

Chapter 19 -- "There Are Microbes in your Mouth"

February 28 I go to register (as prescribed by law) the baby. I want her name to be June Marina Oswald. But those bureaucrats say her middle name must be the same as my first. A Russian custom supported by the law. I refuse to have her name written as "June Lee." They promise to call the City Ministry (city hall) and find out in this case, since I do have a U.S. passport.

His next entry is for February 29. As one can expect, there is no leap year in 1962.

February 29 I am told that nobody knows what to do exactly but everybody agrees, "Go ahead and do it the Russian way." Name: June Lee.

FROM KGB TRANSCRIPTS

For Object: Likhov-2875

For Period: 6, March, 61

9:00 Begin surveillance.

(LHO, Wife and daughter in the apartment)

12:41 (Nurse comes, inquires about Marinka's health. She looks at her and promises to come tomorrow.)

16:00 (Wife is in apartment alone, busy with child.)

16:55 (LHO comes home.)
(They talk in kitchen.)
(They come into room.)

Wife: I'm not giving it to you. What do you need my money for? What if I wasn't making any money at all?

LHO: The baby is sleeping. . .

Wife: She can't hear anything. . .

20:00 (Unidentified Man and Woman arrive.)
(They're looking at little one.
Unidentified Woman says that at first baby looked a lot like Alik.)
(Wife and LHO set table.)
(They drink tea. LHO serves cookies.)
(Unidentified Man is trying to force Unidentified Woman to play with baby.)

Unidentified Woman: Wait till I have my own.

LHO: I'm asking you, too.

Unidentified Woman: I don't want to.

LHO: Are we going to play cards?

Unidentified Woman: No, I'm going home.

Unidentified Man: We'll go soon.

(They play cards.)

Unidentified Woman: Marina, do you understand English?

LHO: She doesn't understand anything.

Unidentified Woman: Why don't you want to learn it?

Wife: I just don't.

When Valya came to visit, Marina was ironing diapers. Since they were too dry, she held some water in her mouth and blew it out in a spray. Alik said, "What are you doing? There are microbes in your mouth." This meant to Valya that he cared very much about their baby. He actually took a plate and put a little water in it and showed Marina how to do it with her fingers, lightly. Of course, Marina's family might be elegant to look at, but Valya knew by now--peasant stock. Rich peasant stock. Tatiana, for instance, was not well educated, she could barely read, virtually illiterate, but all the same, elegant.

American Embassy
Moscow, USSR
March 9, 1962

Mr. Lee H. Oswald
Minsk
Kalinin St. 4, Apt. 24
Dear Mr. Oswald:

We have received your loan application and have noted the birth of your daughter, June Lee, on February 15. We have been authorized to advance you an amount not to exceed \$500 to help defray the cost of travel to an American port of entry of yourself and your family. You will of course be expected to use the cheapest available mode of transportation. . . You will be asked to sign a promissory note for the funds at the time you receive them.

We are prepared to accept the various evidence you have submitted as adequate proof of your ability to support your wife after her arrival in the United States.

We have not yet received the approved visa petition for your wife. . . After your return to Minsk, as soon as you have received word from us that your wife's visa petition has been approved, you can submit your passport to the OVIR for your exit visa. After your visa is issued, you can leave Minsk definitively with your wife and daughter, come to Moscow, where we will issue her an American immigrant visa. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow she can have your daughter immediately included in her Soviet foreign passport. . . Whatever transit visas you all may require can be obtained during this final stay in Moscow, which should last less than one

week. You can leave for the United States directly from here.

Very truly yours,
Joseph B. Norbury
American Consul (n.1)

One day in early spring when she and Alik were over at Valya's home, Marina had a terrible fight with him. Alik said, "Stay in Russia if you want, but at least let me take my baby," whereupon she grabbed June and said, "You have no right to remove a child from her mother." Valya ran back and forth and then told Marina that he was pale as a ghost standing by her window. Of course, they made up. Valya was peacemaker. "Look what you've done to him," Valya kept saying.

After his marriage began, Stellina heard nothing from Alyosha. No contact. After baby's birth, however, serious problems began, because he did call. He said, "You know, Marina doesn't know how to cook, she doesn't clean up." He said, "You, Stellina, had a child and you still went to work. But I come home and bring her money and clothes aren't washed,

house is dirty, kid's crying, she doesn't have anything to eat for me. . ."

Stellina told him that was strange. You have to talk to her, she told him. Explain! With a child, woman has to work and work in your house. Wife has to clean and cook. You should help, of course, but that's what she should do.

After this conversation, there was no word for a while, then he called again and said, "Ma, this situation is unbearable. Our child isn't taken care of. I leave for work hungry. I come back home hungry. We are constantly getting in fights." He began to cry.

Sometimes he would meet Stellina at night. She taught night school for workers and on their way, as they were walking, he would be crying, out on the street, yes. Then he started to say that his wife was insisting they go to United States. She would say there was no way he could earn any more money at his factory, and finally she insisted he go to United States with her.

They had arranged for all necessary Soviet papers, but there seemed to be one American paper that they still lacked. When he would call Joseph B. Norbury, Second Secretary of the

Embassy in Moscow, Norbury would refer to a problem that was still unsettled. In relation to his wife's case. Some kind of waiver. Time was passing. Lee told Marina, "If they don't allow you to enter America, I will stay in Russia. I am not going alone." At that moment she would have supported him if he had told her they must go to the moon. They were really a family, she decided. He loved her.

Now, with their baby there, when Lee came home from work, he always had a nice, friendly smile no matter how bad his day had been. He might tell you about troubles at work later, but once he opened their door, he always had a smile. He would say, "Daddy's home," or, "Here I am." Would announce himself as if he were an actor bounding onstage. And she looked forward to that. He would announce as he came in, "Girls, Daddy's here, everything's fine. Davochki, ya doma. Little girls, I'm home."

As soon as he came in, he would take off his dirty clothes and shower right away and put on clean ones, but, of course, they only had hot water three times a week, so on days there was none, he would not take a cold shower but clean himself off. She did not have to boil water for him. Lee would help her with laundry as well, and sometimes wash their dishes. Once, he washed the floor.

Meanwhile, the sanction was still in force:

OPERATIONS MEMORANDUM

March 9, 1962

TO: Amembassy, Moscow
FROM: Department of State (Visa Office)
SUBJECT: VISAS, OPERATIONS: Case of Marina N. Oswald

. . .Under the sanctions found under sections 243(g), it will be necessary for her to proceed to a third country and make applications there. If Mr. Oswald should inquire about the possibility of a waiver of the sanction, he may be informed that full and complete consideration was given to that possibility and it was determined that the sanction should not be waived. (n.2)

The next two communications speak for themselves:

TELEGRAM Outgoing

Foreign Service of the United States of America

March 15, 1962

ACTION: DEPARTMENT _____

Decision needed soonest on re-consideration 243(g) waiver Marina OSWALD. Husband for some time has known visa petition approved, telephones and writes Embassy frequently to find out reason delay. We deemed it unwise

discuss 243(g) problem as long as waiver still possible, but find it increasingly awkward put Oswald off.

TELEGRAM

JNorbury/wbr

(n.3)

March 16, 1961

VO Mr. John E. Crump

SOV Robert I. Owen

. . .SOV believes it is in the interest of the US to get Lee Harvey Oswald and his family out of the Soviet Union and on their way to this country as soon as possible. An unstable character, whose actions are entirely unpredictable, Oswald may well refuse to leave the USSR or subsequently attempt to return there if we should make it impossible for him to be accompanied from Moscow by his wife and child.

Such action on our part would also permit the Soviet Government to argue that although it had issued an exit visa to Mrs. Oswald to prevent the separation of a family, the United States Government had imposed a forced separation by refusing to issue her a visa. . .

. . .A detour to a third country would require additional United States funds. SOV recommends that INS be asked to reconsider on an urgent basis its decision regarding the 243(g) waiver for Mrs. Oswald. . .motivated in part by the fact that Oswald is using up his funds while awaiting documentation. (n.4)

March The last communiques are exchanged between myself and the Embassy. Letters are always arriving from my mother and brother in the US. I have still not told Erich, who is my oldest existing acquaintance, that we are going to the States. He's OK, but I am afraid he is too good a Komsomol member so I'll wait till the last minute.

She was still not sure she wanted to go. She was looking for advice. Some of her pharmacy girls tried to talk her out of it. She would say to them, "What am I going to do? I have a baby, and a baby should have its father." But they would say she was going to a foreign country with a man who was not such a balanced person. He wants to live here, gets married, gets her pregnant--then suddenly he wants to go back to America. Lots of uncertainty in him. Maybe her child needs a father but he was moving his wife into a new country without knowing--can she cope with such a situation? After all, people were brought up here in a different way. He is taking his wife over there without even thinking ahead of how she will be feeling.

Chapter 20 -- Second Thoughts

Along with everything else, he was having an exchange of letters with a Brigadier-General in the Marine Corps.

7 Mar 1962

Mr. Lee H. Oswald
Kalinina Street, 4-24
Minsk, USSR

Dear Mr. Oswald:

Your letter of 30 January 1962 addressed to the Secretary of the Navy concerning your separation from the Marine Corps Reserve as of 13 September 1960 has been referred to me for reply.

A review of your file at this Headquarters reflects that a board of officers was convened by the Commander, Marine Air Reserve Training, Naval Air Station, Glenview, Illinois, for the purpose of determining your fitness to remain a member of the Marine Corps Reserve. Referral of your case to this board was premised on reliable information which indicated that you had renounced your United States citizenship with the intention of becoming a permanent citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Commander, Marine Air Reserve Training,

made responsible efforts to inform you of your right to appear before the review board in person, representation by counsel of your choice and to present any evidence or statements you believed pertinent to your case.

In the absence of reply from you concerning your rights as noted above, the board, nevertheless, convened and met on 8 August 1960 at which time a recommendation was submitted that you be separated from the Marine Corps Reserve as undesirable. . .

Sincerely,

R. McC. Tompkins

Brigadier General

US Marine Corps

Assistant Director of

Personnel (n.1)

One can feel the pressure of Oswald's hand upon each word he chooses to underline in his reply.

LEE H. OSWALD

Kalinina St. 4-24

Minsk USSR

March 22, 1962

R. McC. Tompkins

Brigadier Gen., USMC

Ass. Direct. of Personnel

Dear Sirs:

In reply to your notification of the granting of an undesirable discharge and your conveying of the process at which it was arrived:

I would like to point out in direct opposition to your information that I have never taken steps to renounce my US citizenship. Also that the United States State Department has no charges or complaints against me whatsoever.

I refer you to the United States Embassy, Moscow, or the US Department of State, Washington DC, for the verification of this fact.

Also, I was not aware of the finding of the board of officers of 8 August 1960. I was notified by my mother, in December of 1961.

My request to the Secretary of the Navy, his referral to you, and your letter to me, did not say anything about a review, which is what I was trying to arrange.

You mention "reliable information" as the basis for the undesirable discharge. I have no doubt it was newspapers' speculation which formed your "reliable information."

Under US law governing the use of passports and conduct abroad, I have a perfect right to reside in any country I wish to.

I have not violated Section 1544, Title 18, US code, therefore, you have no legal, or even moral, right to reverse my honorable discharge from the USMC of September 11, 1960, into an undesirable discharge.

You may consider this letter a request by me for a full review of my case in the light of these facts, since

by the time you receive this letter I shall have returned to the USA with my family, and shall be prepared to appear in person at a reasonable time and place in my area before a reviewing board of officers.

If you choose to convene a review board, you may contact me through the below address in the United States after May 15th, 1962:

LEE H. OSWALD
7313 Davenport Street
Fort Worth, Texas (n.2)

March 28

Dear Mother,

You asked whether I'll be staying at your place or

On March 27 comes the last entry in his diary:

either but I will be visiting both. In any event, I'll want to live on my own and probably will live in Fort Worth or New Orleans. We will undoubtedly come by ship to the US which will be a two-week trip. I'll let you know

I receive a letter from a Mr. Phillips (employer of my mother) pledging to support my wife in case of need.

