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REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
INVESTIGATE COMMUNIST AGGRESSION  
AGAINST POLAND, HUNGARY, CZECHO-  
SLOVAKIA, BULGARIA, RUMANIA, LITHU-  
ANIA, LATVIA, ESTONIA, EAST GERMANY,  
RUSSIA AND THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS  
OF THE U. S. S. R.

SECOND INTERIM REPORT

OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON COMMUNIST AGGRESSION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

UNDER AUTHORITY OF

H. Res. 346 and H. Res. 438



AUGUST 9, 1954.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House  
on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

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Consulate General of Lithuania

Feb. 16, 1953

HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE COMMUNIST  
AGGRESSION AND THE FORCED INCORPORATION OF THE  
BALTIC STATES INTO THE U. S. S. R.

CHARLES J. KERSTEN, Wisconsin, *Chairman*

FRED E. BUSBEY, Illinois

RAY J. MADDEN, Indiana

ALVIN M. BENTLEY, Michigan

THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ, Michigan

EDWARD J. BONIN, Pennsylvania

THOMAS J. DODD, Connecticut

PATRICK J. HILLINGS, California

MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, Ohio

JAMES J. MCTIGUE, *Committee Counsel*

EDWARD M. O'CONNOR, *Staff Director*

## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

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AUGUST 9, 1954.

HON. JOSEPH MARTIN,  
*Speaker of the House of Representatives,*  
*United States Congress, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: The House Committee on Communist Aggression herewith transmits to the House of Representatives its second interim report following a series of hearings in Chicago, New York, London, Munich, and Berlin.

During these hearings the committee heard the oral testimony of 112 witnesses and received the sworn statements from many more.

This evidence came from the lips of those who escaped through the Iron Curtain from the several Red-dominated countries and who know firsthand the reality and horror of life under Communist slavery. It rips the mask from Communist false propaganda about their peaceful intentions and claims of willingness to coexist with the free world.

Because of recent developments in the international field and the relationship the information collected by the committee has to a better understanding of those events, our committee felt it urgent to prepare this interim report immediately upon its return from Europe.

I trust that the Members of the House will find it useful and that it will be carefully studied by those branches of the Government concerned with the security of the United States.

Sincerely,

CHARLES J. KERSTEN, *Chairman.*

✓





## INTERIM REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE ON COMMUNIST AGGRESSION

August 9, 1954.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State  
of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin, from the Select Committee on Communist  
Aggression, submitted the following

### SECOND INTERIM REPORT

[Pursuant to H. Res. 364 and H. Res. 438]

#### INTRODUCTION

This is the Second Interim Report of the Committee on Communist Aggression (formerly the House Baltic Committee) covering hearings held over a period of 6 weeks in May, June, and July of this year, in Chicago, New York City, London, Munich, and Berlin.

Since submitting its initial report on the illegal seizure and forced incorporation of the Baltic States into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U. S. S. R.), the area of the committee's investigation was expanded by the House of Representatives to include "all other areas controlled, directly or indirectly, by world communism." The membership of the committee was enlarged from 7 to 9 members with the addition of Representative Patrick J. Hillings, of California, and Representative Michael A Feighan, of Ohio. The following are the members of the committee who were present at the series of hearings covered by this report:

Charles J. Kersten (chairman), Republican, Wisconsin.  
Fred E. Busbey, Republican, Illinois.  
Edward J. Bonin, Republican, Pennsylvania.  
Patrick J. Hillings, Republican, California.  
Ray J. Madden, Democrat, Indiana.  
Thaddeus M. Machrowicz, Democrat, Michigan.  
Thomas J. Dodd, Democrat, Connecticut.  
Michael A. Feighan, Democrat, Ohio.

Congressman Walter Norblad, Republican, Oregon, substituted for Congressman Alvin M. Bentley, Republican, Michigan, at the hearings in London, Munich, and Berlin.

The hearings here and abroad were recorded by the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe for rebroadcast to the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain.

The committee acknowledges the assistance of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and the Department of State, particularly the staff of the consulate in Munich where the most extensive hearings were held.

The committee also wishes to express its appreciation to the Governments of Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany for their cooperation and assistance in making possible the hearings conducted in those countries.

The verbatim testimony of the 112 witnesses who appeared before the committee will be published at a later date. In addition to the oral testimony the committee received more than 200 statements and volumes of documentary evidence which have been made a part of the record. It is contemplated that full and completely documented reports on all the nations and peoples enslaved by communism will be issued later by the committee. The committee has not yet heard testimony covering Communist aggression in Asia, and in certain other parts of the world. The committee also intends, before the final reports are issued, to take further testimony concerning the enslaved nations which have already been the subject of inquiry, including the Russian nation and all of the non-Russian nations within the U. S. S. R.

Testimony was received from Poles, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, and Russians. Sworn statements were received from Armenians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, North Caucasians, Cossacks, Idel-Uralians, and Turkestanians. The cross section of witnesses included members of former ruling royal houses as well as ordinary workers and peasants; internationally known generals, political leaders and soldiers; members of the formerly free parliaments and governments, clergymen of all denominations, heads of great institutions of learning, teachers and students, businessmen, labor leaders, seamen and housewives; intellectuals and even children. They were people who escaped from their Communist-controlled homelands just a few months ago, as well as those who escaped during and after World War II.

Barbed wires, mined fields, machineguns, savage dogs, and ruthless frontier guards have not been able to shut the door of freedom to those who chose escape to the West.

All who testified had one thing in common; they were eyewitnesses. They saw. They experienced. They were there. Most of them suffered the tortures of communism. They came separately from the different nations enslaved by communism but with fundamentally the same story: the antihuman nature of real life under communism. The basic conclusions from their cumulative testimony under oath cannot be questioned. It was a tragic parade of witnesses—people from another world. A dreadful world of mass murder and anonymous graves, of concentration camps, torture prisons, slave labor camps, the ever present secret police, and hatred, hatred beyond the comprehension of us Americans.

## COMMUNISM IN THEORY—COMMUNISM IN PRACTICE

A little more than a hundred years ago (February 1848) there was issued a proclamation called the Communist Manifesto. This Manifesto was largely the work of a man named Karl Marx. It proclaimed that the structure of all existing society, particularly that based upon capitalist principles, served to oppress and enslave the worker.

Society had to be turned upside down by violent methods to make way for a new order called communism. Communism was set forth as both a system and a method to establish a "Utopia," a workers' paradise. Under it there would be no injustices and inequities which Marx charged up against both capitalism and Christianity. Communism would establish a "classless society." The state would no longer exist.

That Manifesto has for over 100 years served as the basic doctrine, in every sense the "war plan" for bringing about a new world order called communism. The theorists, the planners, the activists, and the conspirators, acting in support of this new world order, all built their case upon the doctrine expressed in the Communist Manifesto. They looked upon mankind as enslaved by a social order which encouraged the exploitation of workers, discriminated against minority groups, created and preserved various classes of society, and penalized those who refused to conform to the established norms of that society. In turn all of them, in one manner or another, would "liberate" the workers from all forms of exploitation, drudgery, and heavy toil; only the "working class" would enjoy the fruits of their labor; discriminations, inequities, and injustices would be washed away by the new classless society; and all men would be made free to enjoy the better things of life. Tyranny against mankind in any form would be banished from the earth.

These were the guaranties made in the name of Marx and his theory of communism.

Up to 1917 communism and its goal for reshaping the world had relatively little broad-base support among the workers of the world. It had, however, made inroads among some intellectuals, political theorists, and the ever-present opportunists. Socialism had become a political movement, based upon the theories of Marx, which claimed adherents in many countries of the world. Meetings between the Socialist adherents in the European countries were held at frequent intervals, most of them clandestinely. International meetings of the movement eventually developed. New manifestos and political proclamations emanated from such meetings as the leading theorists and revolutionaries struggled for leadership and power.

