

FORM NO. 9-61  
MAY 1962

CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL/CONTROL US OFFICIALS ONLY

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

REPORT

# INFORMATION REPORT

CD NO.

COUNTRY USSR/Satellites

DATE DISTR. 22 Aug. 1950

SUBJECT Publications Concerning the USSR and its Satellites

NO. OF PAGES 1 50X1-HUM

PLACE ACQUIRED

NO. OF ENCLS. (LISTED BELOW) 11

DATE OF I ACQUIRED

SUPPLEMENT TO REPORT NO 50X1-HUM

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS INFORMATION AFFECTING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES WITHIN THE MEANING OF THE ESPIONAGE ACT 50 U. S. C. 31 AND 32, AS AMENDED. ITS TRANSMISSION OR THE REVELATION OF ITS CONTENTS IN ANY MANNER TO AN UNAUTHORIZED PERSON IS PROHIBITED BY LAW. REPRODUCTION OF THIS FORM IS PROHIBITED.

THIS IS UNEVALUATED INFORMATION  
\*Documentary

50X1-HUM

Attachments:

- A. Essence of Soviet Foreign Policy
- B. Communist Conquest of the Baltic States
- C. Christianity in the Soviet Union
- D. Control of Workers in Countries under Communist Domination
- E. Daily Life in a Communist State
- F. Soviet Labor Discipline
- G. Miscellaneous Items on the USSR and Satellites
- H. Miscellaneous Items on the USSR and Satellites
- I. Miscellaneous Items on the USSR and Satellites
- J. Notes on the Observance of Human Rights in Czechoslovakia
- K. Notes on the Observance of Human Rights in the USSR

07/E  
20050

~~EVALUATE~~  
TCE  
1. OSI  
3. Inf

50X1-HUM

CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL/CONTROL US OFFICIALS ONLY

STATE	NAVY	NSRB		DISTRIBUTION									
ARMY	AIR	ORE	X										

50X1-HUM

CONTENTS

~~CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY~~ 1-2

II. Comments on the Draft Declaration of Human Rights,  
article by article.

+ Article 1. (Natural equality)	-
Article 2. (Discriminatory practices)	3
Article 3. (Life, liberty, and security)	3
Article 4. (Servitude)	
A. Existence of slavery (Clause I)	4
B. Conditions (Clause II)	4-5
C. Evidence from victims	6-7
D. Evidence from Soviet sources	7-8
E. Forced Labour in the Eastern zone of Germany	9
+ Article 5. (Recognition before the law)	-
+ Article 6. (Equality before the law)	-
Article 7. (Arbitrary arrest and detention)	
Paragraphs 1-7 Arrest	9-11
Paragraphs 8-10 Detention	11

**This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency**

( + = No comment )

Continued overleaf

*Notes on the observance of Human Rights in the USSR*  
~~CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY~~

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY***This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency*

	pages
Article 8. (Fair hearing by impartial tribunal)	12
Article 9. (Presumption of innocence) (No retrospective legislation)	13 13
Article 10. (Unreasonable interference)	13-14
Article 11. (Freedom of movement and residence)	14
+ Article 12. (Asylum from persecution)	-
Article 13. (Deprivation of nationality)	15
Article 14. (Marriage and the family)	15
Article 15. (Right of property)	15
Article 16. (Freedom of religion)	15-16
Article 17. (Freedom of opinion and expression)	} 16-17
Article 18. (Freedom of assembly)	
Article 19. (Rights of Government)	18
Article 20. (Social security and rights)	see below
Article 21. (Clauses I & II - Right of work) (Clause III - Trade Unions)	18 18-19
Article 22. (Social Services)	19
Article 23. (Education)	19
+ Article 24. (Right to leisure)	-
+ Article 25. (Cultural life)	-
+ Article 26. (International order)	-
Article 27. (Rights and duties)	19
+ Article 28. (Indestructibility of rights)	-

---

( + = no comment )

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**This material procured by  
Central Intelligence AgencyI. INTRODUCTION

The following paragraphs state the general knowledge on the basis of which we may consider debating the question of Human Rights in the U.S.S.R.:-

1. The Stalin Constitution of 1936 marked the end of the transition from capitalism to socialism in the U.S.S.R., and specifically granted to Soviet citizens freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and freedom of street processions and demonstrations. Inviolability of person, of domicile, and secrecy of correspondence were also guaranteed. The State's executive and legislative bodies were to be elected by universal, equal and direct suffrage, and all citizens irrespective of race, nationality, religion, education and social position were equally eligible for election. In addition to these rights the Constitution pledged freedom of religious practice, though not of religious teaching.
2. The Soviet citizen is therefore nominally assured almost all the fundamental rights which Western democratic opinion regards as essential. The important question is, however, how these provisions of the Soviet Constitution are implemented. It is now becoming widely known that these much vaunted freedoms do not in fact exist there.
3. Speech is free only for those who adhere strictly to the fluctuations of the official propaganda line. For those who voice disagreement or complaint there is immediate arrest and harsh sentence by the Ministry of the Interior or State Security. Soviet propaganda will always contend that Soviet citizens can and do publicly criticise bureaucratic shortcomings and mistakes in their country, but we know well that the actions and words of the ruling clique of the moment are sacrosanct and can never be the target of such criticism.
4. The Soviet citizen is free to publish material in the press only if it is in total agreement with official Party policy. Moreover since the autumn of 1946 it has been obligatory for Soviet writers to participate actively in Party propaganda and not merely to refrain from criticism.
5. Gatherings, meetings, processions and demonstrations are organised for the Soviet worker through his Trade Union or through the Party. But Trade Unions are a governmental body; their leaders are appointed from above; and their function is to carry out the instructions of the Government and to administer the various "social benefits" provided by Soviet labour legislation.
6. Strikes are unknown in the Soviet Union, but bad, indeed appallingly bad working conditions and extremely low wages are by no means rare. There is no specific legislation against strikes, but stoppages of work which have occurred have been regarded as acts of sabotage. In short, the worker's right of organisation under the Soviet Trade Union system is remarkably similar to those under the Nazis' Arbeitsfront.
7. Although the Stalin Constitution provides for inviolability of person and domicile, yet it is widely known that arbitrary arrest and house-searching are of almost daily occurrence in the Soviet Union. Such actions are well within the unlimited rights of the Political Police, an immense and all-pervading organisation which functions extra-constitutionally. All Soviet citizens who are suspected of political heresy - actual or potential - are in constant danger of arbitrary arrest without public trial, which may well lead to exile and forced labour in concentration camps under terrible and brutal conditions, under sentences which may be arbitrarily prolonged: even after release they are often not permitted to return to their own homes but are forced to seek employment in specially reserved areas. The number of these slaves is estimated by reliable observers, including Soviet officials, at from 7-15 millions.

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

- 2 -

8. The crimes for which Soviet citizens can be held guilty are almost infinite in their variety, ranging from suspected contact with the "opposition" of the nineteen-thirties to mere complaints against working and living conditions and against bureaucratic corruption and brutality, to failure to comply with swiftly changing government orders, and to relations, however innocuous, with foreigners.

9. Soviet elections are indeed universal, equal and direct, but there is only one candidate in every constituency and he is nominated for election by the trade union, factory or cultural organisations, which are entirely dominated by the Communist Party. Thus the Soviet citizen is only permitted to vote for one candidate who has been nominated ultimately from the Kremlin.

10. Freedom of religious practice, though not of religious propaganda, is now permitted in the Soviet Union. The Russian Orthodox Church has now been entirely subordinated to the Soviet regime. Other religions, however, though officially tolerated, are viewed with a much less benevolent eye. There is, however, no confusion within the Soviet Union concerning the relation of Communism and religion. Communism is and always will be firmly opposed to religion of any description. This point is stressed by all Party writers and spokesmen. Religious teaching is for all practical purposes forbidden - the few seminaries which are permitted to exist are of no importance apart from their propaganda value in non-Soviet countries.

11. The reason for this invalidation of constitutionally established freedoms lies in the absence of effective safeguards in the Constitution or the codes for the protection of the rights of the individual. The Executive may guarantee the Soviet citizen certain clearly formulated civic rights but of what use is that guarantee if there is no independent court of appeal where he can defend himself from the Executive's encroachments on those civic rights? For while the Judges and Assessors are all elected, the right to nominate them for election is reserved to the Communist Party, the Trade Unions, Cooperatives, etc. Thus all nominations are under the control of the Party and so of the Executive. Finally, even if there were an independent court where the Soviet citizen could seek redress for his wrongs against the State, what would it avail him if certain fundamental rights are not guaranteed to him in law? There is no Habeas Corpus in the Soviet Union. The basic principles of human rights to which we cling so jealously in Britain - i.e. the principle that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty, or that justice must not only be done but must manifestly be shown to be done (to mention only two), is nowhere to be found in the Soviet Constitution or the various Soviet codes. Moreover, the absence of any statutory limitations on the powers of the secret police or of any clearly defined procedure in regard to arrest and imprisonment at their hands presents the Executive with arbitrary powers of so decisive a kind as to render worthless the greater part of the pledges of protection which are given in the much-vaunted Stalin Constitution. Finally, there is no freedom of press, speech and agitation to keep watch over these issues.

12. The Soviet regime moreover is openly and avowedly the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e. the one-party rule of the Soviet Communist Party, and the corollary to this dictatorship must necessarily be the suppression of parliamentary government; parliamentary institutions and of the guarantee of civil liberties which they represent.

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

- 3 -

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

This material procured by

II.

**Central Intelligence Agency**COMMENTS ON DRAFT DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, ARTICLE BY ARTICLE.

The following pages contain comments on each paragraph of the Draft Declaration on Human Rights in the light of its validity under present or past conditions in the Soviet Union. Soviet legislation and Soviet official pronouncements on the principles raised in each paragraph are quoted where possible, followed by comment on how those principles are actually applied in the Soviet Union. Evidence for Soviet violation of human rights is given from Soviet sources wherever this is possible. Where it is not, it has been necessary to fall back on the first-hand accounts of recent defectors or refugees from the Soviet Union such as Victor Kravchenko and others. This evidence, though challenged of course by the Soviet Government and its propagandists, nevertheless now forms a great body of documentation of a well-established set of facts. Evidence from Soviet sources is naturally not to be had, except by implication.

ARTICLE 1. No comment.

ARTICLE 2. In the Soviet Union there is no discrimination against race, colour, sex or language. (For religion see under Article 16.) There is, however, merciless discrimination against heterodox political or other opinions. Soviet citizens who air or who are even suspected of professing views differing from the official Soviet line of the moment are immediately victimised. If the heresy is a political one, it involves the heretic in prosecution. If it is non-political, i.e. involving a deviation from the so-called Marxist-Leninist theories on the principles of science, art, etc., the heretic may be punished less strictly, but it is certain that even in this case he would be denied the rights comprised in Article 17. Examples of discrimination on grounds of political opinion are the trials of the so-called left wing Trotskyist opposition, Zinoviev and Kamenev, who were executed in 1936, Trotsky himself having been previously expelled from the Soviet Union; or of the so-called right wing opposition led by Bukharin and Rykov, who were executed in 1938. None of them were, of course, accused of political heresy but of terrorism, treason, wrecking, sabotage, etc. - the usual crimes imputed to any political opposition in the Soviet Union.

Recent examples of Soviet discrimination on grounds of "non-political" opinion are the dismissal of the Secretary of the Biological Department of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Orbeli, and of the Director of the Severtsov Institute of Evolutionary Morphology, Shmalgauzen. This purge took place after a debate in the Academy of Agricultural Sciences during which Lysenko arraigned numerous Soviet biologists for propagating "reactionary idealistic" theories and retarding the development of Soviet agriculture. These dismissed persons will have no opportunity of exercising the right of freedom of expression under Article 17, unless, of course, they recant.

There is no case regarding discrimination in the Soviet Union on grounds of property or other status, or of national or social origin, in spite of well-established cases of violent discrimination by the monopolistic Communist Party on the last score.

ARTICLE 3. As has been shown by innumerable instances only those who subscribe unreservedly to the Communist Party line enjoy the right to life, liberty and security of person in the Soviet Union. For details see under Articles 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12.

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**This material is controlled by  
Central Intelligence Agency

- 4 -

ARTICLE 4.

This is the matter on which we may, above all others, join issue with the Soviet Union if necessary.

The following comments may appear to contain some sweeping statements. They are based however on a large volume of overwhelmingly consistent evidence, mostly from first-hand accounts of refugees, which cannot be dismissed. The comment is long because the subject is huge and it is impossible to forecast at what length documentation will be needed:-

A. Existence of slavery (Clause 1). It can be stated that millions of the inhabitants of the Soviet Union are today living in a state of slavery in the organisations known as Corrective Labour Camps. This state of affairs has been in existence on an ever-increasing scale for the last eighteen years. There are some 125 of these slave labour camps (according to the convincing study "Forced Labour in Soviet Russia" by Dallin and Nikolaevsky), and most of them are situated in the Arctic Regions of the Soviet Union. Their object is to assemble together a vast cheap labour force for the implementation of large-scale building projects of the Soviet Government and thus save the expenditure of foreign exchange on imported machinery. The most important of these camps are -

- (1) the Dalstroy Camps of the Far East, including the numerous gold mining camps on the Kolyma River (300,000 to 1,100,000),
- (2) the group of camps around Lake Baikal, occupied in the construction of the Baikal-Amur railway (500,000),
- (3) the Pechora Camps, occupied in building the Kotlas-Vorkuta railway and in mining and lumbering (900,000 to 1,000,000),
- (4) the Yagry and adjoining camps in the Archangel region, which were engaged during the war in developing the White Sea ports (500,000),
- (5) the Karaganda Camps, engaged in mining (150,000).

First-hand accounts are consistent in stating that the majority of the inmates of these camps are so-called "political offenders". They comprise peasants suspected of individualistic tendencies and thus undesirable on the collective farms, the majority of whom are Ukrainians and other national minorities - Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Kirghiz, Mordvinians, Caucasians, etc.; persons who have been abroad or have members of their families abroad; former inhabitants of the borderlands, mostly Poles, Chinese and Koreans; persons condemned for their religious beliefs, Catholics, Baptists and members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church; officials sentenced for political offences such as "sabotage"; and persons condemned for specific war-time crimes such as collaboration, but including prisoners of war and nationals of countries occupied at the end of the war.

B. Conditions (cf. Clause 2 of this Article). In almost all cases the victims have been sentenced not by a court but simply by some agency of the secret police. The conditions under which these unfortunates work has been described by those who have managed to escape to a country where they can tell their tale. The prisoners work on almost but not quite a starvation diet, are fed between 4 and 5 a.m. before leaving for work and after their return between 5 and 7 p.m. As a rule all prisoners except the full-norm workers receive no food during 12 hours of work and are scarcely able to stagger back to their compound.

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

- 5 -

This material is controlled by  
Central Intelligence Agency

The minimum norms of work are continually being raised, which forces the prisoner to strain more and more to attain his 100% norm. The desire for more food drives them on, in some cases to complete exhaustion, since the nourishment from the slightly larger rations which they obtain if they exceed the norm does not supply the extra energy they expend to get it.

Clothing is old and much worn. After a few weeks of use it turns into a heap of worn and torn rags. Cases of frozen feet and toe amputations are common.

The iron stoves in the barracks heat a radius of only five to six yards, leaving the rest of the building cold. Fuel shortage is constant, even in camps in the densest forest areas, as the military guard frequently refuses the necessary escort for the prisoners to go and fetch the firewood they need.

The sanitary conditions are appalling. In the camps in the north there was no soap either for bathing or laundry. The inmates suffer from scurvy and pellagra and there are many cases of swelling due to undernourishment.

Several camps are known for particularly bad living conditions and cruel treatment of prisoners:

- (1) The Dzhido cluster of Eastern Siberia has a particularly high rate of attempted escapes because of insufficient food and harsh treatment: the administration has chained captured fugitives for the remainder of their sentences.
- (2) The mortality in two punitive camps in the Far East (one on the Kolyma River and the other on the lower Yenisei) is reported to exceed 30% per year. No correspondence of the prisoners with their relatives and friends is permitted.
- (3) The Vorkuta camps have an extremely high rate of mortality.
- (4) A camp near Komsomolsk in the Far East, where men and women are interned for "disloyalty to the Soviet Union", is notorious for the bad food, severe punishment and high death toll.
- (5) In certain camps of the Pechora cluster corporal punishment (officially abolished in 1917-18) has been reintroduced.
- (6) The Krasnoyarsk camps with about 10,000 prisoners are conspicuous for their lack of medical facilities and hospitals.

There are special Forced Labour Camps for women. The Yagry Women's Camp (Archangel area) is known for its hard living conditions, and at a similar camp at Stalinogorsk the women are forced to work in the Tula iron and coal mines under extremely harsh conditions and with little food.

Not only have the majority of these victims been banished to these places of torment without any proper trial, but they have not even the consolation of knowing that if they survive the sentence they will be released when they have served their full term. In many cases the sentence is arbitrarily prolonged and even in cases of release the victims are refused permission to return to their homes and are directed to special reserved areas.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**



**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

- 6 -

by  
Central Intelligence Agency

C. Evidence from Victims. The details in A and B above have been collected by Dallin and Nikolaevsky on the basis of a most extensive bibliography of the subject, including as many first-hand accounts as possible. Most of the details of prison life recounted above are drawn from the personal experience of Professor Ernst Tallgren, who was a prisoner in the Soviet labour camps from 1940-1942 and has contributed a chapter to Dallin and Nikolaevsky's book.

Further first-hand information on Forced Labour Camps can be read in Kravchenko's book 'I Chose Freedom', the following extracts from which confirm many of the reports which Dallin and Nikolaevsky have assembled:

(1) At the end of 1939, Kravchenko was himself engaged in negotiations with the NKVD for supplies of forced labour. The NKVD representative explained that there was no dearth of prisoners, including the required percentage of skilled workers. Kravchenko visited one of the local concentration camps containing 3,000 inmates to discuss the question of accommodation, and describes in detail the filth of the barracks and their inmates, the entire lack of furniture and facilities.

(2) Kravchenko gives, from his personal experience, this description of the use of forced labour in the Nikopol combinat: "One day, in the midst of the inflated hopes for some change for the better (from the new Constitution) I noticed a contingent of NKVD soldiers, carrying rifles, around the new building area. It could mean only one thing: that forced labour had been brought in.

"I approached the scene. My guess was right. Four or five hundred haggard men and women were working under armed guard. They were as tragic looking a group of human creatures as I had ever seen. Their unsmiling silence was more terrible than their raggedness, filth and physical degradation. They went about their work like people doomed, too apathetic to examine their surroundings or to commune with the free workers near them.

"At the end of each day the prisoners were lined up and marked off to a special prison barracks a few miles away. I learned that this labour had been 'contracted' for by the construction officials in formal negotiations with the NKVD. A flat sum per prisoner, about equal to the amount paid to free workers, was paid to the NKVD. Besides using millions of political prisoners directly - in mining salt or gold, laying rails, felling forests, clearing swamps, building harbours - the NKVD farmed out its surplus slaves to other Soviet enterprises."

When Kravchenko was transferred to Taganrog, on the Azov Sea, he found the same system in operation on a larger scale.

"A large contingent of NKVD slaves did most of the heavy work of loading and unloading at our warehouses. They worked ten or twelve hours a day under armed surveillance. An even larger group toiled on new construction projects at the neighbouring Sulinsky Metallurgical plant; and I was always running into gangs of these helots on the auto-highway between Taganrog and Rostov."

(3) The wife of an engineer told Kravchenko of her struggle to get permission to visit her husband in a concentration camp in the Urals, which she finally received after one year. Her description of the camp and its inmates merits quotation.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

- 7 -

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

"The concentration camp was miles from the station..... Around us were thick forests and wild cliffs. Finally we came to a kind of plateau, a huge open space surrounded by tall barbed-wire fences.

"Beyond the fence I could see the long rows of barracks, with their tiny barred windows. I could see guards walking around, some of them with vicious-looking dogs at their heels. As I stood at the gate in the rain awaiting admission, a detachment of about three hundred prisoners, walking four abreast, returned from the forests to the camp. Never in my life had I seen human beings so degraded and ravaged. These were not men but the obscene shadows of men, repulsive looking caricatures of human beings in rags and tatters. They were all bearded, with wasted bodies, dragging their feet through the mud in the last stages of deadly fatigue..... I saw a haggard old man approach, followed by a Chekist with a drawn revolver. The man's ragged beard was grey, his hair was white; he was emaciated and horrible to look on. A dirty rag was bound round one of his eyes and in general he looked as if he had emerged from some purgatory. Moved to sympathy by the dismal creature, I turned to the official. 'Do you see that old man over there', I said, 'please give him this packet of cigarettes.' The officer burst into laughter and slapped his thigh in high spirits. 'I'll be damned! Are you kidding me or have you really failed to recognise your own husband?' After a journey across half Russia, she was allowed ten minutes with her husband. He begged her to save him if possible. 'Life here is more terrible than anyone in the outside world can imagine..... We're treated like animals not like people. Prisoners die every day like flies. We're beaten and starved. I won't survive another year in this hell.'"

As the price of her husband's liberation, this woman entered the service of the secret police.

D. Evidence from Soviet sources. The following paragraphs contain evidence as to the existence of Forced Labour drawn from official Soviet publications:

The periodical "Sovetskaya Yustitsya" (Soviet Justice) is the most important publication in the U.S.S.R. on law and penal institutions. In the volume for 1929, pages 1087-1089 the lawyer Shirvindt attests to the considerable proportions which forced labour had already assumed then in the Soviet Union. He writes that corrective labour camps had become "the basic and numerically prevalent type of place of confinement". In the same pages occurs the following statement also:

"The Five-year Plan.....requires tasks involving a great demand for unskilled labour. Local conditions sometimes present serious obstacles to the recruitment of labour. It is here that the places of confinement, having at their disposal excess labour in great quantities and engaged in production near the places of confinement, can come to the assistance of those economic enterprises which experience a labour shortage".

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

- 8 -

**This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency**

On March 8th, 1931, Molotov, then Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of People's Commissars, addressing the Sixth Congress of Soviets, referred to the forced labour projects in the Soviet Union as follows:

"These mass projects employing those deprived of liberty are organized for a variety of different objectives; for highway construction, in particular on railways, in the building industry, in peat exploitation, in charcoal burning for metallurgical plants, in timber works, in phosphorite mining, stone quarries, gravel and stone crushing, on transportation projects, etc."

In describing certain individual projects on which forced labour was used, Molotov mentioned the White Sea-Baltic ("Belomor") Canal.

The periodical "Soviet Justice", No. 2 of 1934, describes the use of prison labour in the operation of large-scale chalk and stone quarries at Millerova in the Donbas area.

"Hundreds of thousands of cubic metres of construction materials have already been taken from there. At the foot of the mountain, five huge furnaces have raised their 11 metre chimneys into the sky. Production expands and engulfs more and more territory."

Information as to the extent of forced labour, conditions obtaining in the forced labour camps of the Soviet Union, and the classes of people incarcerated therein, is to be found chiefly in the non-Soviet literature on the subject. Nevertheless certain facts can also be deduced from the meagre information contained in Soviet publications. For example the book "From Prisons to Educational Institutions", compiled by Vyshinsky and published in Moscow in 1934, contains data from which it is possible to arrive at a tentative figure for the number of persons incarcerated in the Soviet Union in 1931. On page 171 of this book, D. Stelmach states that in 1931, 294,015 copies of Soviet newspapers were sent to "all places of detention" in the RSFSR, some 60,000 to those in the Ukraine, and 11,713 to those in Belorussia. The total is over 365,000. Now on page 259 of the book, A. Shestakova states that an average of 5 inmates received one newspaper. From this it has been deduced, reasonably enough, that the number of prisoners in the RSFSR, the Ukraine and Belorussia in 1931 was over 1,830,000.

A large amount of information is available, from both official Soviet and other sources, on the large-scale projects on which forced labour has been and is being employed in the Soviet Union. The best-known of these projects is the White Sea-Baltic Canal, known also as the "Belomor Canal". The decision to construct this canal was taken in 1930. The project was entrusted to the OGPU. Construction began in November 1931, and was completed on August 2nd, 1933. On completion of this project, the Soviet Government granted amnesties to 72,000 prisoners who had been working on it. (It is estimated by non-Soviet writers that some 300,000 prisoners were employed on the construction of the canal.) The official Soviet account of the use of forced labour on this project is contained in the book "The Baltic-White Sea Canal in the name of Stalin", edited by Maxim Gorky, also published in English under the name "Belomor" in New York, 1935.

The second well-known forced labour project is the Moscow-Volga Canal, which was under construction from 1932 to July 4th, 1937. Upon completion of this construction the Council of People's Commissars expressed "gratitude to the NKVD" (the name then of the OGPU), and announced the liberation of 55,000 of the prisoners who had been employed on the project.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

- 9 -

*This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency*

E. Forced Labour in the Eastern Zone of Germany. It may not be relevant to recall here the notorious compulsion of labour for work in the uranium mines in Saxony and Thuringia. There have been frequent references in the German and Allied press.

The full justification for it seems to be contracts entered into under pressure by chosen individuals with an authority under the aegis of the Soviet-sponsored German Economic Commission. There is legislation for the "direction" of labour under which this can be done. In practice, however, this direction is becoming notoriously converted into the drafting of forced labour for these specific purposes. The view of those drafted is expressed in the following news agency message from Berlin of September 29th which was carried by the German news agency and German newspapers:-

"Twenty-five German youths being taken to work in the Uranium mines at Aue in the Soviet zone, made a mass escape in Berlin early today. According to Western-sector German police headquarters, they were in a party of 52 in a train which stopped for a brief period at the Zoo Station, in the British sector of the city.

"Soviet-controlled German railway police immediately threw a cordon around the station but failed to recapture any of the youths.

"The train went on with the remaining 27 "labourers" after a delay of several hours."

There is reason to suspect that this compulsion of workers for these mines disguises deportations to the U.S.S.R. Voluntary and compulsory recruitment, carried out at labour exchanges in accordance with directives issued by the Central Administration for Labour and Social Welfare, acting on the orders of the Soviet Military Administration, has resulted in between 150,000 and 200,000 workers of both sexes being sent nominally to the area, whereas there is at present no more than 40,000-50,000 workers employed there, according to Germans reaching the Western zones.

ARTICLE 5. No comment.

ARTICLE 6. No comment.

ARTICLE 7.

127

1. Article/of the Stalin Constitution lays down that "no one can be subjected to arrest except by order of the court or with the consent of the procurator." But this provision actually affords little protection to the individual. (See under Detention, paragraphs 8-10 below)

2. In the first place there exist valid legal provisions, which have not been repealed, which are inconsistent with this article. By a decree of the 16th October 1922 the G.P.U. had the power of banishment to forced labour camps of "activists of anti-Soviet parties" and in 1934, when security was organised under the NKVD, that body was given even wider powers.

3. In the second place, in the absence of an independent judiciary the requirements of an order of the court or of the procurator is no safeguard for the individual. It is obvious, for example, that where banishments to forced labour camps have to be reckoned in millions, such a preliminary order, even if in practice it is obtained, can hardly be more than a rubber stamp formality.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

- 10 -

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

4. Thirdly, while an individual might hope to protect himself in the courts against a deposition by a private citizen, in the great majority of cases where his arrest follows on administrative action by the Security authorities, he cannot in the absence of an independent judiciary protect himself.

5. Further, the Soviet citizen has no protection against persecution by the Secret Police, on whose powers no statutory limitations have been placed. No reference, of course, is made in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. to its existence, but it cannot be doubted that this force, estimated by some authorities to be between 100,000 and 200,000 strong, with far-reaching extra-judicial powers, is a constant menace to the lives and liberties of Soviet citizens. Whether arrest is made by the Secret Police or by the ordinary civil police acting on the local prosecution's orders, there is no right of habeas corpus which the citizens may invoke, and he may be held without trial for an indefinite period while his case is being investigated. No clearly defined procedure is laid down in the case of such arrest and imprisonment.

6. As a result of the arbitrary powers of the Secret Police, millions of Soviet citizens have been torn from their homes, with or without trial and sequestered without hope of legal redress in the notorious concentration camps of the Soviet Union.

7. While it is not possible, of course, to produce evidence from Soviet official sources that arbitrary arrest and detention are the order of the day in the Soviet Union, the large number of first-hand accounts provided by numerous different nationalities (particularly Balts and Poles) gives overwhelming evidence that this is so. The following first-hand experiences which are taken from Victor Kravchenko's book 'I Chose Freedom' are only some of the many convincing proofs of the lamentable insecurity of the Soviet citizen under the Soviet regime. The instances refer to events some years ago - but the conditions which allowed or inspired those events have not altered.

- (i) In June, 1931, Victor Kravchenko was sent, as part of an investigating commission, to Nikopol, to discover why construction was badly behind schedule. Arriving there, he found the workers living in the most shocking conditions. When he asked why they did not complain, they told him that recently some workers had refused to work until conditions were improved. As a result, the ringleaders were summoned to the G.P.U. whence not one of them returned.
- (ii) In 1934, Kirov, a member of the Politburo, was murdered in Leningrad. Hundreds of suspects were rounded up and shot summarily, without trial. "Hundreds of others were dragged from prisons where they had been confined for years, and executed. Local prisons were filled to suffocation. Freight trains hauled additional thousands of 'politically alien elements' out of the city to distant exile".....

"The sudden disappearance of students at our Institute was not an uncommon occurrence. We asked no questions. We pretended not to notice..... We decided in our secret minds to keep a better guard on our tongues, for to speak candidly was to speak in an 'anti-Communist vein'".

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

-11-

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

- (iii) Kravchenko had much personal experience of the purges which resulted from the Zinoviev, Kamenev trials at the end of 1936. Although these illustrious persons were brought to spectacular public trial, thousands of minor individuals were arrested, and simply disappeared without anyone knowing what became of them. Kravchenko was at this time working in the Metallurgical Combinat in Nikopol, and many of his associates and fellow engineers were thrown out of their jobs, out of the Communist Party, and arrested by the N.K.V.D. - one for having years before signed an Oppositionist document in Leningrad and twelve engineers in one swoop, for some unspecified political deviation. "One administrative official after another failed to show up for work, and their alleged 'illness' proved permanent".
- (iv) Kravchenko tells, again from his personal experience, the story of the arrest of a chief engineer at the Novotruyny Plant at Pervoralsk. This man (he gives him the name of Kolpovsky), known to Kravchenko as a competent and loyal worker, a Party member, but apparently almost indifferent to politics, an engineer heart and soul, was one day arrested by the N.K.V.D., on what charge, if any, no one could discover. After a few months in prison, this man was lucky enough to be "rehabilitated" and even restored to party membership, and went on to make a great career in his profession.

**8. Detention.**

Soviet Administrative Law distinguishes "detention" from arrest. Whereas arrest requires the sanction of the court or of the Procurator, "detention" is permitted without such an order, but only to the Ministries of the Interior and Security. Such "detention" is of two kinds

- (1) where the person detained is suspected of having committed a crime and attempted to evade justice. In this case the Procurator must be informed and the detention confirmed by him within 48 hours.
- (2) "The usual form of personal detention" (Soviet legal textbook). Here the reasons for detention are "highly varied in their nature and relate to all cases where public order and security is threatened". In such cases there appears to be no provision limiting the period of detention or requiring confirmation of the detention by any other authority.

9. The ordinary police also have a fairly limited power of detention, but they have extensive rights of search without any warrant on suspicion alone. The only legal safeguard against detention which is not in conformity with Administrative Law is Article 115 of the Criminal Code, which makes such illegal detention punishable by a year's imprisonment.

10. Under a decree of 1935 the Special Council of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has power to inflict on persons "regarded as dangerous to the community" banishment to places under supervision or detention in forced labour camps for a period up to 5 years and to expel foreigners. These powers are exercised without any order of a court.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

-12-

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence AgencyARTICLE 8.

1. There are no independent and impartial tribunals in the Soviet Union.
2. By the Constitution (Article 112) the judges are "independent and subject only to the law", but the personnel of the Soviet judiciary is carefully selected by the Communist Party. Although all judicial posts are nominally elective and any citizen entitled to the vote may be elected judge or assessor of any court, the Party exercises the closest supervision of the nominations and ensures that only reliable servants of the Party can be elected. Moreover, the courts are subject to the daily and constant supervision and control of procurators who work in close touch with the Executive and the Party, and the judges themselves can with their sanction be prosecuted and sentenced for "giving an unjust judgement out of personal or interested motives" (Criminal Code Article 114), which clearly lends itself to very wide interpretation. Moreover, the Minister of Justice is a member of the plenum of the Supreme Court.
3. Soviet legal text-books stress the role of the judges' "Bolshevik conscience" in the formulation of their decisions. In practice this means that the decision on the merits of any given case may be determined extrajudicially, since the final authority on points of "conscience" is, of course, the Communist Party.
4. The general purpose of the Soviet courts, as defined by the Law on the Judiciary of the U.S.S.R. (August 1938), is "to educate the citizens of the U.S.S.R. in a spirit of devotion to the Fatherland and to the cause of Socialism, in the spirit of an exact and unfaltering performance of Soviet laws, a careful attitude to Socialist property, labour discipline, honest fulfilment of State and public duties, respect towards the rules of the Socialist Commonwealth." In other words, the avowed purpose of the Soviet legal system is not so much the regulation of relations between citizens of the U.S.S.R., in accordance with ethical principles which are regarded as having an absolute value, as the coercive organisation of the working masses for the fulfilment of the political aims of the State. The Soviet Encyclopaedia admits that the judicature of the U.S.S.R. is "a means of strengthening the socialist regime, guarding the rights of citizens and repressing the enemies of the people and the Trotskyist Bukharinist agents of foreign espionage organisations."
5. Victor Kravchenko's experiences at his own trial are a good illustration of the workings of Soviet justice.