Lee (n.2)

March 27, '62

April 12, 1962

Dear Mother,

. . . We should be in the States in May at the latest. The Embassy has agreed to loan me \$500.00 for the trip, and also they accepted my own affidavit of support so yours won't be necessary after all. However, don't try to get that businessman friend of yours to cancel his affidavit; it may come in handy someday.

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

Love xxx

Lee (n.3)

March 28

Dear Mother,

You asked whether I'll be staying at your place or Robert's in Fort Worth. I don't think I'll be staying at either but I will be visiting both. In any event, I'll want to live on my own and probably will live in Fort Worth or New Orleans. We will undoubtedly come by ship to the US which will be a two-week trip. I'll let you know when we leave the Soviet Union. . .

Love xxx

Lee (n.4)

April 12, 1962

Dear Robert,

. . . It looks like we'll be leaving the country in April or May; only the American side is holding us up now. The Embassy is as slow as the Russians were. . . .

. . . Now that winter is gone, I really don't want to leave until the beginning of fall since the spring and

summer here are so nice.

Your brother,
Lee (n.5)

Can he be thinking of his Undesirable Discharge and all the problems it could cause him when looking for a job? Yes, it has occurred to him that spring and summer are more temperate in Minsk than dog-days in Fort Worth. America may be waiting for him like a powerful and angry uncle whose eyes won't stop glaring in the heat.

End notes, chapter 20

1. CE 2686, Vol. XXVI, p. 47
2. CE 823, Vol. XVII, p. 723-724
3. CE 1315, Vol. XXII, p. 491
4. CE 196, Vol. XVI, p. 573
5. CE 317, Vol. XVI, p. 877

Dewald can have no idea how much people that he disliked (who, in turn, detested him) were now working for his cause.

From a letter by Joseph Worsley, Second Secretary of the Embassy in Moscow to Robert T. Owen in the office of Soviet Union Affairs, Department of State:

Chapter 21 -- I Trust Your Son is Appreciative

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

May 4, 1962

FROM: Moscow

TO: Secretary of State

Decision needed soonest on re-consideration 243 (#)
Oswald. Husband for some time has known visa petition
approved, telephones and writes Embassy frequently to find
out reason delay. We deemed it unwise discuss 243 (g)
problem as long as waiver still possible, but find it
increasingly awkward put Oswald off.

THOMPSON (n.1)

Oswald can have no idea how much people that he disliked
(who, in turn, detested him) were now working for his cause.

From a letter by Joseph Norbury, Second Secretary of the
Embassy in Moscow to Robert I. Owen in the Office of Soviet
Union Affairs, Department of State:

May 8, 1962

Dear Bob,

. . . You will also have noted our cable of May 4 on the OSWALD case. If the 243(g) waiver is not granted soon on this one, I think we should call the Oswalds in and send them on to Belgium. It is not that our hearts are breaking for Oswald. His impertinence knows no bounds. His latest letter contained an imperious demand that the State Department stop trying to get travel funds from his relatives in the U.S. He apparently thinks, by the way, that the travel money question is the only reason we've deferred calling him and his family in, although I informed him some time ago that a loan as needed of up to \$500 had been approved. On the two or three recent occasions he has telephoned from Minsk, I have had to refer lamely to a still unsettled "problem" which is still holding up his wife's case. . .

Sincerely yours,
Joseph B. Norbury
Second Secretary of
Embassy (n.2)

If, for months, State has been requesting Justice to waive the sanction, now, in final admission that the international publicity could prove injurious to the United States, Justice hands--not to the Department of State, but to the more ineffable Department of Prudence, supreme guide to all bureaucracies.

hands
what?

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Immigration and Naturalization Service
Washington 25, D.C.

May 9, 1962

Mr. Michael Cieplinski
Acting Administrator
Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs
Department of State
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Cieplinski:

. . .Your letter states that preventing Mrs. Oswald from accompanying her husband and child to the United States would weaken the attempts of the Embassy in Moscow to encourage positive action by the Soviet authorities in other cases involving Soviet relatives of United States citizens. Your letter also states that the waiving of sanctions in behalf of Mrs. Oswald would be in the best interests of the United States.

In view of the strong representation made in your letter of March 27, 1962, you are hereby advised that the sanctions imposed pursuant to Section 243(g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act are hereby waived in behalf of Mrs. Oswald.

Sincerely yours,

Robert H. Robinson

Deputy Associate

Commissioner

Travel Control (n.3)

American Embassy

Moscow, USSR

May 10, 1962

Mr. Lee H. Oswald
Kalinina Street, 4
Apartment 24
Minsk, USSR

Dear Mr. Oswald:

I am pleased to inform you that the Embassy is now in a position to take final action on your wife's visa application. Therefore, you and your wife are invited to come to the Embassy at your convenience when your wife has gathered the documents listed in the attached form DSL-869.

The Embassy has on file two copies of your wife's birth certificate and one copy of her marriage certificate. Therefore, she need bring only one more copy of her marriage certificate, three photographs, an X-ray, serological analysis and certification of smallpox inoculation.

As you were notified previously, three photographs of your daughter and a copy of her birth certificate will also be necessary for the Consular Report of Birth and the amendment to your passport.

Please notify the Embassy when to expect you.

Very truly yours,

Joseph B. Norbury

American Consul (n.4)

June 7, 1962

Dear Mrs. Oswald:

. . .Inquiry of the American Embassy at Moscow concerning your son's plans brought the reply on May 31 that your son and his family were leaving Moscow June 1 for Rotterdam and would leave Rotterdam June 4 on the S.S. MAASDAM for New York, arriving June 13. In all probability, by this time you have received this information from your son.

I am sorry you have been caused so much unhappiness as the result of your son's actions. You doubtless realize that his unfortunate situation was the result of

his original decision to live in the USSR. . .When he changed his mind later, the Embassy, regardless of his earlier actions, advised him regarding the procedures which he should follow to obtain Soviet exit permits for himself, his wife, and child; also the Department granted him a loan to pay for his transportation back to New York. I trust that your son is aware and appreciative of the assistance which has been rendered by the United States Government.

Sincerely yours,
Robert I. Owen
Officer in Charge
Political Affairs
Office of Soviet Union Affairs
(n.5)

Can we assume that this letter irritated Marguerite? Her son was a patriotic undercover agent of the United States Government, but to cover that fact, these government officials must keep on being snide and condescending!

Chapter 22 -- Farewell to Ella

There was this fellow, Max Germann, who had had a ruckus with Oswald back in early days of January 1960 when they had both started to work at Horizon. Now, on May fourth, 1962, Max had gotten married to Ella. Fifteen months had gone by since she had stopped seeing Lee, and not once in all that time had he spoken to Ella, in fact, he now pretended not to know her. But, suddenly, this day, toward end of May, he came up to her workbench just as Ella was standing up to get ready to go home and have lunch with her new husband. Lee came in, walked straight up to her, said, "Can we meet today? There's something I want to talk to you about."

Ella sort of lost her head. If she'd been married a little longer she might have said yes, but she'd only been together with Max a couple of weeks and he was so close to her that he was following her around, watching her every step, so she thought she probably couldn't, probably shouldn't, not after that fight between Max and Lee over two years ago. So, she shook her head. She said, "I just got married," and Lee said, "Did you marry somebody I know?" She looked at him and said "Yes." He turned his back and walked out through the

same door by which he had walked in. It was as if he'd come especially to talk to her. Some days later someone told her that he had left for America. If only she had known he was going away.

She remembers that Lee certainly seemed to want to tell her something, but once he turned away, she didn't have time to react. And she didn't feel like running after him.

She thinks Lee must have seen her with Max. In the weeks before their marriage, they had always been together. Lee would have seen that not only did she leave Horizon each evening with Max, but would walk to work with him each morning. Lee wouldn't like this fact that she had married Max, with whom he had had a fight.

Ella was very surprised, however, that Lee was going back to America. She even started to argue with people. Someone would say, "Do you know Lee Oswald is in America?" and she'd answer, "No, I can just bet it's not America where he went." She was so sure of herself in arguing about it that she was much surprised later to find out she was wrong.

Decades, certainly, she wanted to pour out her soul. She had to tell it to some person who could understand her position. Maybe, Larissa could say, it was important for Maxine to see how one close friend would react. Her did it worry Larissa that maybe Max was listening in on what they

Chapter 23 -- Leavetaking

Larissa doesn't recall how her last intimate conversation with Marina started. Maybe she had asked why Marina had never gone back to Leningrad--there had always been such fondness and nostalgia and sadness in her eyes when she recollected former Leningrad days. Marina finally did explain by saying, "I'm not allowed to go back."

Larissa could never be certain what motivated Marina to confess that she had not been a virgin when she married, but now that she and Alik were leaving for America in a few days, and he was out on some errand, Marina did talk on this night about her days in Leningrad and Larissa listened with tears in her eyes. They cried together there in Marina and Lee's apartment. That conversation must have gone on for two hours, not less, and Larissa thinks that if people believed in God during those years, Marina could have gone to church and confessed. Because, certainly, she wanted to pour out her soul. She had to tell it to some person who could understand her position. Maybe, Larissa could say, it was important for Marina to see how one close friend would react. Nor did it worry Larissa that maybe KGB was listening in on what they

said; Larissa considered herself to be pure and open, so there couldn't be anything illegal being said. Besides, if security forces were doing a job of surveillance on that apartment, it was all right. They should know everything.

Now, Larissa wouldn't tell a word of this if she didn't know that her interviewers already knew as much. She thinks that Marina spoke to her on that night because when a person needs to discuss their life with someone else, it must be only with a person who will keep secrets in confidence.

Larissa doesn't think Marina married Lee just as a form of protection, but she does believe that Marina did fear her past and how it might spoil her present. Still, it wasn't her only solution. If Marina had married a Byelorussian or a Jewish man, she could have lived wonderfully and given receptions and all that stuff from her past would have faded from memory. But her husband wanted to leave for America, so she had to go with him. She could hardly stay alone with a child, making 30 rubles a month.

FROM KGB TRANSCRIPT

For Object: OLH-2983

For Period: 19, May, 1962

LHO: How could you! You were off from work somewhere for three hours.

(Baby is crying.)

Wife: You idiot! I'm not going anywhere with you. You can take the baby and go. Take her and go.

LHO: Shut up. Take your baby.

(Baby is crying.)

Wife: Leave me alone. Do whatever you want, I'm not going with you. You never do anything to help me out. Go, feed the baby. You can kill me, but I'm not going to get milk. I'm just going to sit here and watch. You'll create these scandals until 2 in the morning. I don't just take off from work somewhere, I have to sleep at that clinic. These doctors seem to make a point of not waiting for me.

(cries)

What, I have to run home [from my clinic]?

LHO: Exactly.

(They go into kitchen.)

12:50 (They come back in.)

Wife: (sobbing) Out of my sight, you dog! You scoundrel! Don't look at me that way, nobody is afraid of you. Go to hell, you bastard!

LHO: You're very good.

Wife: You can go to your America without me, and I hope you die on the way.

(LHO leaves.)

(Quiet in the apartment.)

At 9:30 in the evening, an unidentified man and woman come to visit. By various references, it can only be Mr. and Mrs. Ziger, and they will therefore be identified as such rather than--as in the documents--Unidentified Man 3 and Unidentified Woman 2. Having taken this much liberty, "Wife" will now be changed to Marina, and Likhoi can appear as Lee.

21:30

Mrs. Ziger: We knocked and knocked!

Marina: We were on our balcony, we didn't hear anything.

Mrs. Ziger: Where's your daughter? Let's hope she stays healthy. She has her mother's eyes, they're big.

Lee: She has her mother's eyes, lips, nose. She got everything from her mother, nothing from me.

Mrs. Ziger: Next time you'll have a son.

Lee: We already received all our papers.
We're probably leaving on Tuesday. . . .

Mrs. Ziger: How are you going? By boat or plane?