With the collapse of the Russian Czarist Empire in 1917, there immediately developed a struggle for political control of Moscow. The autocratic system of the Czars had fallen of its own weight and, in the chaos which followed, various political factions in Moscow sought to establish a government and to take control of the situation. The Socialists had some years previously split into two main groups, the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks. Lenin, as the leader of the Bolsheviks, led his faction to power and established the Russian Federative Soviet Socialist Republic. This was the first time in history the Marxists had the authority of and responsibility for government—socialism was no longer just a theory.

It fell to Lenin and his followers to put into practice the theories of Karl Marx. But there were other tasks Lenin dictated which were to be carried out by his followers. Among them were the establishment of a propaganda organization and the development of an international apparatus which would best serve the goals of world socialism.

It was not long before the world became aware of the tremendous volume of propaganda which poured forth from Moscow in every conceivable form. This propaganda always played the siren song of the promised utopia; it pictured the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a workers' paradise; a place where there were no injustices or racial discriminations; a place where equality and unlimited opportunity for the individual were firmly guaranteed; a place where the abundant life was assured to everyone and where no one was exploited. The siren song of Moscow was sent forth in almost every known language; it was especially adapted for and directed to workers, scientists, minority groups, the dilettante, youth, and the intellectuals generally. No group of people or segment of society were overlooked in this effort.

Then, side by side with the propaganda program, there sprang up in every country of the world an organization which was dedicated to the world empire as envisioned by Marx and promoted by the followers of Lenin. This organization had both overt and covert members just as it carried on overt and covert activities in support of that scheme of world empire. It recruited members from every segment of society and utilized a wide range of knowing and unknowing servants.

This was the essential legacy Lenin passed on to Stalin. Stalin, in turn, extended and expanded this legacy. Socialism as practiced in the U. S. S. R. eventually became known as communism.

In the early 1930's Adolf Hitler rose to total power in Germany under the banner of a new form of socialism called national socialism. Very shortly thereafter the storm clouds gathered over all of Europe. It was the alliance between the dictators, Stalin and Hitler, carving up the world into spheres of influence, which set off World War II. Hitler later attacked the U. S. S. R.—Japan attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor—and by a paradoxical turn of events, the United States and the other Western Powers were suddenly cast in the role of an ally of the U. S. S. R. in a war against the forces of tyranny and reaction as represented by Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperialist Japan.

World War II was prosecuted and won within the structure of this strange alliance. The enemies of mankind had been defeated; those responsible for crimes against humanity were to be tried and punished; the peace of the future was planned for and guaranteed by this same alliance. Tyranny in all its ugly forms had been defeated and banished from the earth—or so most people believed.

The American people and indeed most of the people of the world looked forward to a new and golden era of peace and comity among nations in which individual liberty, the basic freedoms, and prosperity would be the heritage of all mankind. These were the goals for which we fought the war; these were the reasonably expected rewards for the great sacrifices made. Indeed, these were the goals civilized mankind had been struggling for up through the centuries.

But these rewards were to be denied the people of the world.

Not long after the end of active hostilities the leaders of the free world became concerned with the behavior of the Communists in the nations and areas overrun and occupied by the Red army. While the Allies had guaranteed free and unfettered elections leading to a democratic government for all the nations of Central and Eastern Europe, it was becoming obvious that the leaders of the U. S. S. R. were placing a different meaning on these guaranties. All those who did not sympathize with and support the cause of communism were regarded as Fascists or Nazis. Soon rump governments, put in power by either "controlled elections" or coups d'etat, were saddled upon all those once free and independent nations. This action was followed by the Communist guerrilla efforts to seize power in Greece, the Communist Berlin blockade, Communist seizure of total power in China, and the Communist military invasion of Korea.

The strange wartime alliance of the U. S. S. R. with the great powers of the West was broken and was replaced by a "cold war."

The rose-colored glasses which had been placed upon large segments of the population of the free world during the wartime alliance with the U. S. S. R. were now serving as a severe handicap to the development of a necessary program to preserve human freedom and to protect the security of the United States.

The objective truth about communism had to be established. Honest answers to the following had to be found; what life under communism is like; what the real objectives, methods, and tactics of world communism are; whether communism was a solution for any of the imperfections of the world or a new and subtle form of human slavery.

It was against this background that the Select Committee on Communist Aggression was authorized by Congress and began its work of investigation and public inquiry on this issue. The report which follows, though it is but an interim report, presents some revealing, if not startling, facts about the violent contrast between communism in theory and communism in practice.

#### HOW COMMUNISM TAKES OVER

Testimony heard by the committee established the fact that communism was able to fix its rule upon the people of the captive nations only when it was supported by the Red Army, preceded by subversion which was politically, technically, and financially engineered by the Kremlin. In Central and Eastern Europe, the Red Army first occupied each country and with the aid of Soviet agents, secret police and terroristic groups of the MVD, communism imposed its harsh rule. Not one nation fell under communism without having first been occupied by elements of the Red Army.

As soon as the Communist-controlled Red Army, infiltrated and dominated as it was by political commissars and elements of the NKVD, entered any area, terror, robbery and violations of women and children became the order of the day. The people learned through bitter experience that the Communists would do whatever they wanted to do without regard for any laws, ethics or moral codes. The

people also learned that any opposition to whatever action the Communist "liberators" took meant certain imprisonment or death.

Simultaneous with the entry of the Red Army the work of the Kremlin agents and the local Communists started. The committee heard evidence that for every country in the world, including the United States, there is a prepared group of Communist agents trained in the so-called "ideological schools" in the U. S. S. R. They speak the local language, they are of local origin, they are usually well informed about the general situation through the Communist espionage system, and stand ready to take over power in the countries of their origin in accordance with the Communist timetable.

Under the protection of elements of the Red Army these agents immediately and quietly undertake the mass arrests of "unfriendly" bourgeois groups. They also set up governmental bodies which they try to clothe with appearances of legality and respectability. This is done in order to mislead the world and confuse local public opinion. They use blackmail on those elements whom they want to enroll and who resist Communism. Whomever they use for their purposes, whatever political organizations or parties they form or allow to exist, the behind-the-scenes control always remains exclusively in the hands of the Moscow-trained Communists.

Pauker in Rumania, Bierut in Poland, Rakosi in Hungary, the late Dimitrov in Bulgaria, the late Clementis in Czechoslovakia, to name a few, belong to this category of agents. The committee received corroborating testimony in this connection from such witnesses as King Michael of Rumania, the famous Polish generals, Wladyslaw Anders and Bor-Komorowski, Mr. Karl Selter, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs in Estonia in 1939, and from many others.

In such a situation the so-called "coalition governments" agreed to at Yalta had no chance of succeeding. One result of the Yalta agreement was to cause the democratic forces to reveal themselves in the nations occupied by the Red Army. These democratic forces were unsupported militarily by the Western Allies. Consequently they were soon eliminated by the Communist minorities who had the military backing of the Red Army.

King Michael of Rumania testified that at the time he was the constitutional head of the country, on March 6, 1945, he stated to Mr. Vishinsky, the then Soviet Foreign Minister:

I am doing things in our manner and according to the interests of my country, and besides, the Conference at Yalta says that every country is free to choose its own form of government.

Mr. Vishinsky's blunt answer was:

In this case I am Yalta and I tell you what to do.

Mr. Stefan Korbonski, the last civilian head of the Polish underground government, testified in Chicago that the same state of affairs prevailed in Poland in the period 1945-47. Other witnesses from Communist-enslaved countries verified in testimony before the committee that the same situation existed in their countries.

On the question of the validity of treaties and agreements entered into with the Communists, all those who testified agreed that Communists have no inhibitions of any kind in breaking such instruments whenever their interests are served.

Mr. Karl Selter, Estonian Foreign Minister in 1939, and Mr. August Rei, Estonian envoy to Moscow before World War II, testified how Stalin and Molotov assured them that "the word of a Bolshevik is like steel—it is sacred." This was said on the occasion of the conclusion of the enforced treaty of mutual assistance, between Estonia and the U. S. S. R. in September 1939. The witnesses produced for the committee authenticated secret Red Army maps which were printed prior to the conclusion of the mutual assistance treaty. These maps showed that the Communists had already included Estonia as a new republic of the U. S. S. R. Moreover, at the moment Stalin and Molotov were assuring the Estonian diplomats of their faithfulness they had already entered into a secret pact with Hitler agreeing that Estonia was a part of "the Soviet sphere of influence."