Kravchenko was brought to trial before a People's Court on a charge of unlawful payment of funds. To his surprise, although the indictment had nothing to do with political issues, he found that the examination was conducted by the NKVD.

He applied to the Collegium of the State Defence Lawyers for a barrister, according to the usual system. Of the barrister assigned to him Kravchenko says "A Soviet lawyer, to keep out of trouble, must put the interests of the Party and the State above the interests of his client. My frightened little defender did not relish the role of opposing a People's Commissar. Indeed, he had no intention of playing any such dangerous role....." Of the trial itself he says "My subjective innocence seemed beside the point. Objectively I had 'squandered government funds'. They had the Commissariat's word for it and the whole case seemed cut and dried. At one stage Kravchenko protested that the evidence being brought was irrelevant to the case. The presiding judge admonished him. "The accused will please not interrupt. We trust the People's Commissariat which brings the charges, as referred to by the Prosecutor, more than we trust you".

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

-13-

The lawyer for the defence, although Kravchenko praises him, made no effort to argue his client's guilt, but urged Kravchenko's pure conscience by way of mitigating the punishment. Commenting on the original sentence of two years' imprisonment passed on him by the Court, Kravchenko says "The presiding Judge and the Prosecutor were, first of all, Party members. They were dealing with accusations lodged not merely by a Commissar but by a member of the Central Committee of the Party. What chance did justice have under such conditions?"

ARTICLE 9.

Clause I. This basic human right which is so carefully safeguarded in English law is, as far as can be ascertained, not asserted in any of the Soviet legal codes. On the contrary Soviet citizens who are so unfortunate as to fall under suspicion of having committed a treasonable offence, are generally assumed guilty unless by herculean efforts they succeed in proving their innocence. There is no contempt of court and the reports of trials published in the press are frequently prejudicial to the accused. Hence no doubt the notorious prevalence and success of "framing" in the Soviet Union.

Clause II. While there is no evidence to hand of a violation of this principle in the Soviet Union, there has been an instance of such violation in a satellite country. After the Soviet-inspired Communist coup d'état in Czechoslovakia nine members of the Czechoslovak security police were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment for "mutiny", which, to quote the official Czech News Agency, consisted in the fact that "the accused took part in the well-known meeting of police officials who were members of the Czech National Socialist Party on February 23rd in Prague" (i.e. before the coup). "At this meeting speeches were made and a resolution passed which comes under the category of revolt."

These charges were retroactive in so far as they related to an event which occurred before the change of regime. The implication was that it was treasonable for police officials ever to have taken part in anti-Communist political activity, though it had, of course, never been suggested that the police ought to be debarred from other forms of political activity. On the contrary the Communists had always pointed with pride to the fact that the police force, taken as a whole, were zealously active in the Communist interest.

ARTICLE 10.

1. The main personal interference to which the Soviet citizen is exposed at any hour of the day or night is the violation of the sanctity of his home either directly by visits from the secret police or indirectly by its agents. As in Nazi Germany, the secret police can raid his home at any time, but such visits of inspection are perhaps less necessary and less frequent than in Nazi Germany owing to the peculiar conditions under which the Soviet citizen is forced to live. Owing to congested housing conditions two or more families share a single room and three, four or more share kitchens and wash-rooms, etc. Individual members of these families are nearly always forced to spy and report on other families or even on other members of their own family. The tales of these informers give the secret police information of every detail of each Soviet citizen's private life, and make it impossible for him to enjoy such privacy as is known in the West. Even the more privileged Party members, who have rooms to themselves or cars at their disposal, have all their movements shadowed and conversations recorded by their servants or chauffeurs. Conditions in factories or offices are no better, and every worker or official knows that his colleagues are following all his actions and informing on him.

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY****CONFIDENTIAL**



**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

-14-

2. Evidence of this elaborate system of spying and informing has been furnished by Kravchenko in 'I Chose Freedom', and by a great number of visitors, writers or refugees who have been in Soviet Russia.

ARTICLE 11.

1. Clause 1. By an Order of December 27th 1932, the old Tsarist 'internal passport' system was revived in the Soviet Union, but revived in a much stricter form.

It will be remembered that before the Revolution every subject was compelled to carry a 'passport' for the purpose of identification and, of course, for effective police control when necessary, but that this system did not restrict the subject's right to travel about or to change his residence and work - with the exception of Jews, most of whom were confined to the 'Pale of Settlement'. The abolition of this system was regarded as one of the achievements of the Russian Revolution. However, the Soviet decree of 1932 introduced a much less liberal system of passports. The new 'passports' registered the holder's domicile, and anyone found living outside his registered area for more than three days without official permission was to be summarily ordered to return home. People giving shelter to such offenders were made subject to punishment. However by 1939 even this decree was regarded as too liberal, and by a decree of December 20th, 1938, 'Labour Books' were introduced for every Soviet worker. These were small documents in which were entered all possible details about the worker and his working record: his name, age, education, qualifications, type of work done, efficiency, dates when his job was changed, reasons for that change, etc. Every Soviet worker now has his internal passport (controlling his place of residence) and his labour book, which he hands over to the administration of his place of work when he takes up employment. If he leaves his work his labour book is returned to him containing an account of his behaviour and efficiency during his employment there, and a statement of the reason for his leaving. Without handing in his labour book no Soviet worker can obtain employment. As unemployment does not exist officially in the Soviet Union, there is also no such thing as unemployment relief. Therefore any worker who is 'black-listed' for any reason has no legal alternative to starvation. Finally, a decree of June 26th 1940, which has not been rescinded as have the majority of our (milder) wartime measures for the direction of labour, forbade workers to leave their jobs without special authorisation, to be given only on medical grounds or if the worker was required for special training. As far as our information goes, this decree is fully exploited. (Note: existing British measures for the direction of labour contain no prohibition against a worker leaving a job: they do require a worker to attend at a Labour Exchange if he does leave his job, and to choose from a selection of jobs presented to him by the Exchange. Even in the case of agriculture and mining, where a worker has to show very special reasons in order to be permitted to leave the industries themselves, there is nothing to prevent a worker changing from farm to farm or from pit to pit.) It can therefore be stated that there is no 'freedom of movement and residence', within what should be the meaning of this Article, for the average Soviet citizen.

2. Clause 2. No Soviet citizen is allowed out of the Soviet Union on a private mission - not even the wives of foreign citizens. A number of Soviet wives of British subjects were, however, granted this during the war as a result of personal intervention.

ARTICLE 12. No comment.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

-15-

**This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency**ARTICLE 13.

Soviet nationality can be lost in two ways: by judgement of the Court in cases provided by the Criminal Code or by sanction of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Soviet legislation permits the renunciation of Soviet citizenship but this is rarely granted. Many of the Soviet wives of British subjects have made application but have been refused with no reason given. There are strong deterrents (prospect of heavy punishment, elaborate frontier guards, etc.) in operation against anyone wishing to cross the Soviet frontier without official permission.

ARTICLE 14.

Clause I. On February 15th 1947 a decree was passed forbidding marriage between Soviet citizens and citizens of any other country.

Clause II. No comment.

Clause III. 1. There is precious little protection of the family in the U.S.S.R., but the matter is such a broad one and the evidence so confused that there is little point in joining issue with the Soviet Union on the question.

2. Soviet legislation however includes a staggering provision for the victimisation of a family, which cannot go unmentioned here. It is included in the ferocious deterrent provisions against frontier-crossing by members of the Soviet armed forces. The deserters' families are exiled, while those members of a deserter's family who fail to denounce their relatives to the authorities are condemned to forced labour. (Decree of the former Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. passed on June 8th, 1934 to supplement articles 58 and 59 of the Penal Code: "If a person in military employ takes flight across the frontier by air or otherwise, any member of his family who is of full age and who assists him in preparations for or in committing treason, or who, having knowledge of it, fails to bring it to the knowledge of the authorities, is liable to deprivation of liberty for a period of from five to ten years and confiscation of the whole of his property. Any other member of the traitor's family who is of full age and was living with or dependent on him at the time when the crime was committed, is liable to deprivation of electoral rights and exile to remote regions of Siberia.")

ARTICLE 15.

Clause I. No comment.

Clause II. There has been undoubtedly abuse of legal measures of nationalisation and expropriation (e.g. most recently in the Baltic States), but we have no reliable ground on which to join issue with the Soviet Union here.

ARTICLE 16.

Article 124 of the Soviet Constitution states: "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens." The Soviet citizen has no freedom of religious propaganda and is therefore not permitted to "manifest his religion or belief in teaching", although a limited number of religious seminaries are permitted. The Soviet State preserves in theory a position of complete neutrality towards the religious beliefs of its citizens.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

-16-

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

Nevertheless the 'leading core' of all State and Party machinery in the U.S.S.R. is occupied by the Communist Party, and the Communist Party's attitude towards religion is very far from neutral, although its history of religious persecution since 1917 has taught it that 'religious prejudices' - as official Soviet spokesmen describe religion - cannot be 'liquidated' by the totalitarian method of force. It may be thought that the creation of the Moscow Patriarchate and other concessions to the Russian Church have ushered in a new era of Soviet tolerance, as set out in the Soviet Constitution. The present official attitude of the Communist Party (and therefore of the Soviet State) however towards religion has been expressed in an article which appeared in the Soviet periodical 'Young Bolshevik' for December 1947, entitled 'The Young Communist's Attitude to Religion'. It contains the following revealing statements:

(a) 'With the triumph of Socialism in our country, the social roots of Religion have been eliminated, but religious convictions exist in the form of survivals from the past in the consciousness of the backward and, as a rule, insufficiently educated and cultured people. Although these survivals are withering away, they will not disappear of themselves. For within the country, the church workers are trying to increase their religious influence on the backward part of our people, in particular on the politically immature among youth, taking advantage of every weakness in the training work of the Young Communist League and other social and cultural organisations.

(b) 'The movement of our society forward to Communism demands an... intensified struggle against all survivals of bourgeois ideology and morals, including religious prejudices and superstitions.'

These extracts are typical of the anti-religious campaign in its disguised form which is now being carried out in the U.S.S.R. Religion is termed 'religious prejudices and superstition' and as such is attacked by Party-State propaganda machinery.

To sum up, the Communist Party is anti-religious and a man of deep religious convictions would most certainly be debarred from attaining high office in State or Party. Victor Kravchenko in 'I Chose Freedom' cites the case of a Party member, otherwise exemplary in every respect, who was expelled from the Party solely because he was married in a church and failed to report this fact to his Party superiors.

In discussion of this issue it is important that wool should not be pulled over our eyes regarding the identity of the Party with the State (cf. Article 126 of the Constitution which defines the Party as the "leading core of all State and public organisations").

#### ARTICLES 17 and 18.

1. For these it will be as well to turn to Article 124 of the Soviet Constitution which runs as follows:

'In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed by law:

- (a) Freedom of speech;
- (b) Freedom of the press;
- (c) Freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
- (d) Freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

CONFIDENTIAL

- 17 -

This material procured by

These civil rights are assured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organisations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.'

2. It is clear that the first nine words of the preamble to this Article: 'in conformity with the interests of the working people', remove all real content from the Article's liberal provisions. For the interests of the working people of the Soviet Union must obviously be determined by the Communist Party, as, in the words of the first paragraph of the 'Statutes of the All-Union Communist Party':- 'The All-Union Communist Party is the foremost, organised detachment of the working class of the U.S.S.R., the highest form of its class organisation'. It is not illogical to suggest that the interests of the working class coincide with those of the 'foremost organised detachment of that class'. Therefore, in the U.S.S.R., freedom of speech, press, assembly and demonstration are guaranteed only when they conform with the interests of the Communist Party. In fact, Soviet citizens are free only to speak, print and demonstrate their agreement with the pronouncements and actions of the Communist Party, i.e. of the Politbureau, i.e. of the State. It should be pointed out here in parenthesis that Soviet propaganda, both internal and external, makes great play of what it describes as 'Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism'. That this has nothing in common with the real significance of criticism is apparent from the inclusion of the preliminary epithet. In practice it consists of encouraging rank-and-file members of the Communist Party or some other 'public or State organisation' to express dissatisfaction with the way in which the orders of the Soviet leaders are being carried out. As a result of such 'criticism' heads have often been known to fall from minor bureaucratic shoulders. The system is not without its uses to the Soviet leaders, as thereby any discontent brewing up as a result of inefficient or mistaken planning from above can be most effectively diverted to break over subordinate heads. There has never been any example of rank-and-file criticism of the wisdom of plans and orders emanating from the Soviet leaders - such a thing is indeed unthinkable in the Soviet Union.

3. The final paragraph of Article 125 indicates the exact methods whereby these amenities are ensured. Presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites are 'placed at the disposal of the working people and their organisations'. This means that they are placed at the disposal of organisations of working people - they are certainly not placed at the disposal of individual working persons.

4. It is useful to contrast this decree with the administrative regulations (precise reference unfortunately not available at present) which deal with the right to acquire any form of hand-duplicating machine. Here a licence must be obtained from the local police authorities and it must be issued in the name of the head of the so-called "Secret Department" (i.e. the department responsible for security to the Minister of Security) of the undertaking or organisation applying for the licence, or in the name of the organisation if there is no "Secret Department". Licences are not issued to individuals. The machine must be registered with the State Publishing and Censorship Department. The licence must be produced each time before replacements, accessories or materials for the machine can be purchased. Everything produced on the machine is subject to preliminary censorship by the local branch of the State Publishing Department before it can be distributed.

CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

18 -

- this material is prepared by  
**Central Intelligence Agency**ARTICLE 19.

1. Clause I. The basic description of the Soviet electoral system is given in Chapter III of the Soviet Constitution. From this we learn that 'The highest organ of State authority of the U.S.S.R. is the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.' - and we already know that the Communist Party is the leading core of all State organisations (Article 126). Article 32 of the Constitution tells us that 'the legislative power of the U.S.S.R. is exercised exclusively by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.'; Article 33 states that the Supreme Soviet is bicameral, consisting of a Soviet of the Union and a Soviet of Nationalities. Article 34 explains that 'the Soviet of the Union is elected by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. according to electoral areas on the basis of one deputy for every 300,000 of the population'; and Article 35 explains that the Soviet of Nationalities is also elected according to a proportional representation system (which need not concern us here). Finally, Article 56 states: 'The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., at a joint sitting of both Chambers, appoints the Government of the U.S.S.R., namely the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.' From chapter XI of the Soviet Constitution we learn that all Soviet deputies are elected 'on the basis of universal, direct and equal-suffrage by equal ballot' (Article 134); that all Soviet citizens of 18 and over, without any sexual, racial, economic, religious or other discrimination, have the right to vote. Furthermore each citizen has one vote (Article 136). Of great significance is Article 141, which states: 'The right to nominate candidates is secured (not to individuals but) to public organisations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organisations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth organisations and cultural societies.' Now it follows from the nature of the 'leading core' (Article 126) of the 'public organisations and societies of the working people', that they cannot in practice nominate candidates in any way opposed to the beliefs and actions of the Communist Party. We further know, from a study of the Soviet press over several months preceding the elections to, for example, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in February 1946, that candidates nominated for election are all enrolled in a so-called 'Communist and non-party bloc', and that only one candidate is registered for election in each electoral ward. This has been the method adopted in every single election held in the Soviet Union, at least since 1937. Thus every Soviet citizen has the right, by secret ballot, to vote for or against a solitary candidate. If that candidate nevertheless fails to be returned, another election is held with another candidate, carefully nominated by the 'public organisations and societies of the working people'.

2. It is at least questionable therefore whether a Soviet citizen has any 'freely chosen representatives'.

3. Clauses II and III. No comment.

ARTICLE 20. See comments on succeeding articles to which this is related.

ARTICLE 21.

1. Clauses I and II. See Article 4, (Forced Labour).

There is, to say the least, good foundation for the suspicions that prisoners are arrested and condemned to forced labour purely to provide a cheap labour force (which they certainly do provide).

2. Clause III. The right of the Soviet citizen to join trade unions is guaranteed in Article 126 of the Soviet Constitution, which lists these organisations among permitted public organisations. But Soviet Trade Unions certainly do not protect the interests of the worker. Their true function is revealed in an article in the Soviet Encyclopaedia (1940) which points out

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY** Material procured by Intelligence Agency

- 19 -

that 'in conditions of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat' the Trade Unions fulfil the role of 'a school of Communism'. (Stalin himself in the 11th edition of his 'Questions of Leninism' (1940) page 132, explains that the Soviet Trade Unions are 'the all-embracing organisation of the working class which is in power in our country....They form the link between the advanced and the backward elements in the ranks of the working class.' He goes on to point out that the Trade Unions constitute one of five 'levers or transmission belts' without whose aid the dictatorship of the proletariat could not exist. (The other four 'transmission belts' referred to by Stalin are: the Soviets, the Co-operative Societies, the Young Communist League, and the Communist Party itself.)) As a transmission belt for the Soviet dictatorship and as a school for Communism, the Soviet Trade Unions have little if anything in common with the organisations of that name which we know in Western Europe.

ARTICLE 22. It can be contended that social services of the Soviet Union are of a low standard (much inferior to those of the U.K. in almost every respect), but this is scarcely relevant to the main issue.

ARTICLE 23.

1. Clause I. No comment.

2. Clause II. Soviet citizens are not educated to be intolerant of and to hate other nations but reactionaries in those nations, though the distinction undoubtedly becomes blurred.

3. It is doubtful whether Soviet children are educated to a respect for fundamental freedoms, but it can be argued profitlessly both ways.

4. As regards religious groups, Article 124 of the Soviet Constitution acknowledges the right of all citizens to freedom of anti-religious propaganda and thus conduces to the spread of intolerance and hatred against religious groups.

ARTICLE 24. No Comment.  
ARTICLE 25 No comment.

ARTICLE 26 ditto.

ARTICLE 27. The comments on preceding Articles concerning these rights, and on the right of privacy (Article 10) and arbitrary arrest (Article 7) provide comment on this Article should it become a subject of debate with reference to conditions in the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 28. No comment.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

NOTE

This document contains many citations from the Czechoslovak press and radio. As far as recent citations are concerned, it is requested that the source should not be quoted unless it is considered essential to do so. The Prague radio and the Czechoslovak press are a valuable source of information on local conditions and it is very desirable that no action should be taken which might lead to the imposition of a closer censorship.

*This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency*

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

CONTENTS

Declassified in Part - Sanitized Copy Approved for Release 2012/04/18 : CIA-RDP83-00415R005600050002-2 HUM

SECTION 1.

Introduction

2. The Czechoslovak Constitution

3. Details of Violation of Human Rights in Czechoslovakia

I. Integrity of the Judiciary and administration of justice

II. Retrospective Justice

III. Security of person

IV. Forced Labour

V. Denunciation

VI. Freedom of Information

VII. Freedom of Assembly

VIII. Religious Discrimination

IX. Freedom of Movement

X. Right of personal property

XI. Racial discrimination.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

Information procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

*Notes on the Observance of Human Rights in Czechoslovakia*

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**



**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**SECTION 1.INTRODUCTION*This material produced by  
Central Intelligence Agency*

It is unnecessary to recapitulate the steps by which the Communists seized power in Czechoslovakia; they will be fresh in the mind of everyone. The Communist technique of infiltration into the sources of power in a liberal democracy, and especially the police, the armed forces, the municipalities, and the trades unions, is familiar enough. It is not Communist practice to wait until the majority of the electorate has been persuaded to support them; indeed this has never happened. Power is seized as soon as the Party is in a position to do so safely. But there has always been an attempt to suggest that this seizure of power represents the will of the people and to obtain the endorsement of a rump of elected representatives. This hypocrisy is the tribute which vice pays to virtue. Thus, the present Czechoslovak régime, which the Communists forced on the people over the heads of the constitutionally appointed leaders of the democratic parties, extracted a spurious mandate from a terrorised National Assembly, from which seventy deputies had been arbitrarily excluded. Once established in power this régime, by means of rigged elections, where the ballot was neither free nor secret and no opposition candidates could stand, forced on the people a communist parliament, which duly confirmed the government's mandate and subsequently unanimously elected the leader of the Communist Party President of the Republic. The seal was set on the Communist seizure of power by the passing of the new constitution, which the legally elected President Benes had refused to sign. A Communist Prime

/Minister

**CONFIDENTIAL**

-2-

Minister, therefore, a Communist cabinet and a communist Assembly conspired to turn a communist conception of government into Czechoslovak law and write it on the Statute books.

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

This material is controlled by

Central Intelligence Agency

-3-

law does not decree otherwise. "The law", nowhere fixed nor defined, is being continually added to, so that each new piece of legislation makes wider the loopholes which the constitution has left.

5. "Personal freedom" we are told in Section 2 "is guaranteed. It may be restricted or withheld only on the basis of law" But there is no law to indicate when a citizen may expect to find his personal freedom restricted or withheld. The Assembly has subsequently passed a law legalising slave labour and every citizen may well wonder what limit there will be to laws passed in the future which may restrict his freedom. (See Section 3, item IV "Forced labour").

6. In Section 3 it states, "no one shall be prosecuted except in cases permitted under the law and then only by a court or authority competent by law." There is nothing to indicate when these cases are permitted, or, more important, what authority other than a court can prosecute. (See also Section 3, item III "Security of person.")

7. It is the same with other civic rights which should be inviolable. The inviolability of the domicile is guaranteed, but it may be restricted "on the basis of law". No-one's premises may be searched "except in cases permitted under the law". A search may be carried out only on the strength of a written circumstantiated warrant granted by a judge or competent authority. There is no clue as to what this competent authority may be. But it makes little difference as it is stated further on that "a search can be carried out otherwise if the law so directs."

**CONFIDENTIAL**

/8.

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

-4-

8. In short all these rights may be restricted "by law", and the Nation Assembly may well pass retroactive legislation restricting these rights and has indeed already done so.

9. Special clauses have been incorporated into the constitution to allow still more scope to the secret police. According to these, "Statements and Acts that constitute a threat to the independence, entirety and unity of the state, constitution, republican form of government and the People's Democratic Order are punishable according to the law". Finally in Section 38, we learn that all the rights and liberties conceded in the Constitution may be restricted "when events occur that threaten in increased measure the independence, entirety and unity of the state, etc. (see above)". It is not laid down who is to determine when such events have occurred, but it seems evident that they are likely to occur fairly frequently in the present state of tension between the Czechoslovak rulers and the people.

-1- **CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**  
**CONFIDENTIAL**

SECTION 3.

This material is furnished by  
Central Intelligence Agency

Details of Violation of Human Rights  
in Czechoslovakia practised by the régime  
since the Communist coup in February 1948.

I. The Integrity of the Judiciary

The Communists were not slow in seeing to it that all those elements on the Czech bench who were likely to dispense justice in the "old-fashioned" way were purged. The President of the Supreme Court of Justice has been dismissed and replaced by a nominee of the régime. 4 judges and 2 state prosecutors have been removed from the same court. 16 judges have been removed from the Central Court of Justice in Prague, including the President and Vice-President. The Court of Olomouc in Moravia has been purged of its President, Vice-President and eight judges. These are only some of the victims of the Communist purge of justice.

2. The Central Action Committee which dissolved the Union of Czech lawyers will not allow a lawyer to practice unless he is "reliable" and withholds its permits from many reputable lawyers, including any who were so rash as to defend collaborators or black marketeers.

3. Dr. Prokop Drtina, the Minister of Justice, who was political adviser to President Benes during his years in England, and who championed justice so heroically against Communist abuses was removed from his post during the coup d'état and replaced by the unprincipled Communist fanatic Cepicka. The latter has declared that the mission of judges is to be a support of the people's democratic administration and to apply the laws in the spirit of that

administration /

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

- 2 -

administration. Dr. Drtina is now in hospital with severe head injuries resulting from what is reported to have been an attempt to commit suicide.

4. Provision of an independent judiciary was a feature of the old Constitution, Section 98 of which stated that judges should be independent in the exercise of their conscience and bound only by law, to abide by which they pledged themselves on oath. On the other hand, Article XI of the new constitution, section 143, requires judges to take an oath that they will "abide by the laws and orders and interpret them in the light of the Constitution and of the principles of the People's Democratic Order etc."

5. The New Constitution provides for lay judges whose votes are equal with those of professional judges. Lay judges, according to Section 142, are appointed by the National Committees, which means, in effect, by the "Action Committees". In the case of the revived Retribution Decree and People's Courts the bench is to consist of a professional judge and 2 or 4 lay judges. As the votes of the lay judges are decisive, the likelihood of a fair trial is remote.

6. The Old Constitution established an independent Constitutional Court, including at least two Supreme Court judges which could declare a law invalid if it was considered to conflict with the constitution. Section 65 of the new constitution allocates to the Praesidium of the National Assembly the task of interpreting the laws in the event of a dispute and of deciding whether a law is at variance with the constitution. Thus, under the new constitution the judges, so far from deciding the validity of decrees, have to swear to obey them.

7. /

**CONFIDENTIAL**

- 3 -

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**Central Intelligence Agency**

7. Three judges who were concerned in the trial of the accomplices of General Janousek were dismissed because sentences imposed by them were considered too light.

8. Justice has been made still more summary by the passing of two drastic measures;

a. Law 33 providing for the re-opening of cases which have come up or should have come up before the now defunct Peoples Courts. This is allowed where the case should not have been stopped or where the sentence was too low or was never pronounced. This permits the Communists to re-try and increase the sentences of all those whom they specially wish to penalise. It is an effective measure of intimidation. An example of the flagrant injustice of this measure is the case of Kaschtovsky. He was sentenced by a pre-February Peoples Court to 5 years imprisonment on charges of having denounced Czechs to the Germans. At the former trial witnesses stated that he had been active in the underground movement, hence the comparatively light sentence. At the re-trial no witnesses could be found to repeat this statement and Kaschtovsky was therefore re-sentenced to life imprisonment.

b. The new law for the defence of the People's Democracy. By this law attempts to destroy the independence of the constitutional unity of the republic will be treated as High Treason, as will also the following crimes: the secession of parts of the territory of the republic; attempts to overthrow the People's Democratic system or the economic or social order of the republic; alliance with others for the purpose of carrying out such

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

- 4 -

acts: direct or indirect contact with a foreign power or foreign agents. All these crimes are punishable with death or ten years hard labour. Other crimes which come under this law are: forming associations and agitating against the state or defaming the republic: carelessness in maintaining state secrets: the spread of rumours aimed at fomenting unrest, particularly at times of national emergency: the defamation of certain nations or races: the misuse of church office for political ends: neglect of duty or of obligation leading to delay or non-performance of economic plans: acts contrary to the interests of the republic abroad: defaming allied countries: and war mongery. Foreigners may be brought before the courts for these crimes.

It is clear that the tendency of new legislation is towards a drastic penalisation of political and economic offences. This is born out by a recent occasion when the Supreme Court at Brno changed sentences passed a month before on the black marketeers from life imprisonment to death (Rude Pravo Newspaper 10/10).

9. The following official pronouncements and press extracts form an useful guide to an appreciation of the way justice is viewed under the new regime.

- a. The Minister of the Interior published a pamphlet in June 1948 containing proposals for the reorganisation of public administration. One chapter deals with the creation of a new legal system. The whole legal system, it reads, will be purged within the next five years of all those laws which are alien to a people's democracy.



**CONFIDENTIAL**

- 5 -

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

- b. On 22nd February the present Prime Minister Zapotocky addressing a meeting of Works Councils, made the following attack on the integrity of the judiciary. "Sometimes it is really very difficult even as a popular democratic republic, to get rid of the old legal way of looking at things..... when production doesn't go forward as it should and supplies us with throw-outs which horrify us, we ask workers to seek to find where faults lie..... We must ask the same thing of judges. Realise, comrades, that what you are creating for us with your court judgements are just such "throw-outs" which our popular democratic era of to-day ..... has no need of ..... yes, my dear comrades of the judiciary. The verdict denationalising the Orionka concern is not the first "throw-out" you have produced. There is already a whole series of them. You must yourselves see that your labours are in vain. We shall not accept your judgements, for they are not decent products, they are bastard-like throw-outs..."
- c. Members of the "Trade Union of the Judicature" stated they would undertake to make the judges realise that they must be executors of popular democratic justice and must fulfil their duties in accordance with the wishes of the working people. (Prague Radio 17/9).
- d. The Council of the Trades Union has announced that in a number of districts "Workers Courts" will be set up in factories to watch over production and to prevent absenteeism and shirking. These courts are described as having political as well as educational and moral significance.

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

- 6 -

- e. "The basic principle of a People's Democracy is that the people not only make the laws themselves but also carry them out and control their execution" (President Gottwald)
- f. In connexion with the arrests of persons distributing leaflets "preparatory investigations have been shortoned or completely eliminated and there is the question whether at this "American speed" justice can be meted out. But was the old method legally correct? Then the defendent during the preparatory investigations could indulge in all kinds of dubious actions, such as corruption or clever moves by solicitors. All these things will be made impossible in the new Protection of the Republic Act" (Lidove "Noviny" 22/9).
- g. Cepicka (Minister of Justice) in his report on the political situation "stressed the importance of collaboration with the legal experts of the Soviet Union and the Peoples Democracies" (Prague Radio 13/9).

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

II. Retrospective Justice.

1. Retrospective validity given to acts illegally performed at the time of the Coup d'état.

According to law 213 of the 21st July 1948 measures taken between the 20th February and 21st July are declared legally binding provided they safeguard the people's democracy or purge public life.

2. Retrospective liability for offences which were not illegal at the time of the Coup d'état.

After the coup nine members of the Czechoslovak security police were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment for "mutiny" which to quote the official Czech News Agency, consisted in the fact that "the accused took part in the well-known meeting of police officials who were members of the Czech National Socialist Party on 25th February in Prague (i.e. before the coup)". At this meeting speeches were made and a resolution passed which comes under the category of revolt .

These charges were retroactive in so far as they related to an event which occurred before the change of regime. The implication was that it was treasonable for police officials ever to have taken part in anti-communist political activity, though it had, of course, never been suggested that the police ought to be debarred from other forms of political activity. On the contrary the communists had always pointed with pride to the fact that the police force, taken as a whole, were zealously active in the communist interest.

/III

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

### III. Security of Person

The New Constitution makes provision in vague language for arrest and prosecution. Sub-section 3 of section 3 requires that a person arrested by a public functionary should be referred within 48 hours to a court or competent authority, the definition of which is left vague. Again, prosecution by a competent authority is allowed in cases "permitted under the law" and "in a manner prescribed by law" without the law being defined in either case. Similar loose language pervades the Sections relating to inviolability of residence.

2. During the coup d'état a feature of the process of intimidation was the appearance of the illogally armed works militia. These irregular armed squads were also brought out as a measure of preparedness against any demonstrations which might occur during Bones' funeral.
3. The Trades Union Paper "Prace" of 7th October refers to the practice of Works Committees taking with them armed members of the Works Militia when attempting to secure better deliveries of grain. The same paper states that as there were not enough police to man the forced labour camps, they were guarded by the local workers militia.
4. The Minister of the Interior, Nosek, speaking at Caslav on 21st October said that the Works Militia would be available to cope with all those in the service of foreign reactionaries and omigrés.
5. This body represents an added threat to the personal security of the Czechoslovak citizen.

IV /

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

IV. Forced Labour

*This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency*

- At a meeting of the government on 5th October a draft bill was approved setting up forced labour camps.
2. But such camps have been operating for some time. The Most district committee of the Miners Union stated that it was organising a forced labour camp to hold 450 men, specifically "those who avoid work".
  3. The Ministry of the Interior reported that it had approved that a camp in the Karlovy Vary area should be adapted as a forced labour camp administered by the Karlovy Vary National Committee.
  4. The district committee of Minors at Ostrava decided to set up "courts of comrades" which would publicly try absentees and possibly send them to forced labour camps.
  5. A Bratislava Committee sent 784 people to forced labour camps for terms totalling 764 years between May and September 1948 for black market, sabotage and subversion (Prace Newspaper 7/9).
  6. According to the Czech press of 8th October forced labour camps could be used for absentees.
  7. Recently the office of the Slovak Commissioner for Justice set up a special committee which "on the basis of notification from the security police or the economic" control authorities sends persons to forced labour camps. (Prace 7/9).