Lee: From Moscow either by train or by plane. It depends on what sort of visa they give us. From Poland or East Germany by train or by plane to London.

(They all talk at same time. Can't understand anything.)

Mrs. Ziger: When she grows up, she won't even know where she was born. Maybe June'll come to visit some time.

Mr. Ziger: Visiting is another matter. She just shouldn't come here to stay.

(Men go out onto the balcony.)

Mrs. Ziger: This dresser would be very good for a single man or girl. Very good. You haven't sold this yet?

Marina: We bought that in a commission store.

Lee: Have you put on tea?

Mrs. Ziger: Don't worry about us, we're fine.

Lee: Are there any glasses?

Marina: We have two glasses. There's also my small cup. He already packed everything.

Lee: Our entire fortune. An empty room.

Mrs. Ziger: Where are the suitcases? You're happy, of course?

Lee: We're happy.

Mrs. Ziger: Marinochka, you must be?

Marina: I'm not all that happy, of course.

Mrs. Ziger: But the man you love. . . .

Mr. Ziger: Don't rush, we don't need anything, we just had dinner.

Lee: In a minute we'll have coffee. Coffee.

Mrs. Ziger: She will be blonde, she's going to be pretty.

Lee: She's going to have a good life, she'll have everything. . .

(They're all talking at once, difficult to make out.)

(Pavel arrives and all three men move to kitchen.)

Mrs. Ziger: Marinochka, you don't know how much I envy you, you're so healthy.

Marina: I'll arrive [in America] with my daughter, I don't know, maybe it'll be difficult, maybe he won't find work.

Mrs. Ziger: Why won't he find work? . . . You'll get settled, everything will be fine, you'll have lots of everything, you'll have freedom.

Marina: We'll have money, freedom.

Mrs. Ziger: God, how I hate living in this city. You don't have a lot of linen. Do you have a chest? God, and we have so much junk! Look how much we've brought! And how much we gave away! There was our dresser, our bed, our cheval-glass, oaken, huge. And dishes! We sold them all.

Marina: At first you probably didn't have all that?

Mrs. Ziger: Yes, I remember it as if it were yesterday. He was 21, and I was 24, I was older than him.

Marina: You look like you're younger. . . .

Mrs. Ziger: How are you set for money?

Marina: We saved. . . Because we're both that way.

Mrs. Ziger: How much does it cost?

Marina: One ticket costs 440 new rubles. For two.

Mrs. Ziger: Didn't your aunt help you a little?

Marina: No.

Mrs. Ziger: Thank God you're going. It's fate, you met your beloved American. . . .

Marina: I'll tell you one thing, he helps me.

Mrs. Ziger: Most important thing is that he doesn't have any other women.

Marina: Who knows, maybe I won't always be good for him. I wouldn't say that I'm really good.

Mrs. Ziger: You have a good soul.

Marina: At first he was unhappy that she was a girl, and not a boy, but now he doesn't mind.

Mrs. Ziger: Oh, not at all, he'll love her.

Marina: He loves her now.

(They talk about baby, about fact that some husbands are bad, drink or treat their wives badly.)

Mrs. Ziger: Maybe you'll want to come for a visit here sometime. . . .

Marina: It's easier to live there. He'll be making more money than he makes here. What can he do here? You work and work and you make chicken-feed.

Mrs. Ziger: . . .It's amazing that your aunt didn't help you, she could at least have bought you a present.

Marina: What are you talking about! She didn't even buy diapers for June. He and she alone make thousands. They could at least have bought something. I'm not asking for expensive presents, maybe a little hat for 40 kopecks. Now, pharmacy girls helped, one of them would bring over diapers, another would bring something else. Every little bit helps.

Mrs. Ziger: Did you already say goodbye to your aunt?

Marina: Not yet.

Mrs. Ziger: When did you tell her?

Marina: I think they got my letter day before yesterday. . . I told her that I was leaving. "Are you crazy! You're going to leave after all."

Mrs. Ziger: I'm following my husband. Wherever needle goes, thread follows. . .

(They talk about what Marina will wear for her trip, they talk about furniture: how much, more or less, they'll get for it, then they talk about her baby.)

Marina: Alik, come over here, she's sleeping.

22:40 (Lee, Pavel, and Mr. Ziger come in from kitchen.)

Mrs. Ziger: So, Alik, are you going to miss us?

Lee: Of course, we'll miss you.

(Everyone's yelling, can't make out what. Pavlik is taking pictures.)

(They all talk at same time, can't make anything out.)

Mrs. Ziger: You have to promise to teach baby Russian.

Lee: I promise.

Mrs. Ziger: It's good to know Russian, it never hurts. Isn't it good you can understand?

(Guys talk about radio, women talk about their problems, can't understand anything.)

23:00 (They turn on radio; can't hear anything.)

23:00 (They turn it off.)

Pavel: Customs won't look.

Marina: They don't look at everything, anyway, they do it selectively.

Mrs. Ziger: When we arrived in Odessa, there was an enormous warehouse, everyone had brought 7 or 8 chests. We brought a piano, a stroller, four enormous chests full of everything, everyone brought half a train car of things. And the Ukrainian women say: "Look at all the stuff they brought with them, and they say that people there are dying of hunger." And my girls came wearing thin high heels: "Look at those heels!" We were crest-fallen, you can't imagine. . . Things here have changed so much during last five years!

Pavel: For worse?

Mrs. Ziger: For better. Let's hope so. I'm tired of living and suffering in a country like Russia, biggest and richest country.

Pavel: In final analysis, number of bombs in every country isn't all that terrible. When there are enough bombs, no one will start a war.

Mr. Ziger: You'd have to be crazy.

Pavel: They say that we're arming because Americans want war. Americans had their bomb before we did, why didn't they attack then? They don't want war. No one wants war.

Mr. Ziger: I don't know whether there'll be a war or not.

Pavel: There can't be two systems for very long.

Mr. Ziger: If Marxism is really right, then capitalism is dying, expiring, so there'll only be one system. If it's not right, then communism won't last very long. Communism has changed when you compare it to communism that was described by Engels and Marx.

(static, nothing audible.)

Mr. Ziger: We're leaving tomorrow, it's time to go.

Mrs. Ziger: Goodbye.

Mr. Ziger: We'll still see each other before you go.

23:10 (Mr. and Mrs. Ziger leave.)

There was something she had never told anyone before. It seemed irrelevant. Yet before they left Russia (and it still didn't make sense to her) he asked her to try--before she quit her job at the pharmacy--to try to get ahold of some narcotics

and bring them home. When she told him she couldn't get it legally--you have to sign for everything--he said, "Can't you steal it?" She wouldn't. She couldn't and she wouldn't.

But to this day she has no idea why he wanted narcotics. He didn't say morphine or amphetamine, just "narcotics." It wasn't as if he were drug-addicted; he couldn't even stand alcohol. Maybe he just wanted to sell it in Minsk so he could come home to America with more money. She knew he was even scared to death to smuggle his papers out.

FROM KGB TRANSCRIPT

For Object: OLH-2983

For Period: 20, May, 1962

Marina: No, you can kill me, but I'm not going to do things the way you do. . .

Lee: How ridiculous!

Marina: No point in arguing. . .

Lee: Shut up, fool!

Marina: Everyone's a fool as far as you're concerned.

Lee: You shut up, understand?. . . You won't say anything. You'll answer their questions, you [won't] talk. You're going to sit there and keep your mouth shut, got it?

Marina: If there's trouble, you'll have to deal with it.

Lee: That's all there is to it. It's my responsibility. You just sit tight. . . [At the American Embassy] you should say: No, I'm not a member of a trade union. I've never been in any Soviet organization.

Marina: So do they persecute you for that in America? Why should I go to a country like that?

Lee: Just say it.

Marina: I haven't left yet and the trouble's already starting, and wait till I get there, aha, you're a Russian! You're a member of a trade union!

Lee: Shut up, your brains are ugly.

Marina: . . .I'm a Soviet girl, I'm not about to be afraid of anything. If I'm a member of my trade union, I'm a member and I'm not going to hide!

Lee: Idiot!

Marina: I haven't got anything to fear.

Lee: Fool! [Just] say you are a pharmacist. . .

Marina: Well, I won't go to a country where they persecute a person for every word. [bracketed in left margin.]

Lee: (idiotic laughter.)

Marina: You smug ass! You'll burst like a soap bubble.

Lee: You already burst a long time ago. . .

Marina: . . .Honest people don't hide anything, but you're a deceiver. You're always deceiving, you deceive everyone.

10:05 (Lee leaves.)

13:20 (Two women arrive, one is Sona. They talk about Marina's baby.)

Marina: You don't even have anything to sit on.

Sona: That's all right.

Marina: Sonechka, come out here onto our balcony
. . . It's warmer on the balcony.

(They go out.)

13:30 (Baby wakes up. They come back into living room, take care of baby. Marina says that in Moscow she'll go to dentist.)

Unidentified Woman: How do you plan to leave Moscow, by train?

Marina: Moscow-Paris train.

Sona: Then by boat also. You don't have a lot of things, just suitcases, right?

Marina: Just suitcases?

Sona: That's it?

Unidentified Woman: And that's it, nothing else?

Marina: I have to wash my floor before we leave.

Unidentified Woman: Why should you? Let them do it.

Marina: It has to be polished.

Sona: It's not essential. You can get by with just washing it. . .

(Sona talks about who's gone on vacation, what's changed at work. They talk about permanent waves. Marina talks about selling their things. . . Unidentified Woman says that she would be happy if she had a room like this one. . .)

Unidentified
Woman:

. . . Of course, everyone's always happier in their own country where they grew up.

Marina:

Only thing is that standard of living is higher over there. Here we work and work and what's the point of it?

Finally, after a year of deciding to leave, and getting ready to leave, after their letters have been written and all their permissions granted, all possessions sold and packed, they are still a day and a half away from leaving. A friend of Lyalya's, Tolik, is with them, going over last details, Marina speaks:

Marina: Alik, you didn't take the most important thing, the thermometer!

Lee: (from the kitchen)
What?

(They talk about various train departure times, individual words can be heard: "11:40," "that's the express," "if at night. . .then in the morning. . .")

Marina: Let's go out onto our balcony, we'll
look at starry worlds!

They go out on the balcony to look at the starry worlds
awaiting them:

(Balcony. Talk. Nothing at all can be heard, only individual words: "Belinsky," "We have more grey matter in our skulls," "algebra, trigonometry," "two points, 'A' and 'B'," "point of departure, find where," "you'll come visit me at home. . .")

(They come back into living room.)

Tolya: Well, shall we go?

Marina: Let's go! So, are we going to spend [our
last] night [in Pavel's place?]

Lee: Yes.

Marina: In that case, we should bring diapers.

(They get their things together.)

Marina: Al'ka. . .Take your raincoat just in case.

Lee: Why? It's not raining, after all!

Marina: What if it rains tomorrow morning? No,
my dear, just in case take your raincoat!...

21:10 (They all leave apartment.)

That is the end of the transcriptions furnished by KGB.
Next day, on the eve of their departure, Stepan interviewed
Ilya Prusakov once more.

FROM KGB REPORT

On 21 of May 1961 I conducted an interview with
"Nalim's" uncle, Prusakov, I.V., who informed me that
on 20th of May he was visited at his apartment by his
niece, Marina, and "Nalim." In their conversation,
"Nalim" told Prusakov of their intention to leave for
Moscow. . .on 22nd of May in order to fill out all
necessary documents and then go to America.

As a result of this, Prusakov and his wife, being
Marina's relatives, gave Marina and "Nalim" several pieces
of advice. In particular, Prusakov, expressing concern
for his own well-being, asked Marina and "Nalim" not to
take part in any actions hostile to Soviet Union after
arrival in United States. Prusakov reminded "Nalim" that
he was provided for and always well-treated by Soviet

people. "Nalim" assured Prusakov that they would not undertake any actions harmful to Soviet Union. At same time, "Nalim" explained that in order to avoid possible meetings and interviews with correspondents, he had decided to go straight to his brother's residence without stopping in New York.

