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Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the American left and the TV-media apparatus has now embarked on what I believe to be one of the most significant propaganda crusades in recent history—underplaying the brutal bloodbaths of Communist takeovers and hailing the conquering tyrants as an “improvement” over their former regimes. This blatant rewriting of history overlooks the clear, tragic, and barbarian record of communism in dealing with conquered peoples throughout the world. The New York Times has taken an early lead in the propaganda mill with such dishonest reporting as Sydney Schanberg’s April 13, 1975, lead article, the headline of which proclaimed: “Indochina Without Americans; For Most, a Better Life,” and Fox Butterfield’s piece which sets the tone in blazing heading in their April 27, 1975 edition, “Communist Rule Will Be Disciplined, Moralistic.”

It is hard to blame these reporters for their poor reporting since the Times has had a clear line in the past 25 years which has peddled reporting ranging from a soft to an approving approach. Who can forget their Herbert Matthews articles on good old Fidel Castro in the late 1950’s?

Their news morgues must contain the same clips and records of former and present Communist atrocities as are available to you and me—why don’t they use them? Consider this brief summation of recent Communist genocide and criminal brutality which they conveniently overlook:

In the Soviet Union, the most conservative estimate of people killed by the Reds during the various purges which followed the revolution is in excess of 20 million.

In Communist China, at least 30 million people were slaughtered in political liquidation campaigns from 1949 to 1958.

In Tibet, one of the most horrendous genocides was inflicted on a small nation resulting in the extermination of 300,000.

In North Vietnam, to solidify their hold, at least 50,000 countrymen were executed in the land reform programs of the 1950’s.

In South Vietnam, civilian victims of Communist terror from 1957 through 1971 is over 36,000.

Reports from Cambodia and Vietnam right now—repeat, right now—indicate executions and a reign of terror as a part of Communist takeover.

The records do not stop there. The staggering loss of life extends to Eastern Europe and Cuba which are detailed later in these remarks. It is this broad picture that liberal reporters overlook in their effort to rewrite history sympathetically to Communist butchers.

Having read thousands of articles over the past 25 years on the subject to communism and having become accustomed to the managed news and brainwashing technique of the left, I did not think I could ever read an article which would top them all. The Schanberg article clearly does top them all. It is the most dishonest, propagandistic article on com-

munism I have ever seen. In it he says “it will be nice when Americans get out of the killing business in Indochina” and “it is difficult to imagine how their lives could be anything but better with the Americans gone.”

His anti-American posturing is bad enough but he arrogantly ignores the operating principles of communism to mislead his readers by flat out referring to their brutality and murder as—quote—abnormal behavior—unquote, clearly implying this is isolated and not to be confused with their expected actions. Note his entire quote:

Wars nourish brutality and sadism, and sometimes certain people are executed by the victors but it would be tendentious to forecast such abnormal behavior as a national policy under a Communist government once the war is over.

This might be tendentious from his biased point of view, Mr. Speaker, but any objective study of Communist tactics, past and present, will belie his assertion. What normally happens is twofold: First, their executions, reeducation programs, concentration camps, repressions are done outside of the coverage of TV cameras and the sight of reporters like Schanberg who does not want to admit they happen anyway; second, a silence, a cold-blooded calm comes over the country whose borders are sealed, whose communications with the rest of the world are curtailed.

The result of this is that suppliant reporters like Schanberg will call this silence “peace.”

Mr. Speaker, I cite here just some of the record of communism which has been normal—not abnormal. While it always can be hoped the Communists will turn from their bloodthirsty ways, it is irresponsible to rewrite history in this way, especially when they have their anti-American knives whetted so sharply. Schanberg alludes to the hopes that the “more gentle and flexible Khymer character” will be reflected in a Cambodian Communist government, rather than the rigid outlook of Peking or Hanoi.

“Some critics of American policy in Indochina have gone so far as to predict that the peninsula will become a virtual paradise once the Americans have gone,” he observes, while not really countering these gratuitous pro-Communist remarks with a cold, realistic appraisal of what has been their historical pattern and might very well happen.

This effort of the American left to rewrite history in a way which is favorable to communism is not new. It requires, however, that those of us not blinded by détente, accommodation with our enemies or liberal myopia on world communism must see to it that the record is set straight.

ATROCITIES IN VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA

The present tragic events now unfolding in Cambodia and South Vietnam raise ominous signs once again of the prospects of a Communist-style bloodbath in Southeast Asia. It is urgent that the on-going controversy over the fact or fiction of bloodbaths not be allowed to place in jeopardy the lives of those

marked for extinction by the North Vietnamese, the Vietcong, and the Kymer Rouge.

The liberal press and those apologists who blindly belittle the possibility of large-scale reprisals against the South Vietnamese and Cambodians, whose only crime was their quest for freedom, must not be permitted to forget the mass slaughter at Hue or Dak Son or the estimated 36,000 civilians killed by Communist terrorists between 1957 and 1971. Those are recent history. The liberal, of course, sneers, that the Stalinist purges or even the Chinese mass executions of the early fifties is no longer their policy.

Nor should they be permitted with impunity to ignore or explain away the staggering elimination of literally millions of human beings by the Soviet Union and Red China, whose vicious Communist ideology is used to rationalize such wholesale butchery in the name of “the revolution.”

Those who have been pushing détente, East-West trade, cultural relations, and other American-Soviet exchanges must be reminded that such policies aided and abetted the same Kremlin whose war materiel, in the hands of the Vietnamese Communist troops, directly contributed to the loss of over 50,000 American lives and made the present tragedy in Vietnam possible.

Unclassified telegrams from our Embassy in Saigon in the last several months have described the brutal, cold-blooded killing of innocent South Vietnamese civilians, law enforcement personnel, South Vietnamese Government officials and employees and captured South Vietnamese soldiers, as told by refugees from the occupied areas. As the United States lost over 50,000 American lives in Vietnam helping to defend South Vietnam against such Communist violence and terror, I am introducing legislation to establish a select House Committee to investigate and report to the House all accounts of executions, abductions, willful wounding and other denials of basic human rights in Southeast Asia by all Communist forces against civilians, military, police and government personnel and others of the countries of Southeast Asia, the United States and other countries.

A recent State Department telegram from Saigon describes the killing of about 300 South Vietnam Government employees and policies, as related by an eyewitness to a Saigon police captain. Families of the victims were led out of town by several guards and explosions in their midst, presumably mortars, killed some and wounded others before the panicked crowd ran into the woods.

Another telegram dispatched from the U.S. Mission in Saigon recently read:

According to refugees that had witnessed several executions carried out by VC local forces and infrastructure, on outskirts of Danang GVN policemen were beheaded and groups of soldiers tied together and killed with grenades. Based on their observations, refugees said that it appeared that VC local forces were systematically liquidating GVN security personnel. They added that regular NVA forces did not appear to be participating in the executions.

State Department telegram No. 2492 reads in part:

We have received report from GVN official who had interviewed number National police escapees from MR-1 who was hiding near his home when place was pointed out to Communists by National policeman who was being detained by Communists. Official was pulled from his hiding place and executed on spot. When his mother complained that her son had done nothing to deserve execution, mother was executed by Communist soldier who fired single pistol shot into her head.