V./

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

V. Denunciations

Not only are all citizens urged to inform against each other, but persons can be prosecuted for neglecting to do so (vide Reuters report of 20/9 of a medical student who was imprisoned for one year at Ostrava for failing to denounce a schoolmaster who was accused of "handing out anti-communist leaflets".)

VI./

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

VI. Freedom of Information

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

1. Already before the coup d'état freedom of information was considerably restricted by the hold the communists had over the chief media of publicity - the radio, the film industry, the news agency and, to a great extent the press. With the coup d'état all the existing independent sources of information, independent and non-Communist papers, the Slovak radio, western newspapers and reporters, were speedily suppressed. The following is a brief list of the violations of freedom of information which took place concurrently with the outbreak of the coup d'état or immediately after it. All the facts in it, except those detailed under paragraph 2, have been taken from the pages of the Czechoslovak press and have thus been openly admitted.

a. Muzzling of press by Communist controlled Trade Unions operating through Printers and Paper Manufacturing Union

The Government controlled printers Orbis refused to print the independent "Svobodné Noviny" of 24th February as long as Peroutka remained editor. When Peroutka's name was dropped from the title page and other changes made, the Prague edition was printed but the provincial edition was not permitted to go out. Similarly the printers refused to set up the Slovak democratic dailies "Cas" and "Demokrat" and the weeklies "Nove Prudy" and "Sidlo" from 24th February onwards. The chief organs of the National Socialist and People's Parties "Svobodné Slovo" and "Lidová Demokracie" were refused paper on 24th February by the North Bohemian Paper Mills on (Government controlled) Trade Union orders.

b. /

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

b. Dismissal of editors of Opposition and Independent Press.

Of ten Prague dailies the chief editors of four were dismissed. They were the outstanding publicist Ferdinand Peroutka, editor of the Independent daily "Svobodne Noviny", Ivan Herben, editor of the chief National Socialist Organ "Svobodne Slove", Rudolf Nekola, editor of the army paper "Obrana Lidu" and Leo Syohrava, editor of the Legionaries paper "Narodne Osvobozeni" and Vice-Chairman of the United Nations Sub-Commission for Freedom of Information. The last named was abroad at the time of the coup, but was dismissed a day or two after his return on the ground that his paper had failed to support the historical events and had persisted in a policy contrary to the principles of people's democracy. Of nine Prague political weeklies the chief editors of four were dismissed. In addition at least fortyeight leading editors and journalists were expelled from the <sup>(Government controlled)</sup> Czech Journalists' Union and thus prohibited from continuing to exercise their profession. Further, a very large number of those who remained were forced to sign a declaration of loyalty to the Communist Party.

c. The suppression of Czech and Slovak Newspapers.

The following Czech and Slovak papers have been suppressed: Vyvoj, Svobodny Zitrok, Narodna Obroda, Argus, Katoličke Nedeli, Sobota, Rozsivac, Novy Narod, Osvobozeny Nasinec, Hlas, Dnosek, Zemedolska Demokracie, Mlade Prudy, Akord, Obzory.

Although the chief organs of the three Opposition parties still continue to appear their character has entirely changed and they all follow the Communist party line. The chief organ of Slovak Democratic Party was suppressed from 22nd February to 4th March when it reappeared under a different name with a changed policy.



**CONFIDENTIAL**  
**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

- d. The occupation by the police of Prague and Bratislava broadcasting headquarters and denial of broadcasting facilities to Opposition speakers and foreign correspondents.

This material procured by  
 Central Intelligence Agency

On 21st February the building of the Slovak Radio was occupied by the police and a Commissar placed there on the instructions of the Minister of Information. On the same day another Commissar was put in control of the Slovak News Agency which provides all the news for the Slovak Radio bulletins. On 22nd February the Democrat Trustee for Information was refused permission to broadcast from Bratislava. On 21st February the Social Democrat Minister of Food, Majer, was refused permission to broadcast from Prague on the orders of the Ministry of Information. On 23rd February armed police were stationed at the headquarters of Prague radio and were ordered to prevent the entry of those non-Communist members of the staff who had been sent on leave on the outbreak of the crisis.

From 28th February onward the B.B.C. correspondent Patrick Smith was refused broadcasting facilities.

- e. Banning of foreign newspapers, cutting down of their import and various measures taken to discourage their sale.

Certain editions of 27 foreign papers including 5 British were banned. The import of British newspapers was cut by 30%. Non-Communist foreign newspapers are not reaching kiosques in their former quantities. All foreign papers are scanned before being distributed to retailers and editions containing critical material are withheld.

- f. Attempt to control freedom of reporting.

Foreign correspondents were warned by the authorities at a press conference that they should depend as far as

possible /

**CONFIDENTIAL**  
**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

possible for their reports on official sources. If correspondents persisted in sending reports to which the authorities took exception, appropriate measures might have to be taken against them. A return visa was refused to Christopher Buckley, the correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph", and other leading correspondents on the grounds of the "unsatisfactory" nature of their reporting. They have been exposed to personal attacks in the Czech press.

g. Centralisation of all foreign news in Government-controlled monopolising agency.

News from foreign sources now passes through the hands of CTK, Czech Press Agency, which has also become the only accepted agency for distributing it to Czech press, as the Ministry of Information discourages all other agencies except Tass and Telepress.

News unfavourable to Czechoslovakia is suppressed or if circulated to editors is marked "not for publication".

News from Western agencies is doctored by editors of CTK and published as from another source.

The former head of the Political News Department of CTK whose presence there was long a guarantee of fair news distribution has been replaced by a Communist.

2. Since the consolidation of the Communist dictatorship, all attempts to express the popular will or to publish the truth are severely penalised. Under new laws debated in the Czechoslovak National Assembly at the beginning of October it will become a crime against the State to operate an "unauthorised news service" or to spread alarming news. The Minister of Justice has himself stated that only those who maintain a positive attitude towards the new régime can be allowed to indulge in criticism. The following items prove the dangers threatening all who attempt to express their opinion in writing or, indeed, in any other way.

## CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

This material is procured by

Central Intelligence Agency

- a. In Prague on October 7th a tram-driver named Bozdicek was accused of writing inciting articles in the illegal paper "The Torch". The defendant admitted that for his articles he drew on the B.B.C., American and French broadcasts. (Prague Radio 8/10).
- b. According to Rotor many persons were arrested on or about September 17th for having incited unrest by criticising the government's present economic difficulties. Many people were also charged with preparing and distributing anti-State leaflets. Anti-Soviet demonstrations occurred in Czech cinemas during the showing of a film depicting the Red Army's "liberation" of Prague. Detectives were said to be present and a number of people were taken into custody.
- c. From October 6th-8th the Prague State court tried a group of 32 persons who had circulated an underground seditious periodical, "Svobodne Slovo" (the title of the leading organ of the National Socialist Party).
- d. Emil Svicar, a schoolmaster, was sentenced to 8 years hard labour at Ostrava for handing out anti-Communist leaflets. Three women implicated were given sentences varying from 5- 6½ years. All except one were members of the National Socialist Party (the largest democratic party before the coup d'état). Reuters September 20th.
- e. In Liberec sentences were passed on a group of persons who were arrested for distributing leaflets in the Jablonec region. The terms varied from eight to one years

CONFIDENTIAL

CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

- years hard labour (Prague Radio 17/9). In Litomerice a school teacher was sentenced to nine years hard labour and several others to imprisonment from 2 - 8 years for distributing leaflets (Prague Radio 24/9). Persons have been tried for similar offences in Brno, Pribram, Pilsen, Kolin, Havlickuv Brod, Turnov, Ostrava, Jicin, Prague, Usti, Slan and Kromeriz.
- f. The Parliamentary immunity committee deprived Synek, a deputy, of his immunity for "disseminating untruth, about the Prime Minister, the S.N.B. (Police) and the National Corporations"
  - g. The Action Committee of the Trade Transport and Restaurateurs Union resolved to call upon tradesmen and shopkeepers not to allow propaganda against the regime to be carried on at shop counters.
  - h. National administrators have been placed in control of the leading non-Communist publishing houses. Before they are appointed they have to be vetted by the Syndicate of Czech Authors (Communist).
  - i. According to an official announcement in Brno on 6th October a 27 years old student Zdenek Vesely will shortly be tried for listening to and attempting to get into contact with a foreign radio station and trying to distribute leaflets.

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**VII. Freedom of Assembly**

Addressing a regional congress of the Communist Party in Kladno on 11th September, 1948, the Minister of the Interior, Nosek, admitted that the works militia had been used to prevent the organisation of a mass sokol meeting in Prague. He said:-

"The reaction had wished to organise a mass sokol meeting in Prague. People from the country had been exhorted to proceed to Prague, and mass anti-State demonstrations had been prepared. Elemental indignation shook the Prague factories and into the streets had poured the glorious works militia. Then reaction lost all desire to make demonstrations as soon as it saw the militiamen in their dungarees with rifles on their shoulder".

VIII. /

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

### VIII. Religious Discrimination

According to sections 16 and 17 of the Czechoslovak constitution full freedom of conscience and religious denomination is guaranteed to every citizen. This includes "carrying out the acts connected with any religious creed".

2. Nevertheless the Archbishop of Prague who had shown the utmost willingness to keep the church loyal to the regime and who personally officiated at a Te Deum in honour of the new president Gottwald on 14th June was constrained to have a memorandum read from the pulpit in all churches of Bohemia and Moravia listing the reasons why the Roman Catholic Church had not felt able to declare its support for the regime. This memorandum was drawn up and signed by the whole Catholic hierarchy of the country at a meeting at Nitra on 16th August. Among the objections raised in this memorandum were the following:-

- a. Priests were being prevented from carrying out their duties.
- b. Public expression of religion was being restricted.
- c. No compensation had been paid for confiscated church property, as a result of which numbers of priests would soon be without means of livelihood.
- d. The whole non-political Catholic press in the Czech lands had been virtually banned.

IX. /

Central Intelligence Agency

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY****IX. Freedom of Movement**

Immediately after the coup d'état the Minister of Interior made it impossible for Czechs to leave the country without obtaining a special exit permit. This permit was granted to very few persons.

2. In June 1948 the Ministry of the Interior announced that 1017 persons had been arrested while trying to escape.

3. According to Lidove Noviny of 9th May a Czechoslovak national was shot by a frontier guard on 11th April while illegally crossing the frontier.

4. The Prior of the Dominican monastery at Znojmo has been sentenced to 18 years penal servitude for his connexion with an organisation directing the escape abroad of political refugees (Prague Radio, 29/9). A priest was sentenced to 14 years penal servitude, 11 other persons were convicted. The police said that the monastery was the scene where would-be escapees made contacts and went into hiding until border crossings could be arranged.

5. A military court condemned a member of the National Security Corps to nine years imprisonment and 2 persons from Klatovy to six years imprisonment for having helped refugees in illegal camps from Czechoslovakia to Germany (Prague Radio, 1/10).

6. The rapporteur of the Legal Committee of the Parliament discussing on 29th September, 1948 the Government's draft bill for the protection of the Republic said: "The act of fleeing the country must be punished".

7. According to the Manchester Guardian of 11th October a senior Czech General Staff Officer who arrived at Northolt two days before said that of his five companions who attempted to escape with him from Czechoslovakia, only two got across the frontier. One was shot dead, another died later from a wound and a third was captured.

X. /

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

## X. Right of Personal Property

Even before the Coup d'Etat the Communists were quick to sequester and distribute among their supporters property which had belonged to Germans, collaborators and such-like. New conditions have offered fresh possibilities of obtaining loot.

2. The Ministry of Industry has warned peasants that their farms would be taken over if they failed to produce their quotas.
3. The Council of the Provincial National Committee of Bohemia decided on 5th May to request the Ministry of Agriculture to work out the draft of a bill to provide for the confiscation of the agricultural property of all who had fled the country after the February coup.
4. According to Prague Radio of 18/9 the Bratislava Housing Committee was told by the representative of the Commissariat of the Interior that a list of 274 civil servants removed from office in the purge would soon be presented. These civil servants would lose their flats.
5. Nine farmers at Pilsen have had their farms confiscated and handed over to national trusteeship because they hid grain during the harvest (Official announcement from Prague 11/10).



This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

## CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

### XI. Racial Discrimination

The Hungarian paper "Szabad Nép" of 6th June cites the grievances under which the Hungarian nationals in Czechoslovakia are suffering.

1. New orders have been published prohibiting the Hungarian language.
2. Contrary to all previous agreements between the two governments the confiscation of Hungarian property continues. In the district of Nitra the land of Hungarian smallholders unwilling to "re-Slovakise" was confiscated and given to "re-Slovakised" Hungarians.
3. Anti-Hungarian propaganda continues.
4. The Czech authorities transferred thousands of Hungarians to Bohemia and Moravia for labour. An attempt is now being made to induce these Hungarians to apply for Czech nationality on condition they stay where they are. Otherwise they will be considered as aliens.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

PART A

**CONFIDENTIAL**NOTED BRITISH SCIENTIST RESIGNS FROM MOSCOW ACADEMY

Sir H. Dale, O.M. Protests Against U.S.S.R.'s "Terrible Injury" to Science **this material procured by Central Intelligence Agency**

Sir Henry Dale, O.M., distinguished British medical scientist and president of the British Royal Society from 1940 to 1945 has resigned from the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. because of the "political tyranny" under which he believes it to be suffering. This decision coincides with and is largely shown to be justified by the announcement of the Presidium of the Academy on 23rd November that compulsory training in Marxist dialectics is to be undertaken by all young students for the future.

Sir Henry Dale's decision was made known to the Soviet Academy in a letter the text of which was published in London on November 26th.

In his letter, Sir Henry Dale referred to the replacement of the distinguished Soviet scientist N.I. Vavilov, who was elected to be one of the 50 foreign members of the Royal Society in 1942, by T.D. Lysenko "the advocate of a doctrine of evolution which, in effect, denies all the progress made by research in that field since Lamarck's speculations appeared early in the nineteenth century".

This process, Sir Henry complains, was not the result of an honest and open conflict of scientific opinions; Lysenko's own claims and statements made it clear that his dogma had been established and enforced by the Central Committee of the Communist Party as conforming to the political philosophy of Marx and Lenin.

After referring to the restriction in the Soviet Union of all research and teaching in genetics to a politically imposed orthodoxy, Sir Henry Dale concludes his letter by saying: "Since Galileo was driven by threats to his historic denial there have been many attempts to suppress or to mutilate scientific truth in the interests of some extraneous creed but none has had a lasting success; Hitler's was the most recent failure ... For my own part, being free to choose, I believe that I should do a disservice even to my scientific colleagues in the U.S.S.R. if I were to retain an association in

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL II S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

-A2-

which I might appear to condone the actions by which your academy, under whatever compulsion, is now responsible for such a terrible injury to the freedom and the integrity of science".

Science must yield to Political Doctrine

This material procured by  
**Central Intelligence Agency**

The Presidium's announcement of November 23rd makes it obvious that the main objective of the newly fledged Soviet scientist is to square his findings with Marxist dialectics.

The announcement refers to a discussion by the Presidium of Marxist-Leninist education of post-graduate students and to their decision that "for the further improvement of the ideological and political level of the young scientific cadres compulsory lectures are to be introduced on dialectical and historical materialism. In each department of the Academy post-graduate students will study the philosophical foundations of the corresponding branch of science".

The same report announces that in the Genetics Institute of the Academy of Sciences, which is now directed by Lysenko, the number of post-graduate students is to be increased. The study of the "fundamentals of Michurinist biology is to be introduced for all post-graduate students studying biology.

No clearer indication could be given of the determination of the Communist Party to make Soviet science lie in the Procrustes bed of rigid political (here described as "Michurinist") doctrine.

Sir Henry Dale, in his letter of resignation, writes of the repeated and unavailing efforts of the Royal Society to discover the fate of N.I. Vavilov, who was known to have been dismissed from his post and to have died in somewhat mysterious circumstances some time between 1941 and 1943.

Repeated enquiries addressed to the Moscow Academy through all available channels received no reply of any kind.

The case of Vavilov is one of many. During the past three or four months the following Soviet scientists have been dismissed from their posts in Soviet Academies and universities for holding "reactionary and idealistic" views on biology (cf. 15/B (7) c).

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

-43-

S.M. Gorshenzen, professor of biology at Kiev University.

L.A. Orbeli, secretary of biological science section of the Academy of Sciences.

I.H. Polyakov, departmental head of Institute of Selection and Genetics and professor of biology at Kharkov University.

D.K. Tretyakov, president of the biology section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and director of the Zoology Institute.

These dismissals were going on while Alexander Fadeev, chief Soviet spokesman at the Wroclaw Congress of Intellectuals in August 1948 was telling delegates that "broad creative discussions on debatable questions of science and art have become a daily practice in Soviet cultural life".

Sir Henry Hallett Dale was awarded the Order of Merit in 1944. In 1936 he shared the Nobel prize for medicine. He is a member of many British and international medical and scientific organisations.

17/A

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS**

SOVIET STYLE TITLES FOR YUGOSLAV WORKERS

Central Intelligence Agency

"Fighter for a High Yield": this is one of the "titles of distinction which have been introduced by the legislative committee of the Yugoslav National Assembly to "give an impetus to the nation-wide character of the shock workers' movement", according to an announcement broadcast by Tanjug on 17th November.

The other titles awarded in Yugoslavia in imitation of the Soviet Stakhanovite system, which is designed to extract as much labour from the worker as possible are as follows:- "Champion of Socialist Work, Distinguished Champion of Socialist Work, Hero of Socialist Work of the People's Republic and Hero of Socialist Work of Yugoslavia".

17/B (1) a

GERMAN GIRLS CONSCRIPTED FOR WORK IN MINES

Young girls are among those sent as forced labourers to work in the uranium mines at Aue. The Christian Democrat newspaper "Hamburger Allgemeine" reported on 1st November that about 50 young girls standing in the Friedrichstrasse railway station in the Soviet sector of Berlin a few days earlier had told questioners that they were on their way to Aue. They had been summoned by the Labour Exchange for the Neubrandenburg district to report at the railway station in conformity with Soviet military administration orders and to bring food and clothing with them. It was only at the station that they were told they would be sent to work in the mines at Aue and on their journey to Berlin they were accompanied by members of the Soviet-sponsored German Socialist Unity Party.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

-B2-

This material procured by

GERMAN WORKERS IGNORE SOVIET BRIEF OFFER Central Intelligence Agency

The Russians have promised a reward of 12,000 cigarettes and a fortnight's special leave to anyone telling them who wrote the slogan "Feed us like Pieck and Grotewohl (leaders of the Soviet-sponsored Socialist Unity Party) and we shall work a Hennecke (Stakhanovite) shift" on a ventilator shaft at the Espenhain pit in Saxony.

The Western Sector Berlin radio report on 23rd November said that the promised reward had produced no result.

17/B (1) c

(2) Agrarian Affairs

PEASANTS INTERNED DESPITE ACQUITTAL

Eighteen farmers in Debrecon (Hungary) were arrested for sabotage, according to the newspaper "Vilag" of 26th October, which added the following significant postscript:-

"In case these peasants are acquitted by the People's Court, they will be interned".

It was for protesting against a procedure, whereby those found not guilty were interned and against the fact that it should be "accepted as natural" by journalists of the Hungarian popular democracy, that the Democratic People's Barankovic's (opposition) Party newspaper "Hazank" was rebuked for defending peasant-farmers. (Cf. 16/B (7) e)

17/B (2)

(3) Islamic World

ISRAELI UNITS TRAINED IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Further information on Czech military aid for Israel, assistance rendered in violation of the United Nations' Truce, has been given by Czechoslovak refugees who have recently succeeded in escaping across the frontier. (cf. 14/B (3))

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Central Intelligence Agency

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

Units of the Israeli army, according to these refugees, receive instruction in Czechoslovakia. Members of these units, which include women, are housed in five different camps, including those at Libava in north-eastern Moravia and at Olomouc. They are there instructed by Israeli officers from Palestine. Miners, who have been sent to the Jachymov uranium mines from the Eastern zone of Germany, have in some cases chosen to serve with the Israeli units rather than work in the mines.

Aerodromes at Zatec, Hradec Kralove and Brno are among those used to send arms and in some cases fuel to Palestine.

17/B (3)

(5) Asiatic Affairs

NEHRU SAYS COMMUNISTS OVERPLAYED THEIR HANDS

The change in Communist policy in Asia after the war and the possible reasons which led the Communist Parties to overplay their hands were discussed by the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Nehru at a press conference on 12th November.

Pandit Nehru recalled that there had been a marked change in Communist policy when support for nationalist governments formed in Asian countries was replaced by an opposition which inspired attempts to uproot these governments. The programme of the national governments in Burma and Indonesia were advanced socialist programmes, pointed out the Prime Minister. Nevertheless the Communists there rebelled against them; they isolated themselves, in other words, from the national movements which were still the most powerful in these countries.

This premature action on the part of the Communists had only two possible explanations: "either the Communist leadership in these countries was very immature and had no realisation or appreciation of conditions in the country, or they acted under orders from some other place which ignored these conditions for some reason of their own". "Perhaps it was both", added Pandit Nehru.

17/B (5) a

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Central Intelligence Agency  
**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

REVOLT REPORTED IN KOREA'S SOVIET ZONE

At least 6,000 rebels are reported to have been killed by the Soviet-trained North Korean People's Army after a weak, unorganised and unsuccessful revolt against Communist domination had broken out in eight cities of the Soviet-occupied zone, according to Chungking radio on 8th November.

Hunger, poverty, cold and oppression in the Soviet area are indicated to be motives of the rebellion, which was made possible, it is believed, by the partial withdrawal of Soviet troops.

17/B (5) b

(6) International Movements

COMMUNISTS ATTEMPT TO DOMINATE WORLD PRESS ORGANISATION

Indications that attempts by the U.S.S.R. and her satellites to bend yet another international organisation - this time the International Organisation of Journalists - to their own political purposes are likely to be frustrated have come from reports of the meeting of the Executive Committee which took place in Budapest between 16th and 18th November. Similar attempts in the World Federation of Trade Unions and World Federation of Democratic Youth have recently been made.

It was the purpose of the meeting to discuss the internal affairs of the organisations, and efforts to use the meeting for the passing of resolutions condemning alleged activities of the non-Communist powers led to the walking out of the United States delegate, Martin, and the abandonment of participation in the meeting by the British and Swedish delegates.

The events which led to this began with a resolution proposed by the Hungarian delegate which sought to attribute "war-mongering" to the Western Powers. Discussion was steered to a drafting committee which produced a resolution which dealt with the subject in a way which could be adopted without distaste.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**



**CONFIDENTIAL**

Secured by  
Central Intelligence

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

Despite the passing of this resolution in its amended form, the Polish delegate immediately thereafter proposed a resolution on the same theme which attributed war-mongering specifically to the United States.

It was at this point that the U.S. delegate walked out and the British and Swedish delegates announced that they would take no further part.

A strong Russian delegation included Zaslavsky, editor of "Pravda". There were also delegations from Austria, Belgium, Britain, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Hungary, Netherlands, Israel, Norway, Poland, Roumania, Spain, Sweden, U.S.A. and Yugoslavia.

In June 1948, a Congress of the organisation will take place in Brussels.

There is reason to anticipate that the fissure revealed in the organisation at the meeting of the Executive Committee will be revealed more clearly at the Congress.

17/B (6)

(7) Human Rights

RUSSIANS TRAIN SPIES FOR REFUGEE CAMPS

"Traitors in the camp" was the heading given to an account of the training and mission given to a Czechoslovak informer sent to the refugee camp at Ludwigsburg which was recently given by the Czechoslovak newspaper "Svobodne Zitrek" published in Paris.

Oldrich Holicky, says the account, was shown how to extort evidence by watching the secret police at work during the interrogation of those arrested. Hanging, locking the hand in a drawer and twisting the limbs were among the means recommended. Special lectures were also given by Soviet officers, several of whom wore Czech uniform.

The job assigned to Holicky at the camp was to find out the prevailing feeling among the refugees, to discover where they had crossed the frontier and what had happened to them and to "persuade" them to return. He was

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

This material prepared by

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

also told to get into touch with German Communists and urge them to undertake acts of sabotage. He was warned not to yield to any bribe to work for a foreign power and told that if he did not return at the stipulated time, he would be considered guilty of high treason and that his family would be persecuted. His own life would be forfeit if he failed in this task, and were he to be arrested, he was to take his own life. After a short stay at Schwabach he went on to Ludwigsburg, where he was found out.

17/B (7) a

GERMANS PROVED INNOCENT DIE IN SACHSENHAUSEN

The deaths of Richard Grell, a former member of the Berlin City Assembly, of Heinrich Muehlenbrock, departmental head and of Ernst Nern, general manager of the potato marketing board, from the effects of torture, ill-treatment and starvation rations at the Soviet concentration camp of Sachsenhausen were reported by five prisoners who recently succeeded in escaping from the camp.

The German news agency, giving this report on 23rd November, added that the three men were arrested first in July 1946 and although the Soviet supreme military tribunal had acquitted all three of the charge preferred against them in October, they had not been released. Five months later they had been sentenced to detention in a labour camp by the Soviet tribunal in Lichtenberg.

17/B (7) b

POLITICAL TESTS FOR HUNGARIAN STUDENTS

Intervention by the Communist-dominated Government departments in the affairs of a so-called autonomous university in Hungary and the political tests set to applicants were implicitly condemned by a senior member of the university in a conversation reported by the Barankovics (opposition) Party periodical "Hazank" on 22nd October.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

his material prepared by  
Central Intelligence Agency

-B7-

"Although the university is an autonomous body, the professors have not much to say in the matter (of university reform)", runs the press account of the conversation. "The Ministry of Education takes measures without asking the professors".

Speaking of the admission of students to the university, the professor declared that the Ministry of Education had reversed the decision of the university council and had refused admission to students whom the university authorities had agreed to enrol. The political attitude of the applicants was given as the reason for the ministerial action.

Asked what the professors thought of the fact that they now have to take part in politics, the professor replied: "The newly appointed ones take it for granted, while the older ones who formerly preferred to devote their time to science find it alien; they have, however, to do it. It frequently happens that professors are dismissed on a pension."

17/B (7) c

GROWING THREAT TO "OPPOSITION" HUNGARIAN PRESS

Progressively stronger hints that the nominally independent Hungarian newspaper "Hazank" (which represents the views of the Barankovics Opposition Party) may not much longer enjoy such freedom of expression as is now open to it are being dropped by Government spokesmen and newspapers.

The latest indication comes from "Szabad Nep", the government newspaper, which responded to "Hazank's" open scorn at its opponent's need for brass bands and special trains to boost its flagging circulation by quoting Stalin's warning that the freedom of the press should not be abused to permit writers to oppose the interests of peace. It also ominously hinted that "Hazank" would not for long be permitted to act as the "Hungarian advance base of the international press in the struggle against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies".

"Hazank" recently protested against the discrimination shown against it by cutting supplies of newsprint (cf. 5/B(7) c). The demand for it

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**  
this material is for use only by  
Central Intelligence Agency

appears to be great, and contrasts with that enjoyed by the party-controlled "Szabad Nep", which was admitted by Mr. Joseph Revai, the Party's chief propagandist, on 18th September, to be supported by barely 3% of the population (cf. 12/B (9) d).

17/B (7) d

HINT OF THREAT TO B.B.C.'S GERMAN LISTENERS

The Soviet intention to prohibit listening to the B.B.C. Russian programmes, to the North West German radio, and the American Sector Radio in the Eastern zone of Germany has been reported by the Christian Democrat newspaper "Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung" on 16th November.

The superintendent of the Halle transmitter has been instructed by the Soviet Information Department in Saxony-Anhalt, adds the press report, to make use of all material contained in the archives of the local law-courts concerning listening to enemy stations under the Hitlerite regime.

17/B (7) e

(9) Iron Curtain

SOVIET ZONE POLICE PLAN CONDEMNED

The British Government's "regret and disapproval" at the formation of a branch of the police in the Soviet zone trained and equipped along semi-military lines", which is contrary both to the spirit and the letter of the Potsdam Agreement, was formally expressed in the House of Commons on 17th November in an answer to a Parliamentary Question.

On the same day a former member of the German 6th Army, who was selected for special political and military training in camp No. 1236, before becoming a member of this police force gave an account of how he and many of his colleagues of the 6th Army had been compelled to "volunteer" for such training in the independent newspaper "Lueneburger Landeszeitung".

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

Central Intelligence Agency

After preliminary political training, said the writer, the 6,000 selected for the course were given oral and written tests and 1,500 who failed to pass were sent away to an unknown destination. At the end only 2,025 were left and although they were given good food and regular rations of tobacco, they were not allowed to write home.

After an inspection by high-ranking Russian officers, accompanied by Generals Paulus and Lattmann, members of the course were asked if they would consent to military training. After about five months training they left for Germany. "We were the first mercenaries of the German Red Army - the civil war corps disguised as a police organisation and financed by the Russians", he said. "There is probably not one former German member of the 6th Army", concluded the article, "who would voluntarily have joined this civil war corps. We were not traitors".

17/B (9) a

SYNONYMS FOR THE NON-COMMUNIST

"It was decided to expel the following people from the party: Jan Mulak, Teofil Głowacki and Julian Maniniak for their 'rightist' and anti-common-front attitude; Wacław Zawadzki for his class enmity and opportunism; Zofia Kilinska for her favouritism and ideological enmity; Jozef Szajewski for class and ideological enmity. The following people were admonished: comrade Załowski for his inadequate vigilance in directing the "Wiedza"; comrade Csato for lack of class vigilance; comrade Niemyski for lack of class vigilance and drunkenness and comrade Zwan for insufficient class vigilance.

"It was also decided to expel comrade Romuald Nowicki from the party as an undesirable element alien ideologically and also on account of his un-socialist way of life ..."

This anathema was pronounced, according to the Polish newspaper "Głos Ludu" of 26th October after a lengthy recent meeting of the old established but now Communisted Polish publishing co-operative "Wiedza". It provides a new series of alternative ways of describing the non-Communist.

17/B (9) b

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL** -B10 **CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL EMBLEM BANNED

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

All tobacconists in Prague have been ordered to take down their shop signs which have the Czechoslovak lion on them. In their place they are to put up chocolate and yellow boards which have no national mark to affront the Communist rulers.

17/B (9) c

"RED SQUARE" PLAN FOR PRAGUE

"Square for Manifestations in Prague" was the heading given by the Czechoslovak newspaper "Svobodne Slovo" to the report that the Government has instructed the Central Planning Committee to draw up plans for a large public square in Prague on the model of the Red Square in Moscow. Before the Communist coup d'etat this project was strongly opposed by the three non-Communist parties on the grounds of unjustifiable expense, but the Prime Minister, M. Zapotocky has long wished for such a square, which is to be known as the Square of the Pioneers.

"Svobodne Slovo" was severely reprimanded "for levity" by the trades union newspaper "Prace" on 17th November. Its editors were told to bear in mind the new role of the press in Czechoslovakia and to refrain from covert attacks on the Prime Minister.

17/B (9) d

SHODDY GOODS IN BERLIN'S SOVIET ZONE

In Berlin, on the Soviet side of the Brandenburg Gate, wrote the Christian Democrat newspaper "Rheinische Post" on 16th November, the only things on show in the shop-windows are liqueur sets and vases, proverbs to hang on the walls, inkstands made of artificial marble. If anything of any practical use is displayed, it is sure to be of inferior quality, made from substitute materials and costing much more than the better counterpart on sale in Western Berlin. In one district provision merchants were ordered by the local authorities to show all available foodstuffs in the windows and

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

-B11-

**This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency**

at the request of the Soviet occupying power, shop-windows have to be lit up after closing hours to give an appearance of life and animation.

Only 3.7% of the population in the Western sectors have registered for food and fuel in the Soviet sectors, despite the inducement afforded by the promise of extra rations; this means that the number of those who have registered in the Soviet sector is 100,000 lower than that of those who voted for the Communists in the 1946 elections.

17/B (9) e

ROUMANIA SEVERES CULTURAL LINK WITH FRANCE

The Communist policy of refusing free access to the outside world was carried a stage further in Roumania when the Roumanian Government on 21st November denounced their Cultural Agreement with France signed on March 31st 1939.

The French Institute is to be closed forthwith (cf. 6/B (9) a).

17/B (9) f

SOVIET TRAINING SCHEME FAILS

The academy of Social Sciences, set up by the Soviet Union Communist Party in 1946 for the all-round ideological training of recruits to Central and Union Republic Party organisations, has failed to remedy the ideological laxity which had crept into the party during the war years. A resolution recently published in the Soviet periodical "Culture and Life" accused the Academy's professional staff of giving insufficient guidance to students and of selecting inadequately trained entrants to the Academy.

The rector and vice-rector have been dismissed and the work of the Academy has been put under the direct supervision of the Directorate for Propaganda and Agitation.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

-B12-

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

(11) Miscellaneous

SOVIET THREAT TO AUSTRIA'S RAIL TRANSPORT

Recent Soviet instructions to the Austrian Federal Railways to surrender 540 engines and 5,575 goods and passenger trucks as Soviet war booty, have been denounced, reports the Vienna press, by the Socialist Minister of Power, Hr. Migsch as contrary to the Hague Convention, since no booty could properly be demanded from Austria which had never been in a state of war with the U.S.S.R.