Before her departure for Moscow, Marina is supposed to visit Prusakov's apartment again. Considering that fact, a recommendation was made to Prusakov that he have a conversation with her, which would help to prevent Marina and "Nalim" from taking part in anti-Soviet propaganda abroad. Prusakov's attention was brought to an understanding that this interview [should] naturally not evoke any suspicion on part of Marina and "Nalim."

Prusakov reached an agreement with Marina about corresponding [with her] after her departure to U.S.

Dear Robert,

. . .This will be the last letter you get from us from the USSR.

In case you hear about our coming or the newspapers hear about it (I hope they won't), I want to warn you not to make any comments whatsoever about me. None at all!! I know what was said about me when I left the U.S. as Mother sent me some clippings from the newspapers, however, I realize that it was just the shock of the news which made you say all those things. However, I'll just remind you again not to make any statements or comments if you are approached by the newspapers between now and the

time we actually arrive in the U.S.

Hope to see you soon. Love to the family.

Your brother,

Lee (n.1)

FROM KGB CHRONOLOGY

22.05.62 Oswald and his wife and daughter leave
Minsk on the No. 4 (Moscow) train for
later departure to the USA.

Friends came with flowers to say goodbye and Marina knew she was leaving Mother Russia, leaving her friends and family behind. So, in a way, it was like a funeral. Because that is the last time you see a person. So she thought, here I am leaving and my relatives might as well be dead. She had done them so dirty. She didn't think Valya and Ilya would come.

But then, as the train began to pull out of Minsk, and Ziger family and Pavel were waving, and all their friends who had come to say goodbye (except Erich--he didn't come), way over there in the dark where station lights didn't reach, she saw her aunt clinging to her uncle, just like two birds nesting, and Marina said to herself, "She made him come."

They were arriving in Moscow for ten days of picking up last papers, and filling out last questionnaires before departing again from Moscow by train to pass through Minsk once more (but in the middle of the night) then into Poland, and Germany, and Netherlands. Several days would be spent on that train. But before they would leave Moscow for Minsk and Brest and Germany and Netherlands, Lee and Marina and baby June visited with Marina's cinematographer and model friends, Yuri and Galina, for an evening.

Next day Galya visited American Embassy with Marina. "To be honest," said Yuri, "my hair stood on end when Galina told me she had been inside there. After all, I was working at an ideological agency, Central Television, and it was not that I was really afraid--Iron Curtain had already opened a crack--but it wasn't something that would help me to get promoted either."

On last night before they left, they had dinner at Yuri's mother's apartment and Alik kept rocking June until Yuri's mother said, "Go sit with everyone else," and Lee said, "No, no, Sofia Leontievna, I like to keep my baby," whereupon she said, "I've already rocked three babies; don't worry." So he gave June up, but he was very jealous. Yuri added, "He was

kind of a male mother--that is: man; mother."

There are no photographs of that night because Soviet cinematographers had a silly tradition in those days, said Yuri. When they switched over to movie making, they threw away all still cameras. From their point of view, they were great filmmakers, and so no longer connected to working with stills. It was only later when he started to make documentaries about people like Shostakovitch that he understood one could return to beautiful use of a still camera in cinematography.

Galina remembers that Marina was very nervous on her visit to American Embassy. Galina brought along bananas for them to eat en route and at Embassy gates before going in, there was a big arch and two militiamen, Russians, big ones, stood in front. Galina's package of bananas began to fall apart, and these militiamen actually helped her pick them up. Somehow, in this confusion, although she didn't have documents to get inside American Embassy, she did walk in with Lee and Marina--plus bananas. It had not been her intention to deceive anyone but now she was inside. This American Embassy was interesting to her.

Galina was the only person to see them off. That family of three left from Byelorussian Station and she remembers this afternoon parting well. She and Marina began to cry; they

cried terribly; it was now that they realized they were separating forever. Marina had an ordinary little ring on her finger, sort of bright imitation pearl--she didn't have any real jewelry, but she put it on Galina's finger and said, "I don't have anything to give to you but you must at least have this"--unfortunately, Galina lost it a few years later--she thinks it was stolen.

From America, Marina wrote a letter to them. Galina did not write back. Yuri said, "I'll tell you honestly, I didn't allow her. Marina asked in her letter what she should send us, and I was afraid for us to reply. I was still in Central Television."

[From the report of FBI agents Anatole A. Boguslav and Wallace R. Heitman, December 3, 1964.]

. . .They spent almost ten days in Moscow. . . .first at the Hotel Ostinkino which was quite removed from the center of Moscow. They later stayed at the Hotel Berlin which was closer to the center of town. While in Moscow they exchanged sufficient rubles to obtain one hundred and eighty U.S. dollars. OSWALD used this money to buy rail tickets from Moscow to Amsterdam. They departed Moscow by

train about May 30, 1962 and traveled through Poland, Germany, and Holland. In Holland they boarded the ship for the U.S. They arrived in New York on June 13, 1962.

(n.2)

What with censorship back and forth, mail took so long that Marguerite Oswald had not been brought up to date.

Crowell, Texas

May 25, 1962

Dear Mrs. James,

A few months ago I talked with you by telephone concerning the return of my son Lee. Since then I have had just two letters from him. He states he is trying to borrow the money for the tickets from the government and that the Embassy in Moscow is helping him. Do you have any further information?

This is indeed a sad case. Here is one American boy wanting to rectify a mistake but the fare is keeping him from it. It is amazing how many people know of our need. Not a one has offered to help. Yet, he served three years as a Marine, was in Formosa during the crisis. My other son was a Marine also and was in Korea. My oldest son is making a career of the Air Force. There must be some way

to help that boy. I would appreciate any advice.

So you will know my circumstances a little better: I am working as a companion/housekeeper for \$25.00 a week. Have been able to save a few dollars which will be needful to help my son and family upon his return until he can relocate. It was lack of money and circumstances that turned him against his native land (I quote from newspaper clippings). It is ironic that the lack of two tickets will keep him in Russia. I worry that he might give up and decide to become a Soviet Citizen. After all, I could hardly blame him if he did and it would be quite understandable.

Would you please forward my new address to the Embassy in Moscow?

Box 473 -- 316 E. Donnell, Crowell, Texas, phone, 684-8271.

If you care to call me at any time, please feel free to do so.

Thanking you in advance, I remain,

Mrs. Marguerite Oswald
(n.3)

. . .page 31 of the FBI Report on the Investigation of the Assassination of President Kennedy, states that:

"An FBI investigation of Oswald has been instituted

on May 31, 1962, so that the FBI would be notified of his re-entry by immigration authorities. The purpose of this investigation was to determine if Oswald had been recruited by a Soviet intelligence service." (n.4)

Part II -- At the Entrance to History

Part II -- At the Entrance to History

Chapter 1 -- Across the Briny Deep

Part II -- At the Entrance to History

On the S.S. MAASLUK, Amsterdam, to New York, he does some writing. He has all the free stationery he needs courtesy of the Holland-America line and he projects scenarios for himself as how to treat American journalists at his first press conference in America. Should he be forthright and therefore unforgettable, or diplomatic, hypocritical, wise? He is a man of parts and the art of political life is to manipulate the manipulators. He poses himself sharp questions, and all but the fifth, whose answer turns into an over-detailed synopsis of his interview with Aileen Wuornos in Moscow, are worth repeating.

Q: 1 Why did you go to the USSR?

I went as a mark of
disgust and protest against
American political policies in
foreign countries, as personal
sign of discontent and horror
at the misguided line of

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

Part II -- At the Entrance to History

Chapter 1 -- Across the Briny Deep

On the S.S. MAASDAM, Amsterdam, to New York, he does some writing. He has all the free stationery he needs courtesy of the Holland-America line and he projects scenarios for himself on how to treat American journalists at his first press conference in America. Should he be forthright and therefore unforgettable, or diplomatic, hypocritical, wise? He is a man of parts and the art of political life is to manipulate the manipulators. He poses himself eight questions, and all but the fifth, whose answer turns into an over-detailed exegesis of his interview with Aline Mosby in Moscow, are worth repeating.

Q. 1 Why did you go to the USSR?

I went as a mark of disgust and protest against American political policies in foreign countries, my personal sign of discontent and horror at the misguided line of

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

reasoning of the US Government works.
and people.

Q. 2A What about those letters?

I made several letters in which I expressed the above feeling to the American Embassy when, in October, 1959, I went there to legally liquidate my American citizenship and was refused this legal right.

I made no letters deriding the US! In correspondence with the US Embassy, I made no anti-American statements. Any criticism I might have had was of policies, not our government.

Q. 2B Did you make statements against the US there?

Yes.

No.

Q. 3 Did you break any laws by residing or taking work in the USSR?

I did, in that I took an oath of allegiance to the USSR.

Under US law, a person may lose the protection of the US by voting or serving in the armed forces of a foreign state or taking an oath of allegiance to that state. I did none of those.

Q. 4 Isn't all work in the USSR considered state work?

Yes, of course, and in that respect I also broke a US law in accepting work under a foreign state.

No. Technically, only plants working directly for the state, usually defense plants, [do state work]. Other plants are owned by the workers who work in them. . . .

Q. 6 Why did you remain in the USSR so long if you only wanted a look?

I resided in the USSR from October 10, 1959, to spring of 1962, a period of two and a half years. I did so because I was living quite comfortably. I had plenty of money, an apartment rent-free, lots of girls, etc. Why should I leave all that?

I resided in the USSR quietly 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 [where] the Embassy immediately gave me back my passport and advised me how to get an exit visa from the Russians for myself and my Russian wife. This long and arduous process

took months, from July 1961 to May 1962. . .That's why I was there so long, not out of desire.

Q. 7 Are you a Communist?

Yes, basically.
Although I hate the USSR and the Socialist system, I still think Marxism can work under different circumstances.

No, of course not.

Q. 7A Have you ever known a Communist?

Not in the USA.

I have never even known a Communist outside of the ones in the USSR--but you can't help that.

Q. 8 What are the outstanding differences between the USSR and the USA?

None, except that in the USA the living standard is a little higher; freedoms are about the same; medical aid and the educational system is

Freedom of speech, travel, outspoken opposition to unpopular policies, freedom to believe in God.

better in the USSR than in the
USA.

Newspapers: Thank you, sir,
you are a real patriot!!
(n.1)

We cannot be certain whether he also composed his political creed in the ten days he was on the steamship (merely because it too is written on Holland-American letterhead) or whether he would compose it later with stationery he took ashore, but his return passage would have been a natural time for such an effort. He has studied Marx and Lenin, he has read Mein Kampf, he is not unfamiliar with the notion of future great political leaders who commence their immortal tracts in transit, or while in exile, or compose in prison, or, for that matter, in this tourist salon of an inexpensive steamship. In this manner, one is ready to assume, he prepared himself for America. He would come back with political wisdom for people ready to receive his message.

[Written on Holland-American Lines stationery]

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 themselves, 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 were to stand up and say he was utterly opposed not only to the governments, but to the people, to the entire land, and complete foundations of his society.

To where can I turn? To functional mutants of both systems, to odd-ball Hegelian idealists out of touch with reality, to religious groups, to revisionists, or to absurd anarchism? No!

To a person knowing both systems and their functional accessories, there can be no mediation between the systems as they exist today and that person.

He must be opposed to their basic foundations and representatives.

And yet it is immature to take an attitude which says "A curse on both your houses!"

There are two great representatives of power in the world: simply expressed, the left and the right and their factions and caucuses.

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 [since] it is the much more subtle aspects of industrialization and mechanization which brings the greatest hardships upon the people, a general decay of the classes into shapeless societies without real cultural foundation. . .

True democracy can be practiced only at the local level. While the centralized state, administrative, political, or supervisory functions remain, there can be no real democracy, which would be a loose confederation of communities at a national level without any centralized state whatsoever.

In equal division, with safeguards against coalitions of communities, there can be democracy--not in the centralized state delegating authority, but in numerous equal communities practicing and developing democracy at the local level. . . .