Another recent State Department telegram alleges further brutalities:

The monks in a Ban Me Thuot pagoda were accused of helping people hide from the "PRG" (they had in fact sheltered and fed a number of escaped) and were led to the marketplace in Ban Me Thuot, the day after the fighting stopped. Several thousand other people were also assembled there. All were told to sit down.

The telegram continues:

Then local "PRG" cadre walked through the crowd, pointing out GVN (Government of Viet Nam) employees and police known to them. About 300, according to the monk, were selected and taken off to one side. The presiding cadre delivered a lengthy harangue, accusing them of being American lackeys and spies, and enemies of the people. They were all shot and killed.

In his letter of April 18, 1975, to selected Members of Congress, President George Meany of the AFL-CIO provided still other accounts of Communist barbarism. The information, received by phone from Saigon on April 18, 1975, is a rough account from the CVT, South Vietnam's confederation of labor. Mr. Meany noted that—

As in the case of every other Communist takeover in every other country, the free trade union movement is an early and specially-targeted victim.

The cases cited by the CVT are as follows:

In Quang Tin, they rounded up all of the police force. Some were shot out of hand. With others, they drove nails through their heels, wired them together and led them off to the jungle. That was the last seen of them. Some of the military were also treated in the same way.

In Danang, CVT officers were arrested, required to turn over all of their records. The CVT members of the transportation workers (lambretta drivers, etc.) were pressed into driving supplies to the front. This report was received from a CVT man who escaped and was barely coherent.

At Ban Me Thuot, one of the CVT people escaped from there. The population of the town was assembled and divided into different categories. All of the leading citizens were taken away and have not been seen since. The males between 16 and 22 were drafted into the military forces and sent directly into combat. Each family was re-designated and put into a peoples' union to mobilize a labor force and were subject to "people's justice." The former union officials were put on a non-subsistence ration.

In Binh Long, the plantation workers' representative was shot and others were arrested.

In Binh Duong, the president of the CVT local was arrested and one of the CVT cadre was shot.

In Quang Ngai, the president of the CVT provincial council was arrested.

In Quang Tin, the secretary general of the

CVT provincial council was arrested, together with all other members of the council. They have not been seen since the fall of Danang.

In Pleiku, both of the CVT provincial representatives were arrested.

In Kontum, the provincial council was captured and has not been seen or heard of since.

In Hue, the president of the provincial council was arrested, and the CVT has no details of what has happened.

In Dalat, the same situation prevails.

In Nahrang, the president of the railway workers' union, who is also the vice president of the CVT council and leader of the workers' party, was sought out and arrested and the CVT has no further word of his whereabouts or fate.

On Saturday, April 19, the Washington Post ran a front-page treatment of the current controversy over whether a bloodbath will ensue in South Vietnam if the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong take over all of Vietnam. The Post item, actually two separate articles, was headlined: "Bloodbath, A Theory Becomes a Fear."

One excerpt from the article by Michael Getler and Marilyn Berger reads:

And, if historical patterns are a guide, many officials believe it will take many more months for an actual "bloodbath" in the south to unfold if it is going to happen.

Well, I have news for the officials mentioned above—it has happened in South Vietnam, starting back in 1957.

In its very useful compendium, "The Human Cost of Communism in Vietnam," issued by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1972, the total civilian victims of Communist terror in South Vietnam from 1957 through November 1971 amounted to 36,181 killed and 53,758 abducted. This did not include the estimated 10,000 civilians who lost their lives during the 1968 Tet offensive or the more than 3,000 civilians disinterred from the graves at Hue, or the estimated 2,000 killed during the second phase of the Hue massacre.

While some may argue over the semantics of the term "bloodbath"—how many does one have to murder and in what period of time? The sad case of Hue certainly qualifies. Some bodies were mutilated and others were found in conditions indicating that death had been caused by being buried alive. Among those found were Mr. Tran Dien, a Senator in South Vietnam's National Assembly, four officials of the Vietnam Nationalist Party, hamlet chiefs and their wives, teachers, shopkeepers, students, and children. The victims also included two French priests and three German doctors from the Hue University Medical School.

Survivors told of the Vietcong's summary trials, torture and condemnation of civilians—including women and school-boys—on such charges as being a "reactionary" or "opposing the revolution."

A father of nine was buried alive because he had a son in the South Vietnamese Army. Some were forced to dig their own graves, and many who were called by Vietcong agents to attend a political education meeting were never seen again by their families. A Buddhist monk at the Tang Quang Tu Pagoda re-

ported overhearing Vietcong execution parties working each night during the first 2 weeks of February 1968.

Although the massacre at Dak Son did not approach the magnitude of the Hue bloodbath, pictures of Dak Son babies killed at pointblank range by flamethrowers—such pictures were in the past available for the asking from the Defense Department—convey the unbelievable depravity of Communist terror.

Dak Son, a hamlet of 2,000 Montagnard people consisting of mostly unarmed women and children and defended by a small militia, was attacked by the Vietcong with machinegun, mortar, and rocket fire—and 60 flamethrowers. The militiamen were surrounded and isolated, and for the rest of the night ignored by the marauders. The Vietcong were not intent on a military victory but on a cold-blooded, monumental massacre of the Dak Son inhabitants. Houses and inhabitants were set afire by the Vietcong along with everything in sight: trees, fences, gardens, chickens, grain from the annual harvest. Structures that withstood the fiery attack were leveled by grenades. According to the above-cited Senate report, all told, 252 of the unarmed Montagnards had been murdered and another 100 kidnaped; 500 were missing, either dead or fled into the hills. The victims were almost all women and children. The dead adults were covered with scorched mats and blankets salvaged from the ashes, the bodies of the babies were laid in bamboo baskets. One man lost 13 members of his family.

While the case of Dak Son was exceedingly brutal, many other villages suffered essentially the same fate. As early as January 1967 the U.S. News & World Report was pointing out that the Communists themselves were claiming 7,559 hamlets destroyed by them from 1961 to 1965. As this weekly stated in its January 16, 1967 issue:

Every form of murder weapon is used. Mines on highways take a heavy toll. Forty-eight farm workers on the way to harvest rice, died in a bus that struck a mine near Tuy Hoa last February 14. Twenty-six civilians died in a mined bus in Kien Tuong Province on January 18, 1966.

Dynamite killed 27 South Vietnamese, 12 Americans, 2 Filipinos, 1 Frenchman and 1 German in a Saigon restaurant on June 25, 1965.

A bomb alongside the U.S. Embassy in downtown Saigon killed 18 civilians and injured a hundred others.

Hand grenades—four of them—were thrown into a village theater near Can Tho in the Mekong Delta. Result: 108 people killed or wounded. Of the dead, 24 were women and children. Says a U.S. official: "This was a typical Viet Cong act of terror. It bore no relation to any military actions."