According to the Socialist newspaper "Arbeiter-Zeitung", the fulfillment of the Soviet demand would mean the restriction of railway traffic to an emergency standard in the Soviet zone, for it would entail a depletion of rolling-stock of some 40 to 50 per cent. Hr. Sagmeister, Minister of Food pointed out that the transport of food supplies would be endangered while the Minister of Transport, Hr. Uebeleis stated that the surrender of this rolling-stock would mean the collapse of Austrian goods traffic.

Under the 1946 Control Agreement the Soviet Element undertook, in conjunction with the other three Occupying Powers, to promote the economic recovery of Austria.

17/B (11) a

RUSSIANS "CENSOR" BERLIN TELEPHONE DIRECTORY

Post offices in the Soviet sector of Berlin were instructed on 22nd November by the Soviet sector police to stop the distribution of the new Berlin telephone directory to subscribers, according to the German news agency report.

The official reason given by the Soviet sector police was that the new directory did not give the police departments sufficiently clearly in its present form. In fact the office of Dr. Johannes Stumm is quoted as the Berlin Police Headquarters and not that of Hr. Paul Markgraf, whom the Russians illegally appointed as head of the Berlin police force.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**



**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**  
-B13-

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

UNSEEN BEAUTY

The exceptionally violent anti-American tone of a Russian film "The Russian Question", which has been shown recently in Prague, has apparently succeeded in embarrassing some of the Czech film critics.

These critics were taken to task in the Communist Party newspapers "Rude Pravo", "Tvorba" and "Mlada Fronta".

Apparently their fault was to pay more attention to the technical and artistic value of the film than to what "Mlada Fronta" described as its "beautiful ideology".

17/B (11) c

MARXIST FILTER TIP WANTED

The Popoff cigarette, made in the "people's own" tobacco industry in the Soviet Zone of Germany, is accused by a recent correspondent of the Potsdam newspaper "Maerkische Volkstimme" of "sabotaging production and undermining the Two-Year Plan".

"I fainted at work" the writer said, "and my throat burned for a long time after smoking one of these rationed cigarettes".

17/B (11) d

Press

The following articles may be found to contain points of interest:-

- (a) Tito's Standing in Croatia, by Alexander Werth  
Manchester Guardian: issue of 25th November, 1948.
- (b) Mr. Molotov's Interview with Germans  
Manchester Guardian: issue of 26th November, 1948.

Index

PART A - Noted British Scientist Resigns from Moscow Academy

PART B -

- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| (1) Labour Affairs          | (7) Human Rights                                |
| (2) Agrarian Affairs        | (8) U.N.O.                                      |
| (3) Islamic World           | (9) Iron Curtain                                |
| (4) Christian World         | (10) Communist Parties Outside the Iron Curtain |
| (5) Asiatic Affairs         | (11) Miscellaneous                              |
| (6) International Movements |   |

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

THIS IS AN ENCLOSURE  
**CONFIDENTIAL**

# CHRISTIANITY OFFICIALS ONLY THE SOVIET UNION

## THE ANTI-RELIGIOUS STATE AND THE CHURCHES

### Summary

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

Under the Tsarist regime there was freedom of religious worship. The Orthodox Church in particular had freedom of propaganda also, and was the established church supported by the State.

Under the Communist regime the Orthodox Church is supported only because the Soviet State is not strong enough to compel everyone to be atheist and because toleration of the Orthodox Church is useful for the prosecution of Communist policy abroad.

The Communist Party, which controls all activities in the Soviet Union, is openly and militantly atheist. The Young Communist League is also brought up to be militantly atheist.

The Soviet Constitution entitles Soviet citizens to freedom of religious *rite*; but there is no freedom to propagate religion. Freedom on the other hand is granted by the Soviet Constitution to propagate anti-religious views and theories.

Entry into any career in the Soviet Union and progress in that career depends on either the support of the Communist Party or membership of it. Since the Party is atheist in principle, no member of any religious faith can progress in his career.

UNDER the Tsars the Established Church in Russia was the Russian Orthodox Church, which was supported by the State, both morally and materially. Only members of the Orthodox Church enjoyed the right of religious propaganda.

All other recognised religions enjoyed varying degrees of rights and privileges, in accordance with a fixed "hierarchy of religions." This hierarchy was headed by the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and Armenian Churches. Somewhat less favoured was Islam, and at the bottom of the hierarchy came Judaism. Adherents of all these religions were permitted to worship freely, but they were not given the right of religious propaganda and a certain amount of discrimination was shown against them. In practice Lutherans were on an equal footing with Orthodox Russians; Roman Catholics were handicapped, particularly in the former Polish

provinces; and Jews were practically debarred from administrative positions, professional careers open to them were restricted, and they were forbidden to live outside the "Pale of Settlement." In this connexion, however, it should be borne in mind that in Tsarist Russia official discrimination against Jews was on purely religious and never "racial" grounds.

Towards Religion in general the State attitude was not merely favourable but protective. Religious education was obligatory in all schools, and the State recognised only religious marriage and divorce. Anti-religious propaganda was forbidden. "Non-confessionalism" was not recognised as a status.

It is true that the State protection of the Orthodox Church against any spiritual competition led to certain weaknesses within the Church. The Church took no part in social activity,

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

training given in seminaries was often of poor quality, although some seminaries provided education of a high standard, and priests assigned to rural parishes were often men of inferior intelligence and morals.

On the other hand it should be noted that the Tsarist State was not excessively generous in its material support of the Church. The Church obtained most of its income from the voluntary contributions of its adherents.

To sum up, the Orthodox Church enjoyed the protection of the Tsarist State, for which it paid the price of a certain degree of subordination. This subordination weakened the position of the Church when the latent antagonism between State and "Intelligentsia" developed. Religion as such became identified with the temporal power and the more subversive elements of the "Intelligentsia" became atheist. However, the ordinary individual, of whatever faith, was in general encouraged to practise his religion.

Nevertheless, in the early years of the twentieth century a liberal tendency showed itself in the Orthodox Church. A decree of 17th April, 1905, repealed statutes forbidding apostasy, and legalised the position of a large number of hitherto illegal heretical sects. Many clergymen realised the necessity of liberating the Church from its subordination to the State.

#### **The February Revolution and Church Reform**

With the overthrow of Tsarism in February 1917, and the establishment of the Provisional Government under Kerensky, the Orthodox Church entered on a period of greater spiritual freedom. A law granting full religious liberty and giving for the first time legal recognition to "non-confessionalism" or atheism was passed on 10th July, 1917. The Holy Synod was abolished in June 1917, and a Ministry of Confessions set up. At the same time plans were made for calling a Church Council, the first to be held since the abolition of the Patriarchate. In a session held in October 1917, the Council decided to restore the Patriarchate. Archbishop Titchon, Metropolitan of Moscow, was chosen as Patriarch. However, this decision was taken after the Communist *coup d'État*, so that this and other reforms had to be carried out, not in the democratic conditions obtaining under the Provisional Government, but under the Communist Dictatorship and in the teeth of the Communist persecution of religion.

#### **The Basic Communist Attitude to Religion**

The doctrine of Communism, or Marxism-Leninism, is much more than a political theory.

It is an all-embracing philosophy of life and includes a metaphysical system, a sociology, a practical revolutionary methodology, and a socio-political ideal. The basis of the Marxist metaphysic is materialism: matter and its motion are all that exists; consciousness is the product of, and therefore secondary to, matter. Marxist sociology explains social processes on a basis of purely economic conditions and relations, which, in the pre-Socialist era at any rate, are established and altered mechanically, that is, independently of human volition! It is these economic phenomena which form the basis of society, and are reflected in the human brain in "spiritual" forms such as morals, religion, and "ideology." Hence, as the economic basis of society changes, in accordance with certain mechanical laws, thought processes (including Religion) change with it. Engels expressed this concept in his "Anti-Duehring" in the following words:

"All religion is nothing but the fantastic reflection in the minds of men, of those external forms which dominate their everyday existence, a reflection in which the earthly forces assume the form of supernatural forces."

Similarly, Marx himself, in "Das Kapital," says:

"The omnipotence of God is nothing but the fantastic reflection of the impotence of men before nature and of the economic relations created by themselves."

From this it was a small logical step to the concept of Religion as one of the instruments of oppression in capitalist society, which is expressed in Marx's famous slogan: "Religion is the opium of the people." Lenin expresses this Marxist tenet in the following words:

"Being born of dull suppression . . . religion teaches those who toil in poverty to be resigned and patient in this world, and consoles them with the hope of reward in heaven."

"The oppression of humanity by religion is but the product and reflex of economic oppression within society."

In reply to the suggestions made before the Communist accession to power by certain Communists as to the possibility of adapting Religion to Communist teachings, Lenin said:

"There can be no good Religion, or perhaps better Religion is still more dangerous than bad Religion."

Immediately after the October Revolution there were two schools of thought among Communists concerning the position of Religion in the new state:

- (i) A logical extension of the Marxist doctrine of the role of Religion as an instrument of oppressing classes in Capitalist society; with the overthrow of the Capitalist régime Religion would fade from the minds of the liberated people. Therefore an open attack on the Church was unnecessary. All that was required was the separation of Church from State and the undermining of the Church's material existence.
- (ii) The view that the victory of Communism was not yet complete. The *bourgeoisie*, not yet annihilated, would exploit the political ignorance of the proletariat, and to assist that exploitation would resort to Religion. Therefore, it was desirable to destroy Religion as quickly as possible.

In the Constitutional Committee which elaborated the First Soviet Constitution the first, or more moderate, of these views, at first prevailed. Therefore the Committee wrote into its draft the formula "Religion is the private affair of the citizen." This formula, however, was rejected by Lenin, who ordered that it be replaced by a clause guaranteeing "freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda." This became Article 13 of the R.S.F.S.R. Constitution of 10th July, 1918.

This clause, liberal in appearance, was in actual fact a declaration of war on Religion, as "religious propaganda" was to be undertaken by a weakened Church, deprived of age-old privileges, whereas "anti-religious propaganda" was pursued with all the vigour of the new state.

The course of the Communist war on Religion in Russia may be best sub-divided into three periods of persecution, leading up to the present New Religious Policy.

#### The First Period of Persecution

The first period of persecution lasted from November 1917 to February 1922, and was characterised by the following three features:

- (i) The Church was deprived of material means and of legal existence. A decree of 23rd January, 1918, on the separation of Church and State and of Church and School, ordered that all Church-owned property be seized by the Government

without compensation. Local Soviets were empowered to allow members of "religious organisations" to retain as much of their property as was absolutely essential to them: church buildings, chalices, vestments, &c. Thus divine service was permitted to continue, but in conditions of extreme hardship. In addition, Churches were prevented from acquiring new property. Article 12 of the decree said: "No church or religious society has the right to own private property; such societies do not enjoy the rights of a juridical person." All Church property was therefore converted into the property of individuals acting as trustees of the Church—but as private property was very often confiscated, this measure afforded little protection.

Furthermore, "religious organisations" were not allowed exclusive use of Church buildings, for the Commissariat of Justice (in charge of "religious affairs" until 1924) decided that churches might also be used for such pursuits as courses of instruction, lectures, concerts, cinema shows, political meetings and popular dances.

Finally, as the term "religious organisations" did not include monasteries and convents, these were closed down.

- (ii) Priests and clerics were reduced to a socially inferior position. Article 65 of the 1918 Constitution proclaimed that they were "servants of the *bourgeoisie*," and as such they were disenfranchised. As disenfranchised persons they received either no ration cards at all or cards of the very lowest category; they were not allowed to belong to trade unions and consequently could find no work in State enterprises; they had to pay higher rents for living quarters and higher income and agricultural taxes; their children could not be educated in secondary schools and universities.
- (iii) The Church's influence in various directions, particularly on education, was destroyed. Article 9 of the Separation Decree (see above) prohibited religious instruction in schools. A decree of 13th June, 1921, forbade the giving of religious instruction to groups of children under the age of 18. Thirdly, a decree of 18th December, 1917, later incorporated into the Family Code of 22nd October,

1918, refused legal recognition to Church marriages and divorces.

During this first period the local Soviet authorities encountered unexpected resistance among the populace to these anti-religious measures, and had to resort to violence in carrying them out. The execution, exiling and imprisonment of bishops and priests, the closing down of churches, the desecration of religious articles, were common features of this period. Up to 1923, 28 bishops and over one thousand priests of the Orthodox Church were executed by the Communist authorities (*cf.* Timashev, "Religion in Soviet Russia," which is the best informed and best documented work on this subject).

As an additional means of destroying the Church, the Communist Government resorted to the construction of a schism. In May 1922, a number of "progressive" clerics, opposed to the Patriarch's policy, were induced to announce the creation of a sycophantic religious organisation called "The Living Church," outlining plans for reforms "compared with which (its manifesto said) Luther's reform would appear as child's play." Thereupon the Patriarch was arrested, a large number of church buildings were forcibly turned over to the new schism, 84 bishops and more than 1,000 priests were expelled from their offices to make room for the new organisation.

A joint decree of the Commissariats of Justice and the Interior on 27th April, 1923, allowed all religious organisations to call provincial and central conventions and to elect executive boards, but only by special permission of the governmental authorities. Permission was in fact granted only to a few religious groups which had been suppressed by the Tsarist régime, and of course to the "Living Church."

For lack of popular support the "Living Church" rapidly broke up, and was dropped by the Government in June 1923. Meanwhile the Patriarch had been in prison since May 1922. His impending trial was announced in such a way that it was clear he was threatened with execution. But large-scale popular protests throughout Russia and Europe caused the Soviet Government to capitulate, and the Patriarch was released on 27th June, 1923. This development represented the breakdown of the first Communist attack on Religion. The Church had emerged from it still vigorous.

The second period of persecution extended from the end of 1922 until 1929. It was marked

by the cessation of the direct attack on clergy and believers, for which new and more efficient means of destroying Religion were substituted. The most important of these means were: (a) systematic calumny of the Church, and (b) the establishment of a body of ideas based on materialism in active opposition to religious faith. To this latter end a "non-party publishing company" calling itself "The Godless" had been set up already in February 1922. In November of that year an anti-religious seminary was opened in Moscow. Christmas (which is celebrated in Russia in January) saw the organisation of an "anti-Christmas carnival," described in *Izvestiya* of 10th January, 1923, as follows:

"Preliminary meetings were organised and the following themes selected for the mock procession: the Performance of Miracles; the Opening of Holy Shrines; the Immaculate Conception. The students of the Sverdlov University imitated the representatives of different religions."

#### **Militant Atheists League**

For the organisation of anti-religious work a new and most important body was formed on 7th February, 1925—the League of Militant Atheists. From 1926 onward, this League disseminated anti-religious propaganda of the most violent kind. All methods were used, including music halls, playing cards, and children's primers. In its propaganda the League pursued three lines of attack. Firstly, it sought to demonstrate that Religion in all its forms had always been the enemy of the workers; secondly, that "Science had explained everything" and left no room for religion; and thirdly, that religious belief constituted treason to the Soviet State, for religion was incompatible with Socialism. In all cases the League's propaganda was grossly blasphemous, abounding in indecent cartoons of God, Christ, the Virgin and the Saints.

Meanwhile, more direct, "administrative" methods of persecution were by no means neglected. Although church buildings had been placed at the disposal of religious groups, the land on which the churches stood was taxable, and these taxes were constantly increased. Moreover, church buildings had to be insured, and the religious groups using them had to cover the cost of insurance. In December 1923, it was decreed that if Church buildings were destroyed by fire, the sums paid as insurance would become State property.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

On 16th July, 1924, the teaching of Religion in churches was forbidden, and on 1st September, religious instruction given to groups of more than three children was prohibited. On 30th July, 1923, official holidays, which had previously coincided with Church holidays, were transferred, so that Church holidays became working days and could no longer be properly celebrated.

Towards the end of the second period of persecution the State made great efforts to stamp out all traces of religious customs. In 1928, the sale of Easter food and Christmas trees was prohibited, and no Christmas ornaments were allowed in shop window displays. They were replaced by special "anti-Christmas literature."

On the death of the Patriarch Tikhon in 1925, the Soviet authorities refused to allow the election of a new Patriarch, and in addition arrested successive Acting Patriarchs until, in June 1927, the Metropolitan Sergius of Nizhni-Novgorod succeeded in negotiating a compromise with the Soviet Government and in retaining his office as Acting Patriarch. Sergius' Declaration of 16th June, 1927, which turned out to be the cornerstone in the relations between the Orthodox Church and the Soviet Government, contained the following exhortation to the faithful:

"We must show, not by words only, but by deeds, that loyal citizens of the U.S.S.R. are not only those who are indifferent to Orthodoxy, or those who have betrayed it, but the faithful for whom Orthodoxy, with all its dogmas and traditions . . . is as dear as truth and life. We wish to be Orthodox and at the same time to recognise the Soviet Union for our civil fatherland, whose joys and successes are our joys and successes, and whose defeats are our defeats."

### The Third Period of Persecution

By 1929, the failure of the second attack on Religion had become obvious. Therefore, the Soviet Government initiated a new plan, consisting of three principal features.

*First*, the direct attack was renewed, in the form of the mass closing down of churches, on the pretext that Russia was being transformed into a Socialist society, whose members could not need churches. This attack was synchronised with the forced collectivisation of the peasantry. Throughout the country local Communists called meetings which voted over the heads of congregations that the churches be demolished,

church bells be melted down, and certain church buildings be turned into granaries, schools and cinemas. In this manner 1,440 churches were closed down during 1929 alone.

The mass closing down of churches was accompanied by a fierce attack on the Orthodox clergy. Some 150 bishops were arrested, and their successors, when appointed, arrested in their turn. Most of them were sent to the notorious Solovetsky concentration camp, situated on a group of islands in the White Sea. Priests were exiled or executed in thousands; many of them had been seized as hostages in reprisal for the murders of local Soviet officials by the incensed peasantry, who were at that time resisting collectivisation (*cf. Timashev op. cit.*).

A decree of 27th December, 1932, brought new hardships to the Church by making the carrying of identity cards compulsory and universal, and by prohibiting all "non-workers" from living in the large towns and their environs. Consequently, priests could no longer live in the cities and had to travel to and from the countryside to their parishes.

A decree of 24th September, 1929, introducing the 6-day week, made it difficult for workers to attend church on Sundays, unless Sunday happened to coincide with the sixth, or rest day, of the week. After the law of 20th November, 1932, which penalised failure to appear at work, church attendance, except on the rest day, became impossible.

*Second*, the Soviet Government adopted a plan of what may be best described as "cultural strangulation." This was by way of a reaction to an unexpected development in Church activity. Since the October Revolution, the Church had become a centre of cultural and social activities. To put an end to this state of affairs, the Government issued a decree on 8th April, 1929, resuming the old restrictions and imposing new restrictions on religious societies, especially on their cultural and social activities. Article 17 of this decree forbade religious societies to form mutual aid associations or co-operatives; to make any use of their funds apart from the offering of worship; to give material aid to their members; to organise special prayer or Bible classes or other meetings for children, adolescents and women; to organise groups, circles or excursions; to open playgrounds, libraries or reading rooms; and to operate sanatoria or give medical aid. This list of forbidden activities shows how numerous the functions of the Church had become.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

Among other things, the new decree meant that the Church was refused the right of undertaking religious propaganda. This veto was entered into the Soviet Constitution on 22nd May, 1929, when "liberty of religious and anti-religious propaganda" was abolished, "freedom of religious worship and of anti-religious propaganda" being substituted therefor.

Further restrictions imposed by the new decree were the following:—

- (i) Only those members of a denomination living in one locality could form a religious association. This was a provision directed against denominations whose members were widely scattered—e.g., the Roman Catholics.
- (ii) A religious association was permitted only one church building: this was a provision directed against large parishes which possessed chapels as well as a main church.
- (iii) Religious organisations were forbidden to organise collections; donations had to be spontaneous.

Additional pressure was brought to bear through the Trade Unions. In the autumn of 1929, the Central Committee of the Printers' Union ordered its members to refuse to print religious works. Similarly, transport workers were ordered to refuse to transport articles intended for religious ceremonies, and the Union of Post and Telegraph Workers stopped answering calls to or from members of the clergy.

*Thirdly*, all active members of the churches were condemned to socially inferior positions. This part of the plan was not openly promulgated in any law or decree, but in fact no opportunity was given to practising Christians to advance in either professional or industrial careers.

*Fourthly*, whereas hitherto teaching in schools had been purely non-religious—i.e., free from any reference to God or Religion—it now became openly anti-religious. Textbooks appeared in schools teaching the class origin of Religion and its incompatibility with Science. The sociology of Marxism-Leninism became one of the most important subjects in the school curriculum. School excursions were organised to anti-religious museums, and special anti-religious discussions and readings were held.

#### **Failure**

The third attack too proved to be a failure. A good deal of the peasantry's furious resistance to collectivisation was due to the fact that collectivisation measures were often combined with

the closing down of their churches. Realising this fact somewhat belatedly, the Soviet Government decided to separate the issues of collectivisation and de-Christianisation.

Therefore, on 15th March, 1930, a decree was issued acknowledging that churches had been closed by local authorities against the will of the populace, and ordering the cessation of the practice. Shortly afterwards Yaroslavsky, head of the League of Militant Atheists, published an article in the League's journal *Bezbozhnik* ("The Godless"), ridiculing those who organised masquerades and dancing parties to divert people from churchgoing. Such measures are, of course, typical of the Communist leaders, who are always prepared to shift the blame for their errors on to the shoulders of their subordinates.

#### **The Communist Retreat**

Thus the direct attack on Religion was perforce quietly dropped. But other forms of persecution, especially the method of cultural strangulation, persisted until 1935. Then began a period of Communist Retreat, characterised by a number of minor concessions on the part of the Soviet Government. This policy of course by no means reflected a change in the basic Communist attitude towards Religion. It was part of an overall policy of concessions and adjustments to popular feelings, made necessary by the rise of Fascism in Europe, the threat of an anti-Soviet war, and the Soviet Government's deep and justifiable feeling of unpopularity at home. For these reasons such exuberances as the "anti-Easter" and "anti-Christmas" festivals were stopped, and the closing down of churches was officially condemned.

By Easter 1935, the sale of traditional Easter food in the markets was once more authorized, and later they were sold even in the State shops. At Christmas 1935, Christmas trees were again allowed—although ostensibly for New Year's celebrations.

On 29th December, 1935, a decree abolished discrimination against the children of non-workers, and the children of the clergy were allowed to be educated in all schools. Finally, the new Soviet Constitution of 5th December, 1936, abolished the disenfranchisement of priests and "non-workers" generally.

#### **The Religious Purge**

In August 1937, this retreat was quite suddenly reversed, and a fourth attack was launched on Religion. The Church's leaders were again denounced officially as the "implacable enemies

**CONFIDENTIAL**

of social reconstruction," but the rank and file laity were not so persecuted. This attack on the Church coincided with the climax of the Terror, directed by Yezhov, then chief of the N.K.V.D.

In November 1937, groups of Churchmen were arrested throughout the Soviet Union on charges of organising espionage and sabotage in the interests of Germany and Japan, and of plotting the assassination of Soviet leaders. These charges were of course very similar to those fabricated at about the same time in the trials of the Communist Party's Old Guard—Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin, &c.—and of the leaders of the Red Army—Tukhachevsky, &c. In this way Stalin attempted to associate the Church with the "enemies of Russia"—his Communist Party opponents—and to turn the rising patriotism of the population against both.

Easter 1938 was marked by the announcement of wholesale arrests of religious people. Charges ranged from "espionage in the interests of certain foreign states" to the "setting up of a miracle factory in Moscow." At the same time purely religious activity was also punished as such. For instance, in the Leningrad area seven peasants were tried for having gathered together to read the Bible. One of them was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, another to 8 years. The Bishop of Stalingrad was tried for having explained the Holy Writ to children. A wholesale execution of clergy was reported from the Crimea. (Timashev *op. cit.*—who refers to Soviet press items of the time).

During 1937, 1,100 Orthodox churches, 240 Catholic churches, 61 Protestant prayer houses and 110 mosques, it is calculated, were closed. (Cf. Professor Ilyin: "Russia"—New York, 1941.)

This fourth persecution ended as suddenly as it began. The change coincided with the removal of Yezhov. From January 1939, began a new era in the Communist battle with Religion.

#### The New Religious Policy

Early in 1939, the Soviet authorities declared that anti-religious propaganda must be "co-ordinated with the exigencies of the class struggle." By this they meant that anti-religious propaganda had failed, and that in future all such activity was to be subordinated to more important political matters.

After the Soviet Union seized Eastern Poland in accordance with their agreement with Nazi Germany, a reminder was issued to the League of Militant Atheists that the anti-religious struggle was not in all circumstances a necessity. In

short, in 1939, the Soviet Government found themselves compelled by their international policy to permit freedom of religious worship to their subjects.

Hence Soviet agencies were ordered to stop all attempts to "liquidate" Religion. Atheists were instructed not to offend the religious susceptibilities of believers. Trials of believers were stopped.

Of great interest in this connexion are Kalinin's remarks to a teachers' conference, as reported in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* of 11th April, 1939, and in the *Teachers' Gazette* of 13th July, 1939. Kalinin, the president of the Præsidium of the Supreme Soviet (the highest constitutional office in the Soviet Union), said that Marxist education should no longer be interpreted as meaning merely the teaching of Marxist doctrine. It should mean the "inculcation of love for the Socialist fatherland, friendship . . . honesty and co-operation in work, respect for the Soviet Government, and love for Stalin." He also said that it was not enough to destroy Religion, which must be replaced by something else.

This speech of Kalinin was followed by more concessions to the Orthodox way of life. At this time, the Soviet Government found it necessary to abandon the 6-day working week. The ordinary 7-day week was re-established, and Sunday again became the rest day.

Behind the New Religious Policy, three excellent reasons can be discerned.

- (i) The Soviet Government had come to understand the usefulness of Religion as the guardian of morality and discipline, and to realise that the moral disorder obtaining in the Soviet Union was disastrous to the fulfilment of their social and technical plans.
- (ii) Persecution was being switched to the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic clergy were declared to be the real enemies of the Soviet Union and Communism. In fact almost all Catholic priests in the Soviet Union have been imprisoned.
- (iii) The Communist authorities realised that it was far easier to control Religion when it was under the jurisdiction of a well-organised and centralised church, than to control the activities of countless local "religious organisations." Consequently the New Policy concentrated on canalising religious activity in the instituted Church.

Although the New Religious Policy indicated a great change in Communist tactics, it did not

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency



mean that the basic Communist attitude to Religion had altered in the slightest. Indeed, in the summer of 1939, members of the Communist Party and of the Young Communist League were reminded that they would be expelled from those organisations if they performed any religious rite.

Under the New Religious Policy, anti-religious propaganda was revised thoroughly. In future, the spearhead of the Communist attack was to be aimed at "superstition," and the concept of "superstition" was to be identified with religious belief. For example, as *Pravda* of 20th August, 1939, said:

"Many still adhere to the rites and superstitions of the Church, continue to believe in religious doctrines, in the power of charms, sorcery and the interpretation of dreams. The existence of such a religious ideology offers a fruitful field for the activity of the enemies of the people, especially among the peasantry."

*Antireligioznik*, No. 4 of 1939, remarked:

"In the U.S.S.R. there is complete freedom of religion. But we demand that the Soviet State conduct anti-religious propaganda . . . by ideological methods, through speeches, the press, the school, the theatre, the clubs and the wireless."

On 27th February, 1940, the Commissariat of Education issued instructions for the improvement of anti-religious work in schools. Special anti-religious circles were organised for parents. Further, writing on the subject of the "religious problem" in the newly annexed Baltic States, Yaroslavsky said in *Bezbozhnik*, No. 4 of 1940:

"As 22 years have been insufficient to liquidate the Church in the U.S.S.R., we shall have many difficulties in extirpating the remnants of religious prejudices in the Baltic countries. One of the reasons is that many people consider anti-religious propaganda no longer necessary. This opinion is false. Anti-religious propaganda is one of the essential aspects of Communist propaganda and must be carried out by a special organisation."

In a lecture given on 10th October, 1940, Yaroslavsky's second-in-command, Oleshchuk (now in the Communist Party's Section for Agitation and Propaganda) said that it was incorrect to ascribe progressive tendencies to Christianity as such, that it had played a progressive role only in certain epochs, and that any attempt to find a compromise between Christianity and Communism was counter-revolutionary.

Under the New Religious Policy, religious propaganda continued to be illegal. In 1940, no religious press was permitted, no reprints of the Bible had been made since 1927. No-one was permitted to preach religion at open meetings, and religious instruction might be given only by parents to their children.

After the Soviet invasion of Eastern Poland, Mikhailov, head of the Young Communist League, said that both the Soviet and the Nazi States were opposed to Christian ideology, and their chief mutual enemy was the Roman Catholic Church. Hence the two Governments should exchange information and act together in this field.

#### **The Soviet-German War and the Orthodox Church**

On the outbreak of war between Germany and the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Russian Orthodox Church, under Acting Patriarch Sergius, rallied to the support of the Soviet State. On 21st August, 1941, Moscow radio surprisingly called upon "all God-loving inhabitants of the occupied countries" to rise in defence of their religious freedom. It went on to charge the German Government with "menacing the very existence of Christianity and seeking the overthrow of Christ the King, to instal instead the philosophy of Alfred Rosenberg."

One month later, the two periodicals of the League of Militant Atheists, *Bezbozhnik* and *antireligioznik*, closed down, officially in order to conserve paper, but actually for other and obvious reasons. Furthermore, in 1941, the Moscow war-time curfew was lifted for the benefit of those attending Easter midnight services.

But nevertheless, in March 1941, in the Baltic States a number of religious associations had been dissolved as "inimical to the State" and their members arrested. Churches had been closed down in large numbers, and monasteries destroyed.

The second great turning-point in the history of the relations between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Soviet State occurred in 1942, when a book was published in Moscow, entitled "The Truth About Religion in Russia." This unprecedented publication was well printed and copiously illustrated, and contained contributions from the highest dignitaries of the Russian Church. (It is furthermore believed that the book was printed on the presses of the League of Militant Atheists!)

In November 1942, the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Communist Revolution,

Acting Patriarch Sergius sent cordial congratulations to Stalin, whom he addressed as "the God-given leader of the military and cultural forces of the nation."

The improvement of the Church's position reached a still higher level on 5th September, 1943, when *Izvestiya* announced that "Stalin received the Acting Patriarch Sergius, Metropolitan Alexis of Leningrad and Metropolitan Nicholas of Kiev. During the reception, Metropolitan Sergius informed Stalin that leading circles of the Orthodox Church intended to hold a Council of bishops in the very near future and elect a Patriarch. The head of the Government, expressed his sympathy with the decision and said that the Government would not hinder this in any way." As a result of this conversation, Sergius was officially installed as Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, on 12th September, 1943. On this date too, appeared the first number of the official publication of the newly restored Patriarchate, the "Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate."

It is perfectly obvious that the Russian Church was given official recognition in 1943 for three reasons: (a) the effect of the outside world, in particular the Orthodox Balkans, but also the Western Democracies; and (b) in expectation of services to be rendered, both during and after the war, to the Communist Party and the Soviet State by the Patriarchate; and (c) to counter Hitler's policy of posing as the champion of Orthodoxy in occupied territory. For its own part, the Church had obviously to purchase its right to a legal existence at the price of political subservience to the Soviet State, with whose aims it would have to compromise as far as possible without abandoning basic Christian principles and while remaining aware that the ultimate aim of the Soviet State involved the destruction of Religion. Thus the history of the Russian Church since the Soviet restoration of the Patriarchate is one of covert warfare with the State power, of enforced compromise and careful advance.

During the Soviet-German war the Soviet State enjoyed the assistance of the Orthodox Church in the following directions:—

- (i) By prayers for victory the Church sustained and strengthened popular morale.
- (ii) The Church collected money for direct help to the war effort. *E.g.*, the Church collected over eight million roubles for a "Dmitri Donskoy" tank column, and millions of roubles for aircraft and relief of war wounded and orphans.

- (iii) The Patriarch used the authority of the Church to prohibit collaboration with the Germans in the occupied provinces. On many occasions he solemnly condemned bishops and priests who expressed admiration for the Germans.
- (iv) The Patriarch helped to encourage resistance to the Germans in Orthodox countries outside the Soviet Union, principally in Yugoslavia.

In addition to these services, the Patriarch displayed a great willingness to support the Soviet Government in its frequent quarrels with its Western Allies. For example, in 1943, shortly before he became official Patriarch, Sergius gave public support to Soviet demands that a Second Front be opened in France immediately.

Finally, Patriarch Alexis, like his predecessor Sergius, has been very helpful to the Soviet Government in its fight against Roman Catholicism. In April 1945, for example, he published a special article in the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* directed against the Vatican.

