I have often wondered why it is that the communist, anarchist, 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 ideals 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 people, the culture, traditions, heritage and very people itself, and yet they stand up and piously pronounce themselves patriots, displaying their war medals, that they gained in conflicts long past between themselves.

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

COMMISSION EXHIBIT 25
I have heard and read of the resurgent Americanism in the U.S., not the ultraright type, but rather the polite, seemingly pointless Americanism expressed by such as the "American fore group" and the freedom foundation.

and yet even in these vieled, formless, patriotic gestures, there is the obvious "axe being ground" by the business with invested interests of the sponsors of these expensive undertakings.

To where can we there turn? To factional mutants of both systems, to odd-ball anarchism Hegelian idealists out of touch with reality religious groups, to revisinist or too absurd anarchism. No!

Commission Exhibit 25—Continued
too a person knowing both systems and their factional accessories, their can be no mediation between the systems and as they exist to-day and that person.

He must be opposed to their basic foundations and representatives and yet it is immature to take the sort of attitude which says "a curse on both your houses!"

their are two great representative of power in the world, simply expressed, the left and right, and their offspring factions and concers.

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

for no system can be entirely new, that is where most revolutions go astray industrial or political, go astray. and yet the new system must be opposed unequipily too the old that also is where revolutions go astray.

COMMISSION EXHIBIT 25—Continued
At the turn of the century in America, In the emerging industrial revolution, feudalism private enterprise triumphed because it offered a new, efficient and promising future while still observing the idealistically democratic ideals of its overthrown predecessor, rural small enterprise.

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

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

The Industrial revolution that precipitated the present atomic age and yet it has developed as an intricate part of its system its own shortcomings.
Automation for instant. Automation may be compared to the run away robot who displays so many failicites that it is obvious it is run away. Rather it is the much more subtle aspects of Industrialization and mechanization which bring the greatest hardships upon the people. A general decay of class'ees into shapeless societies without real cultural foundations, regimentation, not so much of people since industrialization actively provides for more free movement of class'ees around each other, but rather of ideals although those regimented ideals have more freedom of expression throughout all the class'ees.

Commission Exhibit 25—Continued
The biggest and deciding key fault development of the our era is of course the fight for markets between the imperialist powers themselves, which lead to the wars, crises and oppressive friction which you have all come to regard as part of your lives.

and it is this the prominent factor of the capitalist system which will undoubtly eventually lead to the common destruction of all the imperialistic powers not only already money imperialist countries have become dependent upon other factors than domination of occupied former colonies through force, they have been devasted of their former colonies by the three great imperialist forces countries or in some cases even given up their colonies themselves as unprofitable and other cases the oppressed peoples rose up and physically through the colonist out and this process is continuing even today as we all can see. but what is important to remember.

**COMMISSION EXHIBIT 25—Continued**
Is that the old system of capitalism even within itself is revising and what is most evident, forming imperilist economic collations, such as the common market.
In the communist experiment several factions and unavoidable developments have emerge which Marx and Engles could not possibly have foreseen their emerges with increasing clarity two monumental mistakes which Marx and Engles made, not to mention the very key stone of Marx's economic theory "the doctrine of surplus value" which has always been unshakey and controversal.

The first mistake is fairly well known even at this stage in the communist development. It was called the "withering away of the state" however Marx envisualized that the abolition of classes would lead to the gradual reduction of state apparatus. However this is not the case and it is better observed than contemplated. The state becomes more extensive in that while the powers of ministries or delegated they are not reduced in the diviiding of a organ of state power into smaller units at lower levels. Although the ministers have actually disappeared to Moscow they have become more entrenched in the sense of lowering levels this
in dividing power you multiply units and in everyday life you become more and more dependent on these organs of state power. Wherever you turn, they touch the lives of the people more and more, and a new bureaucracy, rather than a withering away of the state. In Russia in the last two years there has been a shift of power from the capital of Moscow to the so-called “Republics” but state apparis simply grows into a greater maze throughout these republics, thus in Minsk the capital of Belorusu, the ministry of interior became responsible in 1960 for determining the eligibility of applicants for hard to get exit visas to leave the USSR formally the official progrative of Moscow alone but now that this state ministry in Moscow is withering away, it becomes all the more difficult to get an exit visa since now one has to go to the area, city and republican state.
capital committees of bureaucracy and on top of all that a last final O.K. has to come from incredibly the Moscow ministry of foreign affairs!! the withering away of the state as Marx envisioned was an unforeseeable mistake pointed out by many critics of Marx.