In the March 8, 1967, issue of the Chicago Tribune, there appeared an article by Chesley Manly entitled "Vietcong Amass Murder Total of 25,000 Civilians." The lead paragraph read:

Propaganda as a weapon of war probably has never been as effective as it is in the Viet Nam war. There is world-wide agitation to stop the bombing in North Viet Nam, because some civilians are unavoidably killed, whereas callous indifference to the planned and systematic slaughter of civilians by the

Communists in South Viet Nam is almost equally universal.

To be sure, efforts were made by publications such as the U.S. News & World Report, the Reader's Digest, the National Observer, the Chicago Tribune, and others to publicize the hard-to-believe brutality of the Vietnamese Communists. John Hubbell's article in the Reader's Digest of several years ago entitled "The Blood-Red Hands of Ho Chi Minh" is another fine example of attempts by some journalistic sources to tell the world of the latest of communism's "historical patterns"—to quote the Post article—in the area of human slaughter. To all of us here in the United States who treasure our right and freedom to vote, this excerpt from Mr. Hubbell's article, concerning a VC warning to those who dared to go to the polls in an upcoming election, is difficult to envision:

The V.C. delivered a similar warning to the residents of a hamlet not far from Danang. All were herded before the home of their chief. While they and the chief's pregnant wife and four children were forced to look on, the chief's tongue was cut out. Then his genital organs were sliced off and sewn inside his bloody mouth. As he died, the V.C. went to work on his wife, slashing open her womb. Then, the nine-year-old son: a bamboo lance was rammed through one ear and out the other. Two more of the chief's children were murdered the same way. The V.C. did not harm the five-year-old daughter—not physically; they simply left her crying, holding her dead mother's hand.

Gen. Lewis W. Walt, who commanded Marine Corps forces in Vietnam, had this to say about the Hubbell article:

This article accurately depicts the true nature of the enemy in South Vietnam. I saw the little boy with his hands cut off. I have seen heads impaled on stakes, and disemboweled bodies.

I learned early in my two years of duty in South Vietnam, fighting and working alongside the South Vietnamese forces, that the communist terrorism described in this article is no mere accident of war but a program of systematic butchery. This deliberate and brutal assault against the grassroots citizenry is one reason why we who have responded to South Vietnam's call for assistance believe devoutly that our efforts to save this nation are worthwhile, necessary and important.

If one finds it hard to believe General Walt's claim of systematic butchery, read a similar account told by the late Dr. Tom Dooley who helped half a million Vietnamese refugees escape North Vietnamese Communist terror in 1954. Dr. Dooley, recounting how a teacher in the village of Haiduong was accused of teaching religion to seven of his pupils, stated in his book, "Deliver Us From Evil":

Now two Viet Minh guards went to each child and one of them firmly grasped the head between his hands. The other then rammed a wooden chopped chopstick into each ear. He jammed it in with all his force. The stick split the ear canal and tore the ear drum. The shrieking of the children was heard all over the village.

Both ears were stabbed in this fashion. The children screamed and wrestled and suffered horribly. Since their hands were tied behind them, they could not pull the wood out of their ears. They shook their heads and squirmed about, trying to make the

sticks fall out. Finally they were able to dislodge them by scraping their heads against the ground.

And the teacher, whose unforgivable crime was the conducting of classes in religion, Dr. Dooley continued:

As for the teacher, he must be prevented from teaching again. Having been forced to witness the atrocity performed on his pupils, he endured a more horrible one himself. One soldier held his head while another grasped the victim's tongue with a crude pair of pliers and pulled it far out. A third guard cut off the tip of the teacher's tongue with his bayonet. Blood spurted into the man's mouth and gushed from his nostrils onto the ground. He could not scream; blood ran into his throat. When the soldiers let him loose he fell to the ground vomiting blood; the scent of blood was all over the courtyard.

Is it any wonder that waves of refugees streamed south recently to escape the Communist hordes in view of their long established record of brutality and terror, only too well known to the South Vietnamese.

James Cary, writing in the June 19, 1969, issue of the Copley News Service, gives a chilling idea of what would happen if the Vietnamese Communists took over South Vietnam, based on the Hue massacre:

Nationality, occupation or political background was no protection. Scores of Buddhists in Hue's strong, anti-government resistance movement were slaughtered. So too were American and German civilians, French priests, South Vietnamese Government officials, anyone with relatives in the South Vietnamese army, village chiefs, political leaders, anyone who worked for the Americans, and particularly anyone who was known for his opposition to the Viet Cong.

Current reports from Saigon confirm only too well the accuracy of this oft-repeated Communist formula.

#### CAMBODIA AND LAOS

The traditional use of terror was, and is, being experienced in Cambodia and Laos also.

In 1972, the House Internal Security Committee—this Committee was abolished by the House by a parliamentary slight-of-hand without a direct up-or-down vote on January 14 of this year—heard two witnesses then serving with AID in connection with the committee's continuing series of hearings on the theory and practice of communism. One of the witnesses, Dr. Charles Louis Weldon, was one of a number of U.S. citizens who, in conjunction with refugees from Russia, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, East Germany, et cetera, sought to help the Committee to update information on present conditions under Communist regimes.

In describing the bloodbath at Phu Nong for members of the committee, Dr. Weldon broke down at one point, saying—

I am sorry, but these are—I feel rather foolish, but these are, these were good friends of mine.

The Phu Nong incident involved Laotians fleeing from the Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese forces. As Dr. Weldon describes it—

The main body of this group slept in a

little high mountain valley and bivouacked there. During the night the enemy spotted them and just about dawn, as it started to break light, the enemy opened up on this group of people with mortars and automatic weapons, and so forth, and they killed probably around 1,500 or 1,600 of them; they just slaughtered them.

Sydney Schanberg, writing in the New York Times of March 2, 1975, exposed Communist cruelty and terror in Cambodia. His article, titled "The 'Enemy' is Red, Cruel and, After 5 Years, Little Known," is the Vietnam experience repeated all over again. This article contrasts with repeated efforts of the Times to downplay Communist atrocities. Even in their managed news policy, the New York Times occasionally allows segments of the truth about the Reds to surface.

Schanberg wrote:

On various fronts, they have burned whole villages, murdered unarmed peasants and even sometimes mutilated bodies.

Newspaper headlines alone tell the all-too-familiar story of Communist butchery, in this case the victim being Cambodia. The Emergency Committee for a Free Vietnam, to show the similarities of Communist terror in Vietnam and Cambodia, issued selected examples of Communist atrocities in Cambodia from 1967 to 1975. Some of the news headlines read: "Cambodia Says Reds Executed 300 Villagers"; "Murder of 200 by Reds Reported in Cambodia"; "Monk Says North Executed Villagers."

Donald Kirk, writing in the July 14, 1974, issue of the Chicago Tribune, states in his article, "Khmer Rouge's Bloody War on Trapped Villagers":

You can hardly believe the depth of the cruelty of the Khmer Rouge—Cambodian Communists—until you talk to those who escaped from Khmer Rouge control.

"They killed people by beating them and shooting them," says Meak Sam Hon, chief of a village whose inhabitants fled from the Khmer Rouge. "They said people were enemy agents and led them to the woods and shot them."

"Sometimes they killed one member of a family as an example," said a 50-year-old woman named Un Chumn, "or they killed whole families. They led people to the forests in chains for executions. They put five people at a time in graves. People had to dig their own graves."