In October 1943, the Soviet Government set up a Council for the Russian Orthodox Church, subordinate to the Council of People's Commissars. Headed by G. E. Karpov, and consisting of five members, the Council provided a link between the Patriarchate and the Government for the settlement of Church matters when Government decisions were involved. The Council has representatives in every Soviet republic and region, who are appointed and financed by the local Soviet, but who act under the direction of Karpov.

The advantages received by the Orthodox Church in return for services rendered to the Soviet Government during the war may be summarised as follows:—

- (i) The Church was formally recognised and given permission to elect a Patriarch.
- (ii) The newly-formed Patriarchate acquired a formal residence—the late German Embassy in Moscow.
- (iii) The training of priests was restored. In December 1943, Patriarch Sergius announced the opening of a theological academy in Moscow and the beginning of special courses for training priests in the dioceses.
- (iv) The printing of certain religious material has become possible. In practice, however, it is exceedingly difficult for the Patriarchate to publish books of any description.

- (v) A few churches were re-opened in Moscow. In Summer 1942, there were 26 churches open. By Christmas 1943, there were about 50. This, for a population of some six millions, of whom one-third are said to be believers, is very little.
- (vi) Anti-religious museums were closed down for the most part and the publication of openly anti-religious literature stopped.

On 15th May, 1944, the death of Patriarch Sergius was reported. The Metropolitan Alexis of Leningrad, on being appointed Acting Patriarch in expectation of his election, addressed a warm personal letter to Stalin, whom he described as "the wise leader placed by the Lord over our great nation," and shortly after his election he was allowed to publish in *Izvestiya* an exhortation to the faithful to attend confession and communion. At Sergius' funeral, the Soviet Government was represented by a high Soviet official.

Further concessions to the Orthodox Church were made during 1944. In August of that year, the Council for the Russian Orthodox Church announced that "priests may go to their parishioners and engage in proselytizing work either in church or outside." In September, the Council stated that "Parents may religiously educate children themselves . . . or send them to the homes of priests for such education. Children of different families may also gather in groups to receive religious instruction." In October a similar statement was made regarding the religious education of children of other denominations. But it was emphasised that religious instruction could not be given inside a church, synagogue or mosque.

At the end of 1946, according to data given by Karpov, Head of the Council for the Russian Orthodox Church (*cf.* paragraph 69 above), the Orthodox Church had a Patriarch, 3 Archbishops and 67 Bishops, *i.e.*, almost as many diocesans as before the October Revolution. There were 22,000 Churches in operation. Also there were 89 monasteries and convents, but almost all of these were in territory newly acquired by the Soviet Union. Throughout the Soviet Union there were 12 Church seminaries. In addition there was a theological academy at Leningrad, and further such academies were to be opened at Moscow and Kiev.

#### Post-War Developments

During the Soviet-German war, the New Religious Policy was a marked success. So much so that many outside observers have made

the mistake of exaggerating superficial resemblances between the new situation and that prevailing before the Revolution. But the opposing philosophies of Church and State remained unadulterated. The State did not abandon Marxist materialism and its intention of destroying Religion, and the Church obviously could not abandon its spiritual beliefs. Conflicts were therefore latent.

These conflicts started to arise when the Soviet authorities announced their intention, early in 1946, of pushing ahead with the construction of Communism. This was followed by a large-scale campaign for ideological rededication and re-education, involving a thorough purge of "remnants of *bourgeois* ideology" and "alien ideological influences." In the summer of 1947, the official organisation for mass conditioning known as "The All-Union Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge" was launched, together with an immense campaign for the inculcation and inflation of "Soviet Patriotism." Behind these "educational" campaigns can be seen the modern Soviet method of substituting psychological for physical persuasion. This of course does not involve the suspension of physical coercion—rather are its limitations recognised, and due importance given to the role of psychological methods. So far the new campaign has not developed sufficiently to produce a head-on conflict with the Church, but there have been symptoms that such a conflict is probably imminent.

Thus, the party youth periodical *Young Bolshevik*, No. 6 of 1947, published a letter to the editor from a Young Communist, complaining of the visit of a priest who had attempted to convert him, and requesting official enlightenment on the religious question. In reply, *Young Bolshevik* published an article which pointed out that "the guiding force of the Soviet people is the Communist Party, which builds its activity on scientific foundations, and implants in people a wholesome outlook, incompatible with any superstition." The article went on to explain the existence of religious convictions in the minds of members of Soviet society by the fact that Soviet society had not yet succeeded in ridding itself of the "birthmarks of Capitalism." "Only as it gradually develops from Socialism to Communism will it outlive the relics of the past." As Stalin had written in his "Anarchy or Socialism" . . . "mental and moral development are preceded by the development of the material side, the development of external conditions;

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

external conditions, the material side, change first, and then the mind, the ideal side."

Arguing from this quotation from Authority, the article went on to explain that Religion in the Soviet Union was a relic of the past, and survived in some people's minds by the power of tradition. Further, like other relics of the past, religious beliefs could, in certain conditions, revive. Conditions favourable to such a revival were "the hardships of life," which induced the weak-spirited to seek "illusory consolations." Hence only the strengthening and development of Socialism, the concomitant cultural growth of the people and their "education in the Communist spirit" would free them from religious convictions.

Thus, continued the *Young Bolshevik* article, scientific and educational propaganda was an important means of overcoming religious survivals. Such propaganda should provide a materialistic explanation of nature and society. The Young Communist League was to "explain patiently" to young people the superiority of scientific outlook over religious faith. Religion was impossible for Young Communists, as it encouraged passivity, and through its belief in an after life, it disarmed the will-power. In short, "Young Communist organisations must allow their members no deviations from the thesis of the Communist Party on questions of Religion." Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that "religious prejudices will be overcome only by long and patient work." "It would be a mistake to persecute a believer for his prejudices—they are not his fault, but his misfortune. He must be helped to free himself of them by patient scientific and educational work.

In June 1947, the Young Communist League's magazine *Young Communist Worker*, pointed out that anti-religious propaganda formed an integral part of Communist education. Soviet youth had to acquire a materialistic philosophy and a scientific understanding of nature and social life. "Hence Young Communists must not only be convinced atheists and opposed to all superstitions, but must actively combat the spread of superstitions and prejudices among youth."

On 18th October, 1947, the newspaper *Young Communist Pravda* found it necessary to deny the possibility of any reconciliation between Religion and Communism. To prove its point it quoted Stalin to the following effect:—

"The Party cannot be neutral regarding religion, and it conducts anti-religious pro-

paganda against all religious prejudices, because it stands for science, and religious prejudices are opposed to science, since any religion is contrary to science."

The quotation from Stalin continued:—

"There are cases in which some members of the Party occasionally hinder the thorough development of anti-religious propaganda. If such members of the Party are expelled, this is very good, since there is no room in the ranks of our Party for such 'Communists'."

This article then went on to point out that the Young Communist League Charter, required Young Communists to conduct anti-religious propaganda. Obviously such propaganda could be carried out only by young people free of religious prejudice. "A young man cannot be a Young Communist unless he is free of religious convictions."

This article also complained of the article in *Young Bolshevik* (see above), on the grounds that it contained "no orientation towards an offensive ideological struggle against religious survivals."

The latest of this series of pronouncements on the official Communist attitude to Religion at the present day is to be found in an article in *Young Bolshevik* for December 1947, entitled "the Young Communist Attitude to Religion." This is an article vehemently condemning *Young Bolshevik's* own previous statements on this subject (see above), and contains the following highly significant passages:—

- (i) "The preaching of a tolerant attitude towards religious convictions ideologically disarms Young Communists and prevents their being a forward detachment of youth, and conducting ideological and educational work among the masses of young people."
- (ii) "With the triumph of Socialism in our country, the social roots of Religion have been eliminated, but religious convictions exist in the form of survivals from the past in the consciousness of the backward and, as a rule, insufficiently educated and cultural people. Although these survivals are withering away, they will not disappear of themselves. For within the country, the church workers are trying to increase their religious influence on the backward part of our people, in particular on the politically immature

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

among youth, taking advantage of every weakness in the training work of the Young Communist League and other social and cultural organisations.”

- (iii) “The movement of our society forward to Communism demands a constant increase in the Socialist awareness of Soviet people, and demands an intensified struggle against all survivals of *bourgeois* ideology and morals, including religious prejudices and superstitions.”

From the above quotations from recent official Soviet publications it appears obvious that a large-scale struggle is in progress for the minds of Soviet youth between the Communist organs of mass conditioning on the one hand, and the recently strengthened Orthodox Church. The Soviet Constitution is so framed as to give the advantage of position to the Communist Party, in that it provides that “freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens,” thus giving the Church the right to exist, but not to propagate itself.

As for the Orthodox Church, it must obviously proceed very cautiously, lest it give the Soviet Government cause for renewing anti-religious persecution and abolishing its recently won rights. Moreover, since the setting up of the “Cominform” in the autumn of 1947, the Church has clearly had to exercise redoubled caution. That the Patriarchate has this principle constantly in mind can be seen from the way in which it consistently supports the foreign policy of the Soviet Government, assisting in Soviet attacks on the Catholic Church and the Western Democracies. For example, in an article in the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* for November 1947, the following passage occurs, in the language of the “Cominform”:

“The international scene is growing clearer and clearer—the outlines of two camps, of Labour and Capital, are plainly visible. Is there any need to ask in which camp the Russian Orthodox Church will remain? With all her inner truth, she is on the side of those for whom labour is a matter of honour and of heroism, on the side of oppressed in their strivings to free themselves from enslavement by capital.”

As final proof that the Soviet New Religious Policy is sheerly opportunistic, and brought about by the obstinacy of Christian Russia, it is sufficient to glance at the fate of Roman

Catholics in the Soviet Union. In 1939, there were some half-million Roman Catholics in the Soviet Union. In 1945, as a result of Soviet annexations, this number had increased to 7 or 8 millions. But Soviet Catholics are without communication with the Holy See; the few Catholic clergy who remain at liberty can be counted on the fingers. On 18th March, 1946, the Catholic Uniat Church, with Sees at Lvov, Przemysl and Stanislav, was forcibly separated from Rome and annexed to the Moscow Patriarchate. In 1945, there were 10 Catholic seminaries, of which two now remain. Finally, the Catholic Church in the Soviet Union has no legal existence. All ecclesiastical property has been taken over by the State without compensation. The teaching of the Catholic faith outside Church buildings is forbidden; all social activity and religious publications are forbidden. In short it is chiefly the Russian Orthodox Church, and that by virtue of its strength, which has succeeded temporarily in “doing a deal” with the Soviet State.

In conclusion, it may be categorically asserted that the attitude of the Communist Party towards religious belief of every description has remained one of invariable and irreconcilable hostility. The Communist Party regards Religion as incompatible with social “progress”—*i.e.*, towards Communist totalitarianism. However, the methods used by the Communist Party to destroy religious belief in the hearts of the millions who suffer their tyranny have varied extremely. Bitter and damaging experience has finally taught the most intractable of Communists that the direct persecution of Religion is an impossible course of action. For this reason the Communists have changed their tactics completely, and are now refraining from open persecution, while however, intensifying their psychological attack on religious belief. They spare no effort to turn the minds of the young away from all thought of a non-materialist nature (knowing as they do that such thoughts form an effective insulation against Communist tyranny), and they take every care to isolate the dwindling community of believers which all their persecutions have utterly failed to destroy. Moreover, they make use of the Church which they cannot annihilate, by coercing its leaders into supporting the distortion of Soviet propaganda, and in exploiting its very existence to hoodwink simple-minded foreigners into acquiescing in, or even assisting, the expansion of Communist Power.

THIS IS AN ENCLOSURE

CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

# COMMUNIST CONQUEST OF THE BALTIC STATES

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

## A Reminder of What Happened to the Small Neighbours of the U.S.S.R.

Lithuania, Esthonia and Latvia became Soviet Socialist Republics within the Soviet Union in 1940. Until then, they had been wholly independent states, with a high standard of living and of industrial development.

Their independence has gone, their living standard has been levelled down to that of the Soviet Union, their populations have been broken up by deportation, and their industries looted of their equipment.

The steps which brought this about, from the Nazi-Soviet Secret Protocol of September 1939, from the alliances with the U.S.S.R. forced upon the Baltic States, to the fictitious breakdown of friendly relations followed by military occupation, are set forth in this paper. The military occupation led to the setting up of Communist régimes wholly subservient to Moscow, and brought to power by "totalitarian" elections.

The events described belong to the past. The methods remain.

THE "Secret Additional Protocol" to the Soviet-Nazi Treaty of 23rd August, 1939 (see "Nazi-Soviet Relations," published by the United States Department of State), had made the following provision in its first article:

"In the event of a territorial and political rearrangement of the areas belonging to the Baltic States (Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania), the northern boundary of Lithuania shall represent the boundary of the spheres of influence of Germany and the U.S.S.R."

This provision was later amended, in the "Secret Supplementary Protocol" to the Nazi-Soviet Boundary and Friendship Treaty, signed in Moscow on 28th September, 1939, by Ribbentrop and Molotov, to read as follows:

"The Secret Supplementary Protocol signed on 23rd August, 1939, shall be amended in item 1 to the effect that the territory of the Lithuanian State falls to the sphere of influence of the U.S.S.R."  
Thus the stage was cleared by agreement

with Nazi Germany for Soviet aggression against the Baltic States.

The Soviet Union invaded Eastern Poland on 17th September, 1939. On the next day a Soviet diplomatic offensive was opened up against the Baltic States—Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. A Tass communiqué was released, stating that Polish submarines had taken refuge in naval bases belonging to the Baltic States "with the connivance of the ruling circles," and that one submarine, interned at Tallinn, the Esthonian capital, had disappeared. "It is believed," stated Tass, "that this is another case of negligence on the part of the Esthonian authorities."

### AGGRESSION BEGINS—TREATY BY BLACKMAIL

On 23rd September, the Esthonian Foreign Minister, Selter, was summoned to Moscow for "trade negotiations." During the course of these "negotiations" the Soviet Union

1

CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

threatened to break off diplomatic relations with Esthonia unless the latter agreed to conclude an "alliance" with the Soviet Union, to grant the Soviet Union a naval base at Baltischport and an air base on the Esthonian islands. The Soviet Union backed up this demand by moving large detachments of the Red Army up to the Esthonian frontier on 26th September.

The Esthonian Foreign Minister, Selter, issued the following statement:

"The Esthonian Government, under the gravest threat of imminent attack, perforce is prepared to accept a military alliance with the Soviet Union . . . . It is . . . . desired that naval and air bases should be made available only in case of war, when the obligation to assistance comes into play; in peace-time, as far as possible only preparation of the bases is desired."

The Soviet-Esthonian Pact of Mutual Assistance was thereupon signed on 28th September. The two contracting parties undertook "to render each other every assistance, including military assistance, in the event of direct aggression or threat of aggression arising on the part of any great European power against the sea frontiers of the contracting parties on the Baltic Sea, or against their land frontiers across the territory of the Latvian Republic." Further, Esthonia granted to the Soviet Union the right to maintain naval bases and several military aerodromes on a number of Esthonian islands, as well as to maintain "land and air armed forces of strictly limited strength."

Article 5 of the Soviet-Esthonian Pact made the following important point:

"The fulfilment of this pact must not affect in any measure the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, in particular their economic systems and state organisations."

Commenting on this Pact, the Soviet Party journal *Bolshevik*, No. 19 of 1939, said:

"Aggression and the desire to oppress smaller nations are alien to the spirit of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet people is interested in lasting peace and in fraternal collaboration with other peoples. Such collaboration can be realized only if it is based on mutual trust and the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Because it respects the sovereignty of other states, the Soviet Union does not interfere in their internal affairs."

On 15th October, as provided in this Pact eleven Soviet warships arrived at Tallinn, the Esthonian capital, and detachments of Soviet troops landed on Esthonian territory.

The next step was to conclude a similar pact with Latvia. On 2nd October, the Latvian Foreign Minister, Munters, was summoned to Moscow. He was interviewed by Stalin and Molotov, in the presence of Marshal Voroshilov and the Soviet Chief of General Staff, Shaposhnikov. He was handed an ultimatum, expiring in 48 hours, to sign a Soviet-Latvian Mutual Assistance Pact. The ultimatum stated that if the Soviet proposals were rejected the Soviet Union would take all "necessary measures." Munters thereupon signed the Latvian-Soviet agreement on 5th October.

The Soviet-Latvian Mutual Assistance Pact was *mutatis mutandis* in terms identical with those of the pact signed with Esthonia. Like Esthonia, Latvia was obliged to come to the assistance of the Soviet Union in the event of war in the Baltic, and was likewise guaranteed her sovereign rights and the *status quo* of her "economic system and state organisation." *Pravda* pointed out at the time that the Soviet negotiations with Esthonia and Latvia indicated "how carefully the Soviet Government respects the rights of small nations."

Latvia granted to the Soviet Union naval bases at Libau and Windau and the right to establish artillery posts on the coast between Windau and Pitraga. Detachments of the Red Army entered Latvia on 30th October.

There remained Lithuania, with whom Soviet negotiations were slightly different. On 3rd October, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister, Urbshys, was invited to Moscow and given a magnificent reception by Marshal Voroshilov and Kaganovich. On 10th October, Urbshys signed the Lithuanian-Soviet Pact, which was more involved than the two preceding pacts, in that it included a clause returning the city and district of Vilna (formerly Polish) to Lithuania. The Pact with Lithuania also differed in that it contained a clause providing for "mutual consultation . . . . in the event of a direct aggression or menace of aggression against Lithuania or the Soviet Union through the territory of Latvia," in which case "both contracting parties will at once consult with each other and take all such measures as will be mutually agreed upon as necessary." Finally, in addition to stating that the agreement did not affect the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, in particular their economic system and state organisation,

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**  
**SECRET**

the pact provided that the Soviet Union would follow a policy of "non-interference in the internal affairs" of Lithuania.

However, like the two preceding pacts, this one too gave the Soviet Union the right to maintain on Lithuanian territory land and air armed forces "of strictly limited strength," and obliged the Soviet Union to aid the Lithuanian Army with equipment and other military supplies.

**MOSCOW MANUFACTURES A  
BREAKDOWN**

After the end of the Soviet war of aggression, on Finland (12th March, 1940), the Soviet Government turned its attention to continuing its campaign against the Baltic States.

On 28th May, 1940, the Soviet Government sent a note to the Government of Lithuania, complaining that various Red Army men had been kidnapped on Lithuanian territory. The Lithuanian Government's suggestion that a mixed commission investigate the alleged incidents was rejected by Moscow. Thereupon the Lithuanian Government made a few arrests of allegedly "anti-Soviet" persons, but the Soviet Government still expressed dissatisfaction. The Lithuanian Prime Minister, Merkys, therefore went to Moscow to settle the matter in person.

At the same time Molotov, denying rumours that the Soviet Union was concentrating troops on the German border, admitted that "no more than 18 to 20 Soviet divisions are stationed in the Baltic." They were there, he said, "to guarantee the fulfilment of the mutual assistance pacts concluded between the U.S.S.R. and the Baltic States."

On 14th June, the Lithuanian Prime Minister, Merkys, and the Foreign Minister, Urbshys, were again summoned to Moscow and handed a Soviet note. This note again referred to the alleged kidnappings, and protested against the arrest of "a number of Lithuanian citizens employed by Red Army detachments." The note further stated that these acts were committed in order to make it "impossible for the Soviet military forces to remain in Lithuania, to foster hostility towards Soviet military employees, and to instigate excesses against the Red Army forces. All these facts clearly indicate that the Lithuanian Government is violating its mutual assistance agreement with Soviet Russia and is preparing an attack upon the Soviet garrisons situated in Lithuania."

The Lithuanian Government was further accused of entering into a military alliance with Latvia and Esthonia against the Soviet Union.

The note concluded with the following demands:

1. That the Lithuanian Minister of Internal Affairs and the Chief of Political Police be brought to trial;
2. That a new Government, able to carry out the Mutual Assistance Pact, be formed;
3. That agreement be given to the stationing of Soviet troops in the most important centres of the country, the force to be large enough to ensure the fulfilment of the agreements entered into by the two countries."

*this material procured by*

**Central Intelligence Agency**

**AGREEMENT VIOLATED**

The note was in the form of an ultimatum with a very short time-limit—a reply was demanded by the following morning. It will be observed that the note violated the provision of the Soviet-Lithuanian agreement, whereby the Soviet Government bound itself not to interfere in Lithuania's internal affairs. The note in fact represented the extremity of interference.

The Lithuanian Government had no alternative to accepting the ultimatum and consequently resigned. In the afternoon of 15th June, the Soviet Army began the occupation of Lithuania.

The Soviet Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Dekanozov, was appointed "emissary" to Lithuania, and he "assisted" the formation of a new Lithuanian Government on 17th June. The new Government, under Prime Minister Paletskis, was of a "democratic" character, consisting of liberal and generally "progressive" nonentities. It contained no Communists.

On 16th June, Molotov delivered ultimata, identical with that presented to the Lithuanian emissaries, to the Esthonian and Latvian envoys in Moscow. These notes stated that "the Soviet Government has established beyond doubt that the Latvian-Esthonian alliance (of 1923) was not dissolved after these countries concluded their pacts with the Soviet Union; that on the contrary they seek to expand it by the inclusion of Lithuania and Finland. The Soviet Government can neither permit nor tolerate such an alliance; it regards it as dangerous and as a threat to the frontiers of the U.S.S.R."

The alliance referred to was the old Latvian-Esthonian alliance of 1923, to which no objection

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**



had been raised by Moscow at the time of the signing of the Mutual Assistance Pacts. The allegation that this alliance was in process of extension to Lithuania and Finland was a complete falsehood.

Basing itself on these flimsy motives the Soviet Government put forward the following demands, to be accepted immediately:

1. That new Latvian and Estonian Governments be formed.
2. That Soviet troops be given free access to Latvia and Estonia.

Both countries accepted the Soviet terms on 17th June, and both were immediately occupied by the Soviet Army. Both Governments of course resigned and new Governments, on the Lithuanian pattern, were set up by the Soviet "emissaries" to Estonia and Latvia, who were respectively: Zhdanov, member of the Politburo and President of the Soviet Foreign Affairs Commission; and Vyshinsky, then Representative of the Soviet Council of People's Commissars.

#### THE SOFTENING-UP PROCESS

Under the direction of Zhdanov, Vyshinsky and Dekanozov, the three new Baltic Governments simultaneously published their programmes of action, which were identical and consisted of the following points:

1. Collaboration with the Soviet Union;
2. Dissolution of the old parliaments;
3. Preparations for new elections;
4. Amnesties for "the imprisoned fighters for liberty";
5. "Universal democratic rights" for citizens;
6. Radical measures for "improving the economic and social conditions of the people"; and
7. "Strengthening of the state sovereignty."

Most of these points were of course sheer eye-wash. The important actions of the new Governments, and the actions for which they were formed were:

- (a) The annulment of the "Baltic Agreements"—the Treaty of Mutual Undertaking and Co-operation concluded for 10 years by the three states in 1934, and the above-mentioned Latvian-Estonian mutual defence pact of 1923. These were annulled by Latvia and Estonia on 1st July, and by Lithuania on 3rd July.

- (b) The legalization of the Communist Party in the Baltic States, as a result of which the organs of the press were taken over by Communist elements, with the aid of the Soviet forces of occupation. By an "amnesty law for political prisoners" political-criminal elements were released from prison and made available for future developments.
- (c) New elections to the National Assembly were arranged in all three states for 14th and 15th July. In each state a "Working People's Union" sprang into existence, dominated by a small Communist kernel—Communism being practically non-existent in the Baltic States. By amending the electoral laws—a completely unconstitutional act—the three Governments made it possible in the forthcoming elections to prevent candidates not acceptable to the "Working People's Unions" from putting up their candidatures.

The exact synchronisation of these developments in all three Baltic States—in particular the fixing of all three elections for the same date—coupled with the presence of the three Soviet "emissaries," shows the three new Governments, despite their non-Communist nature, to have been nothing more than Moscow-controlled puppets.

Further moves in the Baltic States included the disarmament of the Civil Guard organisations, the wholesale dismissal of government officials—the so-called "reactionary elements," and their replacement by Soviet nominees. "Political Commissars" were appointed in all army units, and "workers' committees" were set up in all industrial and commercial enterprises. In this way the Baltic States were softened up and made ripe for that form of Communist-dominated "elections" to which we have subsequently become so accustomed.

#### ELECTION-RIGGING

By the 14th of July, the date fixed for the new and unconstitutional elections in each of the Baltic States, the "Working People's Unions" had succeeded in eliminating all possible opposition. All independent and non-Union candidates had been declared ineligible as "public enemies" or because their electoral programmes were "insufficiently specific."

In Estonia there were 80 constituencies, for which there were 81 "Workers' Union"

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY** Central Intelligence Agency

candidates, but no opposition candidates. In Latvia, the Central Election Committee had disqualified all but members of the "Working People of Latvia" *bloc*. In addition, Latvian newspapers refused to publish, and printers to print, opposition manifestos. In Lithuania there were 79 constituencies and 79 "Workers' Alliance" candidates. All other candidates were disqualified.

At this point it is of interest to cite the political programme put forward by the "Workers' Unions" in all three Baltic States. In each case it consisted of the following points:

- (a) Close co-operation with the Soviet Union;
- (b) Election of a Popular Assembly;
- (c) Promulgation of a new constitution;
- (d) Freedom of speech, meetings, press, and freedom to strike;
- (e) Dissolution of the Civil Guard;
- (f) Creation of a democratic army and militia;
- (g) State control of banks and industry, with a view to their subsequent nationalisation;
- (h) An eight-hour working day, paid holidays and improved social services;
- (i) Confiscation of the property of enemies of the people, division of large estates. No collectivisation against the will of the peasantry;
- (j) The democratisation of administration and education;
- (k) The removal of all restrictions on ethnic minorities;
- (l) The legalisation of the Communist Party.

It will be observed that no mention was made of the incorporation of any of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union.

The outcome of the elections was of course a foregone conclusion. The following election results were officially reported:

In Esthonia, 81.6% of eligible voters cast their ballots, and 92.9% of them voted for the "Workers' Union" candidates. In Latvia, 94.7% of eligible voters voted, 97.6% of them for the "Workers' Union" candidates. In Lithuania, 95.5% of eligible voters voted, 92.2% of them for "Workers' Union" candidates.

A large degree of pressure and intimidation was brought to bear on the Baltic "elections." Every electoral district in Lithuania, for example, was provided with a Russian "instructor." Voting was declared compulsory and every

voter had his identity card stamped as evidence that he was a "friend of the people." The polling places and voting urns were guarded by armed Soviet troops, the chairman of each polling booth had the right to put the name of the voter on the back of the ballot paper, thus indicating those who recorded a blank, *i.e.*, adverse vote—for remember that no opposition candidates were allowed.

It subsequently appeared probable that the votes were in fact not even counted, and that it was considered sufficient to publish a desirable percentage.

### INCORPORATION IN THE SOVIET UNION

In each of the Baltic States the newly "elected" National Assemblies met on 21st July. Each National Assembly declared its country to be a Soviet Socialist Republic and decided to request the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for admission to the Soviet Union.

Of great interest in this connexion is the following extract from the Declaration passed by the Esthonian State Assembly on 21st July:

"When solving the problem of State power we will turn our eyes to the historical experience of the peoples of the Soviet Union. This experience teaches us that only the power of the Soviets is a true protector of the interests of the working people, is the only true government of the people in a country in which the people themselves govern the state, without capitalists and landowners. Every other kind of power, as can be seen from the experiences of the capitalist countries, among them the experiences of our own life in *bourgeois* Esthonia, is either covert or open deception decorated with slogans of liberty and equality, and the ruling of a handful of oppressors over the majority of the people."

The National Assemblies simultaneously resolved to nationalise industry and commerce, and to reduce land-holdings to a maximum of 30 hectares—an area well below the economic minimum for the Baltic States.

### SOCIAL SURGERY

As soon as the Soviet Government obtained complete control of the Baltic States, the process of "social surgery" was begun, whereby the Baltic nations were to be completely destroyed as national entities, beyond any hope of restoration.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

The first step in this process was the elimination of the Baltic intelligentsia, of all who had distinguished themselves in any way in the past, of all indeed who had shown any sign of independent thought. First to be arrested were the members of the old Baltic Governments. In *Esthonia*, the ex-President, Paets, was arrested and taken to Moscow at the beginning of August, as was General Laidoner, ex-Commander-in-Chief of the Esthonian Army. In *Latvia*, ex-President Ulmanis, with his wife and children, were arrested and taken to Russia. The former Foreign Minister, Munters, with his family, was also arrested and taken to Russia, as was the former Minister of War, Balodis. All former ministers were arrested and deported. The proprietor of the chief Latvian newspaper, Berjamins, was deported. By October it was learned that Paets and Ulmanis were dead. By October in Riga alone over 6,000 of the intelligentsia had been deported. In *Lithuania*, the former ministers were deported as "enemies of the people," and prominent professors, lawyers and scientists were arrested. In addition, the active members and leaders of all the non-Communist parties, right, left and Nationalist, were arrested. The former Prime Minister, Merkys, and his family, and the former Foreign Minister, Urbshys, and his family were deported to the Soviet Union.

After the intelligentsia had been removed, the Soviet authorities began to deport large sections of the populace to the Russian interior. By December 1941, 10% of *Esthonia's* 1940 population were estimated to have disappeared in this way. The intelligentsia suffered more than any other group.

In *Latvia*, hardly any sphere of social activity was left untouched. All independent thought was ruthlessly and systematically destroyed. Latvians were deported to Siberia or the Volga area. Some 10,000 Latvians, mostly from the educated classes, were sent to forced labour camps in the Komi area. It was a general rule of the Soviet authorities not to allow members of the same family to remain together after deportation.

In *Lithuania*, mass arrests were carried out in Kaunas, Vilna, and all provincial towns and villages. The new local administrations were instructed to "clean up" their districts of "undesirable elements." By the end of 1941, as a result of the Soviet incorporation, it was estimated that 60,000 Lithuanians had disappeared, of whom approximately 12,000 had been arrested, 3,000 shot, and 45,000 deported.

Lithuanians deported to Russia, consisted of the following categories: peasants, officials, school children, teachers, infants, workmen, officers, doctors, students, lawyers, engineers, nurses and journalists.

Throughout the Baltic purges, the Soviet authorities used "Cold Pogrom" methods. Their administrative machine worked steadily and efficiently through lists of the proscribed, which had evidently been prepared in advance. To designate their intended victims, the N.K.V.D. stamped the identity cards of the populace in different colours. It is claimed by well-informed Baltic sources that half of the total population of the Baltic States was to be deported to the Russian interior and that their place was to be taken by Russians and Soviet Asiatics. It can be soberly conceded that, in the light of Soviet treatment of other border minorities, this claim, startling though it may seem, is in fact probably true.

By destroying the intelligentsia first, the Soviet authorities were able more easily to deal with the amorphous masses of unarmed middle classes, disappointed workers and isolated peasants, all systematically reduced to terror through constant espionage and the use of informants. From Latvia, mass murders in the Riga prison yards were reported, people being shot after 15 minutes' trial. Others were imprisoned and tortured for such offences as having had correspondence with foreign countries before the Soviet incorporation, or because they belonged to a non-Communist organisation.

A stream of Russian immigrants was poured into the Baltic States, resulting in over-population and the consequent rationing of accommodation on the Russian pattern to 9 square metres per family. This had the triple effect of destroying domestic peace and comfort, of lowering the standard of living in this respect to the level of the Soviet Union, and of facilitating espionage.

At the same time as the physical destruction of the Baltic nations by shooting and deportation, the Soviet Government proceeded to destroy their independence of thought and culture. Compulsory "meetings" were constantly arranged, in order to create the impression of spontaneous interest in the Soviet New Order. Stereotyped resolutions were passed at these meetings, expressing the "joy and happiness of the liberated people," gratitude to the Soviet forces of occupation and to the "Great Stalin, Father of the Nations."

The Baltic Universities suffered considerably in the drive against cultural independence. The

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

Lithuanian Ministry of Education instructed the Universities of the Lithuanian Republic that the humanities faculties must be based on the science of Marxism. At Tartu University in Esthonia, the famous theological faculty was closed down. The Baltic States' flourishing cultural contacts with Western Europe were completely destroyed, and of course all travel outside the Soviet Union was forbidden.

At the time of their incorporation the Baltic States enjoyed, besides democratic freedoms of a Western nature, a standard of living incomparably higher than that of the Soviet Union, despite the fact that they had started with the same handicaps. This high standard of living was a source of astonishment to the invading Soviet forces and of embarrassment to the Soviet authorities. However, a few months of Soviet occupation sufficed to drag the Baltic States substantially down to the level of the conditions obtaining in the Soviet Union.

In *Esthonia*, almost the entire industrial output of the Republic's factories was sent to the U.S.S.R. from the beginning of that country's incorporation, the home market being left in want of such essentials as textiles, footwear, agricultural products, paper and fuel. Previously accumulated stocks of grain and other foodstuffs were also sent to the U.S.S.R., together with rolling stock, cars and lorries. In some cases the entire installations of factories, together with their skilled workers, were transferred to the Soviet Union. In short, the country's material resources were systematically looted and its economic structure forcibly integrated with that of the U.S.S.R. The Russian rouble was introduced as the legal monetary unit, as in all the Baltic States, and the U.S.S.R. price and wage levels were introduced. This had the effect of halving the average real wages throughout the Baltic States. At this time in Moscow a strong influx of goods in the antique and food shops was noticed—from the plundered homes and storehouses of the Baltic States.