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

In the late 1800's Engels wrote Vanti Duhring which rightly criticized Eugen Duhring's, a German idealist who was supposedly consistent in his materialism as the dialectical materialist Marx. In his critical analysis of Duhring Engels and with much heavy sarcasm that Duhring only changed a word in his putting forward of his social revolutionary ideas that a changed word "was the word community from the word state whereas Duhring wanted Social Democracy at a local or
community level, Marx and Engles advocated a centralized state which would later "wither away."

But in this Marx and Engles was mistaken again.

as history has shown time again the state remains and grows whereas true democracy can be practiced only at the local level, while the state centralized state, administrative, political or supervisory remains their can be no real democracy a loose confederation of communitys at a national level with any centralized state what so ever.

In equal division, with safe guards against collation of communitys there can be democracy, not in the centralized state delegating authority but in numerous equal,

progressive states
democratically the communities practicing and developing democracy at the local level.
there have already been a few organizations who have declared that they shall become effective only after conflict between the two world systems leaves the world country without defense or foundation of government, organizations such as the minute men for instance, however, they intend are preparing to simply defend the present system and reinstate its influence after the mutual defeat of both systems militarily which is more or less taken for granted.

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

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

there will also be many decided religious segments of putting forward

COMMISSION EXHIBIT 25—Continued
their own alternatives and through larger memberships than the minute men and communists. Group splinters and contrasts groups however all these unlike the minute men and communists, will be unarmed. The mass of survivors will probably however will, not belong too any of these groups, they will not be fanatical enough to join extremest, and will be too disillusioned too support either the communists or capitalist parties in their respective countries, after the atomic catocoa they shall seek an alternative to those systems which have brought them misery. But their thinking and education

Commission Exhibit 25—Continued
will be steeped in the traditions of those systems they would never except a “new order” any more than they would except the extremist etc complete beyond their understanding, logically, they would deem it neccary to oppose the old systems but support at the same time their cherished trations. I intend to put forward just such an allturnative In the United States it would mean In making such a declaration I must say that in order to make this allturnative effective supporters must prepare now for the in the event the situation presents itself for the practical application of this allturnative. in this way the minute men and their narrow support of capitalism have been most far-sighted, however they present only a suicide force whereas in my allturnative we would constitute what is needed is a constructive and practical group of persons desiring peace.
but steadfastly opposed to the revival of forces who have led millions of people to death and destruction and in a dozen wars and have now at this moment led the world into unsurpassed danger.

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

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

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

I despise the representatives of both systems whether they be socialist or christian democrates, wealth 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 naïve 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 political immigrants but it was arranged by the M.V.D. I told myself it was simply because I was broke and everybody knew it. I accepted the money because I was hungry and there was several inches of snow on the ground in Moscow at that time but what it really was was payment for my denunciation of the U.S. in Moscow in October 1956 and a clear promise that for as long as I lived in the USSR life would be very good. I didn't relize all this, of course for almost two years.
As soon as I became completely disgusted with the USSR Sovit Union and started American negotiations with the U.S. Embassy in Moscow for my return to the U.S. my "Red Cross" allotment was cut off. This was not difficult since all correspondence in and out of the Embassy is censored as is common knowledge in the Embassy itself.

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

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

as for the fee of $________ I was supposed to receive for this _________ I refuse it. I made pretense to except it only because otherwise I would have been considered a crack pot and not allowed to express my views. after all who would refuse money?!?

COMMISSION EXHIBIT 25—Continued