These accounts certainly lend credence to the April 20, 1975, news item in the Washington Star-News which began:

Cambodian refugees in Thailand said yesterday that Khmer Rouge forces executed 43 former government soldiers after taking control of a provincial town, and the Communist radio said most top leaders of the fallen government who remained in Phnom Penh had been beheaded.

A past master in bloodbath refinements, in addition to the Soviet Union, is, of course, Red China. We are again indebted to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee for its appraisal of the loss of life in China since the Communists took over in 1949. The subcommittee, in its publication, "The Human Cost of Communism in China," presents an analysis of the Chinese bloodbath by a lifetime student and one of this country's foremost authorities on China, Prof. Richard L. Walker, now director of the

Institute of International Studies at the University of South Carolina. Professor Walker, after a thorough study of the brutalities of Mao Tse-tung and his fellow bandits since 1949, estimates that from the time of the first civil war (1927-36) until today communism in China has cost a minimum of 34 million lives and that the total may run as high as 64 million lives.

Professor Walker estimates, for instance, that the number of deaths from the political liquidation campaigns (1949-58) range from 15 to 30 million; deaths accruing from the "Great Leap Forward" and the communes ranged from 1 to 2 million; deaths in forced labor camps and frontier development ranged from 15 to 25 million.

Life magazine, in its January 19, 1953, issue, gave an excellent illustration of Red Chinese inhumanity toward their fellow Chinese countrymen. Graphically displayed in a series of photos was the trial and execution of Huang Chin-chi and 30 other "despotic landlords." These pictures, actually taken by a Communist photographer, were smuggled into Hong Kong by a Chinese defector.

An eyewitness to the beheading of 13 Chinese students, Rev. Raymond de Jaegher, can attest to the inhuman nature of the Chinese Communists. In his book, "The Enemy Within," Father de Jaegher tells how a whole village was assembled, including the young school-children, to witness the execution of 13 students from the anti-Communist school in Chang Ts'un:

Moving as quick as light from right to left as we watched him, the swordsman went down the line, beheading each kneeling student with one swift stroke, moving from one to the next without ever looking to see the clean efficiency of his blow.

Speaking of the young children—in this case they were pale, disturbed and some were vomiting—who were forced to witness these executions, Father de Jaegher observed:

After this I often saw children forced to witness executions. The first time they were horror-stricken and emotionally disturbed, often sick at their stomach as these children were. The second time they were less disturbed, and the third time many of them watched the grisly show with keen interest.

This was but one of the many experiences the clergyman endured under Communist rule. Chapter X of his book is entitled "Communist Tortures" and details various fiendish methods employed by the Chinese Reds against innocent Chinese victims.

#### TIBET

The slaughter of thousands of Tibetans can be laid at the doorstep of the same Chinese Reds. The International Commission of Jurists has branded this systematic annihilation of Tibetan life as "genocide." Three times, according to a Time magazine article of September 13, 1968, the United Nations has censured Peking for "violating fundamental human rights and freedom." In the same article it is estimated that 300,000 of Tibet's 1,300,000 people have been exterminated, many by savage methods, since the first Peking general moved into Lhasa's Palace of the Gods in 1950.

As in the case of China and other countries, the cold impersonality of statistics is diffused by specific experiences which illustrate not only the extent but the viciousness of Communist conquest.

Lowell Thomas, the famous author, newsman and world traveler, has been for many years intimately associated with the affairs of Tibet. He and his son, Lowell, Jr., were the sixth and seventh Americans ever to visit Tibet in 1949. Since that time he has devoted much time in helping the Tibetan refugees who have fled from Red Chinese persecution.

His recounting of Communist brutalities in Tibet which appeared in the December 1960 issue of Reader's Digest, has a familiar ring when matched with the experiences of Reverend de Jaegher. Citing such methods as burning, crucifixion, drownings, and burial alive, Mr. Thomas described the fate of two lamas at the Litang Monastery:

At the Litang monastery they compelled villagers to witness a fiendish test: Whether lamas could save their own lives. Two lamas, Nori Gen and No-Sog Gen were brought out and shot—but not fatally. Then boiling water poured over Nori Gen and he was strangled. No-Sog Gen was stoned and finally felled with an ax. The helplessness of the lamas was, according to the Communists, proof that they could not help others.

#### KOREA

The all-too-familiar pattern of brutalities against innocent and defenseless civilians was again repeated in Korea. Defense Department photos illustrate how many Korean civilians joined the long list of Communist victims. But, for the first time, American citizens fell victim to Communist savagery.

At the very beginning of the war, when stories of Communist atrocities were brought to the attention of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, he set up a commission to record these excesses for future reference. In December 1953, a subcommittee of the Senate Government Operations Committee held 3 days of hearings, receiving testimony from 29 witnesses, of whom 23 were American servicemen who were either actual survivors or eye-witnesses of Communist war atrocities. Testimony was also heard from Gen. Matthew Ridgway, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, and other former Army field officers in Korea, and from officials of the War Crimes Division. Affidavits, statements, photographs and other official records were introduced in evidence to corroborate testimony of the various witnesses.

The annual report of that committee for the year 1953 had this to say:

It was established that American war prisoners were either willfully murdered at the time of capture or shortly following capture, or were beaten, starved and tortured; molested, displayed and humiliated by and before civilians, and/or forced to march long distances without benefit of adequate food, water, shelter, clothing or medical care, to Communist prison camps, and there to experience further acts of inhuman indignities.

The committee found that the abuses committed against American servicemen were not just the spontaneous excesses of individuals during wartime:

It was determined that the sickening and

inhuman treatment of American prisoners was a result of a distinct and calculated pattern of physical and mental torture perpetrated on a Communist command level to indoctrinate, humiliate and exterminate American and Allied war prisoners.

Concerning the fate of American POW's during the Korean war, the committee observed that—

The total number of American prisoners who were repatriated as a result of Little Switch and Big Switch was 3,508, while the conservative estimate of the War Crimes Division in Korea for fatalities, as a result of war crimes against American prisoners, was 5,639. Thus, approximately two-thirds of American servicemen, who were taken prisoner, died from acts of barbarianism, which was part of a conscious policy of the North Korean and Chinese Communist governments.

The similarity between the killing of American servicemen in Korea and the tragic fate of the Katyn Forest massacre victims was noted by a select committee of the House which thoroughly investigated Katyn in the early 1950's:

This committee noted the striking similarity between crimes committed against the Poles at Katyn and those being inflicted on American and other United Nations troops in Korea. Communist tactics being used in Korea are identical to those followed at Katyn.

#### THEORY AND PRACTICE OF COMMUNIST BLOODBATHS

The purpose of the infamous Communist bloodbath is to liquidate, or at a very minimum intimidate, present or future opposition to a Communist takeover or control of a nation state. Bloodbathing one's opposition is as ingrained, as integral an element to Marxist-Leninist governments as the system of checks and balances is to the American form of government.