Mr. Joseph Lipski, former Polish Ambassador to Germany (1933-39) and presently a representative of the Polish government-in-exile in this country; Mr. Waclaw Grzybowski, former Polish Ambassador in Moscow (1936-39); and Count Edward Raczynski, former Polish Ambassador in London and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland (1941-43) presented to the committee a detailed list of Polish-Soviet treaties and agreements concluded in the period 1921-41. These solemn pacts, each testified in turn, were readily violated by the Communists when it served their ends.

Full details surrounding the Communists' disregard of treaties and the takeover of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were described in this committee's first interim report to the House.

Mr. Jaroslav Stransky, onetime former Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia; Mykola Kowalewskyj, member of the former Independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic; and Mikola Abramtschik, president, Council of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, in exile, also testified that in the case of their homelands, now occupied by the Communists, this same pattern of wanton violation of treaties preceded the seizure of power by the Communist minority.

Once the Communists feel secure in their hold on the captive countries they seek to shield their criminal acts under a cloak of legality. Fraudulent elections, faked political parties, and open as well as subtle terror serve this purpose.

It was through the technique of terror and deceit that the elections were won by the Communists in every one of the enslaved countries. People voted but they voted as they were told to vote, and if they did not, the results as announced later were always the same as the Communists had predetermined. Dorothy Thompson, the well-known newspaper columnist, told the committee of a conversation in Warsaw, the day before the Polish elections in 1947, with Mr. Victor Grosz, Director of Information of the Polish Government. Miss Thompson asked him:

I know you anticipate victory tomorrow, but suppose by some fluke you did not. Then what?

Grosz' answer was:

That cannot conceivably happen, but in no eventuality will we relinquish the power.

Miss Thompson continued her statement, saying:

Here was a candid statement by a member of the government that the outcome of the elections would not be considered unless they sustained the Communists.

Miss Thompson quotes one of the voters as saying:

There was no good voting against the Communists. Had we voted our minds, the result would only have been an open and intensified reign of terror. We would not have rid ourselves of our masters but have invited wholesale reprisals.

A recent escapee from Hungary put it this way:

Before the war I had the right to vote, and elections were held in an orderly manner. Everyone could vote for the party of his choosing. After the Communists took over completely in 1948, when the elections were held we received the ballot and we couldn't even look at it. We didn't even know who the people were. We simply placed it (the list) in an envelope, sealed it, and dropped it in the box. At the same time the Communists transported truck loads of Communist soldiers all over the district who voted many times. That was all. It was a farce.

Witnesses from other nations enslaved behind the Iron Curtain confirmed that the same conditions prevailed in their own countries during the so-called elections, forming the following pattern.

(1) There was always a privileged list of candidates representing the so-called government bloc. The bloc (identified by different names in different countries) was always controlled by the Communists. It always included groups masquerading under the names of traditional, democratic political parties. This was done in order to create the appearance of a "coalition of democratic elements."

(2) Thousands of democratic leaders were arrested during such election campaigns on trumped-up charges. Some were released within 48 hours only to be rearrested again a few hours later.

(3) Opposition lists were prevented whenever possible from being filed on time by last-minute changes of rules and forms.

(4) The secret police exercised "pressure" on the candidates from opposition lists to withdraw their candidacies.

(5) Opposition candidates' names were often eliminated from the lists on unfounded charges of collaboration with the Nazis or "un-friendliness" toward the Soviet Union.

(6) Large numbers of people were disfranchised for a variety of flimsy reasons.

(7) The chairmen of the electoral commissions were overt or secret agents of the Communists. There was no secret ballot although it was provided for by law.

(8) Counting of the ballots was done by the Communist chairmen of the electoral commissions and their stooges. The results were always assured.

(9) The Communists introduced the technique of "mass voting." Whole factories, offices, institutions and, in some cases, whole villages were required to vote en masse. Such practices were introduced in order to frighten those who, if allowed the secret ballot, would have voted against the government.

(10) An atmosphere of general terror was created in connection with every organized election in each country behind the Iron Curtain.

This then, is the pattern followed by the Communists in seeking to clothe their conspiracy with legality and respectability. These are the techniques used by the Communists to install the one-party system in support of their dictatorship.

Show trials soon followed in which charges of treason were manufactured against the democratic leaders. Most of them were executed or imprisoned. Some managed to escape. Thus, one-party rule



becomes firmly established and Communist domination over the lives of all those under its control becomes absolute.

The long-range planning of the Communist conspiracy contains many chapters. A practical and unique example of this planning and the technique of applying it may be found in the Warsaw uprising of 1944. The gallant Poles were led into a premature uprising against the Nazi occupier by the Communists and then were betrayed by Stalin.

The committee heard testimony with regard to this matter in London. Gen. Thaddeus Bor-Komorowski, Commander in Chief of the Polish Home Army, several officers of his former staff, and others who were in Warsaw at the time of the uprising testified as follows:

The uprising against the Nazi war machine which then occupied Warsaw started on August 1, 1944, and lasted 63 days. Soviet propaganda strongly encouraged the Poles to revolt against the crumbling Nazi army. At that time the Red army was in the suburbs of Warsaw, separated only by the Vistula River from the city itself. Poles were sure that when the revolt started the Red army would come to their help since it was in a full offensive against the Germans. When the uprising started the Red army stopped its offensive. At first, Soviet propaganda and Stalin himself denied any revolt in Warsaw; later, when asked by Roosevelt and Churchill to help Warsaw, Stalin refused. Finally, the Government of the U. S. S. R. and Stalin personally branded the Warsaw patriots as Fascists and reactionaries.

When the American and British authorities determined to help the Polish patriots by dropping arms and supplies by air, the Government of the U. S. S. R. refused landing facilities on Communist-held territory. We and the British nevertheless made several drops of supplies on Warsaw. Following this, the Western Allies were warned that if any further efforts were made to help the Warsaw patriots, pilots landing on Communist-held territory would be interned until after the war.

As a result of such tactics, the center and the heart of the Polish organized resistance, loyal to the Polish Government in exile, and completely anti-Communist was wiped out by the Nazis with the Red army idly looking on. After 63 days, what was once the beautiful capital of Poland became a shambles of smoking ruins. Over 200,000 people lost their lives. Most of the buildings in the city itself were destroyed. The heroic members of the Polish Home Army, short of ammunition, food, water, medical supplies, and any kind of sanitation, fought on until they could no longer fight. The Kremlin thus succeeded in destroying a large part of the patriotic leadership of future Poland with Nazi hands. The Red army "liberated" the dead ruins of Warsaw a few months later, in January 1945.

The Russian commander of the Red army on the Warsaw front who deliberately stopped the Red army offensive against the Nazis at the time of the uprising, and who coldly observed the agony of the dying city was later appointed commander in chief of the Communist-dominated Polish armed forces after the war. On orders from Stalin, he declared himself a "Pole." He was then proclaimed Marshal of Poland by the rump Communist regime in Warsaw. His name is Rokossowsky.

## HOW COMMUNISM MAINTAINS CONTROL

The methods used by Communism to maintain control over the many nations it enslaves, and to destroy non-Communist political forces are both unbelievably ruthless and scientifically elaborate.

The first steps taken after seizure of power are mass arrests and deportations. These are the measures taken against all classes of the intelligentsia and all elements of leadership. Testimony was taken from many who were themselves deported. They told how men, women, and children were awakened in the darkness of night, given 1 hour to pack their modest belongings, were locked in cattle cars and transported great distances to what they called "far-off regions of the U. S. S. R." People died in the cattle cars day after day. For days these deportees had no food, no water, no sanitary facilities. They used the snow from the roofs of unheated cattle cars as water.

The four young Giballa sisters, who survived deportation by cattle train from their homes in Poland to the U. S. S. R., related to the committee a vivid story of the terrors of deportation.