*Lithuania*, which had been a prosperous and orderly little country with an uncontrolled abundance of foodstuffs and manufactured goods, became within a few weeks a replica of any other Soviet Republic, with queues for bread, empty shops, dirty streets and increasingly ill-clad people.

The Church in the Baltic States was deprived of the financial support granted it under the Concordats with the Vatican. Anti-religious propaganda was carried on, atheism was introduced into school curricula, and priests were arrested, tortured, shot, and deported. The position of the Church at present is anomalous. Active persecution is no longer necessary from the Soviet viewpoint, as the Baltic nations have presumably been sufficiently destroyed, but repressive measures have recently again been reported by the Vatican.

After the outbreak of Soviet-German hostilities in June 1941, revolts took place in the Baltic States. Among the most bitter against the Soviet authorities were the industrial workers, who helped to drive the Soviet armed forces out of Baltic territory before the German advance. In view of this, the natural result of Communist terrorism, the argument of the Soviet authorities and their Communist agencies that the Baltic States had to be incorporated in the Soviet Union as a preparation for the coming war with Germany is pretty thin. Had the Soviet Union wished only to strengthen her position against a German attack, she could have done so far more effectively by developing her military alliances with the Baltic States in the normal way and treating the Balts in such a way as to secure their wholehearted co-operation against Germany.

At the end of the German occupation of the Baltic States the Soviet authorities, re-equipped with plentiful allegations of "co-operation with the enemy," have, from all accounts, resumed a policy of large-scale deportations and gradual genocide.

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

7  
**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

DETACH  
**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

# Control of Workers in Countries under Communist Domination

Trade Unions used  
solely to further State Aims:  
Collective Bargaining Impossible

## SUMMARY

Trade Unionism as practised in Britain and the Western Democracies provides a means of collective bargaining designed to protect and further the interests of workers in their relations with either State or private employers.

In the Soviet Union, the Trade Union is an instrument of the State and of the Communist Party. It provides a means whereby the State and the Party impose on the worker conditions and wages which have been determined from above, and have not been reached by joint discussion or by arbitration. The Trade Union is used to control the worker, to extract from him more and more output, and to punish him for transgressions against a severe factory code.

In the countries in which Communist régimes, subservient to Moscow in one degree or another, have come into being, Trade Unions, some of them with a considerable history of true democratic endeavour, are steadily being pressed into the Soviet mould.

This paper compares the Western and the Soviet conceptions of the function of Trade Unions, and indicates how the workers in the orbit countries are being driven towards the Soviet system.

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

## INTRODUCTION

THE pioneer work of the Trade Unions movement in Great Britain provides the foundation of the Western democratic conception of the relationship between the employer and the employed—whether the employer be the State itself or a private concern.

By trial and error, by persistent and successful negotiation spread over a long period, an organisation has been created and a body of law established which actively promote the workers' interest and ensure that when disagreements arise, agreed means are available to settle them justly by negotiation.

Western Trade Unions are not instruments of State policy, nor of party, although it is true Trade Unionism springs from the same sources, broadly, as the Labour Party. Officials of the Trade Unions represent the workers. They do not act on behalf of the State or of a political party.

This conception of Trade Unionism is utterly at variance with that to be found in Soviet Russia and her satellites, just as it is with the so-called Trade Unions established in Germany by the Nazis. Indeed, the resemblance between the two systems—the Western democratic and the Communist—ends with the name.

**Under Communist rule the State becomes the only employer of labour. The Communist Party is the Communist state's main agency, and there are no other parties. In the Soviet Union and her satellite countries, the Trade Union is no more than the means whereby the State imposes its control on the workers.**

When, by a *coup d'État* or other method, a Communist Government reaches power, it shows willingness to take advantage of the workers' instinct towards Trade Unionism. It advances Trade Unionism as a source of advantage to the worker, and then by a steady application of pressure creates a situation where the worker, instead of finding that his advantages grow with the growth of Trade Unions, discovers that his rights have irrecoverably been lost, and that he is faced with an autocratic authority, against whose decisions there cannot, by the nature of things, be any redress. Collective bargaining has gone.

### A.—SOVIET TRADE UNIONS

Soviet authorities emphasise that the roles of Trade Unions in a "capitalist society" and under the "dictatorship of the proletariat" differ considerably. They also stress the role which the Russian Trade Unions have to play

as "a school of Communism." It is for them to enjoy "a more active and direct participation in economic construction and in the organisation of socialist competition and shock work," according to the Soviet Encyclopædia of 1940. The Unions must improve the material and cultural level of the workers and explain to the masses that the "rapid tempo of industrialisation, the Socialist reform of agriculture, the selection and training of hundreds of thousands of leading workers as organisers of socialist economy represent the pre-requisite for the further improvement of the material and cultural level of the working masses."

The All-Union Council of Trade Unions, the governing body of the entire Trade Union organisation in the Soviet Union, transmits the orders received from the Government and Communist Party downwards.

### Government Fixes Hours

In theory, the officers of the various grades within the movement are elected by secret ballot by the members of the respective bodies, but in actual practice only the exact number of candidates to fill the vacant offices are ever nominated, so that no office is contested.

Official Soviet propaganda states that "the scales of payment for output are fixed by the State in conjunction with the Trade Unions"; but according to a statement in *Pravda* of 5th June, 1944, by Lisichkin, the director of a Soviet oil factory, collective bargaining does not exist in the Soviet Union. The People's Commissariats (*i.e.*, Ministries) "plan the wage fund for each factory, covering the average wage of each category and the number of workers."

Similarly, hours of work and rest periods, public holidays and annual leave are fixed by the Government and party. One of the primary functions of the Trade Unions is the promotion of industrial efficiency by means of "socialist competitions," that is contests between groups of workers in an undertaking or between different undertakings to see who can exceed the production plan by the greatest amount. If these contests result in raising the average output of a shop, then that shop's output "norm" is revised, which means that the rate is cut. In order to counter any possible opposition to such methods, the Trade Unions are also responsible for "mobilising public opinion" against "slackers" in industry.

**The complete subservience of the worker to the Government and State authorities through the agency of an organisation which, according**

**CONFIDENTIAL** **CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

to the Western conception, should exist to promote his essential freedom and right to improve his working conditions, is further emphasised by the Trade Union enforcement of labour discipline in the Soviet Union.

Decrees published in June and October 1940, forbade workers to leave their employment without the express permission of the directors, ruled that anyone who refused to go when transferred to some other place of employment should be considered as having left his employment without permission and should be punished accordingly, and ordered that "absenteeism" should be punished by forced labour. The penalty for leaving employment without permission was later increased from imprisonment for two to four months to imprisonment for a year, while "absenteeism" was defined as arriving more than twenty minutes late for work, leaving work more than twenty minutes early, extending the mid-day dinner break by more than twenty minutes and arriving at work drunk.

It is also as agents of the Government that the Soviet Trade Unions administer the social insurance scheme. They see that sickness allowances are discontinued when doctors' orders are not obeyed or that workers who injure themselves to obtain release from work are not only deprived of their allowances but made to face criminal charges.

Finally, the Trade Unions have a duty to "inculcate a Socialist attitude to labour and public property" by assisting workers to study Marxism-Leninism, party history and the party line by organising lectures on political and industrial themes and by reading official bulletins and political literature. Their paramount aim is to make the worker a more willing and efficient slave.

**B.—SATELLITE TRADE UNIONS**

The former General Secretary of the Czech Trade Union movement, M. Erban, has formally stated that the Czech Unions must look to the Soviet Union for their model, and there is other clear evidence that the Trade Union movements in the orbit countries based on the Western conception, such as those which existed in Czechoslovakia before the war, or which enjoyed comparative freedom, as in Roumania between 1920 and 1938, have had to give way to movements dominated entirely by the Communist Party, and existing for the primary purpose of supporting the Government drive for production.

The methods used by the Communists to gain control of the Trade Unions in the satellite States after their liberation have been much the same in each country. In Bulgaria, as in Poland, in Roumania as in Yugoslavia, the Communists have relied either upon their power to enforce the appointments of Party members to key posts within the re-established organisations, or upon their ability to undermine the power of other left-wing non-Communist parties within the movement by bringing pressure to bear on the workers, alienating or invalidating any possible support from the management and rigging the elections—when these take place.

In each satellite country there is now only one Trade Union organisation and it would be impossible for any group to set up any body in opposition to or even independent of this organisation. The "Revolutionary Trade Union Movement" established after the liberation in Czechoslovakia is a highly centralised Union under Communist control—a control which was made even more stringent by the fact that the central organisation decides the section to which any particular worker shall belong and it is to the central office that all subscriptions are directly paid. In Bulgaria the General Workers' Professional Union (O.R.P.S.), now effectively controlled by the State, was formed by the Communist Government in 1944. The three groups of Unions which existed before the war in Poland which owed their allegiance respectively to the Socialist Party, the Christian ideal and the Pilsudski régime, were not allowed to operate at the end of the war. While the Unions under extreme left-wing control were re-establishing their organisation and influence, appointments to key-posts were made from above and in the majority of cases went to Communists. No pre-war Trade Union leader was accepted as a candidate unless he declared his loyalty to the Communists. Antoni Szczerkowski, the former President of the Textile Workers' Union, and Stanislaw Sobolewski, leader of the Transport Workers' Union in Warsaw, were among the pre-war leaders arrested. In May 1947, Antoni Stanofsky, former Second Secretary to the Polish Trade Union Congress, was arrested and died in prison in November that year.

**Controlled by Communist Party**

At the end of 1944, shortly after the liberation of Belgrade, a mass meeting was held in the capital, when the Action Committee responsible

**Central Intelligence Agency**

**CONFIDENTIAL** **CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

for "rebuilding" the Trade Unions was elected by acclamation. This Committee, which was firmly under the control of the Communist Party, ordered the formation of subsidiary committees which were to re-establish Trade Unions in all the larger towns in liberated territory. In January 1945, the first congress of the re-established Trade Unions was held in Belgrade. A new charter, drafted apparently by the Action Committee, and adopted at this congress, provided for a new organisation which bore no relation to the one which existed before the war and placed all Trade Unions in the country under central control.

#### **Social Democrats Ousted**

The Trade Union Council in Hungary, was even before the war, a highly centralised organisation representing 43 different Unions, in which the majority of members were factory workers. Re-established immediately after the liberation by both the Communists and Socialists, the T.U.C. was rapidly subject to a dominant Communist influence. In Roumania, on the other hand, where a Royal Decree authorised the establishment of a Trade Union movement after the 1944 *coup d'État* and here a mixed Socialist-Communist commission was appointed to draw up the statutes, it was not until August 1947, that the Communists chose to make it apparent at the elections that they had been able to oust the Social Democrats from all positions of influence within the movement.

As in the U.S.S.R., so in the satellite countries does the Communist Party impose its control over the Trade Union movement from above. M. K. Witaszewski, a Communist, was appointed President of the Central Commission in Poland, which has ultimate and absolute authority over the policy and activities of the separate Unions. Under the control of this central organisation, commissions set up in the various administrative districts are responsible for Trade Union policy at these local and regional levels. Communist appointments to key positions bore no relation whatsoever to the numerical strength of the party within the country, and were designed to facilitate the incorporation of the Unions in the machinery of Government and the suppression of the remaining Trade Unions, such as those representing professional interests, as independent organisations outside the central structure. Responsibility for the Trade Union movement in Yugoslavia was entrusted to a central committee elected at the first post-war Trade Union Congress held in January 1945.

The President of this committee is the veteran Communist Djuro Solaj, who had spent the fourteen years prior to 1944 in the Soviet Union. No election has been held since the committee was formed and new members have simply been co-opted when any vacancy occurred. All appointments to official posts in branch federations and committees must be approved by this central committee, which also determines general Trade Union policy. By making the establishment of any Trade Union organisation dependent upon the prior approval of the Minister of the Interior under the law relating to associations, meetings and public gatherings, the Government has in effect made the formation of any independent Union impossible.

In Roumania, where the supervision of the Trade Union organisation rests with the General Confederation of Labour, a new Executive Committee was elected at the second Trade Union Congress held on 12th November, 1947, three months after the Communist Party had been able by coercion and infiltration to stage a major victory for the Party at the August Trade Union elections.

Under the law in each of the orbit countries the workers have the right to remain outside the Trade Union movement. A specific drive for membership in such countries as Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Hungary is constantly reinforced by material advantages in the nature of extra allocations of food and clothing at cheaper prices, reductions in transport fares and cheaper medical attention which are open to members in all the satellite States. Inducements of this kind mean that the legal right to abstain is a luxury which the ordinary worker could not afford, even if his continued employment were not dependent on Trade Union approval, as it is in Hungary, where two Decrees issued in 1945 and 1946 gave the Trade Unions control over the direction of manual and clerical workers.

#### **No Protecting Power**

Although the statutes of the various Trade Union organisations may profess that the promotion of the workers' interests remains the primary function of the Trade Unions, it seems clear that the Unions have very little if any independent say in matters relating to hours of work and wages. In Yugoslavia, these are both determined by the Government; in Bulgaria a Government inspector decides to which of the new wage scales recently laid down by law a particular worker is entitled.



**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

## **CONFIDENTIAL**

**Collective bargaining is only permissible by law in Bulgaria in respect of working conditions, but even here the power of the Union Committees has greatly shrunk since 1945. Then, together with the employers and technicians, the committees fixed the working "norms"; to-day they are only allowed to express an opinion on production "norms" submitted to them.**

The relative importance attached to the functions of Trades Unions in the orbit countries is illustrated in the case of Czechoslovakia by two speeches; the one made by the Minister of Social Welfare and the other by the President, M. Gottwald. At San Francisco, M. Erban declared that the Czechoslovak Trade Unions were mainly concerned with the division of work between the Unions and the Government, in the just distribution of the national income and in the endeavour to increase the standard of living of the people. In Czechoslovakia itself, the Prime Minister, when addressing a conference of the Trade Union Council, emphasised the responsibility of Trade Union officials for eliminating shortcomings in industrial production.

**The Trade Unions in the satellite countries are thus almost exclusively concerned with the promotion of industrial efficiency and the adoption of the methods practised by their prototypes in the U.S.S.R.**

The Bulgarian Minister of Industry, M. Kounin, declared on 18th May, that the law of all laws was the execution of the State plan, and his Ministry published a decree in the State Gazette of 2nd June, 1948, according to which factory meetings were to be called regularly for the administrative staff, engineers and shock workers. "The Union Committees," according to this decree, "can participate in discussions on production in so far as they are, on behalf of the

workers, to accept the plan and to give their opinion on production 'norms' and pay rates." They are also to mobilise the workers for the fulfilment of the plan, organise friendly competitions, sign collective work contracts and see that they are carried out. The primacy accorded to the execution of the plan is further underlined by the special position attributed to shock workers; while they are to attend regular factory meetings, it is only on important occasions that the ordinary workers are called upon to be present.

### **C.—CONCLUSION**

This, then, is the essential contrast between the Trade Union as conceived and used in Britain (and in other countries which have adopted a similar attitude to the problem) and in the Soviet Union. In the one, the Trade Union exists to protect the workers' interests—his working conditions and his wages—by providing a means to negotiate on an equal legal footing; in the other the Trade Union is a State-created and party-controlled organisation which is not only used to make the worker accept wage and other conditions determined without negotiation, but also to indoctrinate the worker in obedience.

**In the satellite countries, there is adequate evidence to show that the Trade Union movements there have been revived after war-time inaction or have been created, only to serve the same ends as the so-called Trade Unions in the Soviet Union, that is, the ends of the Communist Party.**

When there is news of Trade Union activities within the Soviet orbit, or participation by members of so-called Trade Unions in these territories in international congresses, it is well to bear in mind that their conception of Trade Unions and that of the Western democracies, differ profoundly.

**This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

DO NOT DETACH

**CONFIDENTIAL**

# Daily Life in a Communist State

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

The events which have led to the establishment of Communist Governments in the Soviet Union's Eastern European Satellites are matters of history, and common knowledge. It is well enough remembered that after the Russian armies had driven the Germans from Roumania and Bulgaria, from Yugoslavia and Hungary, political power in these countries was assumed by various parties or combinations of parties and then either rapidly or gradually became the monopoly of the Communist Party.

The press will have given an account—brief or more detailed according to the interest attributed to the subject—of the implementation of Communist policy; the secularisation of education, the nationalisation of all branches of trade and industry, measures tending towards the collectivisation of the land, and the regimentation of the arts. From the prominence given to the trial and execution of opposition leaders, the reader will have learned of the suppression of political liberty. But what differences to the life of the ordinary citizen has a Communist régime brought about?

- Is he liable to be arrested and imprisoned without trial?
- Can he choose where and how long he will work?
- Is the scope of his intellectual interests limited?
- May he buy the newspaper of his choice?
- Can he decide how large a house his family needs?
- Can he spend his leisure—or his money—as he wishes?

This paper is an attempt to examine the effect of the new régime on the ordinary individual in one of the satellite countries—in this case Bulgaria.

## An examination of what the Régime in Bulgaria means to the ordinary citizen

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**A**CCOUNTS of political changes in a country with which a newspaper reader is not familiar may give him the essential facts, but leave little impression on his mind of the effect of these changes on the daily lives of people like himself.

In the countries of Eastern Europe which have come under the control of Communist régimes—and in consequence under the ultimate domination of the Soviet Union—a social revolution has taken place. This revolution is presented by Communist propaganda as a process which benefits the worker, and brings nearer the realisation of a political ideal.

In practice, however, the cloudy phrases of Communist polemic fail to conceal that the revolution in the orbit countries has in almost every department of life imposed restrictions on individual liberty, has burdened the worker with additional hours of toil, and has made vexatious inroads in his limited leisure.

A similar picture would be found in each of the satellite countries; but for the moment, a glance at Bulgaria alone will reveal the essence of the theme.

### THE PEASANT LANDOWNERS

If he is a land-owning peasant and a member of a class comprising 80 per cent. of the population, the Bulgarian will be treated by the Government with marked caution and some distrust. Alternate inducement and compulsion are the methods used to secure his acquiescence, if not his co-operation, in Government policy. The State decides what crops he shall grow, when he is to sow them and the proportion he may keep for himself and his family, after he has sold a fixed quota to the State at the low official prices. He is not allowed to sell direct to the retailer, nor has he complete freedom to sell to private consumers. Exploiting the peasant's distrust of unstable post-war currencies, the State has seen that the co-operatives can offer consumer goods in exchange for any produce he has left after the State has taken its quota.

To persuade the peasant to join co-operative farms, which are to be increased from 560 to 800 this year, the Government gives these farms preference over private owners in the supply of seeds, consumer goods, buildings and artesian wells, and much of his power to resist such persuasion is undermined by the fact that he may not by law have any agricultural machinery in his private possession. At the back of

his mind he must always hear the threat to collectivise the land—a threat which has assumed even greater substance as a result of the Cominform's strictures of the Yugoslav Communist Party's failure to put the Marxist doctrine into practice in the villages.

### THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

An industrial worker in Bulgaria, on the other hand, would be a member of a relatively small section of the population. But since Communist doctrine exalts the status of the industrial worker at the expense of the peasant, he might feel that he was on the road to prosperity. But Government control is increasing, and his liberties are being progressively curtailed.

The law relating to civil mobilisation passed in May 1945, and the compulsory labour law of 1946 make the worker's employment subject to direction, and workers in the building trades, for example, who have refused to accept such direction, have been directly threatened, in April 1948, by the responsible Minister with the loss of ration cards and with compulsory mobilisation. Any wish on the part of the worker to change his occupation is restricted by the 1948 State Economic Plan, which provides for a check on transfers.

The worker is not legally bound to join a Trade Union, but the fact that membership will secure extra benefits in food, clothing, free hospital treatment and cheap holidays will prove sufficient inducement to belong to a branch of the General Workers' Professional Union (O.R.P.S.), which is controlled by the State. (It is through the secretaries of this Union, for example, that coupons for shoes and clothing are distributed.)

**The worker has been deprived of his right to determine wages by collective bargaining; a Government inspector decides the scale to which any particular worker is entitled.**

The highest wages for miners, food processing and tobacco factory workers, postal and construction workers have been increased by between 500 and 650 per cent. compared with 1939, and have thus very nearly kept pace with the rise in the cost of living of the average worker officially calculated in November 1947 at 666 per cent. Members of the cotton textile industry, however, which accounts for one-third of Bulgarian industry, have had to accept a 25-30 per cent. cut in wages under the new scales. It is also dependent on the recommendation of a Govern-

Central Intelligence Agency

**CONFIDENTIAL****CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

ment commission whether or not the various benefits enjoyed by the worker before the war such as free bus fares, free lunches, cheap food supplies from factory farms and presents of textiles will be granted in future.

Hours of work can be extended by direct Government orders. All cotton-spinning factories were ordered to introduce two nine-hour work shifts each day in April 1948. Any outstanding individual performance such as that of Manol Cholev, who succeeded in "breaking all records by digging and loading 113.3 tons of coal during one shift with the help of a single assistant," is held up for emulation. Subjected to the pressure of example and State-sponsored competition, the worker feels driven to increase his rate of work. Telephone operators in the offices used by the Council of Ministers have "volunteered" to do an extra one and a half hours' work a day. At the Pernik mines, miners have promised to fulfil their quotas by 110 per cent. and the newspaper "Otechestven Front," Sofia organ of the Fatherland Front, has declared that not only must absentees make up for lost time, but has urged factory directors to punish offenders by imposing fines, cutting down leave and taking away the privileges accorded to shock workers.

#### EXTINCTION OF THE SMALL TRADER

It is now virtually impossible for any Bulgarian to make a livelihood as a merchant or small trader. In 1947, State monopolies were formed to cover tobacco, eggs, skins and furs, alcohol and wines, rose oil, fruit, chemists' supplies, imports of industrial chemicals and exports of ores and handicraft products. Although these monopolies were at first joint enterprises involving the State, the co-operatives are being given other functions and the private traders are being squeezed out. In February 1948, four State wholesale monopolies, with the right to engage in retail trade, were established to distribute clothing and shoes, metal products, groceries and building materials. At the end of 1948, State stores will number 34, while their business is to be increased one hundredfold over 1947. Municipal "Hore-mags" (a composite name formed of the initial letters of hotel, restaurant and shop) are rapidly multiplying. They possess, almost a monopoly of the catering business and have many subsidiaries, such as bakeries. The State plan for 1948 envisages a reduction of private internal commerce by 40 per cent. while State and co-operative business is to be doubled.

The State is not, however, bound to pay compensation in nationalised industry to those who worked with the Germans—a potentially large category, in a country which was Germany's active ally for four years!

#### REGIMENTATION OF PROFESSIONS

If a Bulgar wants to be a Government or public employee, his political reliability will be the dominating factor. As a former civil servant and non-Communist expert, he may have been kept on in a key-post where his experience is still necessary, but as soon as possible he will be replaced by someone considered to be politically more reliable. The new constitution has made provision for a State Control Commission to supervise the efficiency of Government departments and any employee may inform against his colleague, should he dislike him or consider his political views to be unsound.

**It is by appointing ardent Communists to key-posts in professional organisations and by eliminating anyone guilty of recalcitrance, that the Government has made it impossible for the ordinary man to practise as a doctor, lawyer or university professor independently of his political views.**

The posts of President of the Supreme Court and Attorney-General have been given to Communists of long standing and a law has given the Minister of Justice the right to fine or disqualify lawyers for various offences ranging from incapacity to gambling. No one can practise as a lawyer unless he belongs to a lawyers' collective or goes to a district where there are fewer than six lawyers. Should he wish to employ a lawyer, the ordinary citizen must ask a lawyers' union to nominate a legal representative, or else pay an extra fee for the privilege of nominating his own. If a doctor is not already working in a State or municipal institution, he is bound by a decree published in April this year to register and to accept any appointment in public service to which he may be directed in any part of the country.

#### POLITICALLY BIASED EDUCATION

All Bulgarian citizens have a right to education, but the education must, according to Article 79 of the Constitution, be "secular, with a democratic and progressive spirit." The ordinary man will not be able to give his children any education with a religious basis, for, as set out in

**CONFIDENTIAL**

3

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**This material was prepared by  
Central Intelligence Agency

the second chapter of the Fatherland Front programme adopted in February 1948, all "private, religious primary and secondary schools are to be closed, as well as those in which education is in the hands of the ecclesiastical hierarchy." Educated at a State-owned school where curricula and text books will be revised, again according to the Fatherland Front programme, "in the spirit of modern progressive science," the schoolboy will also be subject to party discipline at both his elementary and secondary school through the youth organisations which he will have to join.

Party qualifications are also becoming more important to potential students, who must also have a labour brigade ticket. Having submitted evidence of "sound" political views and having been accepted by a university, every student must complete one year's study of Marxist philosophy and of the Russian language, while both standard text books and lectures, particularly those on economics, must conform to Communist doctrines.

#### WIDE POLICE POWERS

Whatever his profession or trade, the ordinary Bulgarian knows that the Militia has the right to order him to go for questioning to a Militia Headquarters, to detain him and send him for a year to a labour education camp or to a new place of residence, either temporarily or permanently, if he so much as spread a false rumour or beg or gamble for his daily bread. During the past year some hundreds of families have been deprived of their local citizenship at short notice and compelled to go into exile. His house may be searched and anything taken from it by the Militia "with the object of preventing crime" and no warrant is necessary if it is felt that delay would have harmful results. While the Militia may only detain any citizen for a year, unless a new order extends the period of detention, the Public Prosecutor can order him to be detained indefinitely.

The Militia, in collaboration with the local committees of the Fatherland Front, also has the power, under the Compulsory Labour Law of 1946, to submit the name of any citizen as an "idler," doing no "useful" work, to the Minister of the Interior, who in turn can mobilise him for compulsory public work or send him to a labour camp for six months unless his appeal, which must be sent within seven days to a commission appointed by the Minister, is upheld. Under the February 1948 law, providing for the

establishment of People's Councils in districts, towns, wards and villages, district councils also have the right to impose fines and terms of "labour educational" work. The ordinary citizen has no safe channel of appeal and no legal redress against any such measures.

**The general behaviour of the common man is also subject to the scrutiny of the seven members of the Commission of Public Control elected by the local organisation of the Fatherland Front. According to regulations published in April 1948, by the Sofia Committee of the Fatherland Front, this Commission is responsible for supervising the personal life, including any out of the ordinary expenditure of each citizen in its territory. Any anonymous complaint can warrant action by the Commission.**

Private life is further restricted by the Rent Law gazetted on 4th April, 1947, which limits the accommodation any citizen can occupy in Greater Sofia to one room and a kitchen for a family of two, two rooms and a kitchen for families of from three to five people and one further room for every two additional people. No account is taken of a single child under seven. A number of private houses were taken over to provide clubs and other amenities for the mass organisations, as an outcome of the deliberate Communist policy to pack their supporters into the capital and main towns. (In April 1948, a measure providing for the nationalisation of town real estate in excess of modest limits for family needs, deprived members of the middle class of their last remaining capital.)

The amount of cash, moreover, which the ordinary man may draw or hold in one month or pay for any purpose is limited by regulation. Normally, however, money may only be drawn from the bank—even within the limits permissible by law—after an explanation of the purpose for which it is required has been given. The financial resources of certain sections of the population had already been depleted by the change of currency in March 1947, when large holdings of notes were penalised as 70 per cent. of the amount held was confiscated.

#### RESTRICTIONS ON LEISURE

The State also restricts the extent and nature of the leisure which the citizen can enjoy. Whatever his means of livelihood, he will be required to spend his vacations and week-ends on manual labour—even the soldier on demobilisation leave is not exempt. If he is not normally engaged on

Central Intelligence Agency

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

manual labour and even if, as a surgeon, his skill lies in his hands, the Bulgarian citizen is liable to be ordered—as in the case of a leading dentist—to do a period of work road-making. It is virtually essential for anyone seeking permanent employment to possess a labour brigade ticket.

Noteworthy occasions are celebrated by an additional day's work or by a procession, and the Block Warden or Militia Officer instructs each citizen when he must attend a "spontaneous" parade and beflag his house.

"Voluntary" work on behalf of some party organisation will take up more of his leisure already curtailed by "voluntary" overtime at his place of work, where the ordinary Bulgarian may also be required to attend an evening lecture once a week on such subjects as the ideology of Marxism and the progress of the Five-Year Plan.

Should he wish to read a newspaper, he can only make his choice from among the Government-controlled press. No newspaper now has the power or the means to express criticism of any point in the Government's policy. All papers which might claim to represent the viewpoint of the ordinary citizen, or of a non-Communist dominated political party, or of any particular section of the community were suppressed long ago. Should he be sufficiently unwise to search for factual information in one of the rare copies of the non-Communist Western newspapers imported into the country, he would be laying himself open to immediate suspicion.

Should he wish to go to a concert, he will only be able to hear a programme which has been authorised by a directing board, which has power to amend any suggestions on political grounds. One applicant who submitted a programme of works by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven was

told to substitute a work by a Bulgarian composer for the work of Mozart. Any Bulgarian composer desirous of publishing his composition must submit his political record for examination before any allocation of paper is made. A painter may be required to submit pictures of politically approved subjects, the portrait of a general for example, if he wishes works of his own inspiration to be exhibited.

Although freedom of conscience and worship are guaranteed under the Constitution, the communiqué published by the National Council of the Fatherland Front on 4th July, 1948, made it clear to the ordinary citizen that the Church is viewed with suspicion, if not with hostility, by the State. The National Council demands that the pulpit shall never be used as a political rostrum for hostile propaganda and requires that the clergy should cease to encourage opposition to the people's authority or to the Soviet. The Holy Synod is urged to repeal its ban on the participation of ecclesiastical officials in the Fatherland Front and the popular pilgrimages to the Rila Monastery have to be discontinued. No religious organisations for children are to be allowed. Any citizen prominent in the service or practice of the Christian religion would, therefore, earn the disfavour of the State.

Finally, if the ordinary man be tempted to accept this domination and control over his personal life, in view of the advantages supposedly accruing to his country, he would surely reflect, when hearing Chervenkov state on 3rd July, 1948, that "one cannot love one's own country warmly if this love, no matter to what extent, is opposed to love towards the Soviet Union."

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

NOT DETACH

**CONFIDENTIAL**  
**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**  
**SOVIET LABOUR DISCIPLINE**

**REACTIONARY DECREES**  
**RESTRICT FREEDOM**  
**OF U.S.S.R. WORKER**

The Soviet Union claims to have established a régime in which the interests of the worker are paramount; but it appears to have found it necessary to discipline him by a series of decrees which have become successively more severe.

These regulations, which have increased working hours, have tied the worker to his factory, and which have laid down a series of harsh punishments for such transgressions as absenteeism, are accompanied by the adoption of the "labour-book" system.

Some of the regulations came into force in 1940, and it may be argued that they were imposed because of the threat of war. But three years after the end of the war, they have not been rescinded.

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

**CONFIDENTIAL** **CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

## SOVIET LABOUR DISCIPLINE AND THE SOVIET WORKER

SOVIET "labour discipline"—*i.e.*, the disciplinary legislation imposed upon the ordinary working man—was gradually tightened during the years preceding the war, until by 1940 Soviet labour legislation was far more severe than that of any other country in the world, not excepting Nazi Germany.

This tightening up of discipline was brought about by a number of "decrees" passed by the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist Party in conjunction. They became, as will be seen, successively more severe.

The first of them, passed on 28th December, 1938, concerned "Measures for Regulating Labour Discipline, for Improving the Practice of State Social Insurance and for Combating Abuses in this Matter." This was a complex decree which can be summarised as follows:—

- (a) The regulations already in existence whereby factory managers were compelled to dismiss workers for one day's absence without good excuse, or for arriving late to work or leaving early, or for idling, &c., were playing into the hands of discontented and restless workers, who used them as a means of changing their place of work frequently.
- (b) Therefore, in order to tie the worker down to his job, social insurance benefits were to be linked directly to the length of time the worker concerned had worked in one enterprise. Annual vacations were to be given only after eleven months' continuous work, &c.

The Soviet authorities soon came to regard even this decree as insufficient. They therefore made a further effort to tie the Soviet worker down to his job by a decree of 28th July, 1939, introducing "Labour Books" for every worker. These were documents containing every detail about the worker and his working history: name, age, education, job, qualifications, efficiency, dates when job was changed and reasons for change, &c. Since this decree came into operation every Soviet worker has had one of these labour books, which he hands over to the administration of his factory or works when he takes on a new

job. If he leaves his work (a matter of great difficulty, as we shall see below), the book is returned to him enriched with an account of his behaviour and efficiency during his employment at the enterprise he is leaving, and with a statement of the reason why he is leaving. Without presenting his labour book, no Soviet worker can be given employment. As there is no form of unemployment relief whatsoever in the Soviet Union, the worker who is "black-listed" for any reason can exist only by means of criminal activities (speculation, theft, &c.), and will sooner or later finish up in a forced labour camp.