#### U.S.S.R.—LENIN PERIOD

Authors Alexander Dalin and George Breslauer wrote in "Political Terror in Communist Systems" that—

After a Communist regime seizes central power, it tends to resort to political terror as part of an effort to consolidate its position. At this stage terror serves first to assure the survival of the revolutionary regime and second to extend and tighten its control. Its primary functions here are the elimination of pre-revolutionary and other active adversaries by means of other than open combat and the deterrence of hostile acts by potential enemies.

In discussing the "takeover stage" the authors revealed the following candid but callous passage of a dialog with Lenin:

LENIN. Do you really believe that we can be victorious without the cruelest revolutionary terror?

I. N. STEINBERG. Then why do we bother with a Commissariat of Justice? Let's call it frankly the Commissariat for Social Extermination and be done with it!

LENIN. Well put . . . that's exactly what it should be . . . But we can't say that.

When the subject of Communist bloodbaths is reviewed one thinks, primarily of the wholesale slaughter perpetrated by Joseph Stalin. However, the Soviet dictator was merely following the traditions established by his predecessor Vladimir Lenin whose infant regime conducted the first official purge of its political enemies by a Communist state.

Aleksandri Solzhenitsyn in his renowned work, "The Gulag Archipelago," stated that when Kerensky's anti-Communist government replaced that of the czar in 1917, it abolished capital punishment except in the army and in the front-line areas for the crimes of murder, rape, assault, and pillage which was widespread at that time. Lenin's Bolsheviks immediately jumped upon this exception and their propaganda slogans demanded the elimination of all capital punishment. Then, in October 1917, Lenin successfully engineered his takeover of the Kerensky government and by June of 1918 had fully restored capital punishment. How did the Kremlin rationalize this inconsistency? It merely gave its developing bloodletting another name or, as Solzhenitsyn observed:

Thus the death penalty was rechristened "the supreme measure"—no longer a "punishment" but a means of social defense.

He stated that in the 20 central provinces of Russia during a period of 16 months—June 1918 to October 1919—more than 16,000 persons were shot:

In all our centuries, . . . had there ever been a period of such cruelties and so much killing as during the post-October Civil War?

And yet more periods of the very same cruelties were yet to come.

#### U.S.S.R.—STALIN PERIOD

Those who doubt that Communist conquest and prolonged or extended bloodbaths are synonymous should read the extensive work, "The Great Terror," by the British authority on the U.S.S.R., Robert Conquest, dealing with the Soviet purges of the thirties. In 1971, Mr. Conquest was requested to assess in a systematic manner the total human cost of Soviet communism. The resulting study, "The Human Cost of Soviet Communism," issued by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, estimates that well over 20 million human beings were executed or killed in other ways by the Soviet Communist authorities since the revolution. Mr. Conquest points out that this is a conservative estimate, which is almost certainly too low and that the real figure might well be 50 percent greater than this.

Mr. Conquest's breakdown of the alarming figure given above for the Stalin period is as follows:

Taking the conservative figure of an average over the period 1936-50 inclusive, of an 8 million population of the camp (concentration camp) add a 10-percent death rate per annum, we get a total casualty figure of 12 million dead. To this we must add a million for the executions of the period, certainly a low estimate. Then there are the casualties of the pre-Yezhov era of Stalin's rule 1930-36: This includes as its component the 3½ million who perished in the collectivization itself, plus the similar number sent to the camps where virtually all died in the following years; again minimal estimates. Thus we get a figure of 20 million dead, which is almost certainly too low, and might require an increase of 50 percent or so, of the debit balance of the Stalin regime for 23 years.

#### UKRAINE

Although Soviet persecution of the people of the Ukraine was prolonged and brutal, the case of the bloodbath at Vinnytsa was especially shocking. In its sum-

mary report of 1954, the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression stated:

One of the most prolonged periods of terror and mass executions carried out by the Communists occurred in Ukraine in what is called the Vinnytsa region. An estimated 10,000 persons were executed during 1937-1938 in Vinnytsa and buried in 38 mass graves.

The report continues:

This was only 1 of 19 similar episodes carried out during that period in various regions of Ukraine, according to witnesses. It is estimated that more than 200,000 persons were executed in a single year. Eyewitness testimony revealed that this mass murder was committed because the Ukrainians refused to submit and acknowledge Communist rule over their country.

A resident of the community of Vinnytsa, Mr. Petro Pavlovych, testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1959 on the Vinnytsa massacre. In addition to his tragic testimony, he displayed pictures of the bodies taken by a Ukrainian commission which investigated this atrocity of which he was a member. The pictures and testimony appear in part 2 of the series "Crimes of Khrushchev" issued by HCUA.

The elimination of native anti-Communist adversaries in a given target country may be as effectively conducted indirectly as it may be directly. Actually, in some instances, this stratagem can be more efficient particularly if one's enemy does the liquidating of one's anti-Communist opponents because both deplete their resources simultaneously at no cost to the ultimate beneficiary, as the following examples demonstrate.

#### SLOVAKIA

During World War II the Slovaks rose up against their oppressors, the Nazis and their collaborators, and this rebellion was in keeping with the "Christmas agreement" of 1943 which called for the restoration of Czechoslovakia in "close collaboration with the Soviet Union." However, the U.S.S.R. had no intention of collaborating with the anti-Nazi partisans whom it had encouraged to revolt and who in fact did revolt in August 1944. Advancing Soviet military forces were nearby the area of rebellion in the Slovak mountains when suddenly they came to a halt, a contrived halt which just somehow stretched into a 3-month delay and conveniently happened to span the period of the uprising—or just long enough for six German divisions to move in and crush the Slovak insurgents.

Moscow even sacrificed its own Slovakian Communist partisan allies in order to force the entire underground apparatus to expose itself to superior German military might on the expectation that Soviet army divisions would soon be fighting at its side.

Those whom the Nazis failed to kill were liquidated by the Soviets or by Slovak Communists. Dr. Joseph Pauco, a Slovak journalist, testified before the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression on this insidious form of Communist bloodbathing:

The Soviets' school of partisans were parachuted in the Spring of 1944 in Slovakia, in

the mountains of Slovakia, and then in August 1944 they organized a so-called uprising against the Slovak Government, and they shot hundreds and thousands of Slovaks of anti-Communist patriots. . . . All the people who declined to collaborate with the Communist leaders in 1944 were shot. . . . Many innocent people, farmers, workers, priests . . . some congressmen, were shot by the Communists. They were shot by the Soviets, by the Soviets' partisans and by the collaborators in Slovakia.

Dr. Pauco testified that within 3 months 50,000 were shot and several thousand more were sent by the NKVD to Siberian concentration camps and to the mines in Dumbas (Siberia). During these hearings, Mr. Philip A. Hrobak, president of the Slovak League of America, also testified that by 1945, the Slovaks had been completely abandoned by the United Nations who were not at all interested in their fate. Slovakia was wantonly destroyed, he stated.

The Communist-dominated National Front Government wasted no time in Slovakia. The Slovak National Council, a 50-50 coalition of Communist and Lettrich Democrats nationalized churches, ecclesiastical schools and institutions, confiscated properties, set up concentration camps and "peoples' courts to mete out "justice" to all who opposed the regime, that is, Benes (Eduard Benes, Pres. of Czechoslovakia), the Communists and the USSR.