The deportations were applied not only to the so-called "bourgeois classes"—i. e., intellectuals, clergymen, professional men, industrialists, merchants, labor leaders, etc., but in some cases to entire nations. The committee received testimony and documentation proving that the Soviet authorities are guilty of a wide range of crimes of genocide. In this regard the committee heard testimony in Munich from Lt. Col. Grigori Stepanovich Burlitski. Until his recent escape to the West he was commanding officer in the troops of the MVD, headed by the late Beria.

As a captain in the MVD troops he personally took part in the genocide of the inhabitants of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic, a non-Russian nation in the U. S. S. R. Here is a chapter in the tragic story of the deportation of a whole nation comprising over 500,000 people within a period of 24 hours as Colonel Burlitski saw it and as he related it to the committee:

"The Chechen-Ingush are mountaineers \* \* \* their capital is the city of Grozny. The population of the entire Soviet Union always knew how brave the population of this mountainous region was, and the Soviet Government knew this too. Therefore, the Soviet Government attached a great significance \* \* \* to the operation directed against the Chechen-Ingush population. \* \* \* Fearing they might resist this mass deportation plan, the Soviet Government decided to carry it out not openly but by a ruse. In January 1944 the internal troops of the NKVD (the predecessor of the MVD—Ed.) were sent to the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic. \* \* \* The troops changed from NKVD uniforms to those of the regular Red Army. \* \* \* It was announced to the population that these troops had been withdrawn from the fighting fronts \* \* \* to get a rest, and additional training. \* \* \* All over the Chechen-Ingush Republic \* \* \* slogans, placards, and signs proclaimed the unity of the Red Army and the peoples of the Soviet Union; urging \* \* \* that the population of the Chechen-Ingush Republic should give all assistance to the Red Army. And under the guise of this unity between the Red Army and the people of the Chechen-Ingush Republic, the units of the NKVD troops arrived. \* \* \* It was also announced that the units \* \* \* would start an extensive military training

program. \* \* \* The NKVD troops actually did this. \* \* \* First, to fool the population; second, to study the territory adjacent to the various populated centers like villages, cities, and even houses; and to prepare firing positions around these populated areas; third, to familiarize themselves with the roads and crevices which lead through the mountains to prevent the guerillas which operated in the mountains from helping the population, and to prevent the population from joining the guerilla fighters in the mountains; fourth, \* \* \* to discover and liquidate any underground organizations. The troops were doing this work while operational organs of the NKVD were busy preparing very detailed lists of the population. \* \* \* These lists \* \* \* included the very oldest men all the way down to the just-born babies. \* \* \* The operation was slated to take place on the 23rd of February, 1944, the 26th anniversary of the creation of the Workers and Peasants' Red Army. In order to conduct this operation \* \* \* an operational headquarters was created in the city of Grozny. The person who was in charge of this operation \* \* \* was Deputy Commissar Serov. \* \* \* (The Serov referred to here is the same Serov who signed the order for the deportations in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, which was revealed in testimony previously received by this Committee—Ed.) \* \* \* On February 23, 1944, in accordance with orders received from Moscow and by personal order of Serov, this big military machine started moving. On one day at a designated hour the operation started in the entire republic. The local party and administrative units of the Soviet Government, all the people in columns carrying placards, the pictures and the portraits of the Soviet leaders, with accordions and orchestras, with slogans, went to the square in the various localities where they lived. I, at the time, was in the village of Novo Selskoye; that's a center of a small district, and I would like to tell now how this operation was conducted in Novo Selskoye. It was similar to the operation which took place in the entire Chechen-Ingush Republic. On the square was the brass band of my particular unit. The population \* \* \* not knowing or even suspecting anything, was converging on the square with songs. Our brass band was greeting the arriving demonstrators. \* \* \* Approximately at ten o'clock in the morning the leaders of the local government, the parties, the administration, and the representatives of the various military units arrived on the platform built for this occasion. The secretary of the regional committee of the Communist Party opened the meeting to the playing of the orchestra and the ovation of the people around him. In his speech he spoke of the Lenin and Stalin conception of solving the nationality problem, about the mutual trust and friendship between the people of the Soviet Union \* \* \* and the Chechen-Ingush. \* \* \* After he spoke, many other leaders spoke. \* \* \* After their speeches were finished, one of the local people, either a Chechen or an Ingush, appeared on the platform. In the name of the Chechen-Ingush people this man thanked the Red Army for the great achievements against the enemy. He said, like all the people of the Soviet Union, the Chechen-Ingush people are more than anxious to help the Red Army, and having come down from the speakers platform he takes a horse which has been standing there and presents it to the commander of the troops as a sign of trust and friendship of the Chechen-Ingush people to the Red Army. While all this is taking place, the

orchestra is playing and the people are clapping their hands. At the very height of this celebration, on the platform steps the Deputy Chief of this military unit for intelligence, Major Kohorin. He speaks to the people who are on the square in a very short and very dry speech. He announces the decision of the party and the Soviet Government. This particular decision could be summarized approximately as follows: that during the temporary occupation of the Soviet territory by the German troops, the population of the Chechen-Ingush Republic \* \* \* have given assistance and comfort to the Nazi troops, have collaborated with them, have attacked on occasions the Soviet Army, Soviet military personnel; have actually given assistance to military units of the Germany Army and thereby caused great harm to the Soviet Government. Therefore, they have become collaborators of the German Fascist Armies, thereby weakening the power and the might of the Soviet Union. Because of that, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as the Soviet Government have made the following decision: the entire population of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialistic Republic, would be 100% deported, or would be "transferred" as the word read "to far away points of the Soviet Union." The place where these people were to be deported to was not announced. The populace was warned that any kind of resistance, or lack of fulfilling the orders of the people who were to conduct this operation, will be considered a sign of resistance to the Government. They were also warned that extraordinary measures will be taken, up to and including shooting on the spot without any court, if there was any sign of resistance. He also warned that resistance was absolutely useless since this particular village, Novo Selskoye, is surrounded by armed troops, that they are manning previously prepared firing positions right at this moment, and that the guns from these positions are pointed right at the demonstrators. He pointed out the various locations, two little hillocks and small mountains where you could see troops manning the various positions. He also warned the demonstrators that the square where this demonstration is taking place is also surrounded by armed troops. At the time he said that, it actually was true because the second right around the square was already formed by troops. Besides that, a military armed unit appeared on the square at his signal \* \* \* and spread itself near the speaker's platform. They placed themselves in two lines, facing each other, thereby forming a corridor consisting of live soldiers. All the people on the square, beginning with the secretary of the Communist Party and the head of the Administration of the village, were told to pass through this corridor formed by the soldiers. \* \* \* (Colonel Burlitski, in answer to a question, said that local Communists were deported as well as the rest of the populace, and he agreed that this should serve as a warning to local Communists the world over.) Major Kohorin warned that anybody who enters this corridor formed by the two lines of soldiers had to dispose of whatever arms they might have. \* \* \* After they passed through this corridor they had to line up on the other side in a column of four, headed by the secretary of the party organization and the local head of the administration. \* \* \* The people were so stunned that they remained standing like some sort of figures. They could not believe their own ears. After they

comprehended the treachery and the ruse which had been practiced on them by the Soviet Government and the Communist Party, they started throwing away the flags, the portraits of the leaders, etc. After that \* \* \* they were taken under guard from the square to the outskirts of the city where they had a special collection point. This collection point was just a plain field, nothing in it. Meanwhile, the operations workers of the NKVD, the so-called Chekists, having received about 8 or 10 troops each, were assigned to clean out the houses in the village. Each one was assigned three-four houses; using trucks to claim his victims. Every one of the cars was an American truck, Studebaker and Chevrolet. The same trucks which the Soviet Government received under Lend-Lease, in order to help the fight against the Germans. All the trucks were new. The operational officers accompanied by soldiers \* \* \* went to the houses and apartments and announced to the occupants the verdict of the Soviet Government in approximately the same words as were used by Major Kohorin at the demonstration. The people were given exactly one hour to get ready. Each family was allowed to take 100 kilograms of clothing and food, etc., and were warned that all resistance was useless. \* \* \* In an hour the trucks were loaded and went to the same collection point where they joined the people who had been on the square. At the collection point the entire population of the village was checked against the previously prepared lists. \* \* \* All the people were then loaded on trucks and transported to railroad stations and loaded into waiting railroad cars, cattle cars and freight cars. \* \* \* There they were met by special NKVD convoy troops. \* \* \* These cars were not in any way equipped with anything. They didn't have any stoves, even the simplest ones. They didn't even have any shelves on which people could sleep. The cars were loaded to overflowing. They were shut and then sealed. The convoy troops who were guarding them received the lists of the deportees. After this, the assignment of the operational and the NKVD troops to conduct this operation was finished, and they were returned to the places where they had been located. The convoy troops took away the people. This is the way the deportation operation was conducted in Novo Selskoye. Exactly the same thing happened in that one day in the entire territory of the Chechen-Ingush. In one day the Chechen-Ingush Republic disappeared. Moreover, all the Chechen-Ingush who were at that time in the Red Army, who had various administrative positions, were also withdrawn from their posts and deported."