[After a nuclear war] the mass of survivors, shall seek an alternative to those systems which have brought them misery.

But their thinking and education will be steeped in the traditions of those systems. They would never accept a "new order" completely beyond their understanding any more than they would accept the extremists. They would deem it necessary to oppose the old systems but support, at the same time, their cherished traditions.

I intend to put forward just such an alternative. . . what is needed is a practical and constructive group of persons desiring peace but steadfastly opposed to the revival of the forces who have led millions of people to

death and destruction in a dozen wars and now, at this moment, lead the world into unsurpassed danger.

We have lived on 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 socialists or Christian democrats, whether they be Labor or Conservative: they are all products of the two systems.

When 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 naive American who believed in Communism, they arranged for me to receive a certain amount of money every month. OK. It came, technically, through the Red Cross as financial help to a Russian political immigrant, but it was arranged by the MVD. I told myself it was simply because I was broke and everyone knew it. I accepted the money because I was hungry and there were several inches of snow on the ground in Moscow at that time. But what it really was, was payment for my denunciation of the US in Moscow in November of 1959, and a clear promise that for as long as I lived in the USSR, life would be very good. I didn't realize all this, of course, for almost two years.

As soon as I became completely disgusted with the

Soviet Union and started negotiations with the American Embassy in Moscow for my return to the US, my "Red Cross" allotment was cut off.

This was not difficult to understand since all correspondence in and out of the Embassy is censored. . .

I have never mentioned the fact of these monthly payments to anyone.

I do so now in order to state that I shall never sell myself intentionally or unintentionally to anyone again.

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

(n.2)

He indulges a question mark, an exclamation point, a question mark as if a stunning and conceivably disastrous move in chess has just been made. It will be his future move. A political movement with the purest principles, the highest principles. When will there be a magazine egalitarian enough to receive his views?

On sails his S.S. MAASDAM to America.

Chapter 2 -- Homecoming

[from FBI report]

. . .the "Fort Worth Press," a daily newspaper, Fort Worth, Texas, issue of June 8, 1962, carried a front-page story to the effect that subject, a former Fort Worth Marine, who once vowed he would "never return to the United States for any reason," was on his way home from Russia. . . .

This article further quoted that subject said "I would not want to live in the United States and be either a worker exploited by capitalists or a capitalist exploiting workers or become unemployed." This article also quoted subject as having said "I could not be happy living under capitalism."

This article went on to quote subject as saying that his own personal experiences in civil and military life had shown him the correctness of communist theories. . .

(n.1)

Representative Ford. When he did return, after having borrowed money from the Federal Government, did he ever ask you for any help and assistance in repaying the loan?

Mr. Oswald. On his arrival in New York City, I believe the date to be June 13, back in 1962, my wife received a telephone call from Special Services Welfare Center located at New York City stating that Lee and his family were present and that they needed funds to reach their destination, Fort Worth, Tex., and the lady that talked to my wife put it to the extent they were unable to help them and if some member of the family was going to help them, they had better do so then. My wife didn't know anything else to say but of course that we would, and this is what I wanted her to say. She called me at my office that day. The banks had closed but I do have a friend in Fort Worth who was employed at a bank, cashier, I believe his title, and I called him and asked him if it would be possible to withdraw \$200. This was not at my bank, I would give him a check on my checking account, and at which time I wired the money to the welfare bureau in New York, care of Lee Harvey Oswald.

Representative Ford. And that was the money that they, Marina and Lee, used to get to Fort Worth.

Mr. Oswald. That is correct, sir.

Representative Ford. Did Lee ever repay you for that?

Mr. Oswald. Yes, sir; he did. He had actually spent a little over \$100 for the plane tickets and, of course, we met him at Dallas, Love Field, on their arrival there. The next day even though I insisted he keep it, he returned what he had left from the \$200 and he said he would pay me back as soon as he was able to and I told him

not to worry about that, but just to take his time [and] he repaid this \$10-\$20 a week from his pay check.

(n.2)

Mr. Isaacs. . . .when I told him that I contacted his sister-in-law, he was quite angered, he was really very upset, and told us, told me that he did not want to accept this money, that this was a brother who did not have a large income, and that we should meet this cost ourselves. And I told him what our policy was, that in all instances we are required by law to request that relatives or friends, if there are such friends available, meet these expenses, if they can.

Now, in this instance, his sister-in-law said that she would send the money, so we would have to accept this. He did not want to accept our decision on this. He insisted that he see the administrator of our office, because he wanted to protest my having made this phone call and asking for the money.

Mr. Liebeler. You had done this without telling him--

Mr. Isaacs. That's right.

Mr. Liebeler. That you were going to do it?

Mr. Isaacs. We as a rule do not have to ask these peopleBecause he protested so vehemently, I went to the administrator, Mrs. Ruscoll, and asked her what we were to

do about this matter and she telephoned Miss Elliot of the New York State Department of Social Welfare, who instructed Mrs. Ruscoll to use these funds despite his protestations, which we proceeded to do, and Mrs. Ruscoll then notified him personally that these funds have to be used for the family's return fare. (n.3)

[from the narrative prepared by Marina Prusakova Oswald for the Warren Commission]

. . .I remember that we took a short rest in Atlanta for several minutes while the airplane was being readied for its further flight. We went out to take a breath of fresh air. And people were eyeing us. I cannot boast about the way we were dressed. And even June was dressed in Russian style. In Russia children's . . .arms and legs are wrapped in diapers--the result being that they look something like an Egyptian mummy. I am looking at myself now with different eyes and think what a comical sight we must have been then.

In Dallas we were met by Robert and his family. I was very ashamed of how sloppy we looked. We were both very tired from the trip and didn't have anything very good to wear anyway, not to speak of the way my hair must have looked. I am afraid that Robert also was ashamed of having such a relative as myself. But they are very good people and did not say anything to me; quite to the contrary, they helped me get used to the new country. Their very delicate approach to me and to our whole family immediately gave me a very good impression of Americans.

I am ashamed to say that I didn't speak a word of English and did not understand anything. So I felt quite out of place. . . (n.4)

Representative Boggs. Was the relationship between your family and your wife and Mrs. Oswald, of course, I realize you had a language barrier, but was it pleasant?

Mr. Oswald. Yes, sir. I would describe it as very pleasant. We immediately, my wife and I both, took to Marina and June, the baby, at that time, and my wife and I both were just tickled to death, so to speak, for an opportunity to be with somebody like Marina and to show her things she had never seen before. (n.5)

[from the narrative prepared by Marina Prusakova Oswald for the Warren Commission]

I remember that Robert suggested that I exchange my dress for shorts, since it is very warm in Texas in the summer. This was a revolution for me. Up until then I had only seen in the movies how American girls simply walk around the streets in shorts. . . .

Robert showed me the American stores and I was delighted that everything was so simple, and that there were so many things which I had only dreamed of. . . I

immediately liked the many neon advertisements. Perhaps Americans are used to them and pay no attention to them. But for me they were unusual--these gay, many-colored lights in the windows and advertisements made me feel good. . . (n.6)

Mr. Jenner. . . .what did you observe, and if in contrast by way of contrast, in his physical appearance and demeanor as against the last time you had seen him, in 1959.

Mr. Oswald. His appearance had changed to the extent that he had lost a considerable amount of hair; his hair had become very kinky in comparison with his naturally curly hair prior to his departure to Russia.

Mr. Jenner. Had his hair been in any respect kinky, as you put it. . . .prior to his leaving for Russia?. . .

Mr. Oswald. No, sir; it was not. It was curly.

Mr. Jenner. Did that arrest your attention, the difference in the texture of his head of hair?

Mr. Oswald. Yes, sir; it certainly did. . .

Mr. Jenner. . . .What else did you observe by way of his facial appearance--whether he was drawn, or bouncy and

healthy, as he had been when you had seen him in September of 1959?

Mr. Oswald. He appeared the first couple of days upon his return, June 14, 1962, to be rather tense and anxious. I also noted that his complexion had changed somewhat to the extent that he had always been very fair complected--his complexion was rather ruddy at this time--you might say it appeared like an artificial suntan that you get out of a bottle, but very slight--in other words, a tint of brown to a tint of yellow. . .

Mr. Jenner. Did these differences in physical appearance . . . lead you to form an opinion, at least tentative, as to what might have occurred or happened to your brother while he was in Russia?

Mr. Oswald. In reference to that, sir; his hair--I did, either on the first or second night, when he was there at the house--I pointed out to him and actually had him bend his head down to where I could look at the top of it, and it was very thin on the top--you could see just right down to his scalp.

And his comment on that was that he thought the weather had affected his hair, the cold weather.

Mr. Jenner. Did he make any comments when you met him at Love Field, and did you ride in with him from Love Field to your home?

Mr. Oswald. Yes, sir. We were in my personal car, my wife and my children were with me. We met him and his

wife and his baby. He seemed, perhaps the word is, disappointed, when there were no newspaper reporters around. He did comment on this.

Mr. Jenner. Tell us what he said.

Mr. Oswald. I believe his comment was something like, "What, no photographers or anything?"

I said, "No, I have been able to keep it quiet."

Mr. Jenner. And where was that remark made?

Mr. Oswald. At Love Field, as they came through the gate.

Mr. Jenner. Did he make any remarks on that subject as you drove into town?

Mr. Oswald. No, sir; he did not.

Mr. Jenner. Did he make any other comments that arrested your attention when he arrived at Love Field or while you were driving into town?

Mr. Oswald. Yes, sir; he did. In reference to newspaper reporters again, or photographers, he asked me if I had been receiving calls and so forth, and I told him. . .they were not aware at that time, to my knowledge, that he had arrived at Love Field, and that he was going to be at my home.

Mr. Jenner. Having in mind the changes in physical appearance, and also the course of events since the day of

his arrival at Love Field to the present time, have you formed an opinion, Mr. Oswald, as to whether your brother may have undergone some treatment of some kind in Russia that affected his mind?

Mr. Oswald. Yes, sir. Since Lee's death on November 24th, I have formed an opinion in that respect.

Mr. Jenner. What is that opinion?

Mr. Oswald. That, perhaps in sheer speculation on my part--that due to the nature of the change in his hair, in the baldness that appeared, I reached the opinion that perhaps something in the nature of shock treatments or something along that line had been given to him in Russia.

Mr. Jenner. You base this opinion on any factors other than or in addition to this change of physical appearance that you noted on his return from Russia?

Mr. Oswald. No, sir; I do not. (n.7)

Mr. Rankin. If you could. . .tell us within the period that Lee Oswald returned from the Soviet Union on, whatever you know about it, in your own way. . .

Marguerite Oswald. Yes, sir. . .I am willing to help in any way possible. . .

I received a speedletter from the State Department

stating that Lee would leave Moscow, and how he would leave and arrive in New York--on June 13, 1962. I was on a case in Crowell, Texas. And I was taking care of a very elderly woman whose daughter lived in Fort Worth, Texas.

So I was not able to leave and meet Lee.

Robert, his brother, met him and Lee went to Robert's home.

Approximately about a week later--I could not stand it any more--I. . .took 3 days off and went to Fort Worth to see Lee and Marina.

Marina is a beautiful girl. And I said to Lee, "Marina, she doesn't look Russian. She is beautiful."

He says, "Of course not. That is why I married her, because she looks like an American girl."

I asked where he had met her, and he said. . .at a social function, a community function.

I said, "You know, Lee, I am getting ready"--I was getting ready--"to write a book on your so-called defection." . . .

He said, "Mother, you are not going to write a book."

I said, "Lee, don't tell me what to do. . .It has nothing to do with you and Marina. It is my life, because of your defection."

He said, "Mother, I tell you you are not to write the book. They could kill her and her family." . . .

While I was in Robert's home, Lee was immediately out job-hunting. And I felt very bad about that, because they had come 10,000 miles by ship, by plane, and by train, which was an awfully hard trip with a young baby, and I thought he should have at least a week or two before he would look for work.

But I want you to know that immediately Lee was out

looking for work.

And this is the time that Lee had gone to the public stenographer, made the statement that he was writing a book.