A wave of ruthless, brutal persecution of all anti-Communist elements ensued. Over 130,000 were placed under arrest, tens of thousands were deported, disenfranchised and dispossessed, and hundreds murdered.

#### POLAND

The U.S.S.R. also utilized its German enemy, in a similar fashion to that of Slovakia, in eradicating the former's future opponents in Poland in 1944. However, prior to that time it had made a notable start.

Poland was partitioned in accordance with the Nazi-Soviet agreement of September 28, 1939—the infamous "Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact." The U.S.S.R. annexed its portion of Poland, forced citizenship upon its inhabitants, and then subjected the Poles to conscription, religious persecution, arrests, executions, and mass deportation.

Between 1939 and 1941, the number of Polish citizens deported to Russia was estimated at 1,692,000 including 230,000 POW's taken in September-October 1939, according to the "Handbook of Communism" edited by Joseph M. Bochenski and Gerhart Niemeyer. The conditions to which they were subjected were so appalling that the mortality rate was about 70 percent. Excluding war casualties, it was estimated that 1,000,000 Polish citizens disappeared as a result of the deportations to the U.S.S.R. during this period.

Among the POW's captured were 15,000 Polish officers, the cream of Polish youth and the future leadership of Poland. They were placed in three camps in Russia: 4,500 in Kozielski; 3,900 in Starobielski; and 6,500 in Ostashkov.

On April 13, 1943, during World War II, the German radio broadcast the announcement that they had discovered in the Smolensk region of the U.S.S.R. mass graves containing the bodies of Polish officers who they charged, had been shot

and buried by their Soviet captors. The Soviets, in turn, countercharged that the Nazis had executed the prisoners in 1941 after their forces had occupied the area. To this the Nazis replied by inviting an International Commission consisting of medical specialists from 12 countries, and a separate nine-man commission of the Polish Red Cross, to conduct an on-the-spot investigation. The members of the commission had complete freedom of movement and all told examined some 1,000 bodies before signing the report. The outcome of the investigation was that the Nazi charge was substantially accepted by the International Commission and by the Polish Red Cross Commission. Several years later a select committee of the House of Representatives, chaired by Congressman RAY MADDEN, verified that this brutal slaughter had indeed been committed by the Soviets.

As stated, the Katyn Forest massacre involved a total of approximately 15,000 Polish POW's, of whom 8,300 to 8,400 were officers. Most of these were reservists, including numerous doctors—approximately 800—engineers, lawyers, and specialists in various areas. Of the 15,000 men, about 4,440 were actually found at Katyn. The 1972 report of the Senate Judiciary's Internal Security Subcommittee, titled "Communist Treatment of Prisoners of War," states:

The bodies discovered in the Katyn Forest left some 11,000 Polish POW's unaccounted for. No trace has ever been found of them. All that is known for certain is that they were moved out of their camps at the same time as the POW's who wound up in the mass graves of Katyn. It is believed by Polish nationals who have investigated the fate of their wartime POW's that many, if not all, were placed on barges and drowned in the White Sea.

Without exception all the victims who were discovered were shot through the back of the head, an almost official Russian form of liquidation—and now popular among many other Communist elements. The victims' hands were tied behind their backs with rope made in the USSR.

The actual murders were performed by the Peoples' Commissariat of Internal Affairs—the infamous Soviet NKVD.

As if Poland had not suffered enough, she was yet to undergo more calamity in August 1944 in a fashion similar to that of Slovakia during the same month whereby Moscow schemed, at no expense to itself, in utilizing the services of her present enemy, Germany, to crush her Polish ally but potentially future opponent.

As the Soviet armies rapidly closed on Warsaw, Radio Moscow began broadcasting incessantly for an armed uprising by the Polish underground against the German occupation forces in the capital city. But unlike the coordinated action between the Allied armies and the Paris underground in the liberation of the French capital, in Poland that never came to pass. When, at the Kremlin's urging, the Polish resistance fighters surfaced in fulfillment of their responsibilities in what they had assumed to be a two-pronged attack on the German forces, the advancing Soviet armies un-

der Marshall Rokossovsky came to an abrupt halt at the city's gates.

For 63 days the Poles fought in anticipation of Soviet military assistance which never materialized. Meanwhile, German infantry and armored divisions were called up to reinforce the German garrison and razed the city at Hitler's order. More than 250,000 Poles, including 40,000 active members of the underground, died in this cleverly calculated, Soviet-inspired, premature uprising—just as the Kremlin had planned. That this was no accident on Moscow's part was proven only a few weeks later in Czechoslovakia when the Soviet armies suddenly stopped and failed to assist the insurgents after having called them forth for the overthrow of the German forces.

#### RUMANIA

Soviet takeover tactics in Rumania facilitated by the former's troops of "liberation" who had entered a country which had already withdrawn from the war and had joined the Allied armies, was typical of the U.S.S.R.'s methods in the other satellites. The natural resistance by Rumanian farmers to the phoney Communist "agrarian reform" program gave the Soviet occupation forces the needed excuse to exercise its techniques of banishment and slave labor

It was estimated that at least 250,000 persons were picked up and placed in concentration camps. During one night in March, 1949, 17,000 families were evicted from their homes. Additionally, 230,000 Rumanian POW's were kept in Russia in labor camps following the war.

In the territories of Bessarabia and Bukovina, which had been annexed by Russia as provided by her deal with the Nazis in August 1939, 850,000 Rumanian citizens were deported between the years 1940-41, and after 1944. Also, in 1944-45, about 80,000 Moldavians, including political types, functionaries, officers, specialists, and students were sent to the U.S.S.R.

All together, about 1,267,000 Rumanians were deported to slave labor camps in the Soviet Union where they worked under the most inhumane conditions until death freed them mercifully from their captors.

There were 40 concentration camps in Rumania and at least 5 camps in Russia where other Rumanians were held. And Rumania herself represented a countrywide prison in which only reliable Communists were allowed to leave on Communist business.

#### THE BALTIC STATES

Immediately after the annexation of the Baltic States in 1940, the Soviets began to resort to mass deportation, executions and colonization in an attempt to break the ingrained opposition to Russian rule. The NKVD or secret police, moving in the wake of the Soviet armies, purged the Baltic nations of those elements and classes of society which Lenin and Stalin had worked so extensively to liquidate in the USSR for over 20 years.

The NKVD were well prepared for its task. In Lithuania, for example, thanks to the plantation of a large number of its agents and other subversives—under cover of the mutual assistance pact of

October 1937 between Russia and Lithuania—the NKVD worked jointly with the Lithuanian Communist Party in preparation of a 14-point classification of categories who would be the prime subjects for extermination and deportation.

