Foreign Language Institute." That pleased Inna because she would now have more practice of English.

Taking him to Galya's dormitory, while it would certainly be seen as bringing back a prize, would also present a problem. At that time, you had to produce your identity card and this was true even for Institute students who didn't live in the dormitory. It was certainly not routine. Girls at Foreign Language Institute were virtually treated like young ladies in a convent. Considered a little more adventurous than average young Soviet women, their ideological upbringing was very important. After all, they were being introduced to Western literature and movies, they were allowed to listen to

foreign broadcasts, and so ideological aspects of their education were particularly strong.

In this case, however, Galya got Oswald into her dormitory by telling him: "Be quiet. Be silent." She told her doorman he was a relative. Galya was taking a chance. If she had been caught, she would have been deprived of her monthly stipend for a time. (Which could have been anything from 22 rubles a month to 27 depending on how successfully you passed your exams at end of term.)

On this first visit, when Inna mentioned to her mother that the American was going to visit Galya's dormitory, her mother forbade her to go.

On a later occasion, however, Inna was present and there was Oswald with six girls, center of attention in the room. He was sitting at a table with a couple of these girls close to him and they were all playing a game. He would open Miller's English Dictionary, a dark brown book, and pick a word at random, then somebody would give their translation. Whichever girl was sitting next to him would check it. He was wearing the same shirt, that gray one with white buttons, and same jacket and boots, and he was alone, without Titovets, although Inna heard, as several girls told her later, that Titovets usually came with him. But for this visit, he was alone, and there was a lot of laughter while they played their

dictionary game.

He kept prolonging his words; he had a little Southern accent. Since they only knew British English, it was great fun to talk to him. She remembers one girl, to everyone's amusement, even corrected his pronunciation. Inna could not have been more intrigued.

Over the next month, he would visit often and sometimes they would want him to go home but he would stay. Several girls were scared that someone would catch him, so they kept their door locked. She doesn't know if they had a plan to hide him, but they were never caught. And they didn't make noise. Their laughter was not loud, more smiles than laughter. Her recollection was that he seemed glad to be accepted. She also felt that part of his interest in being there all the time was to get away from Erich. Her guess is that maybe Oswald wanted to make his own set of friends.

In any event, he was not wholly at ease, even though he was center of everything. Of course, it was a special kind of attention. Girls would say, "Oh, we haven't seen him for three days," and Inna knew who they meant. Him was now their code word. They were not only afraid to mention his name, but reluctant to be alone with Lee because they could be compromised--what if someone reported that they were alone with a foreigner? That was their first consideration. It was

? | not that he was the sort of fellow one had to be afraid of--if anything, he was timid with women. The only girl who was at all adventurous was Nell Korbinka whom Inna did not know very well, and Nell committed suicide about five years ago. Inna believes she may have gone around for a time with Lee Oswald. But Inna mentions Nell only because he put her in his diary. Her impression is that these girls didn't want to make trouble, and he didn't want to cause any.

When Erich would come along, the girls didn't take to him. His English was of no interest to them, and he was too vain. They were all concentrating on Lee. While Erich's English might be very good, it had that vivid Russian accent. As Inna will reemphasize, her prime interest was in pronunciation. It was still her first year of study, but she wished to be able, right from word go, to distinguish British from American.

Soon enough, these Institute girls got tired of Lee. Simple truth was that they became used to him, and some would even be dressed in very casual clothing and would pay hardly any attention to him as a man. At this point, he was virtually one of the girls--he had nothing interesting to say. He would talk about his family, and tell Army jokes, but they were stupid stories. There was not much discussion. He did tell Inna how much he respected his mother but her suspicion

exists that because Inna respected her parents so much, he was ready to speak warmly of his mother.

Then, after a while, Oswald dropped out of sight. It was not noticed all that much. If he hadn't been American, he would not have attracted attention. Some girls used to gossip that his only reason for coming to the Institute is because no one else wanted to date him, and no one would.