Lieutenant Colonel Burlitski also participated in the mass deportations of the population of the Kalmuk Autonomous Republic, as well as the Karachayev Republic, and the Crimean Tartar Republic. These Communist crimes of genocide took place in 1943 and in 1944. More than 1 million men, women, and children were deported to scattered regions of Siberia and Central Asia. Said Colonel Burlitski:

The technique, the pattern of these deportations is the same as the one employed in the Chechen-Ingush Republic \* \* \* exactly the same, and I would be repeating myself if I told the story again.

But some of witness Burlitski's words insist on repeating themselves in the minds of those who heard them. Such as this description of the aftermath of these ruthless genocides.

After the population was deported, in the villages and cities of the Chechen-Ingush remained empty, absolutely dead silence. But this silence sometimes is broken. It is terrible. Sometimes this dead silence is broken by the neglected cattle, cows, horses, hungry dogs, cats, chickens. The silence is sometimes broken by the drunken orgies of the Communists, of the agents of the operational units of the NKVD. They drink everything; alcohol, corn liquor, anything they can find. It is hard to say why they drink; either because they were conscious of the fact that they were murderers, or that they were blind executioners of the rulers of the Soviet Union.

Mass deportations are a prime Communist technique of destruction. They serve as a forerunner to a life of misery in a slave or forced labor camp. More than 15 million people are detained in such camps in the U. S. S. R. itself. Human slavery is an integral part of the economy of the U. S. S. R. and it is organized on a more absolute, ruthless, and efficient basis than ever before known to mankind. Complete evidence and documentation in the form of maps, charts, and statistics covering this subject have been made a part of the committee's record.

One hundred and twenty thousand Poles who survived the horrors of the slave-labor camps in the U. S. S. R. were permitted to leave the Soviet Union under the leadership of General Anders in 1942 following the outbreak of the Nazi-Soviet war. The committee also learned that over 1,692,000 citizens of prewar Poland were deported to the U. S. S. R. during the years 1939-41. More than 1,259,000 have never been accounted for to date.

The committee heard extensive testimony on the manmade famine in the Ukraine during the years 1932-33 at a time when the harvest was better than average. Mr. Fedir Pihido, a Ukrainian national who provided extensive testimony and documentation for the committee, was asked how many people died as a result of this manmade famine. He replied as follows:

according to unofficial statistics, the number of victims can be placed between 6 and 7 million. As I have previously stated, official statistics are not available \* \* \*.

Other witnesses testified about the way the Communists had confiscated and desecrated churches and turned them into warehouses where the grain was stored. Armed guards were placed around the churches and other buildings used for storing grain where the grain was allowed to spoil while millions of people were starving to death. Mrs. Anna Kravchenko testified that approximately one-half of the people in the village where she lived perished from starvation, and that special brigades of Communists were sent from Moscow to her village to search out all food and to confiscate it. Another witness, who requested that his true identity not be disclosed because a large number of his relatives still live in the Ukraine, gave vivid testimony of the way in which the Communists covered up the millions of deaths they caused by their planned famine. He told how Eduard Heriot, a well-known French statesman, visited the Ukraine during the time of the famine and how he was taken on a conducted tour by the Communists. Every minute of his visit, every home he saw, every person he spoke to, every route he followed was carefully prearranged without his knowledge. He saw in the countryside near Kharkov, where the witness lived, the fronts of houses newly painted while directly in back of them people were living like animals in holes dug in the ground. He saw in the windows of the country shops along his prepared route,

stocks of loaves of bread and people who appeared to be "freely" buying them—what he was not allowed to see was that behind these shops and newly painted houses the police had closed off all roads to the famine-stricken population. That is why Eduard Heriot, after his visit to the Ukraine, made many public statements to the effect that he saw no famine in the Ukraine and that life there seemed to be quite normal. Other witnesses testified to instances of cannibalism, of how parents tried to save their children by turning them over to the state children's homes, how the militia would punish them if they were caught leaving their children anywhere near those homes, of how "quotas" were set each day for collecting corpses for burial in the fields.

The witnesses testified that the purposes of the manmade famine was to break the national spirit in the Ukraine, to force the peasants into the collectivization program, and to enrich the Communist rulers by confiscation of grain and cattle.

#### LIFE UNDER COMMUNIST TYRANNY

King Michael of Rumania testified:

They arrested as many people as they could: old people, grownups, and children. The children were placed in various prison cells where they were molested or assaulted all night by special gangs of ill and infected people. The next morning these children were sent back to their parents with a piece of paper round their neck explaining that they had been assaulted by a syphilitic some time during the night, and what would happen in the future if these demonstrations continued.

This was a part of the testimony of King Michael, describing the actions of the Communists in breaking up a demonstration of the people cheering their King in front of the Palace in Bucharest on St. Michael's day. This is life under communism.

Jan Jasinski testified:

They arrested me about 3:00 a. m. and took me to Kilce. When they saw that they were not getting much out of me they began to torture and beat me. They poured salt water down my nose and pinched my fingers in a door joint. They used what looked like a twisted copper cable to beat the soles and heels of my feet, cutting the flesh so badly that I couldn't walk except on my hands and knees for six weeks. After six years in prison I escaped with a friend to the Czechoslovakia-German border. I got across but my friend was killed.

This was a part of the testimony of Mr. Jasinski, a young Polish peasant and a former member of the Polish underground, who responded to the public promises of amnesty made by the Communists to all those who would turn in their arms. He was arrested immediately and treated as stated above. This is amnesty under the Communists.

Dr. Karolina Laucronska testified:

The sovietization of the Polish University of Lwow proceeded smoothly, unobtrusively and ruthlessly. First it was the faculty of law which was attacked, then one chair after the other disappeared. The books were all banned to the public and in their place suddenly appeared pornographic books. Each professor had a Communist with him at all times to control his lectures and keep them on the Communist line.

This was a part of the testimony of Mrs. Laucronska, professor at the University of Lwow in Poland, on the actions of the Communists 6 days after the occupation in September 1939. This is education under communism.

Eva Fishlova testified:

In 1946, when I reached the age of 16 my father told me that I was supposed to join the Communist Party. It was not right for a member of the Communist Party to have a daughter who was not a member of the Party too. I objected, but he forced me to do something against my will. He filled out the form and signed it for me \* \* \*. Before my father went to East Berlin as Ambassador (1949) I told him that I could not stand Communism any longer,<sup>3</sup> and that I would escape sooner or later—then he did have me watched closely. I had to telephone him every day, had to be home at 8:00 p. m. in the evenings \* \* \*.

This is a part of the testimony of Miss Fishlova, who escaped to freedom in 1949. She is the daughter of the Communist Czechoslovakian Ambassador to East Berlin who was later executed by the Communists along with Slansky and others. This is the impact of communism on the family.

Communism is an irreconcilable enemy of religion, whether it be Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Orthodox, or Moslem.

The committee is in possession of documentary material relating to the violent persecution of all forms of religion.