On November 28, 1940, the Lithuanian People's Commissar for the Interior issued an order about the negligence in the accounting system concerning "anti-Soviet and socially alien elements." The 14 categories encompassed, in effect, the "alien elements" who composed the entire Lithuanian establishment from both the public and private sectors of Lithuanian life. They were:

1. Members of Russian pre-revolutionary political parties (refugees);
2. Members of Lithuanian contemporary political parties (Christian Democrats, Nationalists, University Students who were members of Student organizations);
3. Members of the State Police, Gendarmerie, and Prison-Wardens;
4. Officers of the former Tsarist Army, and other anti-Bolshevik Armies of 1918-20;
5. Officers and Military Judges of the Polish and Lithuanian Armies;
6. Volunteers to all non-Bolshevik Armies;
7. Persons removed from the Communist Party;
8. Refugees, political Emigres, re-Emigres, and Smugglers;
9. Citizens of Foreign States, representatives of Foreign firms, etc.;
10. Persons who had traveled abroad; who were in contact with representatives of Foreign powers;
11. Officials of Lithuanian Ministries;
12. The Red Cross staff and refugees from Poland;
13. Persons active in local religious organizations; clergymen and secretaries, and "active members of religious communities;"
14. Aristocrats, Industrialists, Hotel and Restaurant proprietors.

The purge was carried out under the direct orders of Gen. Ivan Serov, then Deputy Commissar of the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet purge in the Baltic States had not been entirely completed when Germany attacked Russia in June 1941. Thus it was speeded up, and in one night, June 14, the most massive manhunt in history took place. Thirty thousand Lithuanians were seized and deported to the U.S.S.R. that evening. Additionally, in Estonia, about 10,000 persons were arrested and sent in cattle-cars to the same destination. Finally, in Latvia 15,600 prisoners, including 1,877 schoolchildren were herded to northern Siberia. Most of these people died but a few escaped and gave testimony which is now part of the public record on Soviet genocide.

During the 1940-41 occupation of the Baltic nations the overall losses through death by deportation were: Lithuania, 65,000; Latvia, 62,000; and Estonia, 61,000. The Soviet armies retreated shortly after these deportations but returned later to reestablish control over the area and to launch a second and even greater wave of purges during the period 1944-45.

In Latvia, at least 290,000 underwent the tragedy of forcible expulsion. In Estonia, nearly 100,000 attempted to escape in small boats the approaching Red Army in the fall of 1944. Later, in 1949,

30,000 to 40,000 persons were sent to slave labor camps. During the purges of the forties, it was estimated that about 150,000 Estonians were dispatched to the subarctic regions of Siberia. There were several mass purges in Lithuania during the forties, but the largest took place in 1948-49 when about 10 percent of Lithuania's entire population was forcibly removed. This represented principally the leaders of the peasant population who had stanchly resisted the collectivization of their farms.

## ALBANIA

Once in power in 1944, the Albanian Communist government used every means to consolidate itself. Many opponents were brought before the people's courts to be judged as "war criminals" or "enemies of the people." Meanwhile the government did not neglect its drive against the remaining elements of the anti-Communist guerrilla forces which had little chance of success because the new Communist state was surrounded by other supporting Communist countries—evidence that the "domino theory," as evidenced in Eastern Europe, had its practical side. In short, the supply or escape routes for anti-Communist freedom fighters were sealed off at the borders.

Testimony before the House Select Committee revealed that since 1944 over 16,000 people have perished in some 40 political prisons and concentration camps. During the first 10 years of its terrifying existence, some 80,000 Albanians have populated Albania's political prisons.

## BULGARIA

The invasion of Bulgaria by the Soviet army and the simultaneously staged coup by the Fatherland Front turned control of over 7,000,000 Bulgarians to the Communists in September, 1944. Hence the fact was once again confirmed that communism succeeds only when subversion from within is wedded to—or at least betrothed to—outside military power.

The people's courts, established in October 1944, began sentencing almost every prominent Bulgarian politician, officer, civil servant, judge, teacher, journalist, businessman and clergyman—in short, all potential opponents of their regime. Official Communist statistics reveal that during the first 6 months the courts tried 11,667 persons of whom 2,850 were executed. By the spring of 1945 most of the nation's leadership had been eliminated.

Then came the turn of the Communist "allies" in the Fatherland Front during the fall of 1945. Included were those who had deluded themselves into believing that they could collaborate in political or governmental coalitions with the Communists.

All possible obstacles were placed in the way of the Communists' opposition who were arrested and maltreated and whose constituents were terrorized by different methods, especially in the smaller towns and villages. The single-ticket Communist Fatherland Front handily won an absolute majority.

For a country which harps so exten-

sively on non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the USSR has no peers in toppling governments. In January 1946, Vishinsky came from Moscow and intimidated the Bulgarian opposition leaders to rejoin the Government on Communist terms in order to create the impression of a broadly representative government. Nikola Petkov, former Vice President of the Council of Ministers in the former coalition of the Fatherland Front, refused.

According to the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression, an angry Vishinsky, who personally ousted governments in Eastern Europe as fast as he could dictate the draft of an ultimatum, told Petkov that he had no right to disobey "instructions coming from Stalin himself." To this Petkov calmly replied that he was a Bulgarian political leader and could not accept instructions from any foreign power.

Thus the persecution of the opposition increased and then was extended to the returning Bulgarian soldiers in 1946. Officers were dismissed and then arrested. When they revolted, their uprising was crushed. Many were beaten and others leaped from their prison windows to escape their torturers. The leaderless Bulgarian Army was then taken over by 3,000 Soviet officers.

The wave of terror increased just before the elections of 1946. A few days before the polls opened, 34 opposition candidates and 58 representatives of the opposition on the election committees were either killed or imprisoned.

The religious leaders of the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church were also persecuted. High-ranking dignitaries of the church were either imprisoned or liquidated and reportedly the number of priests in labor camps exceeded 250. Churches, monasteries, and other religious institutions became objects of sacrilege. Seminaries were closed and the people placed under constant pressure not to attend church services.

With but slight variation, the above Communist measures were vigorously invoked throughout the entire Central-Eastern region between the Baltic and the Mediterranean Seas. Moreover, the figures cited are very conservative because they span only the early years of the Communist takeover period.

## HUNGARY

In the public mind, the major bloodletting period by the Communists is generally assigned to the mid-forties and early fifties. However, the harbinger of the terror to be visited on the States of Central-Eastern Europe appeared 25 years earlier in Hungary, in 1919, when the Communist Bela Kun regime succeeded in creating a Soviet Hungary. Although of short duration, the terror and disruption lasted for 4 months and was the reason that Communism never secured a foothold in Hungary during the decades which followed or until the Red Army rammed it down Hungary's throat.

After World War II, the Soviets occupied Hungary which had been an ally of Germany and squeezed the political, social, and cultural life out of the coun-

try by means of economic strangulation. The Red Army stripped her bare of livestock, food supplies, all means of transportation and industrial equipment. Private homes, public warehouses, stores, Government agencies, banks, and even foreign legations received the same barbarous treatment.

Tens of thousands of men, women, and children were deported to the U.S.S.R. Britain and the United States protested periodically, but to no avail because the Allied Control Commission, of which they were both members, was chaired by Soviet Marshall Klementy Voroshilov who formally acted in the name of the ACC. Moreover, he had the military muscle to back up his brutal measures. Meanwhile, the Western Allies were discharging their soldiers as rapidly as possible.