Extra page (not included in formal diary)
Warren Commission Exhibit 2758

Nell Korobka. Large, 5 ft., 11 inches, 150 lbs., built proportionately, large upright breasts, hips wide and lovely but very pleasingly proportioned, from a village near the Polish border, of strictly Russian peasant stock. Gentle, kind, womanly, and understanding, passionate in heart, stubborn in both. She combined all the best womanly features with the kind, sizable Russian heart. I met her through one of her roommates, Tomka. Nell and Tomka together with three other girls lived in a room at the Foreign Language Institute Dormitory in Minsk near the Victory Circle. I began to notice Nell seriously only after I parted ways with Enna.

Chapter 11 -- Rasputavo kareta

Ella kept on dating Lee, but whenever he wanted to talk about their future plans, she tried to avoid such topics. If they shared this subject, it might mean she was getting ready to marry him. Her reluctance to go near such a matter may have upset him, but he was not pushy. Yet, even so, he became a little more pushy.

He said, "Do you want to know how I came here? Do you want to know why?" But she never asked him many questions. She was afraid he would think of her as someone who was trying to get information from him. It was part of how she grew up: women didn't ask questions like "Where were you born? How much money do you have?" It was considered bad style. So she didn't inquire. But he started to give information. And he also got a little pushy.

They might commence with a light conversation, nice and full of humor. They would see a movie or go to theatre and discuss every joke afterward. It was fun. They would talk nonsense. Once they got into a discussion of how frogs talk. She insisted a frog says "Qua." In Russian, a frog always

says "qua." And his answer: "No, a frog says 'frok.'" It was funny.

But later he began to discuss serious matters. For example, he didn't want to live in Minsk. It was too small, a provincial city. He had lived in New Orleans, that was big. He said, "I want to live in a big city." He started to discuss plans. He asked her to share a dream. He said, "Maybe I will move to another socialist country. For example, Czechoslovakia." He said, "Shall we go to live in Prague?"

He was a very proud man. He didn't want to be rejected by Ella. She believes that's why he never asked directly. He would say, "How do you do things here? In America we have an engagement ring, a silver ring that's exchanged for a golden ring. But how do you do it here?" Perhaps he was waiting for her to ask, "Why are you interested in how marriages are made in Russia?" but he never said directly, "I would like you to be my wife."

One time he showed his Russian residence papers, and he said, "Soon I have to make a decision. You're the one who's going to influence it. Do you want to live in Prague? Because if you do, then I won't take Soviet citizenship. But if you want to live here, tell me if you want that, and I'll take it--this all depends on you." And in December he showed her that his papers terminated on January 4, next year, just a

few weeks away. He had to make a decision what to do with his life before 1961 was four days old.

But that was a big question for her: Why had he come here, and why did he now want to move? He told her, "You don't understand. In our country, we travel, we change places--you don't understand." But she didn't trust him. She thinks he felt it. Besides, Lee was not really to her taste. She liked men with bigger shoulders.

From KGB Observation
performed from 08:00 to 24:00
on December 23, 1960

At 11:30 Likhoi left his house, came to bus stop Ploshad Pobedy, got on bus No. 5, reached stop "Komsomolskaya," got off and entered GUM. At haberdashery department, he bought safety razors, then tried on hat at hat department, but didn't buy it and entered bakery department. There he had glass of coffee with cake, and went out towards Glavpochtamt. On way he visited a number of industrial goods stores, then came to Glavpochtamt, came to "Soyuzpechat" kiosk, looked at papers but didn't buy, came out and got on Trolley No. 3, reached "Tsentralnaya Ploshad." At square, Likhoi got on trolley No. 1, reached Ploshad Pobedy, got off and entered cafe-

automate, had lunch, came out and stopped off at home at 12:45.

At 17:00 Likhoi left home, came to trolley stop "Ploshad Pobedy," got on trolley route 2, reached Engels stop, got off trolley and walked fast to book store No. 1 at Engels St., left at once and entered department store at Karl Marx, Lenin Street. There he walked through sections looking at goods, paid some attention to radio lamps and radio goods, but didn't buy anything. Then he left department store, came to tram stop "Ploshad Svobody," got on tram No. 4, reached "Operny Theater" stop, got off tram and entered store No. 74 at Gorky Street. There Likhoi looked at radio goods, but didn't buy anything, left store and via Gorky and Kalinin streets came home.