Nazi Germany used the "labour book" system also; she introduced it in 1935, and tightened it up to the degree now operative in the Soviet Union by a decree of Goering of 22nd December, 1936.

### WORKING HOURS INCREASED

Having established this measure of control over its workers, the Soviet Government proceeded to deal with working hours. Before 1940, Soviet industrial workers had enjoyed a seven-hour working day and office workers a six-hour working day. The working week was of five days. It should be borne in mind that this apparently liberal working régime was considerably offset by the very low wages paid to workers; and the supplementation of incomes by extra work after the normal day and indulgence in minor forms of what would nowadays be described as "black market activities," are by no means unknown phenomena.

However, a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. of 26th June, 1940, increased the legal working day to eight hours for all classes of workers, except those in particularly dangerous occupations. Young workers who had reached their sixteenth year were also required to work eight hours a day. (Previously young workers from sixteen to eighteen years of age could not be employed for more than six hours a day.) Further, the five-day working week was replaced by the old Tsarist six-day working week, with the seventh day (Sunday) a rest day. The official reasons given for this abandonment of one of



## CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

the most treasured achievements of the Revolution were, according to the Communist Party journal *Bolshevik* of June 1940: (a) that the five-day working week lowered production, and (b) that it created a cleavage between towns and villages, where the seven-day week was still in existence.

To complete the workers' discomfiture it was also stated that the June decree has been "demanded" by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

The decree of 26th June, 1940, also provided for further and more significant changes than the mere extension of the working time of the Soviet worker. Paragraph 3 forbade workers to leave their jobs without special authorisation from the director or manager of the employing factory or institution, who would have the right to allow a worker to leave his job only on the following grounds (paragraph 4):—

- (a) If the "labour-medical expert commission" should consider that the worker could not perform his or her work because of temporary or permanent disability and if the management were not in a position to give him or her other work; and
- (b) If the worker in question had been admitted for special training or study into an educational or training institution.

Paragraph 5 stated that for leaving a job without such permission, the People's Court was to impose two or four months' imprisonment; for absenteeism (see below)—six months' "correctional labour" (*i.e.*, work under armed surveillance at the place of employment, with incarceration after work in a heavily guarded "labour camp" nearby. Hours of work for "correctional labourers" are longer than those for free workers), with a cut in wages of up to 25 per cent. Finally, article 6 of the decree, stated that directors and managers failing to send workers to court for leaving their jobs or for being absent without good reason were themselves liable to arrest. Directors and managers were also liable to arrest for taking on workers who had left other jobs illegally.

Since the 1940 decree a Soviet worker has been considered guilty of *absenteeism* ("Progul") if he has been responsible for the loss of more than *twenty minutes* of working time by coming late to work, leaving early, or extending his midday-break beyond the prescribed time, or if he commits any of these offences three times in one month or four times in two successive months, even if the loss of working time in each case has been less than twenty minutes. He can also be accused of

absenteeism if he comes to work under the influence of drink, or if he becomes ill as a result of his own purposeful actions. Workers on railways and air services are subject to particularly strict labour discipline. Certain breaches of labour discipline by workers in these categories are punishable by sentences of up to ten or even twenty-five years' forced labour in Siberia.

### MORE WORK: LESS PAY

On the same day as the above decree appeared—26th June, 1940—the Council of People's Commissars issued a further decree ordering that despite the increase in working hours, monthly and daily rates of pay should remain unchanged. Further, piece rates should be cut and the "norms" of output (*i.e.*, the amount of work fixed by the authorities as "normal" for a given category of work, and which the worker has to accomplish in order to be paid his wages in full) should be increased together with the working hours.

It has been calculated that by these changes in working hours and "norms" the Soviet worker had to work 15 per cent. longer for the same wages—or 350 hours a year more than before. In other words, the Soviet Government acquired by this legislation some seven weeks' work a year from every worker for nothing.

The next step in the control of the Soviet working classes was brought about by a decree of 2nd October, 1940, introducing the conscription of labour. This decree began by stating that an annual contingent of up to one million labour recruits was wanted for industry. Therefore, the annual conscription was ordered of boys between the ages of fourteen and seventeen for training in industry and transport. The boys were to be conscripted to trade, railway and factory training schools for courses of from six months to two years. The main reservoir for this army of young workers was to be the collective farms, which had to provide boys at the rate of 4 per cent. of the total number of the collective farm members between the ages of fourteen and fifty-five. Some of the boys were to be recruited from urban settlements and towns, in quantities to be fixed every year by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. After their training the boys were to be directed by the Chief Administration for labour reserves, under the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to work in appropriate State enterprises.

The final step was taken on 19th October, 1940, when the Presidium of the Supreme Council

CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

This material procured by Agency

of the U.S.S.R. passed a decree conferring on the People's Commissars at the head of the industrial Commissariats the power to transfer engineers, technicians, skilled workers and office workers and their families to any part of the Soviet Union where they might be needed. This decree completed the process of the submission of the Soviet worker to the Communist Party State. The excuse put forward by fellow-travellers and Soviet apologists is that all this was necessary as preparation for the war with Nazi Germany. Whatever truth there may be in this, these laws remain unrescinded. The Soviet worker is still tied to his factory, he is

still heavily punished for being over twenty minutes late to work, he must still put up with the indignities of the "labour book" system, and he can still be transferred, without his desires being consulted, to the remotest corner of the Soviet Union.

In a country striving to achieve industrialisation, the control of labour no doubt calls for a certain measures of restrictive legislation. But the Soviet decrees now in force, more severe than those to be found in any Western democracy, are somewhat difficult to reconcile with the often-advanced claim that in the U.S.S.R. a worker's paradise is in a fair way to realisation.

THIS IS AN ENGINEERING

**CONFIDENTIAL**  
**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**  
**ESSENCE OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY**

**AIMS AND ACTIONS TESTED BY ANALYSIS OF COMMUNIST DOCTRINES**

Procured by  
**Central Intelligence Agency**

*The following is a deduction, by a well-known student of Soviet Russia, of the aims of Soviet foreign policy, from the principles and the doctrine of world revolution which determine it.*

*It is of importance that these principles, and the deductions which can logically be made from them, should be known, and that this knowledge should constantly be applied in testing Communist or neo-Communist propaganda and assurances.*

**Summary**

1. The Communist Party is an organisation aimed at achieving Party Rule throughout the world, by means of force if necessary.
2. The Communist Party will replace, or try to replace, the "old state machines," i.e., parliamentary democracy, with a Communist-dominated New Order.
3. The Communist Party regards the World Revolution as indivisible, and countries where their Revolution has been successful as bases for future operations.
4. The Communist Party is not doctrinally averse from war as a means to attain world domination.
5. The Communist Party demands from Communists everywhere that their allegiance must in the first instance be to the first Communist dictatorship, i.e., to the Soviet Union.
6. The Communist Party's control of satellite countries is not merely a "defence in depth" for the Soviet Union but is also part of the Soviet plan for world domination.
7. The Communist Party believes that the final struggle between the "two worlds" of Communism and Democracy is now in progress.

**T**HE Communist Party is an organisation devoted to the attainment of Marxian Socialism, or Communism, i.e., the rule of the Communist Party, throughout the world.

The Communist Party believes that the only method of attaining Communism is by setting up the Dictatorship of the Proletariat by means of revolutionary force—i.e., its programme is anti-constitutional. "The transition from capitalism to Socialism . . . cannot be effected by slow changes, by reforms, &c., but only . . . by revolution" (*Short History of C.P.S.U. (B)* p. 111). In his *Problems of Leninism* (1926), Stalin says:—

"The proletarian revolution removes all exploiting groups from power and places in power the leader of all the toilers and exploited, the class of proletarians, in view of which it cannot abstain from breaking up the old state machine and substituting a new one for it."

By the old state machine, Stalin means the system of parliamentary democracy, which according to him was designed to secure the "hegemony of the bourgeoisie": the "new" state machine is the Soviet state system, which secures the dictatorship of the proletariat and is maintained until the classless, Communist society has been attained and secured.

**CONFIDENTIAL** **CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

### Force Necessary to Impose Changes

Stalin further elaborates the functions of the Proletarian Dictatorship as contrasted with those of the Bourgeois Constitutional State, as follows:

"The bourgeois revolution is usually consummated with the (bourgeois) seizure of power, whereas in the proletarian revolution the seizure of power is only the beginning, and power is used as a lever for transforming the old economy and organising the new one."

This means that the economic changes necessary for the construction of Communism must, in Communist eyes, be imposed upon the community by force, applied by a minority in power.

To attain its desired transformation of Society, the Communist Party has as its primary aim the establishment of what it calls a Proletarian Dictatorship. As the Communist Party is (according to this theory) the only Party which represents the interests of the proletariat, such a Dictatorship must necessarily be a Dictatorship of the Communist Party.

So the economic changes mean no less than putting the entire economic resources of a given country at the disposal of the Dictatorship, i.e., of the Communist Party.

The methods whereby Proletarian Dictatorship shall come about have been elaborated considerably since Marx's lifetime. Marx had envisaged revolution as the inevitable outcome of the development of capitalist industry, and therefore expected it to occur in the most highly industrialised states: but Lenin worked out the "theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the Proletariat" and showed how Party leadership and disciplined organisation could utilise a revolutionary situation to establish Party dictatorship even in less developed states; and he evolved the actual political form that that dictatorship should take. He also inaugurated the era of "Socialism in one country"; he was able to exploit the revolutionary situation within Russia's own geographical limits, but was unable to extend it.

### World Communism "Inevitable"

Nevertheless, for the Communists the World Revolution is indivisible. It is impossible in their eyes to attain the Dictatorship in one country and to proceed to develop Communism actively while leaving the rest of the world to evolve naturally, even though according to what Communists call the dialectic of history, Communism everywhere is regarded as inevitable. Stalin, in his Preface to *On the Road to October*

(1924) has developed this idea as follows—and *this is still official doctrine which is compulsory study for all Party members and politically "enlightened" people in the Soviet Union:—*

He wrote: "The victory of Socialism in one country is not a self-sufficient task. The revolution which has been victorious in one country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity, but as an aid, a means for hastening the victory of the proletariat in all countries. For the victory of the revolution in one country, in the present case Russia . . . is the beginning of and the ground-work for the world revolution."

Again: "Formerly it was commonly thought that the revolution would develop through the gradual "maturing" of the elements of Socialism, primarily in the more developed, the more "advanced" countries. Now this view must be considerably modified."

Again: "Most probably the world revolution will develop along the line of a number of new countries breaking away from the system of the imperialist countries as a result of revolution, while the proletarians of these countries will be supported by the proletariat of the imperialist states."

Again: "There can be no doubt that the very development of the world revolution, the very process of the breaking away from imperialism of a number of new countries will be more rapid and thorough, the more thoroughly Socialism fortifies itself in the first victorious country, the faster this country is transformed into a base for the further unfolding of the world revolution, into a lever for the further disintegration of imperialism."

### Armed Conflict Possible

And now quite openly he describes the present Soviet rôle and that of the satellites:

"(This assistance) should be expressed firstly, in the victorious country achieving the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries. Secondly, it should be expressed in that the victorious proletariat of one country having expropriated the capitalists and organised its own Socialist production, would confront the rest of the capitalist world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

countries, raise revolt among them against the capitalists, and, in the event of necessity, come out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states."

And: "The characteristic feature of the assistance given by the victorious country is not only that it hastens the victory of the proletarians of other countries, but also that, by facilitating this victory, it ensures the final victory of Socialism in the first victorious country."

And: "The free union of nations in Socialism is impossible without a more or less prolonged and stubborn struggle by the Socialist republics against the backward states."

He forecast war (at a time when war was a harmless prospect compared with its present potentialities). From *The Results of the Work of the XIV Party Conference (1925)*:

"We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable. That means that if the ruling class, the proletariat, wants to hold sway, it must prove its capacity to do so by military organisation."

Finally, in *The International Character of the October Revolution (1927)* he lays down that Communists can owe allegiance only to Soviet Russia:—

"Under present conditions one cannot call oneself a Marxist unless one openly and devotedly supports the first proletarian dictatorship in the world, unless one wages a revolutionary struggle against one's own bourgeoisie, unless one creates the conditions for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one's own country."

**Inescapable Deductions**

The following conclusions, which are also justified by the experience of events, can now logically be drawn:

- (i) The policy of the Soviet State is to bring about the World Revolution; this it does systematically and deliberately and not by leaving the Revolution to develop of its own accord.

**This material prepared by Central Intelligence Agency**

- (ii) The Soviet Union is the political nation of the Communist Party; Communists owe allegiance to the Soviet Union and can only be hostile to the democratic countries. Divided loyalty is impossible, as the struggle is a basic tenet of the Communist creed.
- (iii) The first duty of the Soviet Union is to preserve its own existence. As a result, its leaders have shown themselves complete political realists and opportunists as demonstrated by their actions before and during the Second World War and their willingness to trade on a strictly business basis with the capitalist powers.
- (iv) The second duty of the Soviet Union is to serve as a base for the spread of Communism—i.e., for the disruption of "bourgeois" regimes in other countries. There are obviously many ways in which the strength of the Soviet State can be brought to aid the Communist Parties in such countries. But the basic method is always the same: infiltration into the established organs of the national machine, the government, the services, the Trade Unions, the local authorities, &c. (especially the police and post office) leading to their disruption, always with the help and advice of the Soviet State. This pattern we may describe as the Method of Artificial Revolution. It is Stalin's contribution to Marxism and bears all his characteristics: ruthlessness, clear-headedness, caution and camouflage.
- (v) The Soviet Union is always able to call off its offensive in the face of real or fancied danger, as for example the withdrawal in 1946 of Soviet troops from Azerbaijan or the relatively cautious policy now being followed towards the rebels in Greece.

**Pause and Advance**

The "popular front" phase of Soviet foreign policy was produced by the menace of German Fascism: the Communist Party was willing to collaborate with its Social Democratic and Liberal enemies, and the Soviet Union even joined the League of Nations. Subsequently the Soviet Union, politically strengthened by the Soviet-German pact and the Western European war, was able to increase her territory by the acquisition of the Baltic States, Bessarabia and

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

CONFIDENTIAL

Eastern Poland (with a short-term strategic justification, be it acknowledged). During the German invasion of Russia the Soviet Union had to retreat so far ideologically as well as geographically, that many superficial observers thought that she had abandoned the Communist doctrine altogether. That this idea was nonsensical the extracts from Stalin quoted above will show; it became obvious as soon as the Soviet Union regarded herself as out of danger. Since the end of the war the Soviet Union has taken full advantage of the post-war situation and post-war economic and political chaos in order to spread the Revolution (in its new guise) as far as possible. She has deliberately and immorally combated political settlement and economic reconstruction for this purpose.

#### Aims in Satellite States

Her grip on, and communisation of the satellite countries are, it can only be concluded, to be regarded as the spreading of Communism, and *not* as a sort of "defence in depth" system for the Soviet Union, useful though this argument has been in confusing world opinion and in obtaining concessions from the Western Powers.

Communist theoreticians describe the satellite countries as "democracies of a new type." This is a propaganda statement, of course: for they are not democracies at all. But it is a significant description none the less, for these countries do not yet qualify as Proletarian Dictatorships. It is clear and consistent with Soviet policy, however, that they are in the process of becoming so. There are still parties other than the Communist Party in existence in these countries, and the principle of private enterprise still obtains to a limited degree. But the elimination and fusion of non-Communist parties is well under way, and nationalisation is making headway. At the same time the satellite economies are being gradually integrated with Soviet economy. These processes have two clear main purposes:—

- (i) to establish the proletarian dictatorship completely in the satellite states—*i.e.*, to control those states completely by the Communist Party, which is controlled by Moscow. Their political position will thereby be in fact the same as that of any Soviet Republic, although for tactical reasons their absorption into the Soviet Union may be more or less indefinitely delayed, and would doubtless be disguised when it happened.

- (ii) to integrate the satellite economies completely with the Soviet economy, and to fit them to the requirements of the Gosplan. They will then be in exactly the same position as the economy of any Soviet Republic. This means they will not be allowed to develop in advance of the Russian Federation, but will not, at least of set purpose, be bled white by it. Their economic development will be regulated by the general Soviet economic requirements. For all of them this will involve a decrease in their standards of living (which in many cases afford now an embarrassing contrast with conditions in the Soviet Union) and an interference with their historical economic development (trading with the West, &c.).

#### The World is in Two Camps

That such a development must be expected can also be inferred from the following quotation from *The International Character of the October Revolution* (Stalin, 1927):

"The existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the prototype of the future *amalgamation* of the working people of all countries in a single world economic system."

Also of significance for the present stage of the World Revolution is the following quotation from Stalin's *Conversation with the First American Workers' Delegation* (1927):

"In the course of the further development of the international revolution two world centres will form themselves: the Socialist centre, attracting to itself those countries tending towards Socialism, and the Capitalist centre, attracting to itself those countries tending towards Capitalism. The struggle of these two centres for the mastery of world economy will decide the fate of Capitalism and Communism throughout the world. For the final defeat of world Capitalism is the victory of Socialism in the arena of world economy."

This is the "division of the world into two camps," which was the thesis of the "Cominform" speeches of Zhdanov and Malenkov, and of Molotov's allocution on the eve of the 30th anniversary of the October Revolution, in the autumn of 1947.

CONFIDENTIAL

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

**CONFIDENTIAL**

PART B

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

(1) Labour Affairs

CZECH WORKERS EXECUTED FOR STEALING FOOD CARDS

The concern of the Czechoslovak authorities over the shortage of food which has been one of the main causes of recent labour discontent (cf. 14/B (1) c) has been evident from the savagery of a recent decision taken by the Supreme Court at Brno. According to the local press, the public prosecutor asked that sentences of life imprisonment passed on two workers accused of stealing food coupons should be made more severe. As a result the Supreme Court decided that sentence of death should be carried out and the two men were executed shortly afterwards.

15/B (1)

(2) Agrarian Affairs

HUNGARIAN PEASANTS DISLIKE RE-DESIGNED HOUSES

The dislike and contempt of Hungarian peasants for the new types of houses designed for them was admitted by the Peasant Party newspaper "Szabad Szó" in October.

"The majority of the peasants are sneering at the sleeping quarters in the new standard houses and find it an outrage that they should have to sleep in such holes", states the article, which was based on a statement made to a correspondent of the paper by the Secretary General of the Peasant Party, Mr. Ferenc Erdei.

Mr. Erdei told the correspondent that the ground plan of the usual peasant house has been changed in the new design. "I find it a question of political principle", he added, "to keep to simple straight lines".

15/B (2)

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

(4) Christian World

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

SOVIET PRESS ADMITS EXISTENCE OF UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT

The existence of active underground opposition in the Ukraine is openly admitted in the Soviet press. "Pravda Ukrainy" on 23rd September published messages of condolence from Alexis, Patriarch of Russia, and Exarch John of the Ukraine on the death of the Protopresbyter of the town of Lvov, Father Gabriel Kostelnik, "at the hand of an assassin, a member of the Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalist underground movement".

Father Kostelnik was cited as "one of the glorious supporters of the return of the Greek Uniates to the Orthodox faith of their ancestors" and the Exarch of the Ukraine states that the assassin was sent by the Vatican as well as by "Germano-Ukrainian nationalist elements".

15/B (4)

(7) Human Rights

CZECH PUBLISHERS SEEK TO EVADE COMMUNIST CRITICISM

Their Negligence Denounced

The reluctance of Czech publishers to send their books to Communist reviewers and the refusal of the Communists to tolerate such reluctance are evident from the following editorial note, published by the Communist weekly "Tvorba" at the end of October.

"We have recently noticed that many publishers who used to send us all their books for review have suddenly ceased to fulfil this their obligation to the politico-cultural weekly of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. It is all the more remarkable that this negligence is manifest after 'Tvorba's' recent campaign against trashy literature, guilty of ideological errors. If certain publishers imagine that in this cowardly fashion they will evade criticism ... they are mistaken ... If this undesirable state of affairs should continue, we shall be compelled to name these publishers".

15/B (7) a

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**



**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

SOVIET PRESS CONTROL PARALLELS GOEBBELS' SYSTEM This material prepared by  
Central Intelligence Agency

"Just as it was at the time of Goebbels" - is the verdict passed on the absence of any freedom of the press in the Eastern zone of Germany by the Social Democrat newspaper, "Hannoversche Presse" of 14th October.

"In connection with the harvest-thanksgiving day", quotes the article from one of the more harmless directives issued by the former Reich Propaganda Ministry, "the publication of a series of suitable articles and reports should start at once..."

In 1948 the directive from the Press Information Service of the Soviet-sponsored German Economic Commission reads as follows:- "We request all editors of newspapers in the Eastern Zone to stress the importance of land-reform and ... to treat the various aspects of the problem throughout September. We shall provide the editors with suitable material..."

One of the few differences between the Socialist Unity Party press and that of the bourgeois parties, comments the Social Democrat newspaper, is the almost exclusive use of the two official news agencies, the S.N.B. and A.D.N. In this way the editors can be sure of meeting the wishes of their Communist masters. The "more trustworthy" Socialist Unity Party press is able to publish reports from their own correspondents and even selected reports from the West German agencies.

The allocation of newsprint provides another effective means of censorship: according to an announcement published by the Christian Democrat newspaper "Westfalenpost" of 19th October, the two bourgeois newspapers of Saxony, "Union" (C.D.U.) and "Saechsiches Tageblatt" (Liberal Democrat) have been cut down two-thirds "on account of the newsprint shortage".

15/B (7) b

GERMAN COMMUNIST ACCUSED OF CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

The chairman of the Communist Party in Hesse, Hr. Oskar Mueller, has not only publicly acknowledged the existence of concentration camps in the Soviet zone of Germany, but has stated that the Communists would introduce them in the Western zones as soon as it assumed power there.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

This material prepared by  
**Central Intelligence Agency**

This acknowledgement was made, according to the Social Democrat newspaper "Nordwestdeutsche Rundschau" of 16th October, at a political meeting. As a result the burgomaster of Witzenhausen, Hr. Holler, has lodged a complaint against Mueller with the Supreme court of judicature for Hesse, accusing him of preparing "crimes against humanity".

15/B (7) c

ONE LAW FOR THE NEW POOR, ANOTHER FOR THE NEW RICH

The political role of Roumanian Justice

"The law must be interpreted and applied in the interests of the working people": this was the heading given to an article written by Hr. Adrian Mihalca, Secretary-General at the Roumanian Ministry of Justice, which set out to show that there must in future be one law for the working class in Roumania and another for the "enemies" of that class.

"Those who administer justice", says the article, published by the Bucharest newspaper "Scanteia" on 6th October, "must be vigilant in order to strike at all the enemies of the working class". In their decisions, they must not rely solely on legal provisions, they must take into account the personality of the offender, his motive and the extent to which the offence affects ... the achievements of the working class ... Judges must understand the law from the Marxist point of view. They must realise that it is impossible not to reflect class differences in the application of the law".

In fact as the newspaper "Universul" acknowledged on 6th October, "the law for the suppression of economic sabotage and illicit speculation is at present a weapon of the working people against capitalist elements".

Illustrations of how the judges have ceased to apply the law "in a formal way", in order to apply it in the "interests of the working class", were given by M. Alexandru Voitinovici, chief public prosecutor of Roumania, in an article published by "Scanteia" of 16th October. A young peasant,

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

according to M. Voitnovici, was tried on a charge of stealing two sheep before the era of people's judges. After he had admitted the theft, confirmed by a witness, the accused was legally, but undemocratically, submits M. Voitnovici, sentenced. When his appeal was heard by a people's judge, he was acquitted on the grounds that the plaintiff was a "kulak", owning more than 150 head of sheep and wishing to retain the defendant as his shepherd.

15/B (7) d

SOVIET DEEDS SPEAK STRONGER THAN WORDS

The Claim to Tolerance Disproved

"Broad creative discussions on debatable questions of science and art have become a daily practice in Soviet cultural life": (Alexander Fadeev at the Wroclaw Congress of Intellectuals, August, 1948)

The following Soviet scientists have been dismissed from their posts in Soviet Academies and universities for holding "reactionary, idealistic" views in biology, according to announcements made in the Soviet press during the last two months.

Professor S.M. Gershenzon: dismissed from the professorship of Biology at Kiev University.

Mr. L.A. Orbeli, dismissed from his post as secretary of the section of biological sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

Mr. I.M. Pelyakov: dismissed from his posts as departmental head of the Institute of Selection and Genetics and as professor of biology at Kharkov University. Mr. Pelyakov opposed Mr. Lysonko during the recent debate on Michurin genetics, but recanted after the latter had announced that the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party endorsed his views.

Mr. D.K. Tretyakov: dismissed from his post as president of the biology section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and from his post as director of the Institute of Zoology.

Mr. Zavadovski was forced to discontinue his work in the Institute of Experimental Biology of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.

15/B (7) e

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

SOVIET REGISTERS THOSE CHOSEN FOR DEPORTATION

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

How the Secret Police Acted in Estonia

• Strikers, industrialists, policemen, non-commissioned officers, mystics, diplomats and prostitutes, as well as prominent members of anti-Communist Parties and relatives of Soviet citizens who have escaped abroad all figured on the Russian secret police register, used as the basis for the mass deportations from Estonia in June 1941.

This information, compiled from documents left behind by the N.K.V.D., is taken from a comprehensive report on "Soviet Deportations in Estonia", submitted by exiled political leaders, including Dr. A. Rei, former President of the Republic, to the XVIIth International Red Cross Conference at Stockholm earlier this year.

All "anti-Soviet" elements were to be registered for later arrest or deportation to Russia according to the N.K.V.D. manual "Operation register". People coming under this heading were divided into no fewer than 29 categories and included all those who had occupied prominent positions in the civil and public services of independent Estonia, workers who had gone on strike during the Soviet occupation, peasants who were hostile to collectivisation, public prosecutors, magistrates and lawyers who opposed the revolution and all public prosecutors engaged in political cases as well as "Trotskyites", anarchists and social revolutionaries". People who served in the diplomatic service, permanent representatives of foreign commercial firms and relatives of those convicted under the Soviet regime or who had carried on anti-Soviet propaganda abroad, active members of Zionist organisations, prison personnel, restaurant owners, and officers of the regular army were all mentioned on this list.

The secret police, together with members of the Communist Party, drew up further lists of those to be deported immediately and 19 railway echelons

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

-B7-

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

were told to prepare for the deportation of 11,102 people on the night of June 14th. Novosibirsk, Vekanskaya and Starobielsk were three of the initial destinations quoted on the "bills of lading" for this human cargo.

15/B (7) f

(8) U.N.O.

ALBANIA BLAMED FOR CORFU MINE DAMAGE

Hoxha Government Completes Purge of pro-Tito Elements

Reports that Lt. General Xoxe, until recently Albanian Vice-Premier and Minister of the Interior, has fled to Belgrade - according to other stories, has organised a revolt in Albania - may mark the conclusion, in favour of the U.S.S.R., of a Russo-Yugoslav struggle for control of Albania.

Attention to this minor chapter of the history of the U.S.S.R.'s satellites is given further point by the case which opened on 9th November before the International Court at The Hague, in which Britain claims damages from Albania, alleging blame for damage to two British warships caused by mines laid in the Corfu Channel in 1946.

Like the other parties of Eastern Europe the Albanians have had their purge and have been right, and then wrong, and more or less right again over the Cominform conflict with Tito. The purge, which was described in a communique of the Albanian Government on 21st October, involved the ejection of the pro-Yugoslav faction in the Party leadership and the correction of "certain divergencies" from the strict decorum of Cominform etiquette.

On 20th November, 1947, it was announced that Nako Spiru, a leading Communist, had accidentally shot himself dead while using his revolver as a pointer at a town planning meeting at 2 o'clock in the morning. Some months later, this version of Spiru's death was withdrawn in favour of suicide caused by despair at the failure of the anti-Yugoslav faction headed by Prime Minister Enver Hoxha.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**  
This material prepared by  
Central Intelligence Agency

Until the "purification" plan began there had been considerable penetration by the Yugoslavs of the Albanian Communist Party and of Albanian life and economy in general. The Yugoslavs had managed to eliminate a number of opponents (Spiru was one of them), but they had not found it possible to get rid of Hoxha himself, partly because he had been built up as the "father of the people", a fashion in domestic politics as much in vogue in Albania as elsewhere.

Before the Soviet-Tito quarrel, when there was no doctrinal objection to subordination to Yugoslavia, Hoxha's resistance may have arisen from a combination of old-fashioned nationalism and careerism.

#### Albania Lines up with Cominform

When the Cominform quarrel broke out openly and the Cominform in June 1948 launched its anathema against the Yugoslavs, the Albanian Communist Party (which is not a member of the Cominform) threw its own tiny thunderbolt in the form of an unanimous resolution of the Party Executive condemning all that association with Yugoslavia had implied.

In the press campaign which followed (and still continues) the Albanians accused the Yugoslavs of crimes ranging from terrorism and Trotskyism to "inhuman conduct", such as the "arbitrary occupation of omnibus seats held by Albanian students" (Bakshimi, 16th September, 1948). Personal abuse was much favoured. A Yugoslav newspaper referred to "unkempt, small bourgeois types in Albania". This may have recommended itself to them as an improvement on the phrase of the Cominform journal which referred to Tito as "a vain little man and spoiled dandy".

While all this recrimination and abuse was going on, Albania became Moscow's pet, receiving praise in Russian propaganda and, more to the point, shipments of Soviet and satellite materials. By the end of September, the Albanian Communist Party, purified by the flames engendered by the Cominform spark, was ready to reshuffle the Cabinet. This they did on October 2nd, removing the deviators and other "undesirables" who had exposed themselves

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL** <sup>-19</sup> **CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

to any of the usual charges of error, particularly Titoism. On October 21st, a communique attributed all the victories claimed by the Albanian people to the heroic Red Army and the help of the U.S.S.R. It admitted that Albania had gone wrong by coming under Yugoslavia's influence and promised loyally to obey the "teachings of the leader of the U.S.S.R."

Observers want to see how the Communist Party of Albania will stand the strain of its purge.

15/B (8)

(9) Iron Curtain

RETURN SPILT DISILLUSIONMENT

Soviet Repatriates Escape from Armenia

Utterly disillusioned by conditions in Soviet Armenia, two repatriates recently succeeded in escaping through Turkey to the Levant States. Although their names must be withheld in the interest of their security, they have given the following account of life in Leninakan this autumn.

Each repatriated family had to be content with one average-sized room in a one-storied house of stone or cement - the normal scale of accommodation. The walls were not plastered and the roofs were improvised. No schools were provided for the repatriates apart from one small room for the very young children.

From ten to fifteen roubles a day was the average wage: on the open market "whitish" bread cost 30 roubles a kg., potatoes 10 roubles, meat 30 roubles, and cheese 60 roubles when it was available. Small quantities of black bread at four roubles a kg. could be bought in co-operative shops, but there was no comprehensive system of food rationing. Boiled potatoes were the worker's staple diet. Shoes, whose cardboard soles were covered by a thin layer of leather, cost 400 roubles.

One of the repatriates was told to report for work at a local garage as he could drive a car, but as the shortage of tyres meant there was little work, he asked for another job and was sent to a workshop making key-safes

**CONFIDENTIAL** **CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

-B10-

**This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency**

for the local authorities. Here again there were not enough tools to provide full-time work, but when he went again to the authorities he was told that if he did not return he would have to keep himself by selling his possessions. This he did, in common with many of his fellows, until his escape.

Police control was apparent in most daily activities, although bribery was common and effective. Informers were encouraged and prizes were offered and given for information leading to the arrest of people trying to escape. All letters were censored and people could only grumble in the market with any safety, as there the supervision was least effective.

Disillusionment among the repatriates was general. (Cf. 7/B (7) a)  
15/B (9) a

ORBIT COUNTRIES FORCED TO ACKNOWLEDGE DEBT TO RUSSIA

History Distorted To This End

The insistence of the Soviet Union that the orbit countries should acknowledge that the help and example of Russia was an essential factor in the creation of a "popular democracy" and the resulting distortion of history have been further illustrated by press articles in both Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union on the 30th anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The new Czech ambassador in Moscow, Mr. B. Lastovisca, contributed an article to "Pravda" on 28th October, in which he stated that the 1918 Czechoslovak Republic has been assisted by the 1917 October Revolution in Russia! It had, nevertheless, been wrongly founded as a bourgeois state, and as a result of its pre-war policy of co-operation with the West the country had lost its independence as a nation. Czechoslovakia regained this independence, thanks only to the heroic struggle of the Soviet people.

This theme was also taken up by the Czech Minister of Information, Mr. Kopecky. Writing in the Communist weekly "Tvorba", the Minister maintained that the influence of the Russian revolution in 1917 was the deciding

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**



**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

-B11-

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

factor in the liberation of Czechoslovakia in 1918. None other than Marshal Stalin paved the way in his "Marxism and the Nationality Question", written in 1913. In future, as Mr. Kopecky pointed out, the history of the Czechoslovak Republic "will be written from the point of view of truth as represented by the working class".