In effect, Voroshilov was systematically sabotaging the Hungarian Government then administered by the anti-Communist Smallholders Party which was forced to discharge any and all government officials unacceptable to the Kremlin. Similarly, all so-called "undemocratic elements," that is, anti-Communist persons, in the civil service, private industry, and the professions were purged.

As more spurious confessions—secured by forgery or torture—made their appearances, more non-Communist Hungarians failed to make theirs, and thus many disappeared into the bottomless pit reserved for such recalcitrant "trouble-makers." Finally, the Government's leadership "confessed" to a trumped up conspiracy against the state. In 1949, following the election of a single list of candidates contrived by the Communists, Hungary too passed behind the Iron Curtain.

But the bloodbaths suffered during the initial Communist takeover the not the only instances of bloodletting suffered by the peoples in the Communist-dominated nations. As a direct consequence of exploitation, Hungary exploded in 1956.

Hungarian writers demanded, during the summer, "the most complete, the most unrestricted freedom that is possible between men who live in society—to believe in Almighty God—to think in a non-Marxist way."

On October 6, 200,000 citizens marched defiantly past the coffins of former Hungarian leaders who were purged by the Communists in 1949 and whose bodies were being reburied in Budapest. Two weeks later, on October 19, 3,000 students voted to leave the Young Communist League and organize an independent organization. On October 24, 200,000 workers joined 25,000 students and demanded free and secret elections, genuine trade unions, and the removal of the Soviet Army.

After some hesitation, attributable, one might surmise, to the shock in Moscow of a worker's revolt taking place in a so-called "Workers' Paradise," and to the vacillation by Western governments, particularly the United States, the Kremlin made its move.

The two Soviet army divisions stationed in Hungary soon received support

from a dozen more, tank-led divisions which rushed to the beleaguered country and brutally quashed the uprising and the Hungarian freedom fighters.

Indian diplomats on the scene reported that about 25,000 Hungarians were killed. Another 125,000 fled to Austria, a figure which rose to 193,000 by April 1957. We all know of the hundreds of thousands of Hungarians who came to our country immediately after the 1956 revolt and its subsequent bloodbath which they escaped.

## GREECE

The tragedy of Communist bloodletting was not always restricted to a complete takeover of a nation-state. Greece experienced a near-miss, an aborted takeover thanks to the resolve of the Allies, particularly Great Britain, in 1946. However the indigenous Communists supported by fellow Communists from Yugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria revengefully laid waste what territory was available to them.

They executed over 3,500 civilians, made refugees of 700,000 persons by destroying 11,000 homes and by looting 7,000 villages—and in a parting shot—abducted 28,000 youngsters, ages 5 to 8, for indoctrination purposes in the Soviet bloc. Hanoi, it should not be forgotten, employed the same kidnaping tactics in 1954 following the partition of Vietnam, when they removed children in large numbers from South Vietnam to the North where they would become the future cadre for the Vietcong.

## CUBA

Regardless of the factors of time or climate, Communist bloodbathing is similar wherever it may be found. Ten years after the fall of China, and 15 years after that of Eastern Europe, Cuba's turn came.

After having been in power but 2 months, Castro boasted in February 1959 that 300 persons had been executed. Conservatively it is estimated that approximately 10,000 Cubans had been liquidated. Many of the executions were conducted in typical Communist, Katyn-style fashion. Who can forget the Castro circus-type public trials in the old Roman coliseum style slaughter of the Christians. No effort at due process was considered. The accused were excoriated in public trial, sentenced and executed summarily. Movies documented the slit-trench scene with the condemned getting their last cigarette and then being machinegunned into their open graves. Bear in mind this was not in the deep and dark past of world communism but in recent years.

The story of Cuba, as with that of the other 13 Communist nations—updated now to 14 with the recent fall of Cambodia—is best told in the figures of its freedom-seeking refugees. Today about 800,000 Cuban refugees reside in the United States, while worldwide, the toll reaches almost 1,000,000.

In his book, "The Viet Cong Strategy of Terror," Douglas Pike predicted that if the Communists won decisively in South Vietnam they would clear out the foreign newsmen and a curtain of ignor-

ance would descend. In this way, states Pike, the Communists in Vietnam would create a silence and the world would call it peace.

On a broader scale, in Russia, Red China—wherever communism reigns—the Communists create the silence of the grave, and a decaying, shrinking free world calls it peace.

## CONCLUSION

Mr. Speaker, it is indeed sad to recount Communist brutality and inhumanity. It is sickening, however, to see the effort of those who, on the one hand, detract from our Nation's exemplary overall record while at the same time gushing in their adulation of Ho Chi Minh and the Communists who sweep through Southeast Asia.

I am reminded of a television panel program a few years ago when a minister who belonged to virtually every Communist front in existence at that time was asked about the sordid record of Communist concentration camps. In righteous indignation, he replied:

Those are not concentration camps. They are personal rehabilitation centers and they have done those people a world of good.

A line is a line. If you follow it long enough it seems almost true. Those who consciously and unconsciously promote the illusion of détente and a self-serving rewriting of the history of Communist brutality follow the same tactics and the same role. The facts are otherwise. Take this letter of warning 2 weeks ago from Andrei Sakharov and Igor Shafarevich in Moscow. Sakharov, a physicist, is well known in the West as an outspoken dissident for individual liberties in the Soviet Union. Shafarevich is a mathematician and a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Their reputations are well established. Here is what they wrote:

We want to draw world attention to recent events in our country that stir our great discontent.

Through the last year, attempts to defend that modest degree of freedom that had been considered to be achieved were given a decisive rebuff here. For instance: The pursuit of Catholics in Lithuania, the trials of Baptists, the purges of legal, uncensored publications such as "Veche," as well as anonymous magazines such as "Chronicle of Current Events" and "Chronicle of Lithuanian Catholic Church," trials in Armenia, long terms of exile for Jews who participated in demonstrations for the right to emigrate to Israel and for writer Anatoly Marchenko. The systematic character of these actions stirs our fears that it is only the beginning of a widely planned campaign.

In connection with that, purges against the Soviet group of Amnesty International—which defends political prisoners—are particularly symptomatic. One of its members—Sergei Kovalow—was arrested, its secretary Andrei Tverdokhlebov's apartment was searched. Its chairman, Valentin Turchin, was fired.

Finally, on April 18, organs of state security arrested Tverdokhlebov and a member of the group in Kiev, Mikola Rudenko. At the same time apartments of Turchin and Vladimir Albrecht were searched. All documents concerning Amnesty International were taken.

We appeal to all those who are not indifferent to the struggle for justice and humanism with the call to help courageous and honest people, particularly the arrested members of

Amnesty International. Their fates can be changed with support of world public opinion. Only a wide public campaign of defense can be successful.

ANDREI SAKHAROV.  
IGOR SHAFAREVICH.

MOSCOW.

Mr. Speaker, this did not happen years ago. This is happening today. The Communist tactic has not mellowed; it has not changed. Their brutal repression, whether of the more subtle type these Russians cite or the record of murder and atrocities which are a part of the same package they put into effect everywhere, goes on without interruption. Why do so many in our country, particularly in the news media, look the other way?