At 20:45 object left home and came east to house No. 22, apt. 2 at Lavsko-Naberezhnaya St. After 10 minutes he left place together with contact "Dora" and they together talking about something were walking along embankment of Svisloch river and at 21:15 came to apartment of object.

At 23:10 Likhoi and "Dora" came out of his apartment and slowly walked along embankment of Svisloch river, talking with each other. On the way Likhoi was periodically taking "Dora's" hand and embracing her. At 23:40 they came to house No. 22 at Lavsko-Naberezhnaya Street, where they said good-bye and parted. "Dora" walked into said house and Likhoi came home at 23:55, and at that point surveillance was stopped until morning.

When he kissed her, he was not unpleasant--he was nice. But because Ella was not in love with him, she was not excited. But then she really couldn't understand why he'd come here. What was his life's goal? She had mistrust. Yet she also knew he was feeling rejected as a personality. So she would never say "I don't love you"--she did not want to hurt him. But she didn't understand his situation.

He never scared her as a man, however. In that aspect, he was perfect. He never scared or insulted her, not with words nor with movement. He was so tender. She was never scared. Yet all those months she went with him, from May to January, she did not trust him. Some people told her that he was an American spy. And she thought, "Maybe he wants to marry me so he can stay in this country. When he says he loves me, he doesn't love me at all."

She never thought to herself, "Maybe I'll go to Prague and it'll work. Or, if it doesn't work, I'll get a divorce." For Ella, marriage was something you did for life. You loved a person and you trusted him. Because if you didn't, how could you go to a new world?

Finally he became very pushy. He said, "You have to make up your mind if you're going to marry me," and when she asked for time to think it over--he said, "No, I have to decide by

January 4th." That made her feel more mistrustful. She told him, "I like you, too, but I need time to think." She didn't want to offend him. She was not a person to offend people who were nice to her.

They had another quarrel, however, concerning New Year's Eve. Since he had invited her to a party for that night, she turned down an invitation that came to her for another gathering. Then, at very last moment, he told her--just one day before--that his evening was not going to take place. Now they were without anywhere to go on New Year's Eve.

There was an expression, Rasputavo kareta. That meant they were ready to eat but only had a broken plate. Ella got very angry that they didn't have a proper situation; she said, "You let me down." She had never spoken to him like that before except, perhaps, concerning Ina. That time he had been cool, but this time, he, too, became agitated. Finally he said, "You are an actress. You are playing a game with our situation. Oh, you are an actress!" She took it personally. It was equal to saying that her emotions were not sincere. They walked away from one another.

From KGB Observation
performed from 08:00 till 23:30
on December 31, 1960

At 16:05 Likhoi came out of his apartment house, came to food store No. 11, bought 200 grams of candies, came out and went to bakery No. 48. After 3 minutes, object walked out of store with a loaf of Ukrainian bread, stopped by vegetable store, then returned home.

At 19:50 Likhoi walked out of his house, and came up to an apartment house No. 22 at Lavsko Naberezhnaya, looked at windows of said house and started walking along, looking at entrance. After walking about 10 minutes and without meeting anybody, he walked slowly to food store No. 8 at Krasnaya Street.

There, object bought a box of candies, came out, and at 20:30 came home.

At 21:00 Likhoi came out of his house having box of candies bought earlier, and came to house No. 22 at Lavsko-Naberezhnaya. He stayed there 5-7 minutes, then came out without box of candies and walked fast home.

At 22:40, object came out of his apartment and walked slowly to above-mentioned apartment house at Lavsko-Naberezhnaya St.

Until 23:30 he didn't leave said address, and was left there until following morning without outside surveillance at consent of department ordering this work.