Eyewitness testimony concerning Cardinal Mindszenty's ordeal and his show trial in Budapest was received by the committee. The Cardinal appeared with his face gaunt and emaciated, covered by a pink makeup to create an impression of health; he used Communist jargon as if it was his usual way of speaking; saliva was trickling down his chin; he was unable to control his voice. The fraudulent nature of his trial and the false confession forced upon him by his tormentors were exposed.

In London, Lutheran Bishop Fierla, Orthodox Bishop Mateuz Siemaszko, and Roman Catholic Father Wrobel testified concerning persecution of religion in Poland. His Grace, Lutheran Bishop W. Fierla, testified as follows:

The printing and publishing of religious literature has been rendered impossible. No paper is being assigned to our Church for this purpose.

Our Church has been refused permission to accept a gift of 40,000 copies of the Church Hymn Book, comprising 648 pages, offered to our Church by a Swedish organization called "Polenhjlepen."

Our pastors are being persecuted and arrested by the State Secret Police. Religious instruction in schools has been forbidden. Church property is being confiscated, as well as buildings belonging to various organizations, among which the Mikolaj Rej College in Warsaw.

Father Anton Botek told the committee of the pattern of Communist attack on religion in his native Slovakia. He testified that the Communist regime took over the Catholic schools, suppressed Catholic newspapers and disbanded all religious organizations immediately upon their seizure of power in Slovakia. He testified that the Communists seized 1,800 elementary, and 80 secondary schools administered by the church, and disbanded Catholic men's, women's, and children's organizations having a membership of 180,000.

The testimony of Lucyan Blits, London correspondent of the Jewish Daily Forward of New York, and one of the leading Jewish figures of pre-war Poland told of the ruthless persecution of the Jews under communism.

Education has always been one of the prime targets of communism. The same detailed planning and the same definite pattern which is so clear in other fields of Communist activity emerge sharply in the Communist system for the reeducation of youth in the captive nations.



All students are subjected to the control and "leadership" of official youth organizations which are instruments of the Communist Party. These organizations direct the "correct" Marxist thinking of their members, supervise the extracurricular activities of the students, decide how much time should be used for "ideological reeducation" and prescribe what books should be read.

"Ideological instructors" who are open or secret Communist Party members, have been placed in every school, in every class, and in every student organization. These "instructors" are personally responsible to the party for the implementation of its orders in scholastic as well as in all extracurricular activities. They spy upon any deviations on the part of professors and students and denounce them to the party.

Youth is being separated from the family. It is assumed in the Communist world that parents brought up in the "bourgeois environment" are unable to adapt themselves to the new "proletarian environment" and, consequently, cannot exercise a "proper" influence on their children. Education of youth is considered to be a task of the party, not of parents. The activities of youth are planned and scheduled in such a way that only during a small fraction of the day are they able to stay at home where they will be under the normal and natural "influence" of their parents. Political meetings, a variety of school affairs, summer camps, "social" work, as well as "ideological courses" are designed to take up the students, time. There is no time for family life in the Communist plan.

The youth, being trained in an absolute faithfulness and devotion to Marxism, is trained to spy upon his parents and relatives. They are expected to denounce anyone who shows signs of "deviation." Thus, the basic foundation of civilization, the family, is being destroyed.

The committee heard testimony of the massacre of over 10,000 people by the Communist secret police in the Vinnitsia region of the Ukrainian nation during the period 1937-38.

In 1943, after the Communists had been driven out of the Ukraine and that nation was under Nazi occupation, the people of Vinnitsia expressed their concern over the great number of people who previously, under the Communist occupation, had entered the NKVD headquarters. These people were never heard of again. The suspicions of the people of Vinnitsia were further aroused by the fact that the Communists had forbidden them to enter certain areas. This led to an official investigation.

As a consequence, a total of 38 mass graves were discovered containing the remains of over 10,000 farmers, artisans, workers, and intellectuals. All these victims were not Ukrainians; some were Poles and of other nationalities. This terrible crime of mass murder has become known as the Vinnitsia Massacre.

The committee also learned that the Vinnitsia Massacre was only one of some 19 episodes of mass murder carried out during the Communist purge in Ukraine during the period 1937-38. Estimates were given to the effect that more than 200,000 Ukrainians fell victims to this particular phase of Communist mass murder.

It was discovered that a large number of the exhumed victims had been killed by the usual Communist technique of tying the victims' hands behind their back and then shooting them in the back of the

head. The bodies of these victims were systematically placed in graves, all of which appeared to have identical dimensions as to length, width, and depth which one of the witnesses described as "a typical example of Communist planning." One of the areas selected by the secret police for mass graves was later turned into a "peoples recreation park," the Coney Island of Vinnitsia, and with macabrelike design. The people of Vinnitsia later unwittingly danced upon the very graves of their friends and loved ones.

The committee had before it for oral testimony five eyewitnesses of the Vinnitsia massacre. Their testimony was supplemented by voluminous documents and authenticated photographs and charts of the mass graves of Vinnitsia. Mr. Zenon Pelenskyj, one of the eyewitnesses, told in remarkable detail the story of this terrible crime. When asked why these unbelievable crimes had been visited upon the people of Vinnitsia, he replied that the Ukrainian population always refused to submit to and acknowledge the Bolsheviks rule in the Ukraine. Consequently, these massacres were one of the many terrors visited upon the Ukrainian people by the Communists in an effort to break their national spirit and to discourage them from any feeling that they might one day be liberated from Communist rule.

Another witness to the Vinnitsia massacre was asked whether the relatives of people who were arrested inquired of the NKVD what happened to their relatives and friends. Mr. Pavienko replied as follows:

The mother of my daughter-in-law, after her husband had been arrested for crimes unknown to her, inquired of the NKVD why he was arrested and when would he be released. She was given only the answer that he had been sentenced to 10 years without the right of correspondence. \* \* \*

Other witnesses also corroborated the fact that this was the uniform answer given by the NKVD to friends and relatives of those who were murdered at Vinnitsia.

Still another witness, Ihor Zhurlyvy, an eyewitness to the exhuming of the mass graves at Vinnitsia, and whose father had been arrested by the NKVD, was asked why his father was arrested. He replied as follows:

My father was arrested just as thousands and millions of other Ukrainians, for the reason that he loved the Ukraine too much. Such Ukrainians were called bourgeois nationalists by the Bolsheviks.

Testimony was taken concerning the arrests and show trial in Moscow in June 1945, of the 15 leaders of the Polish underground. Only two of those leaders survived to tell their story. One of them, Mr. K. Baginski, testified in Chicago in May; the other, Mr. Z. Stypulkowski, author of the book, *Invitation to Moscow*, testified in London in June. Both of them supplied the committee with a detailed description of Communist physical and mental tortures, as well as their brain-washing methods. Mr. Stypulkowski, according to the Soviet Chief Prosecutor Rudenko, was the only political leader who, from the time of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, did not plead guilty in court after having undergone the brain-washing process.

Mr. Stypulkowski was confined 70 days, prior to his trial, in notorious Lubianka Prison. According to the witness, Soviet methods of extracting a confession from a prisoner are based on a "coordination

of physical pressure and psychological pressure." The physical pressure consists of such means as glaring lights, cold, hunger, atmosphere of terror, and especially lack of sleep:

I was lying in a bed in the cell facing a very large bulb fixed at the floor in this fashion; the beams were beaming directly on my face; it was about 300 watts. This light was in my cell day and night. During the night, if I tried to hide my eyes from this beaming light, and I turned on my back, or hid my eyes with my hands, the warden would immediately come in and say in a whisper, "It is not allowed to sleep like that. I must see your eyes." And he turned my body so that I had to face all the time the light. This was repeated every time I turned for a moment on my back. This was one tool of physical pressure \* \* \*

Psychological pressure was exercised mainly through the means of interrogations:

I had 141 examinations. The shortest one lasted about three hours, but not infrequently I was being examined for fifteen hours without respite. Sometimes I was called at 10 o'clock in the evening, sometimes at one in the morning, sometimes three times during one night, and so on. During the examinations I had to sit at that position, with outstretched arms.