You probably have that information. It was highly publicized.

I, myself, gave him the \$10 that he gave the public stenographer. (n.8)

Mrs. Bates. He walked into my office one day and he had gotten my name out of the telephone directory. It so happens it's the first one in the public stenographers.

Mr. Jenner. And how was he attired on that occasion?

Mrs. Bates. He had dark trousers on, a white T-shirt, and a blazer-type jacket--a dark blazer-type jacket. . . .It was in June.

Mr. Jenner. In June? What time of day or night was it? . . .

Mrs. Bates. I think it was around 10 o'clock or 11 o'clock in the morning, on the 18th of June, 1962. . . . He just walked in. . . . He said, "First, I want to find out what your prices are and see if I can afford it." So I gave him my price. . . . I said it was either 2 and a half an hour or a dollar a page . . . and I told him it all depended on what the work was and could I see what it was.

And he said, "Yes." And he brought out this large manila envelope, legal size--oh, I think it was 10 by 14 or something--one of those large ones. And he said, "I have some notes here." . . .

He said that he had notes that he had smuggled out of Russia. And I looked up at him kind of surprised. I said, "Have you been to Russia?"

He said, "Yes, ma'am. I just got back." And that he had smuggled these notes out of Russia under his clothes, next to his skin . . .

And that he wanted to have them typed by a professional typist. He said, "Some of them are typed on a little portable, some of them are handwritten in ink, some of them in pencil."

He said, "I'll have to sit right here and help you with them because some of them are in Russian and some of them are in English." So we agreed that I would do it--but I hadn't seen them yet. . . .

Mr. Jenner. Had you reached a conclusion as to the rate?

Mrs. Bates. Well, I immediately lowered it to \$2 an hour. I was anxious to get on it.

Mr. Jenner. Why did you become anxious to get on it?

Mrs. Bates. Well, anybody that had just come back from Russia and had notes, I would like to have seen them. And . . .he looked like a high school kid to me when he first came in. I thought he was just a kid. . . .

And then I started asking him some questions. "Why did you go to Russia?"--and a few things like that. Some

of them he'd answer and some of them he wouldn't.

Mr. Jenner. Now, give me your best recollection of everything that was said on that occasion . . .

Mrs. Bates. Well, we agreed that I would start typing the notes--and he wanted an original and one carbon. . .and also take the carbon with him. . .

Mr. Jenner. Did you agree that you would do the job under those circumstances?

Mrs. Bates. That's what he wanted--and my customers are always right.

Mr. Jenner. Uh-huh.

Mrs. Bates. Then I asked him how come he had gone to Russia. I said, "It can't be very easy. How did you arrange it? Why did you want to go?" . . . He wasn't very talkative. And whenever I did get him to talk, I had to drag it out of him. . . .

He said that the State Department had finally agreed to let him go over, but they would not be responsible for him. . .in case he got in trouble or anything.

So, he went. And that's all I got out of him. . . .

And then we got busy and he opened this large package and he brought out his notes. And, as I said, they were on scraps of paper not even this big, some of them [indicating with finger] and some of them large pieces of paper, some of them were typed, some of them handwritten in ink and pencil. And he said that he had had to just do

it when he could. And it was about the living conditions and the working conditions in Russia. . .

Mr. Jenner. Did he say when he had prepared these notes?

Mrs. Bates. Just whenever he could.

Mr. Jenner. When in Russia?

Mrs. Bates. Yes. Oh, they were all done in Russia. And he smuggled them out of Russia. And he said that the whole time until they got over the border, they were scared to death. . .

Mr. Jenner. Did he imply that Marina was aware that he had these notes?

Mrs. Bates. He didn't say. He just mentioned his wife once or twice in the 3 days he was up there.

Mr. Jenner. Were these three consecutive days?

Mrs. Bates. Uh-huh, 18th, 19th and 20th.

Mr. Jenner. Did he spend substantially all day with you?

Mrs. Bates. No, it was 8 hours altogether in the 3 days. . . I spent 8 hours typing 10 pages, single-spaced.

Mr. Jenner. Which would indicate to me, as a lawyer, that you were having some trouble interpreting these notes?

Mrs. Bates. Oh, he'd--he had to spell things out for me and--uh--it was partly in Russian. And he had to transpose it--I mean translate it for me. A lot of it was scribbled. . .he just had to do it when Marina would cover for him while he was doing this.

Mr. Jenner. Marina would cover for him?

Mrs. Bates. Uh-huh--muffle the tone of the typewriter and everything so people wouldn't know that he was--what he was doing.

Mr. Jenner. And Marina was aware, then, according to what he said to you, that he was making these notes?

Mrs. Bates. Well, evidently--because he said she would cover or watch for him so that nobody would know he was making them.

Mr. Jenner. Uh-huh.

Mrs. Bates. He didn't talk very much. . .And he was very cool and--

Mr. Jenner. Cool? You mean reserved?

Mrs. Bates. Cold.

Mr. Jenner. Cold?

Mrs. Bates. Yes.

Mr. Jenner. Very matter of fact?

Mrs. Bates. Yes; and if he didn't want to answer a question--if you asked him a question, no matter how simple it was, if he didn't want to answer it, he'd just shut up.

Mr. Jenner. He'd just ignore you?

Mrs. Bates. Uh-huh. . . .

Mr. Jenner. . . .Did he express orally to you any views or opinions respecting the Government of the United States?

Mrs. Bates. Never.

Mr. Jenner. Did you gather anything with respect to his attitude toward the United States?

Mrs. Bates. No. . .he didn't discuss anything. If you got ten words out of him at a time, you were doing good [but] if you could find those notes, I tell you--they were fascinating to read. "Inside Russia"--was what it was. And they were coherent and well-written. And he had them all in sequence. . . .

Mr. Jenner. Did you type all of his notes?

Mrs. Bates. No; not even a third of them.

Mr. Jenner. Tell me that circumstance.

Mrs. Bates. Well, on the 20th he came up and he was--uh--quite nervous. Um--the other 2 days he'd sit right there at my desk and--uh--if I needed to ask him anything, why, I would. But, this day, he was walking up and down and looking over my shoulder and wanting to know where I was--and, finally, I finished the 10th page. He said, "Now, Pauline, you told me what your charges were." He said, "This is 8 hours you've worked and 10 pages. I have \$10 and no more money. I can't let you go on."

And that's when I asked him if I couldn't go on and type the rest of them. I told him I'd do it for nothing, or if he got the money, why, he could pay me.

And he said, "No, I don't work that way. I've got \$10." And he pulled a \$10 bill out of his pocket and walked out.

Mr. Jenner. Were you in possession of these notes from day to day or did he take them back with him at night?

Mrs. Bates. Oh, he took them with him. He never left anything. And he never left the office until he had picked up what I had typed--even the carbon paper.

Mr. Jenner. Even the carbon paper?

Mrs. Bates. Oh, yes, he took the carbon paper. . .he had the dearest eyes I ever saw. (n.9)

It is possible that he didn't work that way. Or, was it

that he had begun to mistrust her?--would she report him to the FBI? He may have been convinced of this when they asked him to come into their office for an interview less than a week later.

Marina wrote a letter back to the pharmacy and said: "My life has been difficult for Alpha, and he has been very understanding, but now she was living in

[from the narrative of Marina Prusakova Oswald, prepared for the Warren Commission]

. . . And so we lived with Robert. At first we rested a little from our trip, and Lee started looking for a job. Alas, this was not very easy. I remember especially that Lee did not have any particular skill. Finally we had a stroke of luck and Lee found a job, although not a very enviable one. He worked as a machinist in some little factory which turns out metal products for homes. But for the beginning, even this was good and better than living off other people. Although Robert's family treated us very well, one can only go so far. . . (n.10)

... information could then be used by ...
... could not be excluded.
... a person could always walk
... take mental notes.
... report can be written telling about
... But as far as

Chapter 3 -- A Visit to the Organs

Marina wrote a letter back to the pharmacy and said: Russian language had been difficult for Alka, and he had always been mispronouncing words, but now she was living in his shoes mispronouncing American words. At letter's end, she said, "Remember, I'm Marina. Don't let her get lost in history."

Likhoi's file was discontinued in summer of 1962. In his actions, his behavior, his way of life, was no indication that he was any kind of intelligence agent, although a possibility still existed that he had been sent over to study USSR living conditions intimately. That information could then be used by American special services. Such could not be excluded, although no way to find that out. A person could always walk around, meet people, study everything, make mental notes. Then, on return to home, report can be written telling about everything. One can't do much about that. But as far as

Oswald being active, an active agent--all indications were negative.

They could ask overseas agents in First Directorate to watch Oswald now that he was back in America, but it would be very difficult, very expensive. To put surveillance on him in America would suggest that they considered him very important; by that day he left Minsk, he was no longer looked upon in such a category. Nor would that Russian community which lived in Fort Worth be considered any kind of source. First persons to come under suspicion in America are Russian communities, so KGB officers in US avoid Russians, Communists, and sympathizers. For any KGB agent working illegally in America, an American Communist is equal to the devil. If one of their KGB illegals see an American Communist coming one way, they will go in other. One does not want to stray into FBI's field of surveillance. So while there might be interest in following Oswald's activities back in America, estimates of risk and cost made it not worthwhile.

On the other hand, they would never let Oswald's file die, although enertsia--inertia--would come over it if nothing more happened. Likhov's file would live on, but additions to it, now that Oswald was in America, concerning Marina and himself, would have come through other channels--press, radio, television. Personnel in Soviet Embassy in Washington were

watching all that happens in America and, of course, whatever came in would go to Moscow Center.

One possibility never excluded totally was that Oswald had been a spy for America. Maybe he had been so skillful that he evaded discovery. So they would monitor his letters to see if he sustained contacts with Soviet persons.

If there was serious consideration in the Organs that Oswald might be sending or receiving secret communications, then Pavel's letter to America on September 15, 1962, may have presented a week's worth of work for Minsk KGB.

Sept. 15, 1962

Hello, Lee and Marina!

I received your letter today after returning from work. I am answering it immediately as I am overflowing with joy. I am already going to school. I am studying in my second year. Tomorrow I will go to work for the last time--I quit because I am studying in the daytime, with separation from production.

Marina, you won't regret it if you subscribe to "Izvestia" with a Sunday Supplement, "Nedelya" instead of

"Sovietskaya Belorussia." There is much of interest in this supplement because it is large in volume, approximately equal to ten newspapers. It contains some interesting stories, too. . . . I have not yet received books in two packages which Lee sent me but. . . I think they will come soon.

By the way, Marina, please send me in a letter some technical article from the press about space ship "Mariner 2." I would like to know about it in more detail.

The incident of the crocodiles about which you wrote me is rather amusing; I like it. It even somehow resembles an anecdote; such an unexpected event. Marina, you should not tell me that you are unable to fix the record player; we are not speaking of repairs, just a remodeling. It's too bad that there are no uniform standards in the world for the most important things. In Europe 50 cycles originated in Germany and in your hemisphere 60 cycles--(originated) in America. The easiest thing would be to buy a small motor which would resemble ours in construction and size and to put it into that box. . . .

The speed of revolution may not coincide and then you will have to match diameters of bushings just the same. For the beginning, try to take off from the axle of the motor a small brass bushing . . .

So, if you take it off, the speed of the revolution of the disc will be diminished. I don't remember exactly the brand of your record player but if it is the most common its motor should be of this construction. . . .

By the way, Marina, try to explain to Paul that the basic idea of Pogodin's play "A Man with a Rifle," is contained in words: "Now we do not have to fear a man with

the rifle." This, as doctors say, is a quintessence. . .

Goodbye, I am waiting for your letters.

Pavel

City of Minsk (n.1)

In the fall of 1962, Pavel's mother came on a visit to Minsk and told him that KGB insisted she take him to their offices. His mother said that they not only called her but required that both she and her son come over with every letter he had received from Oswald. Pavel didn't understand why. He was sure KGB had copies. All the same, he took with him all six or seven letters he'd already received from America. It was strange. The officer looked and said, "Oh, why did you bring these? We don't need them. We signed the Geneva Convention about freedom of letters and correspondence, and we don't need any of this." Then this officer handed back all letters.