Since Ella wasn't going to any party now, she began that day to help her mother. Some of their family was coming over to visit, a New Year's Eve party, so they cleaned house and cooked, and then, as was common in Russia, they napped for a time around 8 pm in order to be able to stay up all night. At 11 pm, guests would begin to come in, but on this night, at a little after nine, she heard their doorbell ring. Sleepy, she opened her door. Lee was standing there wearing that Russian hat she had never liked. It was made of rabbit, dyed gray, and very cheap. She hated it. It had "ears" to tie under your neck when it was cold, and he was very proud of his hat, and was standing up straight with his hands behind his back. He said, "You know, Ella, Christmas is one of our dearest holidays in America, and your New Year is like our Christmas. That's why I came to you. This is one day when I feel very lonely and I came to you." He added, "We have a tradition in America; we usually bring gifts," and he gave her a big box of chocolates decorated with a little candy statuette. She took his gift and said, "Wait a second. I want to put this away." She went in to her mother and said, "My boyfriend from America brought me this gift. Can we invite him?" Her mother said, "Yes, of course."

So she came back and said, "Listen, would you like to go out but go outside, make snowballs, throw them at each other."

spend an evening with my family," and he was very happy about that.

When he came back around eleven, he was wearing his gray suit with a tie and was very neatly dressed. Her mother's brothers soon followed with their wives. They had served in Russian navy and they came with guitars. It was a musical family. Not all had fine voices but when they were in chorus it sounded good enough. Everybody sang songs and they did a step-dance up and down their outside stairs, a western type of step, which was very popular in Russian navy, if not in most of Soviet Union, because it was a Western sort of dance, but her mother's brothers did it, dancing upstairs, then downstairs, difficult steps but they were good at it, and so it made for creative atmosphere. And her mother danced to gypsy songs. Lee and Ella only watched. She was embarrassed to do anything in her own home because these others were so good.

Before Lee left, hours later, he told her of his impressions. He liked such an atmosphere, liked how everyone sat around eating and drinking and dancing, and then at midnight they had all taken champagne. They didn't kiss because that was not a Russian tradition. But after midnight, through early hours of morning, they would not only sit and eat but go outside, make snowballs, throw them at each other,

run around a little, then go back in and eat again. Everyone got tipsy--in fact she had never seen Lee Oswald as tipsy as he was this night. Friends came, and she introduced him to her friends, and relatives, and they sat around family table and proposed toasts to last year--"Goodbye, last year, you are leaving." Everybody talked to him and he was treated as if he were a Russian boy, a Russian person, who had joined their family party. Her relatives were a little curious about him but didn't show any special attitude. Her mother was also casual, but then, her attitude was, "If Ella dates a man it doesn't mean she's going to marry him."

January 1 New Year's Eve I spend with Ella Germann. I think I'm in love with her. She has refused my more dishonorable advances, we drink and eat in the presence of her family in a very hospitable atmosphere. Later I go home drunk and happy. Passing the river homeward, I decide to propose to Ella.

Next day, her mother who had never interfered with her personal life, said to her, "Ella, it's up to you--you make your own choice. But I want to tell you something: in 1939 you'd be taken to prison just because you were born in

Poland." Those were her mother's words. It gave her pause.

January 2 After a pleasant hand-in-hand walk to the local cinema, we come home. Standing on the doorstep, I propose. She hesitates, then refuses. My love is real but she has none for me. Her reason, besides lack of love--I'm an American and someday might be arrested simply because of that example of Polish intervention in the 1920s that led to the arrest in the Soviet Union of all people of Polish origin. "You understand the world situation, there is too much against you and you don't even know it." I am stunned. She snickers at my awkwardness in turning to go. (I'm too stunned to think!) I realize she was never serious with me but only exploited my being an American in order to get the envy of other girls who consider me different from the Russian boys. I am miserable.

When they had their final conversation that night about whether he should or should not apply for Soviet citizenship, she had to say, "Alik, you're probably wasting your time with me. At this point, I can't agree to marry you. So, don't get Soviet citizenship. Maybe we should break up altogether because it might be harder afterwards." He answered very nicely: "I understand that I should stop drinking. But the wine is tasty and I want to continue this pleasure for a while."