In the interrogations, friendliness and rudeness, promises and threats, hope and despair, mental depressions, distortion of the instinct of self-preservation, confrontations with other prisoners who, having been physically and mentally broken, accuse the innocent prisoner to his face of crimes which were never committed—all of these are intermingled in a nightmarish way in order to break the victim mentally.

Further testimony on a wide variety of subjects relating to life under Communist tyranny was heard by the committee. The subversion of the traditional jurisprudence system of the West, for example, was described in detail by lawyers and jurists who until recently attempted to practice these professions in East Germany.

A young lieutenant in the East German "peoples police" force (VOPO) who escaped to freedom only 3 weeks before his committee appearance told of the buildup and training of this alleged civil police force as military combat units poised and ready to move against the West at a moment's notice.

Witnesses described the routine of long hours and poor working conditions under the Communist economy and, in addition, described drives for funds and increased production in the captive nations to help the "Korean comrades." Significant too was the testimony of the young Czech Air Force corporal who decided to remain in the free world after a plane he was aboard lost its way on a flight from Czechoslovakia, and landed in West Germany. He told of seeing a secret Communist memorandum offering Czech Army pilots three different types of bounties for foreign planes forced down or shot down in Czechoslovakia. According to the witness, the Communists had a standing offer of up to 20,000 Czech crowns (approximately \$400) for foreign planes forced down within the country; that a lesser amount was offered for planes shot down. He testified that there was a standing reward offered for damage done to foreign planes if they appeared over Czechoslovakia, and said that these "bounties" were offered only for planes from the United States, England, France, and other free world countries.

## THE SPIRIT OF RESISTANCE

There was an abundance of testimony presented to the committee to indicate that the spirit of resistance behind the Iron Curtain remains firm and strong in spite of Communist oppression.

The peoples of the captive nations despise their oppressor. Their national patriotism still burns resolutely in their hearts. They oppose the Communist regime whenever and wherever possible. Unfortunately, seldom does the news of this opposition reach the free world. The uprising throughout East Germany was a notable exception. In most cases the desperate struggle for freedom goes on quietly but steadily and therefore comparatively little is known about it in the West.

Colonel Burlitski, whose testimony has been previously mentioned, gave valuable information indicating a strong resistance to the Communist regimes in the Baltic nations. He told the committee of having been sent with his unit in July 1944 to the Baltic States where the NKVD organized an armed campaign against the Lithuanians who were struggling to regain their independence. Lithuanians perished by the tens of thousands. The killings were performed with cold-blooded efficiency. Witness Burlitski described it as follows:

The Soviet Government started creating a (Communist) party and administrative apparatus for Lithuania. The absolute majority of the Lithuanian people did not want to have anything to do with it, did not want this (Communist) party and (Soviet) administrative apparatus. \* \* \* Part of the population organized itself in what the Soviets called bandit-bands. It is characteristic that these so-called bandits liquidated only those (Communist) party leaders who were actually Lithuanians, because they considered that these people were traitors to their own country. These so-called bandits were supported by the majority of the Lithuanian population. The so-called "bandit" formations were very numerous and consisted of many people. In some places the fight against the so-called "bandits" involved not only NKVD units but also regular Red Army units and aviation. This particularly applies in the region of the city of Kaunas.

Time passed, the troops were becoming more and more fatigued, the fight continued, and still the local Soviet government and (Communist) party apparatus had not been established at all echelons. The so-called "bandits" were impossible to catch.

In the face of this stalemate, Beria sent his deputy, General Kruglov to Lithuania in September 1944. (Since the execution of Beria, Kruglov and Deputy Serov have succeeded to a joint command of the MVD.—Ed.) Kruglov called a top-secret operational meeting and Witness Burlitski describes it:

Kruglov said \* \* \* Stalin and Beria are not satisfied with results in Lithuania, and it is time to change from words to sharp measures. Enough of this sentimental approach. He ordered a fine-combing operation through villages and forests. And he ordered: if somebody tries to make a getaway \* \* \* or run, even if not armed, they are to be killed without any further ado, no court is necessary for them.

Kruglov further ordered: if these people run into a house, a farm, or a village, these houses, farms, or villages are to be destroyed by fire. And after Kruglov left, all the measures he ordered were actually used.

A wave of executions and torture started. The leadership of this so-called bandit movement, seeing how the Lithuanian people were being exterminated, how villages were burned, how cattle were destroyed, made a decision to abandon active operations temporarily \* \* \* in order to preserve the people, the leadership and the population for a fight in the future \* \* \* the so-called bandit movement was weakened, but never completely liquidated, and as far as I know up to 1953 it still existed.

Father John Hrynch, a member of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, had this to say on the subject of organized resistance in the Ukraine:

The Ukrainian resistance was organized not only on political lines but also in the form of armed resistance, in the form of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The Ukrainian population takes part and constitutes the liberation movement for the entire Ukrainian nation. All the Ukrainian people fight for the same aims and motives as do their own armed units of the UPA. In no other way could one explain that after 9 years following the conclusion of the world war that there is still a political and armed resistance in the Ukraine, a political and armed resistance which received no assistance from other sources, and must rely solely on the assistance of its own people. It should be noted that although the underground movement may change the form of this struggle or the number of participants but still behind the entire movement is the entire Ukrainian population.

Further, according to his documented testimony, 35,000 MVD men perished in the fight against the Ukrainian underground army in the period 1944-50. MVD General Moskalenko was among those killed in 1948.

It is impossible to kill the natural urge for freedom inherent in every human being. It also appears that patriotism is still an integral part of men's souls. An obscure Polish witness so testified in Munich. His name is Ted Gorski, now 25 years old. In 1949 he escaped from Communist-dominated Poland, then he joined the French Foreign Legion and subsequently was sent to Indochina, where he fought for 3 years. In 1953 he was captured by the Communist Vietminh forces, tortured, and finally sent back to Communist Poland. He passed through all of Asia and the Soviet Union on the way back to Poland, where again he was tortured, brainwashed, and prepared for a public treason show trial. In February 1954, he escaped from Poland for the second time and is living now in Western Germany. He literally made a trip around the world in his determination to fight for freedom.

"I shall continue to fight against the evil of Communism," the youth quietly told the committee. When he was complimented for his courage and for his spirit, he said: "All patriotic Poles feel as I do—there is nothing extraordinary in it."

A score of witnesses who actively participated in the East German uprising of June 17, 1953, were heard by the committee. Theirs is a heroic though tragic account of active resistance against Communist subjugation.

The spirit of resistance has even spread to the darkest reaches of the Soviet Union. In Vorkuta, a concentration camp located in Arctic Russia and widely known as the "hell hole" of Communist prisons, the committee learned how once freemen summoned the courage to openly strike against the dread NKVD. The witness who described this strike to the committee in Berlin in executive session is a physician and an ex-German Communist. He was a member of the Communist Party for 16 years until 1948, when he decided to leave the party because "the activity of that Party (Communist) is directed against the progress of mankind." He was arrested by the NKVD while in East Berlin one day in 1949, and subsequently sentenced to 5 years at Vorkuta. He was released in December 1953.

The district of Vorkuta contains 300,000 persons with 40 separate prison camps. The coal mines of Vorkuta supply Leningrad with all



of its coal. According to the witness this strike lasted 12 days, and was supported by strong underground movements in the slave camp itself. Some concessions were won by the strikers after the Kremlin demonstrated its grave concern by sending a mission from Moscow under the supervision of a Soviet general to investigate circumstances surrounding the rebellion.

Although the Communists finally broke the strike in their customary manner by shooting hundreds of the strikers, the free world now knows that the enslaved dare to openly resist and that the spirit of resistance is strong.

The Communists have perverted the traditions and legitimate objectives of the armed forces under their control, both of those in the captive nations, and of the Red Army itself. This they have done by compelling these armed forces to become the instrument of their antihuman policies.

For the most part the members of the military forces under Communist control are the sons, relatives, and friends of peasants and workers against whom the regime has applied the most repressive measures, and by terror has sought to destroy their traditions of family, home, religion, and their national cultures.