Pavel thinks KGB was interested in Oswald again because there had been one letter from Marina in which she said, "My darling is going back to Russia but I don't want to go with him because I haven't seen enough yet." Pavel thinks that when KGB read this, they wanted to see every other letter he had received. Presumably, KGB had a full collection, but

maybe they worried about missing one. So they decided to get it all in order.

He didn't know how many times his father had been called in to talk to KGB, but here in Minsk, with his mother, it was Pavel's first time in KGB's building. And she said to him, "You're going to damage the whole family." She was his mother and he didn't want to fight with her so he just listened while she told him how bad he had made everything for his father and her.

FROM KGB REPORTS

10.13.62

Report

On thirteenth of October, 1962, I received a telephone call on my work phone from GOLOVACHEV, P.P. who asked me to meet with him in order to discuss questions that concerned him. The meeting with GOLOVACHEV took place in reception room of KGB. . .where he came with his mother.

During our conversation, GOLOVACHEV stated that after departure of OSWALD L.H. for United States he corresponded with him, received two letters and a postcard from him, to which he replied. GOLOVACHEV pulled two letters and some

photos from his pockets which showed OSWALD L.H., his wife and their contacts, and gave them to me for inspection. While he was giving me letters and photos, GOLOVACHEV said that in accordance with his parents' request, he had decided to hand over everything to KGB organs and to discontinue any contact with OSWALD and his wife.

Having familiarized myself with contents of OSWALD's letters and photos, I returned them to GOLOVACHEV P.P., having explained to him they were not of any interest to KGB. In answer to his question as to what GOLOVACHEV would like to discuss with this agent of state security, he stated that he would like to ask advice concerning his correspondence with OSWALD.

It was explained to GOLOVACHEV that in Soviet Union any citizen can carry on correspondence with whomever he pleases, including persons living in capitalist countries. As concerns any further correspondence with OSWALD, he would have to decide for himself to what extent maintaining written contact with OSWALDS would be expedient.

GOLOVACHEV'S mother, who was present at this meeting, stated that she and her husband were categorically opposed to any contact whatsoever between their son and OSWALDS unless it was necessitated by the interests of state security. I once again emphasized to both GOLOVACHEVS that organs of KGB were not interested in any correspondence between GOLOVACHEV P.P. and OSWALDS.

GOLOVACHEV'S mother further told me that her husband was summoned for interview at his place of work by Special department concerning this question of son's contact with OSWALD. Having learned about this, they were indignant at behavior of their son, and were very worried about his

actions and GOLOVACHEV'S mother even decided to make a special trip to Minsk in order to obtain clearer understanding of his actions and make appropriate suggestions. GOLOVACHEV'S mother regretted that she hadn't approached organs of KGB earlier during her last visit to Minsk in order to discuss her son.

In course of this conversation GOLOVACHEV P.P. tried to create impression that his parents' reproaches concerning his contact with OSWALD were groundless, since he had observed nothing suspicious in behavior. GOLOVACHEV'S mother reacted emotionally to this suggestion on her son's part, and expressed her opinion that during his stay in Minsk this American may have had hostile intentions and may well have acted circumspectly so as not to evoke any suspicion in those around him. She reminded GOLOVACHEV P.P. that in having contact with OSWALD he had obviously forgotten what high position his father occupied in Soviet army and that such a possibility could not be excluded.

Considering that in one of his letters to OSWALD, which GOLOVACHEV brought, there was mention of his sending him three issues of America. I inquired as to whether he had received these magazines or not. GOLOVACHEV answered in negative and stated he had also not received book "Doctor Zhivago," which OSWALD had promised to send him.

In answer to question how "Doctor Zhivago" had attracted his attention, GOLOVACHEV explained that he had wanted to familiarize himself with this book purely out of curiosity, in order to have some idea about that work. It was explained to GOLOVACHEV that it was conclusion of prominent Soviet literary critics, writers, and other persons who had familiarized themselves with Pasternak's

"Doctor Zhivago" that it contained slander of Soviet reality and was not of artistic value. Therefore, GOLOVACHEV'S acquaintance with book "Doctor Zhivago" would not enrich his knowledge but to contrary, would lead him to have false notions about particular issues. MRS. GOLOVACHEV sharply criticized GOLOVACHEV'S desire to read "Doctor Zhivago," noting that no decent person would waste their time on such a book.

In further course of my conversation with GOLOVACHEV I reminded him of our earlier meetings, during which he had given appropriate suggestions about his behavior with respect to OSWALD and asked him to consider potential interest on part of OSWALD in GOLOVACHEV'S father's official position. At the same time I pointed out GOLOVACHEV'S lack of discipline which was manifested in his not appearing for an interview with an operative. These actions were seen as indicative of GOLOVACHEV'S disregard for interests of state security. At same time, I indicated to GOLOVACHEV that we were not entirely certain that he had not told OSWALD about his interviews with this operative. GOLOVACHEV urged us to believe him that he had not discussed any interviews or suggestions made to him concerning OSWALD.

Indignant at GOLOVACHEV P.P.'S display of indifference toward request of operative to meet with him, GOLOVACHEV'S mother addressed following words to him: "Is this how Soviet patriots behave? You should have gone to KGB yourself and told them about your friendship with an American." Agreeing with arguments of his mother, GOLOVACHEV excused his uncircumspect actions.

At conclusion of our interview, I asked GOLOVACHEV to immediately inform us of any facts which might be of

interest to organs of KGB, including those persons who may try to contact him as a result of his friendship with OSWALD. GOLOVACHEV stated that in future he would act accordingly.

It is recommended that no one be told of GOLOVACHEV and his mother's interview with organs of KGB.

After GOLOVACHEV'S departure, his mother, who shared with me her fears about her son's fate, expressed her regret that over four years he had been detached from his parents and was able to come under influence of undesirable persons. In particular she mentioned family of repatriate ZIGER which GOLOVACHEV P.P. had visited. Judging from GOLOVACHEV'S words, she concluded that this family was negatively disposed toward Soviet reality. MRS. GOLOVACHEV promised to spend more time on her son's education [political training]. She intends to come to Minsk more often in order to find out how GOLOVACHEV P.P. is behaving. Moreover, in future she is going to limit GOLOVACHEV P.P. financially, giving him only enough money to cover absolutely essential expenses. According to her, GOLOVACHEV P.P.'S father made him promise to subscribe to and regularly read youth newspapers and magazines. They will try to monitor GOLOVACHEV P.P.'S faithfulness in carrying out these instructions.

GOLOVACHEV P.P.'S mother also expressed her wish that representatives of organs of KGB periodically meet with her son, which, in her opinion, would have a positive educational effect on him. I explained to GOLOVACHEV'S mother that that was not necessary and expressed my certainty that they were themselves capable of influencing their son in right direction, so that he would be worthy of his parents and would take an active part in building

of communism in our country.

Chapter 4 -- First FBI Interview with the Subject

Stepan remarked that just as KGB observed their own people after they had been in America and came back to Soviet Union, so KGB knew that Oswald was being watched by American intelligence.

It was cordial, yes, more or less like he had not been to Russia. We were just together again.

Representative Boggs. Did you have any political discussions with him at any time?

Mr. Oswald. No, sir; I did not.

Representative Boggs. He never discussed political matters with you?

Mr. Oswald. No, sir; he did not. I would say we had a tacit agreement it was never brought up.

Representative Boggs. By tacit, do you mean that--

Mr. Oswald. An unspoken agreement that we never would discuss it.

Representative Boggs. I understand. Had you arrived at this agreement because on previous occasions you had discussed about political matters?

Chapter 4 -- First FBI Interview with the Subject

Representative Boggs. At the time he resided in your home these 6 or 8 weeks were your relations with him cordial or friendly?

Mr. Oswald. It was cordial, yes, more or less like he had not been to Russia. We were just together again.

Representative Boggs. Did you have any political discussions with him at any time?

Mr. Oswald. No, sir; I did not.

Representative Boggs. He never discussed political matters with you?

Mr. Oswald. No, sir; he did not. I would say we had a tacit agreement it was never brought up.

Representative Boggs. By tacit, do you mean that--

Mr. Oswald. An unspoken agreement that we never would discuss it.

Representative Boggs. I understand. Had you arrived at this agreement because on previous occasions you had disagreed about political matters?

Mr. Oswald. No, sir; that was not the reason. We just never discussed politics.

Representative Boggs. Did you have any interest in political affairs, I mean--

Mr. Oswald. A little bit, sir.

Representative Boggs. I mean from a philosophical point of view?

Mr. Oswald. My own interest in politics from a philosophical point of view would be that I considered myself a conservative, a born conservative. Certainly agreed 100 percent with the U.S. Constitution and the laws that are set forth, and it is my upbringing, it is what I always believed in and I will always believe in it.

Representative Ford. Did you say that was your mother's philosophy, too? . . .

Mr. Oswald. Yes, sir. Of course, to qualify that, my mother didn't actually bring me up too much. The orphan home and the military academy, and I believe there my basic philosophy was formulated. It was a very good school.

Representative Boggs. What military academy was that?

Mr. Oswald. Chamberlain Hunt Military Academy at Port Gibson, Miss.

Representative Ford. During the 6 or 8 weeks that Lee resided in your home, did he ever indicate why he went to Russia. You must have talked about it some.

Mr. Oswald. There again I believe we did more talking through the mails about why he went to Russia than we did when he returned from Russia. I, of course, wanted to talk to him about this. . .

Representative Boggs. Did he tell you why he came back?

Mr. Oswald. Yes, sir; that he was in--the letters that I have from him while he was in Russia would indicate the same thing, that he was very unhappy living in Russia and he wanted to return to the United States, which, of course, made me very happy, and I felt like, and tried to look at it from the standpoint that maybe he just sowed some wild oats. He kind of went off to the far end of it, but I believe everyone of us at one time, especially around that age, might have done something or reached out far afield, so to speak, before we came to our senses and returned to a normal life. (n.1)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Dallas, Texas

July 6, 1962

Title: LEE HARVEY OSWALD

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY--RUSSIA

Reference: Report of SA JOHN W. FAIN, Dallas, Texas,
7/6/72

. . .OSWALD denied that. . .he went to Russia because of his lack of sympathy for the institutions of the United States or because of an admiration for the Russian system. He admitted that he had read books by KARL MARX while a resident of New Orleans, Louisiana, but he stated that he was merely interested in the economic theories.

. . .OSWALD denied that he had renounced his United States citizenship and stated that he did not seek Soviet citizenship while in Russia. OSWALD stated that he was never approached by the Soviet officials in an attempt to pull information from him concerning his experiences while a member of the U.S. Marine Corps. OSWALD also stated that he was not recruited at any time while in Russia by the Soviet Intelligence. He stated that he made no deal with the Soviets in order to obtain permission to return to the United States. He stated that the Soviets made it very difficult for him to obtain permission for his wife to leave Russia, and that the process of obtaining permission for her to leave was a long, difficult course requiring much paper work. He stated that no attempt was made by the Soviets at any time to "brainwash" him. OSWALD stated that he never at any time gave the Soviets any information which would be used in a detrimental way against the United States. He stated that the Soviets never sought any such information from him. OSWALD denied that he at any time while in Russia had offered to reveal to the Soviets any information he had acquired as a radar operator in the U.S. Marines.

. . .OSWALD stated that in the event he is contacted by Soviet Intelligence under suspicious circumstances or otherwise, he will promptly communicate with the FBI. He stated that he holds no brief for the Russians or the Russian system. [However] OSWALD declined to answer the question as to why he made the trip to Russia in the first place. In a show of temper, he stated he did not care to "relive the past."

During most of the interview, OSWALD exhibited an impatient and arrogant attitude. OSWALD finally stated that Soviet officials had asked him upon his arrival why he had come to Russia. OSWALD stated that he told them, "I came because I wanted to." OSWALD added that he went to Russia to "see the country."