That, however, was their last time to meet. They agreed to see each other once more but he didn't show up. Afterward, he just ignored her in the shop.

Igor would say that his service looked at this matter from a human point of view. "He didn't go out and slash anything because he was refused," said Igor, "and he didn't seem to bear grudges. Of course, for a certain period of time he was upset, but it didn't manifest itself in his behavior. He didn't quit work, for instance, or get sick; he didn't start carousing--none of that." If he had undertaken any risky errands at this point--say, asking one person to convey something to someone else--that would have put counter-intelligence on guard. But none of that.

On 11th of January, after they had broken up and everyone knew it, Ella flew to Leningrad for ten days of vacation. There was all sorts of talk about her at Horizon: They had stopped seeing each other, people said, because she had gone to Leningrad to get an abortion. And Ella thought, "as if I

couldn't have had one in Minsk!" Fairy tales!

Still, everybody believed that because she was going out with an American they had had sex. Nobody believed that nothing could take place. No American, they would say to her, would date you for so long without it. These men have whorehouses in America and they always need sex. So, when she and Lee stopped seeing each other, Ella had a bad reputation. And yet it was so strange because he had always been afraid to offend her with physical movement. He was sensitive, yes, he was sensitive.

January 3 I am miserable about Ella. I love her, but what can I do? It is the state of fear which is always in the Soviet Union.

January 4 Here, after I receive the Residence document, I am called into the Passport Office to answer if I want citizenship (Russian). I say no--simply extend my residential passport to agree, and my documents are extended until January 4, 1962.

EXTRA PAGE (not included in formal diary)
Warren Commission Exhibit 2758

Nell, at first, does not seem to warrant attention since she is rather plain looking and frighteningly large, but I felt at once that she was kind and her passions were proportional to her size, a fact to be found out only after a great deal of research. After a light affair lasting into January and even February, we continued to remain on friendly but conventional terms throughout 1961 up till May when after being married, we no longer met.

This EXTRA PAGE is our only concrete evidence of his sexual life in Minsk before he meets Marina two and a half months later, on March 17, 1961. For the first fourteen months of his stay in Minsk, however, Ina and Nell seem to be the only women with whom he went to bed.

Whether he was ever with men during this period is a matter that KGB is not ready to talk about except by indirection, but then Stepan and Igor's separate references are often contradictory, as indeed they might be, since one was interviewed in Minsk and the other in Moscow.

In response to a question about bisexuality, Igor Ivanovitch said that Lee was not a clean man, and he did not

refuse situations that were happening with him. He had sexual contacts where he could find them, which was not often.

According to Stepan, however, Oswald didn't exhibit any deviations. That was Stepan's forthright statement. Before his marriage to Marina, they had observed how Oswald would "meet with a girl sometimes and take her home, and God knows what they did there. Sometimes he took her only to nearest tram stop." In that respect he led a normal, ordinary life, at least as they understood it in Soviet Union. That he was attracted to a lot of girls--that just meant he had what it takes--he was a guy. Otherwise, girls would have rejected him. "Besides, a homosexual reveals himself in his behavior," said Stepan, "and his interests, in his voice. Usually homosexuals have thin voices, something feminine in it, and then, such a fellow is only interested in women in a formal way, but his eyes start blazing when he sees a man, especially--excuse me for saying it--when his butt is big. He is constantly showing up at public toilets and often they perform their acts there. So, a homosexual has certain constant, distinctive traits which can be used to flush him out, and we didn't observe such traits in Oswald. I spent all

this time thinking about traits because before this I had a case involving a homosexual and I knew a thing or two about those things."

When queried about Ernst Titovets, Stepan was evasive. "Say there had been homosexual relations to a certain extent-- he wouldn't have to say anything about it in an interview with you. It's his private business, period."

His reply was a fair example of his method of imparting delicate information. He might offer something which could be perceived as in the nature of indirect confirmation while officially stating nothing.