Evidence before our committee and recent history prove that the Communists maintain their control over the Red Army and the other military elements under Communist domination, by an elaborate police system which permeates their ranks to spy upon them. The armed forces are kept isolated and under inordinate discipline and are subjected to continuous false propaganda and indoctrination.

When this Communist control has been relaxed, such as in time of war, thus permitting the opportunity to express true feelings of patriotism, millions of these same soldiers escape to freedom. They refused to be repatriated to communism. They actually participated in open battle against the Communists.

#### COEXISTENCE WITH COMMUNISM MEANS WAR

The leaders of the Kremlin drink a toast to coexistence. They ardently hope that the free world will adopt a policy of coexistence with international communism.

If the free world were to accept such a policy, it could only be based on the vain hope that, given time, the leaders of the Communist regime and the Communist tenets of government would gradually lose their aggressive and inimical attitude toward the West—that the U. S. S. R. would eventually become a peaceful member of the society of nations.

But all the evidence heard before our committee conclusively proves that the Communists want time—not to become civilized—but to digest their gains and to mold their millions of captive peoples into willing slaves of greater aggressions.

The testimony of Dr. Jaroslav Stransky, the Minister of Justice in the Benes government in Czechoslovakia, has particular significance on the proposition of coexistence. He was a Socialist, and like most Socialists, sought to cooperate with the Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Just one final point. Do you not think that the history of Czechoslovakia proves beyond any shadow of a doubt that there is no such thing as a peaceful coexistence between the free world and communism?

Dr. JAROSLAV STRANSKY. That is right, and we only fear that the other world will not realize it. This was the fruit of our example.

The CHAIRMAN. It meant the downfall of Czechoslovakia to try in every way to get along with the Communists, did it not?

Dr. JAROSLAV STRANSKY. Yes.

The history of Czechoslovakia is the history of every government that tried to coexist, or cooperate, with the Communists.

The acceptance by the West of a policy of coexistence with communism would be an acceptance of the greatest system of human slavery known in history. It would give tacit approval to the slave labor camps of the U. S. S. R., the system of terror imposed by the Communist police over their people. It would endorse the barbed wire of the Iron Curtain, the savage dogs, machineguns, and minefields that are meant to keep the curtain impassable. It would put the stamp of approval on the present Communist system of continuous mass murder of all the best elements of society in order that the Communists may maintain control.

A policy of coexistence would be fatal to the free world because:

(1) The Communists don't intend peaceful coexistence with the West but wish to use it as a smokescreen to gain time to prepare and develop their economic and military resources into an irresistible striking force against the free world.

(2) It gives the Communists time to raise a new generation of fanatical fighters against the free world. The evidence is conclusive that the Communists are using every effort to indoctrinate the children with hate for the West.

A policy of coexistence can have only one effect upon the West: to lull the West into impotence while the Communists prepare for a universal war to carry out the plan that they have had from the beginning: to extend their Red colonial system throughout the world.

Communism is the opiate of nations. Coexistence is a poisonous formula distilled by communism—it can lead only to our destruction.

#### PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

Based upon the testimony and other evidence thus far presented to the committee, at hearings held in Chicago, New York, London, Munich, and Berlin, the committee makes the following preliminary findings:

(1) Communism never has come to power by legal or by democratic processes in any of the areas now under its ruthless domination. It uses the tactics of penetration, subversion, threat of military invasion, and finally occupation by military and political elements under the direction and control of the Kremlin.

(2) Once communism seizes control it immediately seeks to clothe itself with respectability and legality by conducting so-called elections which are in no sense of the word free elections guaranteed by the secret ballot. Moreover, the results are predetermined long in advance of the first vote cast.

(3) Communism is able to maintain control over the peoples it enslaves only by the exercise of the most brutal and inhuman methods known to mankind, such as wholesale arrests and deportations, forced famines, mass killings, and the crime of genocide against entire nations. The former Crimean Autonomous Republic (Crimean-Tatar Republic)

lic) and the former autonomous Republic of Chechen-Ingush and Kalmuk are specific examples of the crime of genocide.

(4) Life under communism is one of ruthless and absolute tyranny. The state is god. The dignity and inherent rights of man have no place under communism. The free world is losing the battle for the minds and allegiance of youth in the countries and areas under Communist domination.

(5) As far as the Communists are concerned, treaties, mutual-assistance pacts, nonaggression pacts, or solemn covenants are mere scraps of paper. Agreements or pledges made at the conference table are broken any time such action serves the Communist table for world conquest.

(6) Communism is a conspiracy which utilizes an extensive and complex international criminal mechanism. It seeks to destroy all free nations and to replace them with a system of Red colonialism.

(7) The peoples of the captive nations and other areas under Communist control are by tradition overwhelmingly anti-Communist. They desire their national independence and are still friendly to the free world. However, witness after witness testified that time is working against us and that in many important respects anti-Communist-sponsored programs and activities were not producing the desired results.

(8) Recent civilian and military escapees from behind the Iron Curtain testified that there would be many more important escapes to freedom if the Western World adopted more specific and dynamic programs of asylum. Such programs would be the most effective answer to the constant Communist propaganda that those who escaped are being cast aside after their usefulness is ended.

(9) The leaders of the international Communist conspiracy regard the United States as the main roadblock to their plan for world conquest.

We must be constantly vigilant for a sneak attack which will be unleashed at a time and under circumstances dictated by the Kremlin.

(10) Communism is an irreconcilable enemy of religion whether it be Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Orthodox, or Moslem. Religious leaders of all denominations have been persecuted or killed. In the godless world of communism there is no freedom of religion.

(11) The basic unit of civilization, the family, is being destroyed in all captive nations occupied by the Communists. Youth is being trained in an absolute devotion to communism and is required to spy upon the "correct" thinking and activities of parents and relatives.

(12) Under communism, free labor, organized or unorganized, does not exist. The free press and all other aspects of individual enterprise have been eliminated.

#### CONCLUSION

Because of the foregoing findings, based on testimony sworn to before the committee, we conclude that peaceful coexistence is a Communist myth which can be attained only through the complete surrender of our free way of life for one of slavery under Moscow-controlled communism.



## RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That the President of the United States take the initiative in convening an international conference of all free non-Communist nations for the following purposes:

(a) To express formal recognition of the fact that the Communist governments, which now control over 800 million human beings, are not representative of the will of the people.

(b) To seek agreement whereby the free non-Communist nations acting in concert will withdraw diplomatic recognition from all Moscow-controlled Communist governments.

(c) To reaffirm the friendship and solidarity of the people of the free world with the people and nations enslaved by communism.

(d) To develop a program for the rapid and complete termination of all commercial treaties and trade with Communist governments and the initiation of a program of trade among all non-Communist nations which will strengthen the security of the free world.

(e) To develop an overall, dynamic program for the defeat of the international Communist conspiracy.

2. That the President immediately establish the national military units authorized under section 101 (a) (1) of the Mutual Security Act of 1951, as amended. Such national military units will demonstrate by deed to the millions of people held captive within the Communist empire that we are firmly allied with them in their hopes and struggles to attain freedom and national independence. This includes large numbers of men conscripted into the Red Army and other military establishments under Communist control.

3. That Congress enact H. R. 8000, known as the Political Asylum Act of 1954, to provide for the effective reestablishment of selected escapees in the free world.

4. That peaceful coexistence be clearly identified as a Communist myth. It should be rejected on the grounds that it is impossible for a civilization based on a belief in Almighty God, to coexist with an aggressive criminal conspiracy dedicated to the destruction of civilization and the enslavement of all mankind.

5. That an International Juridical Commission be established within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization so that Communist crimes perpetrated against humanity be fully recorded, and officially noted for prosecution.

6. That this report and the record of testimony be transmitted to the United States Ambassador to the United Nations with the request that they be made available to the delegates of the other member nations so that the world may see the incriminating evidence against the international conspirators who seek to destroy nations and individuals, religion and education, free labor, free enterprise, free speech, free press, and freedom itself.











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