OSWALD advised that newspaper reports which have appeared in the public press from time to time are highly exaggerated and untrue. He stated that the newspaper reports had pictured him as out of sympathy with the United States and had made him look attractive to the Russians. OSWALD stated that by reason of such newspaper reports he had received better treatment by the Soviets than he otherwise would have received. (n.2)

Mr. Dulles. How did you know that the FBI had talked with Lee?

Mr. Oswald. Lee had told me and I was aware that they had called my house and requested Lee to come down to their office in Fort Worth and talk with them.

Mr. Dulles. Did he report to you on that conversation at all? The details of it?

Mr. Oswald. A very small detail of it, sir.

Mr. Jenner. What details?

Mr. Oswald. I asked him when I returned home from work that afternoon how did it go. He said, "Just fine." He said they asked him at the last whether or not he was an agent for the United States Government. His reply was, "Don't you know?" (n.3)

Chapter 5 -- After the Assassination

Katya remembers shock. For everybody at Horizon radio plant. She couldn't believe it had happened. He was just a young boy, excuse me, but a young boy with a running nose, because when it was cold, you know, you could always see his running nose. And suddenly he killed this American President? Others in factory were stronger than him. He was like that, small.

At Horizon factory, people did speak about it a little, but for Russians it was something that happened far away, and in a few days people started thinking about their own bread and butter and didn't go too far into it. Representatives from Organs came over and told them it was best not to talk about Oswald. Forget him. Best to forget him.

After Alik left, they would write each other once in a while, maybe a few letters, and Rosa remembers that he came to Moscow in May, and told her he was married. But he never informed her he was going to America; he left without saying.

His wife Marina had been with him then, but she stayed back and seemed shy. That may be because she was going to another country and didn't want to embarrass Rosa. People tried not to contact other people when they were leaving Soviet. Alik didn't seem particularly proud of his wife and didn't even introduce her nor his baby. Rosa felt something was wrong. Something inside Alik was different. He was not so open, not as friendly.

Later after Kennedy was killed, an Intourist guide said to Rosa, "It was your friend Lee Oswald, your boyfriend. . ." The word she used was poklonik, a man who comes with flowers, admires you, buys chocolate, a suitor.

Back in Moscow, when Yuri and Galina heard that a man named Lee Harvey Oswald was suspected of killing Kennedy, they didn't pay any attention. They didn't know him as Lee. It was only a few days later when Izvestia published that famous photograph of Jack Ruby shooting Oswald that Yuri, taking his newspaper out of his mailbox downstairs, saw it, ran upstairs, came in on his mother and Galina and said, "Girls, I think this is our acquaintance." And he recalls very clearly his

mother crying out, "Alik, Alik, Alik."

As he puts it, "By a strange twist of fate, I went that night to shoot Mikoyan's departure for Kennedy's funeral," and he remembers, "My friend and I worked together, he was a cameraman like me, and we did Mikoyan's departure. It was late at night at Vinukova Airport." As they were driving back, his friend said to him, "That was your last shot. Now, KGB will pick you up."

At that time, Yuri was on a list of very special security. There were only a few camera people allowed to go to Red Square for parades where they could photograph people like Khrushchev. Yuri would say that no one in Russia would believe that Kennedy could be killed without the cooperation of security forces--it's not possible.

After that assassination, her mother gathered together every last photograph Lee had taken and tore them up. It was an awful time for Stellina, something terrible. She was crushed, she couldn't believe it. She sobbed. Her husband said, "See what happens? You shouldn't work in Intourist. Now, our whole family's going to have to pay for it."

In fact, no one ever approached her. Not in thirty years did anyone, official or unofficial, ever ask her to talk about Lee Harvey Oswald. But in December, 1963, they were so frightened that her whole family decided to leave Minsk. They were overcome by an immense fear that something terrible would happen, that she had gotten herself tangled in some sort of horrible international affair. They didn't even stay around Minsk long enough to hear rumors and gossip about Oswald. "We have an expression in Russian," said Stellina. "When you are very much surprised, 'we even sit down.' So when my mother and I heard this news on our radio that John Kennedy was killed and Lee Harvey Oswald was involved, we just sat there in our armchairs very much surprised. I still remember that great fear. It captured me and my whole family. Then came further information that some witnesses to this assassination were in accidents and bad things happened to them. So my family lived for a long time in great fear."

Although it was not easy for Stellina to leave, since she had spent her whole life in Minsk--even there during German occupation--she was afraid that there would be a lot of fingers pointed. People would say, "She was walking around with Oswald, she was friendly with him." If there had been some women in his life, that had been behind closed doors, but

she walked openly with him in public streets.

Only in 1977 did she return to Minsk, and only then after she buried her husband. Then she thought, "Well, you know, it's probably quiet. It's 14 years." Besides, in 1976, her daughter had enrolled in Minsk University. But they had lived all that time in Vitebsk where she had worked as a teacher. She tried during those years not to think about it and was afraid to, and asked herself the question, "Could my Alyosha have killed Kennedy?"

She had an answer: "I saw his goals. He was interested in women, in girls, he wanted to achieve everything easy, he didn't want to invest time or go through hardship. For example, he didn't want to study. I went to Institute of Foreign Languages and negotiated with their president and made certain efforts to help him, but he was never really serious, he just wanted to get to his goal. Maybe. . .as I see it now, maybe he just used me because he needed certain material things I could help him with. Or he needed psychological support. So he came to me when he was hungry, when he was cold, when he was tired, when he had problems with his girls, when he dated Marina, when his daughter was born and he had problems with Marina. He called me "Ma" and I think he saw me as a person who could ease his life. A shoulder to cry on. I

never thought of him as serious, and now I don't think of him as a person with whom you can plan something serious. But he did manage to achieve certain goals like cutting his wrists to stay in Soviet Union. So I understand he's very sly; but he's not choosy. In Czech there's a very good saying that you can find good in anything, you can even find good in a car accident because at least you're somewhere in the newspapers. It's better to be spoken about badly than not be spoken about at all. I think even if he was told he had to kill President Kennedy he would never think deep what it would bring to the world, how it would influence his life and future of his family, he would just say, "Oh, I'll kill Kennedy and I'll achieve this attention."

Rimma had always known she could hurt his feelings and so she never did. She knew. "I could paint a portrait of him as one person who thinks too much of himself but doesn't work to become the person he wants to be." You should know what kind of person you are. Most important thing for Alik was that he wanted to become famous. Idea number one. He was fanatic about it, I think. Inside him. Goal number one. Show that

he was different from others, and, you know, he achieved this goal. He achieved his goal."

When Rimma heard, however, about Oswald's assassination of President Kennedy; then, two days later, came assassination of Lee Harvey Oswald--she felt that Alik was connected somehow with first crime, but that he killed president, no, only somehow connected with it. The only permanent effect of knowing Lee Harvey Oswald, she would say, is that ever since 1963 she has been afraid to visit the United States. No longer is her motto ad astra per aspera--through adversity we reach the stars.

Sasha doubts whether Marina told Alik about her past in Leningrad. "Every person has their secrets," he said. He thinks Marina talked about it with him only because Valya had. Now, thirty years later, thinking of his life experiences, and how now, today, he has lost his hair and is almost bald, he sees it differently. He thinks women can keep many secret lives, but at that time he was a blind kitten, blinded by love, and saw no black holes. But he would like to say: "If you see Marina, give her my best regards. I have best

feelings for her, despite all the bad."

Sasha's impression of Lee Oswald is that he could never have assassinated Kennedy. He was a person who would not kill a fly. When Sasha heard about the event, his emotional reaction was this: "It cannot be this man. It was some manipulation." He thought that because Oswald came from Soviet Union, somebody in America used this fact and manipulated him. Oswald was a decoy.

Looking back on it now, Albina thinks that maybe these Zigers even played not so nice a role in Alik's life. Because after all, he'd been very privileged, he'd been given an apartment, he'd been treated with curiosity and respect when he came to Ziger's home, he was always hearing negative thoughts promoted about Russia, very negative things being said about Soviet Union, and he was being given such negative food by Zigers all the time. She thinks that influenced him even though he had an apartment, free medical services, everything good for him. So she thinks that had it not been for these Zigers, maybe he wouldn't have even thought about leaving her country. Maybe he would have stayed. She can't

say that she thought Alik was a happy person, because he obviously had secrets, and they were hidden, he was never open, he never told a story of his life, he never even told her that he was in Moscow. So he was certainly not open. But all the same, when that assassination took place, she couldn't believe it was him. Even now, inside herself, she cannot believe that he did it. She certainly wouldn't say whether she thought he was a spy, because she can't say--he was just an acquaintance. Didn't know him, really, because he was strange. They were still like friends, but he never called her, never told her he was going to get married. Didn't even invite her to his marriage, didn't stay in touch with her. That was strange for her. She wouldn't say, however, that she felt jilted: there's a song in Russia that says: "If your bridegroom goes to another bride, you never know who's lucky." She laughed. She had made plans, actually, for another life with him. She had an aunt in Crimea who lived in a warm place by Black Sea, and she and Alik had planned to go there and live with that aunt, by sea-side so he could lie in warm sun and have enough food and fresh fruit. She believes if that had happened, he would never have gone to America, and would never have killed President Kennedy. And maybe they would

have had some bigger apartment later on, you never know what will happen.

After the assassination, they were all worried at the pharmacy. "What will Marina do, being so lonely and with two children? How is she going to live financially; how will she manage?" They were worried.

Warren Commission presented Lee as a degraded, stupid, underdeveloped mentality, and Pavel was offended. He didn't like this idea that somebody who was not stupid was being shown to the whole world as if he were.

When Pavel first heard, it was a great shock. What with time differences, he happened to be out with young students at a large dancing party where Pavel was acting as disk jockey. He had his tape recorder, and was putting on different kinds of music; then, suddenly, information came over their radio-- Kennedy was killed. He listened to Voice of America and it said that Lee Harvey Oswald, a person who lived in Dallas, was

being arrested. Pavel was in an armchair and he just sank into it more deeply.

For years, he kept collecting all kinds of different articles on this subject. He could never accept it as a fact. More he read, however, more he decided that one person can make another do anything. You could always break a person, change a person by force. In Pavel's opinion, Lee Harvey Oswald is not Kennedy's murderer, but was somehow involved in a plot. Because, after all, Lee was no angel. He could be a part of somebody's plot.

After Lee was killed by Ruby, Pavel mailed a letter to Marina giving his condolences. Next morning, KGB came to get him. That was on 26th of November, 1963. He was taken to their office by trolley bus. No taxi. He was not so important a criminal that they would send a car. He remembers that he had on a Chinese blue coat, a scarf and cap, and both men who came for him were dressed in regular street clothes, but then KGB people only wear their uniforms twice: once, on parade; again, when they're in a coffin.

They went into KGB through a side entrance, up crazy stairs to second floor, and from there he could look out a window and see a bookstore. He didn't know whether he'd ever come back to that street outside or not. It was maybe worst emotional situation in his life. His letter to Marina had

sympathized with her feelings; now, he was a criminal. Only later did he understand that by writing such a letter, he had truly scared KGB. They worried that it might influence international relationships: Somebody in Russia was sorry for wife of this man who killed Kennedy. What if his letter produced some kind of problem? But it was only later that he understood all that.

They let him sit in a chair. Mostly, he was the one who had to talk. They were very polite; they didn't beat him. They were more polite than police. They were KGB, after all. He was sitting in a room with a big table and there were a lot of officers and bodyguards around, maybe seven people.

They started by telling him: "In our country, only representatives of our people can send sympathies. You are not a representative of our people. You have no right to express sympathy. That's one thing. You have lost your political vigilance. You have become politically shortsighted. If you don't want somebody to write the laws of our country on your back, if you want to see some sky again, then stop doing stupid things. Speaking of that, how are you related to Marina Oswald? Did you sleep with her?" They would ask him other questions, then go back to that: "Ever sleep with Marina?" For some reason that interested them. They might accuse him once more of losing vigilance, but that