The defamation of the memory of Dr. Benes has been an essential part of this distortion of history. Czechoslovakia's failure to fight in 1938 was entirely blamed on the late President by Dr. Richter writing in "Svobodne Slovo" recently. The negative attitude of Thomas Masaryk and Dr. Benes towards the Russian Republic both in 1918 and 1945 was alleged to have endangered first the creation and then the restoration of the Czechoslovak State.

15/B (9) b

"SNOOPERS" TRAINED IN EASTERN ZONE OF GERMANY

Aim to Control the People

The setting up of a corps of "snoopers" in the Eastern zone of Germany is a recent move in the Communist attempt to control the population through the so-called popular movements and Communist-dominated mass organisations (cf. 8/B (9) b).

Through a "People's Correspondents' Movement", workers are being encouraged to tell newspaper editors what is going on in their immediate sphere, and to secure publicity for acts of "economic sabotage", and for opposition to the Soviet-sponsored Socialist Unity Party.

According to the Soviet-licensed "Neues Deutschland" of 15th October, the first mass meeting of these People's Correspondents was held in Magdeburg on 2nd October. Those attending this meeting stated that the correspondents were a decisive factor in the creation of a true "people's press", adds the newspaper account, and recorded their "unanimous and healthy" opposition to the principle that the law should stand above the people.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

-B12-

*This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency*

People's Correspondents are to be given "training" and the first course for correspondents in Brandenburg has been opened at Luckenfelde, reports the German press service. Those taking part are workers and technical employees from large Brandenburg concerns.

15/B (9) c

WIDESPREAD EDUCATIONAL NEGLECT IN THE U.S.S.R.

Evidence that the educational shortcomings in the Soviet Union, recently admitted by the Minister of Education, Mr. Voznesensky, are not confined to outlying republics is given in the editorial published by "Trud", on 13th October (cf. 3/B (9) a).

In the town of Ivanovo, some 250 km. north-east of Moscow, for example, 220 children of school age did not put in an appearance at the beginning of the school year on 15th September. In the region of Ivanovo 867 children from the first to the fourth classes and 294 from the fifth to the seventh stayed away.

In the region of Tambov - further afield - and in the Mari autonomous republic the numbers of children from the first to the fourth classes who did not attend were 3,500 and 4,000 respectively.

It is also evident from the article that the blame again rests with the local authorities, who fail to keep an up-to-date or efficient register of children of school age. In the town of Verkhnyaya Tavda, in the region of Sverdlovsk, 120 children whose names did not appear in the register presented themselves for the fifth class at the beginning of the school year. The number of children who turned up for the first to fourth classes and whose names were not on the register was 300. In future, concluded the article, all party organisations must take an active part in the campaign for "universal education".

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

Material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

-B13-

POLITICAL ENLIGHTENMENT ON SALE?

How should the "Socialist" merchant of the new era treat his customers? asks "Magyar Nap", the organ of the Hungarian trade union of commercial employees in an October issue. They should, replies the writer, consider the interests of the customers and at the same time teach and educate them. "They should be helpful and if necessary enlighten them on political questions".

How will such instructions be carried out in practice? then asked "Magyar Nemzet", the organ of the Balogh Party, the so-called Hungarian Independent Democratic Party. "Shall we enter a shop and as we ask for braces, ask at the same time for political enlightenment?"

15/B (9) c

CZECHS EXPUNGE TITO AS COLLEGE NAME

Double Change Needed to Keep Pace  
With Evolution of Party Line

Prague has again found it necessary to rename one of her colleges, in order to conform with political changes. According to "Svobodne Slovo" of 28th October, the college which before the war was called Alexander College, after King Alexander of Yugoslavia, and which was renamed Tito College after the creation of the Yugoslav Popular Democracy, has again had its name altered. On 27th October, students and employees decided to leave nothing to political chance and renamed the college Comenius College.

15/B (9) d

(10) Communist Parties Outside the Iron Curtain

COMMUNIST OPPOSES COMMUNIST IN FINLAND

Differences within the Communist-dominated Folk Democrat Party in Finland, rumoured for some time past, have been confirmed, according to recent reports from Helsingfors, by the omission of certain signatures on the Folk Democrat motion presented for debate by the Assembly on 1st October.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**  
-B14-

Among Folk Democrat members of the Diet who have not signed the motion are Mr. Mauno, Pekkala, the former Prime Minister, and Yrjo Leino, husband of the former Minister of the Interior.

When M. Leino was excluded from office at the recent Communist Party elections, the Communists denied reports of any division of opinion within their own Party. The fact that M. Leino has now shown publicly that he does not agree with a Communist-inspired motion robs this denial of its force.

15/B (10) a

SAAR COMMUNIST RESIGNS  
Disillusioned by Soviet Policy

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

"The end of an illusion" - this was the meaning given by H. Hoppe, one of the two Communist deputies in the Saar Diet, to his resignation from the Communist Party, announced on 16th October.

In the letter giving the reasons for his action, which was published in the "Saarbruecken Zeitung", M. Hoppe said that the Communist Party had not become - as he and millions of others had hoped it would - a rallying point for the forces of democracy; it had rather retrogressed in that it had once again adopted the old and unfruitful doctrines of the pre-1933 era.

M. Hoppe accused Russia of imperialist ambitions and finished his denunciation of her policy by saying that all his attempts to obtain information on German prisoners of war in Russia had proved fruitless. Moscow had not deigned to reply and Hr. Grotowohl, the Eastern zone leader of the Communist-dominated Socialist Unity Party, had merely sent an acknowledgement, giving no information.

15/B (10) b

DANISH COMMUNISTS QUESTION SOVIET POLICY

"Even in the ranks of the (Danish Communist) Party there are those who doubt whether the U.S.S.R. is consistently defending peace, needs peace and desires peace". This statement was made to the Central Committee of the

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

-B15-

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Danish Communist Party by the chairman, Mr. Aksel Larsen and published in the newspaper "Land og Folk" on 25th September.

In reviewing the weaknesses of the Party, Mr. Larsen confirmed recent reports of dissension among Danish Communists (cf. 5/B (10)). "There are those", he added, "who criticise the U.S.S.R.'s use of the veto, and who hold doubts about the one party system ... Intellectuals are disturbed", he confessed, "by the discussions on philosophy, music and biology in the U.S.S.R. They do not realise that many concepts must be qualitatively different in a socialist society and they judge these things according to use and custom and not dialectically ... Some try to pretend the problem does not exist; the weakest leave the Party and even become enemies of the Party and of the Soviet Union".

While denying that these tendencies were dominant within the Party, Mr. Larsen acknowledged that they were not without influence.

The Party chairman also denounced those who tried to beg the question of subservience to Moscow.

15/B (10) c

(11) Miscellaneous

BRITISH STUDENTS CUT LINK WITH COMMUNIST FEDERATION  
Continued Association Prejudicial to Youth Interests

The delegate council of the National Union of Students, at a meeting in Manchester last week-end (Nov. 6/7) decided by 77 votes to 46 to discontinue its direct affiliation to the World Federation of Democratic Youth on the grounds that the W.F.D.Y. had come under Communist domination, and that consequently the National Union's relations with many youth organisations in the United Kingdom were being prejudiced.

At the same time the Union reaffirmed its will to work for the development and improvement of international contacts among young people, and its readiness to work to this end through the International Union of Students by participation in the practical activities of the W.F.D.Y.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

-B16- This material procured by

**Central Intelligence Agency**

This action is in line with actions that have been taken in recent months by student organisations in many countries, including Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, Finland and the U.S....

There has been a growing realisation that the W.F.D.Y., like the World Federation of Trade Unions, was being diverted from its original purpose to becoming a mere instrument of Soviet politics.

Student groups in many parts of the world have found it increasingly difficult to understand why the W.F.D.Y. secretariat has been able to give the false impression that its members are consistently opposed to the Western powers, and why there has been so exact a concurrence with the views of the Soviet Government, expressed without reference to the organisations which the Federation claims to represent. (Cf. 2/A)

15/B (11) a

FILM APPRECIATION TO ORDER

"Anyone who cannot find contact with this (Soviet film) art is undoubtedly lacking the proper view of life and has been unable to connect himself with the stream of human progress". This cultural pronouncement by Gyula Hay in the Hungarian newspaper "Szabad Nep" was made in an article about Hungary's reception of Russian films, and at least demonstrates that that reception has not been uniformly friendly.

15/B (11) b

Index

PART A - There is no Part A this week

- |          |                             |   |
|----------|-----------------------------|---|
| PART B - | (1) Labour Affairs          | (7) Human Rights                                |
|          | (2) Agrarian Affairs        | (8) U.N.O.                                      |
|          | (3) Islamic World           | (9) Iron Curtain                                |
|          | (4) Christian World         | (10) Communist Parties Outside the Iron Curtain |
|          | (5) Asiatic Affairs         | (11) Miscellaneous                              |
|          | (6) International Movements |   |

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

~~CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY~~  
PART A

**CONFIDENTIAL**

FINAL ECLIPSE OF DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION IN BULGARIA

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

"Treason" Trial of Socialist Reveals Evasion  
of Human Rights Clause of Peace Treaty

The sentence of 15 years' imprisonment on Kosta Lulchev, leader of the now liquidated Bulgarian Social Democrat Party, announced on 15th November after a trial on trumped up charges of action against the Communist regime, has fulfilled the determination of the Stalinist rulers of Bulgaria, in defiance of the Peace Treaty, to remove the last vestiges of democratic political opposition.

Political commentators concur that the main purpose of the trial was to eliminate, at the behest of the Cominform, any personality who might become the focal point of opposition to the regime.

"A bitter blow against Socialism ... and a timely warning", was how the sentences of Lulchev and those tried with him were described by Mr. Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the British Labour Party, in a statement issued in London on 18th November.

"The real crime for which these men were punished", Mr. Phillips said "was their single-minded determination to fight for democratic Socialism. Their fate is a terrible lesson to all those who still believe that Communism and Socialism have something in common".

At the trial, which was conducted in the familiar atmosphere of political recrimination, a predominant part was played by "confessions" extorted during imprisonment in pre-trial investigations conducted without legal aid.

To coincide with these acts of suppression the pro-Communist group in the Bulgarian Assembly which called itself the Social Democrat Party has been quietly absorbed by the Communist Party and has ceased to maintain even the pretence of a separate identity. It was to this group that had been given the funds, newspaper and documents of the original Social Democrat Party, taken away by force by the militia in 1945.

The original Bulgarian Social Democratic Party had an honourable history over 50 years, and survived a series of dictatorships of both Right

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

and Left. After the first world war it was a Social Democrat Minister of the Interior who held the only free elections Bulgaria has ever known.

Under the Fascist and Germanophile regimes the Party, led by Grigor Cheshmedzhiev, joined the resistance movement - the Fatherland Front - and when the Germans were expelled was given two seats in the Government. It was at this stage that Communist pressure and intrigue began against it. After the loss of the party funds Cheshmedzhiev resigned from the government along with the recently executed leader Potkov, and died soon afterwards.

#### Dimitrov's Threats

It has been recalled by observers that the members of democratic groups in parliamentary opposition in Bulgaria can have had little hope of escaping final suppression since the remarkable statement by the Prime Minister, Dimitrov, at the sitting of the Bulgarian Grand National Assembly on January 12th, 1948. Dimitrov, incensed by statements criticising the Communist budget to which he had been listening from a loud-speaker in his office, rushed into the assembly and addressed representatives of the Lulchev group with these words. "You should reflect well so as not to experience the fate of your allies, foreign agents and enemies of Bulgaria. If you have not grown any wiser yet and if you do not attempt to grow wiser you will receive from the people what you will remember 'up to Saint Peter'".

As Lulchev is 67 years old, the 15 years' sentence is almost certain to fulfil Dimitrov's desires in the prison which already houses the octogenarian Socialist Pastukhov.

The British "Daily Herald" of 19th November, points out that the destruction of Social Democracy is one of Stalin's main objectives, and quotes his statement in "Problems of Leninism" that "It is impossible to put an end to capitalism without putting an end to Social Democratism in the Labour Movement".

The Lulchev trial and all that implies offer an interesting commentary on Bulgaria's anxiety to be accepted as a member of the United Nations, particularly in that the purposes of the Peace Treaty have been defeated. Article 2 of the treaty guarantees to all Bulgarian citizens the exercise of freedom of expression and of political opinion.

This material prepared by  
Central Intelligence Agency

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**



**CONFIDENTIAL**

(1) Labour Affairs

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

DISMANTLING CONTINUES IN THE SOVIET ZONE

German Communist's Promise Proved False

*This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency*

"I am no prophet, but I know for a certainty that the undertakings of the Soviet AGs (Companies) ... will no longer be dismantled, removed or blown up, but will be preserved for the benefit of the German people to whom they will ultimately belong", declared Fritz Selbmann, deputy chairman of the Russian-sponsored German Economic Commission, who was quoted in the newspaper "Neue Zeit" in September 1948.

But in October in the third dismantling list drawn up by Fritz Selbmann's office at the request of the Russian military administration, 162 Soviet companies are mentioned. Dismantling, according to the report of the German news agency DENA, is to begin on December 1st, 1948.

Giving this report on 31st October, the American-licensed newspaper "Tagesspiegel" adds that the workers employed by these concerns may not necessarily be unemployed after dismantling takes place. The officials of the Communist-dominated Free German Trades Unions of the Soviet companies in Oberschoeneweide were recently informed that women workers in each Soviet company in that district were to be given leave of absence to be trained as women-police. At present 200 women workers are at present being selected in Oberschoeneweide for police duty in Koepenick. "Perhaps", concludes the "Tagesspiegel", "Selbmann will have recourse to this 'way out' and so keep the workers fully employed in the service of militant Communism".

(2) Agrarian Affairs

16/B (1)

TWELVE YEAR SENTENCE FOR PASSING ON A RUMOUR

Class War Sharpens in Poland's Villages

The drive to eliminate peasant farmers in Poland to prepare the way for collectivisation was evident in the sentence of 12 years' imprisonment passed by the Wroclaw regional military court on Mr. Wladyslaw Okon, a peasant farmer from the village of Unickosz. According to the Communist

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

-B2-

newspaper "Glos Ludu" of 22nd October, Mr. Okon was accused of stating that the authorities in the Kielce province were introducing compulsory collectivisation in the villages and that 200 peasants who opposed this action were murdered. This statement made Mr. Okon guilty of spreading hostile propaganda the Court said, and he was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment.

The previous day, Edward Puach, writing in the Socialist newspaper "Robotnik", had confirmed earlier reports that the Communist-dominated Peasant Self-Help Associations are to prepare farmers for the introduction of collective farming. (Cf. 13/B (2) a). "The co-operative movement", he wrote, "will pioneer new and progressive forms of collective production". New elections to the county and village offices of the Association would shortly be held, stated Mr. Puach; they would be of particular importance in view of the sharpening of the class war in the villages.

This material procured by 16/B (2) a  
Central Intelligence Agency

BULGARIAN PEASANT OPPOSITION MET BY FORCE

"Flying Brigades" Following U.S.S.R. Precedent Sent to Villages

Organised resistance on the part of Bulgarian peasants to grain collections in the Dobrudja was admitted in the Sofia press at the end of October. Five villages were named where the whole population was said to have refused to deliver the fixed quota: the local councils and leading figures in both the political parties and mass organisations were accused of failing to co-operate in the collection.

The Bulgarian Government also admitted for the first time in the press that it had decided to make a forced collection of cereals in the face of this opposition; "flying brigades" were organised and both political and administrative authorities punished. The Hungarian Minister of Justice, M. Rics, has also told farmers, according to press reports from Budapest, that "flying committees" were being organised to tour the countryside supervising operations and "unmasking sabotage".

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

The organisation of "flying brigades" was one of the measures adopted by the Soviet Government to extract food supplies from the newly formed collective farms in the late twenties and early thirties. In their despair the Russian peasants had slaughtered their livestock before entering the hated collective farms; famine was widespread and the Soviet Government sent special Political Departments to seize the grain harvested by the 'kolkhoz' before it could be eaten by the starving peasantry. In his book "I Chose Freedom", Victor Kravchenko describes the work of the Department in which he was mobilised. Before leaving for the villages members of the department, who included men from the N.K.V.D., were told that the job of preventing the desperate farmers from eating the green shoots and of fighting the enemies of collectivisation, would require "strong stomachs and an iron will". Organised brutality was the Government's answer to organised resistance.

16/B (2) b

(3) Islamic World

COMINFORM ATTEMPT TO UNDERMINE TURKISH STRENGTH

Georgian Russians Reveal Soviet Plan

The escape of two Georgian Russians, Giorgi Gegolashvili and Chola Rusidzi from the Soviet Union and their arrival at Adana in Turkey was reported in the independent Istanbul newspaper "Vatan" on 26th October.

Members of the Red Army, they stated that a great number of soldiers, industrial workers and peasants had been led to question the Communist doctrines by what they had seen in other European countries while serving with the armed forces both during and after the war.

As the Soviet High Command considered Turkey a strong bastion and one difficult to overcome, a thousand Cominform agents in Turkey had been given the task of undermining the country from within.

Material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

16/B (3)

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

(4) Christian World

*This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency*

ROUMANIAN COMMUNISTS CUT VATICAN LINK

Government Campaign Against Uniate Church

The outcome of the Government-sponsored campaign to end the allegiance of the Uniate Church in Roumania, to the Vatican was the reunion of the Greek-Catholic religious community with the Roumanian Orthodox Church on 21st October, reported in the non-party newspapers "Frontul Plugarilor" and "Universul".

This means in effect the liquidation of the Uniate Church, and Catholic groups in touch with Roumania fear that this action may be a prelude to an attack against the Roman Catholic clergy.

The "reunion" followed a systematic campaign of intimidation and abuse, according to reports from Bucharest. The declaration of reunion of a bare 25% of the total Greek-Catholic priesthood, unsupported by a single member of the hierarchy, and extorted by threats of violence, was held to be a sufficient manifestation of the popular will to justify the extinction of the spiritual liberties of one and a half million Roumanians.

Since the declaration, Dr. Hossu, the Greek-Catholic Archbishop of Cluj and Dr. Suciuc, the Bishop of Blaj, have been reported to be under house arrest and in Transylvania Government officials are visiting the house of all Greek-Catholics and ordering the people to sign a declaration affirming their allegiance to the Roumanian Orthodox Church. Failure to sign entails arrest.

On 24th October, the Communist newspaper "Scanteia" published the Roumanian Government's reply to the protest of the Papal Nunciature. The Government rejected the "obvious calumnies .... regarding an alleged interference of the Roumanian authorities in the movement for the reunion" and regarded the Apostolic Nunciature's Note "as a provocative act against the Roumanian State and people".

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

16/B (4) a

**CONFIDENTIAL**  
**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**  
This material prepared by  
Central Intelligence Agency

CATHOLIC PRIESTS DEPRIVED OF RATION CARDS

Recent efforts to weaken the influence of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches in Yugoslavia have been reported in the Belgrade press. The Acting Bishop of Zagreb has been detained for questioning and several members of his entourage have been arrested. All Roman Catholic priests and nuns in the area round Split have been deprived of their ration cards.

The Communist daily "Borba" has attacked the Orthodox Synod for not attempting to stop the activity of Bishop Dionisijs and Bishop Nikolaj in the United States, directed against the present regime in Yugoslavia.

16/B (4) b

(7) Human Rights

CANVASSING FOR THE OPPOSITION A CRIME IN HUNGARY

Non-Communist Voters Denied Freedom to Disagree

"Lajos Ujvári a wealthy peasant from Trnaszentgyörgy, Bertalan Gulyás and Toth-Balogh, who stirred up feeling against the Communists during the elections and supported the (opposition) Barankovics Party candidate were sentenced by the People's Court to 27, 24 and 18 months imprisonment respectively".

These sentences, reported in the Workers' Party newspaper, "Világosság" on 14th October, read oddly in the light of the Hungarian claim that the elections were free.

16/B (7) a

DESPITE MOLOTOV'S PROMISE GERMANS REMAIN IN U.S.S.R. PRISONS

"Since last summer it has become plain that the Russians never intended to keep their promise, solemnly given by Molotov, to return all (German) prisoners-of-war and civil internees by the end of the year".

In publishing this opinion on 3rd November, the Social Democrat German newspaper "Freie Presse" adds that the monthly tables giving the number of repatriates show that Russian assurances made by the highest Soviet authorities cannot alter the fact.

**CONFIDENTIAL**  
**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**  
**CONFIDENTIAL**

-B6-

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

Prisoners-of-war sent back in September and October were those "unfit for work, or ill; now and again it was a healthy skilled worker and latterly, to an increasing extent there have been healthy young 'anti-Fascist' pupils, sent back to the Western zones for very transparent reasons".

Only a few sick prisoners have been sent back from Roumania and the uranium mines at Jachymov in Czechoslovakia where the Russians still employ German prisoners.

"The broad mass of healthy prisoners", concludes the "Freie Presse", "sees once again how little value there is in the promises of the totalitarian countries in the east. The Social Democrat Party executive and the Ministers-President have protested again and the German newspapers ... have not failed to draw attention repeatedly to this crime against humanity".

16/B (7) b

"MEFIEZ-VOUS: LES OREILLES COMMUNISTES VOUS ECOUTENT"

"No Politics Please": this notice is once again being put up in shops in Prague. The notice boards have been kept in storage by many shopkeepers since they were used during the German occupation.

16/B (7) c

PRAGUE WORKERS SENTENCED AS OPPONENTS OF THE REGIME

Ten Years For Distributing Illegal Leaflets

The severity of the repressive measures taken in Czechoslovakia against opponents of the Communist regime and the fact that these opponents are by no means drawn solely from the bourgeoisie were evident in the trial of 32 people held in Prague in October (cf. 12/B (7) c).

The accused were charged, according to the newspaper "Lidove Noviny", of producing and distributing the illegal leaflet "Pochoden". Seventeen of them were workers and members of the working class, drawn from Liben, the eighth district of Prague which is considered to be a workers' stronghold.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

This material is the property of the  
Central Intelligence Agency

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

The court sentenced 27 out of the 32 to terms of imprisonment varying from 10 years to six months. The public prosecutor is, however, to appeal against the "leniency" of the sentences imposed.

16/B (7) d

THE "FREEDOM" OF THE HUNGARIAN PRESS IN THEORY AND FACT

"Nepszava", the organ of the Hungarian trades unions, attacked the Barankovics' (opposition) newspaper "Hazank" on October 30th for reporting that the best Hungarian crops were reaped in "kulak" districts and for defending the "kulaks". "Hazank" was warned to be careful as otherwise it would be taken over by the State as the Church schools had been.

The following day, Mr. Jozsef Revai, the chief Communist publicist, speaking on the tasks of the Hungarian press, said: "World events and internal affairs may be presented differently by the press of the other democratic parties according to the point of view of those ... to whom they speak and whose interests they represent". This time precept followed practice, but the contradiction remains.

16/B (7) e

(8) U.N.O.

COMMUNIST POLICY DENOUNCED BY INTERNATIONAL PEASANT UNION

National Interests Subordinated to Soviet Aims

"... Stalin's Politburo controls directly the internal affairs of every Communist Party as well as the entire political, economic and social life of the countries under Communist domination". In a memorandum addressed by the International Peasant Union to the United Nations' General Assembly in October, prominent exiles such as M. Stanislaw Mikolajczyk of the Polish Peasant Party, Dr. Milan Gavrilovic of the Serbian Agrarian Union and M. Ferenc Nagy of the Hungarian Smallholders' Party set down considerable evidence in support of this claim.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

Classified by  
Central Intelligence Agency

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

Communist practice in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Roumania and Yugoslavia is quoted to show that "the Communist Parties do not recognise national interests of the individual states" and that "duty toward the fatherland is subordinate to that toward the Soviet Union". The Communist doctrine that "all potentially non-Communist strata in every Communist-dominated country are to be liquidated by means of violence, ... as incompatible with the Soviet structure and the proletarian dictatorship" has led in practice to the death of more than 50,000 Bulgarian citizens since September 9th, 1944; they were either put to death without trial or sentenced by the Communist-inspired people's courts. In each Iron Curtain country the citizen faced with arbitrary arrest and imprisonment without trial is powerless to defend himself in view of the fact that the aim of the judicature "is not to enforce the law, but to sanction the arbitrary methods and to implement the aims of the Communist Party".

The dissolution of political parties opposing Communism, such as the Hungarian Independence Party under Zoltan Pfeiffer, the execution or imprisonment of the opposition leaders such as Nicolas Petkov, leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the suppression of the freedom of speech and assembly have been the methods normally adopted by the Communists to achieve the dictatorship of their party.

Where elections have been held a Communist victory has been assured by duplicity and force. In October 1946 the whole "slate of opposition candidates in the third Sofia-city electoral college was declared invalid and the three opposition candidates running against the Communist dictator George Dimitrov, elected with a majority of 15,000 votes, were thus deprived of their mandates".

The collectivisation of the land regardless of the opposition of the peasantry will mean, states the memorandum, that in the coming year in Poland "70% of the population is exposed to imprisonment, persecution and judicial murder for its 'sabotage' of collectivisation".

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**



**CONFIDENTIAL**

This material is the property of the Central Intelligence Agency

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

-B9-

In the factories the rights of labour are whittled away as the trades unions are transformed into agencies of government and workers have no redress in the face of Government devices, such as the Stakhanovite system, for cutting the rate. Under Hungarian law, for example, strikes for increased wages are forbidden.

In conclusion the memorandum points out that the Soviet Union has no desire for lasting peace and understanding among nations. War is essential to the establishment of Communism throughout the world (cf. 12/B (7) b).

16/B (8)

(9) Iron Curtain

ORBIT REFUGEES SEEK ASYLUM IN YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslavia continues to claim that it is the goal of large numbers of political refugees from other parts of U.S.S.R.-dominated Eastern Europe. 237 Rumanians, 229 Albanians, 104 Bulgarians and 64 Hungarians sought asylum there as political refugees between 25th September and 25th October, according to an announcement published by the Ministry of the Interior and quoted in the Communist newspaper "Borba" of 3rd November (cf. 9/B (9) b).

Workers, peasants, intellectuals, soldiers, school boys, members of the liberal professions, office workers and children were represented among these refugees, many of whom were members of the Communist Party of their native country. These Communists, adds the official announcement, gave proof of their claim that they had been forced to leave their country for political reasons.

16/B (9) a

HUNGARIAN TAXPAYER FORCED TO AID MERKOS

Government Funds Diverted to "Communist Charities"

The fact that the Hungarian tax-payer has been contributing to the upkeep of the Greek rebel forces without his knowledge or consent has recently been made known by reports from Budapest.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

This material is unclassified

Central Intelligence Agency

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

-B10-

As long ago as last April the Hungarian Government voted a monthly sum of two million forints for the purpose of assisting "General" Markos. As, however, the official ruling provided that such funds must take the form of individual subscriptions, the sum was placed at the disposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and booked under the heading of "Communist charities". The Minister of Finance indented for the sum and the voucher was signed by five top-ranking Communists, Nyárdy, Rákosi, Gerő, Dinnyés and Vass, in order to discourage conscientious clerks in the Finance Ministry from making any embarrassing enquiries.

16/B (9) b

HISTORY REWRITTEN TO FIT COMMUNISM

One Czechoslovak history book "treats Karl Marx with hypocritical tolerance and makes no mention of Engels at all. It does not make nearly enough of the French revolution and its treatment of the Great Russian revolution is absolutely insulting". To these sins, wrote the Czechoslovak Youth newspaper "Mlada Fronta" on 15th October, this history book, which was issued and approved by the Ministry of Education under Dr. Jaroslav Štránský in 1947, added that of describing the whole era of the First Czechoslovak Republic as a model of social policy.

This press criticism was soon translated into action. On 16th October "Mlada Fronta" was able to report that the Ministry of Education had banned the offending book.

16/B (9) c

COMMUNISTS ACCEPT AMERICAN GIFT PARCELS

Before the Communist-inspired celebrations were held in honour of the Czechoslovak Independence day on 28th October, members of the organisation "Fighters of the Barricades" were sent, according to reports from Prague, a circular which contained the following paragraph:

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

-B11-

This material prepared by  
Central Intelligence Agency

"On Thursday, 28th October, we are celebrating by a joint gathering and march in Wenceslas Square the proclamation of the Five Year Plan. The meeting will take place at 7.30 a.m. If you do not appear you exclude yourself from the American Gift scheme (C.A.R.E.): distributions under this scheme take place after 28th October".

16/B (9) d

SOVIET ZONE POLICE MUST BE COMMUNISTS

"We can only tolerate one political school of thought in the Eastern zone police", recently explained Hr. Pariser, Chief Inspector of the Dresden Railway Police, when addressing some 220 Railway police, the majority of whom belonged to the Christian Democrat and Liberal Democrat Parties and who had been dismissed for political reasons.

At this meeting, reported by the British-licensed "Telegraf" on 24th October, Hr. Pariser also told his audience that "we must reckon with the possibility of having to defend peace in the Eastern zone with weapons in our hands" and it would be impossible to tell how those holding other than the permitted political ideas would use their weapons if things became serious.

16/B (9) e

THE BITTER BIT

Sanctions Against Yugoslavia Check Albanian Production

The sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia by Albania after Tito's expulsion from the comity of "popular democracies", have, apparently, recoiled on Albania herself. Recent press reports from Tirana and Belgrade indicate that work on various projects of great importance to Albania has been interrupted, owing to the lack, both of Yugoslav specialists and technicians and of the raw materials formerly supplied by Yugoslavia.

At the Skodar cement works where the management and personnel were Yugoslav, work was at a standstill at the beginning of September. The textile mill at Skodar was only able to work two days a week.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

-B12-

... this material prepared by  
**Central Intelligence Agency**

At the Tirana oil works, the departure of the seven specialists sent from the Zagnels oil works in 1947, has caused production to cease, while the shortage of stocks at the Tirana and Sacco factory has cut down work to three days a week.

Perhaps the most serious consequence to Albania is the interruption in work on her fortifications. The necessary materials were supplied by the Yugoslav "Daset-Kolovon" cement workers' collective, the "Sisek" steel works, the "Autoput" construction workers' collective, and the "Trepac" iron ore mine and foundry. The last shipments from these works arrived in July and were followed by the departure of the seventeen specialists employed in the work of construction.

As only 12-20% of the programme had been completed by the end of the summer, the Albanian Government has been compelled to ask the "Titel" steel construction and bridge company to send back the Yugoslav specialists who left the country in July.

The Soviet Union, which bears the ultimate responsibility for the imposition of sanctions, has not only failed to send the promised specialists to make good the loss of skilled Yugoslav co-operation, but has also been unable or unwilling to supply the 2,000 tractors and combined harvesters due to Albania.

16/B (9) f

(10) Communist Parties Outside the Iron Curtain

DUTCH COMMUNISTS OPPOSE THE COMINFORM

The Party Divided

The Cominform is "reactionary"; this view held by a certain number of Dutch Communists is one of the factors threatening to split the Communist Party in Holland, according to reports published by the Catholic newspaper "De Maasbode" on 20th October.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

-B13-

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

The dissident branch, styled "The Netherlands Communist Committee" according to the newspaper "Trouw", has published a pamphlet, adds "De Maasbode", in which the Cominform denunciation of Marshal Tito is called "a grave mistake" and held to be one of the main reasons for the Communist defeat at the recent general election in Holland.

Dutch Communists, who oppose the Cominform policy, are also hostile to the stress laid on "international revolution" and demand that the Dutch Communist Party shall be first and foremost a "national organisation".

Reports that all is not well with the Communist newspaper "De Waarheid" were published by "Trouw" on October 21st. Gerben Wagenaar, the chairman, and Paul de Groot, the secretary, it is rumoured, have fallen into disgrace with the Moscow Communists and the editorial staff has been severely cut down.

16/B (10) a

THE PARTY BY SOME OTHER NAME

Communist Stratagem in Chile

In view of the Chilean Communists' failure to attract supporters to the Party, they have decided, according to recent reports from Santiago, to follow a new line in attempting to obtain recruits from the ranks of the armed forces.

Instead of asking for members of the Party, Communists are now canvassing for support for a People's Welfare Movement "Movimiento para el Bienestar del Pueblo". The stratagem is not considered by observers locally to have much chance of success.

16/B (10) b

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**

This material procured by  
Central Intelligence Agency

-B14-

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**  
Press

The following articles may be found to contain points of interest:-

- (a) Conquest of the Polish Mind  
"The Times", London: issue of 18th November, 1948.
- (b) Tito's Quarrel with Stalin  
The Yugoslav Case  
"The Manchester Guardian": issue of 18th November, 1948.
- (c) The Communist Flood in China, by Lt. Gen. H.V. Martin  
"The Daily Telegraph", London: issue of 18th November, 1948.
- (d) Prague's New Freedom, by J.W. Bruegel  
"Tribune", London: issue of 19th November, 1948.

Index

PART A - Final Eclipse of Democratic Opposition in Bulgaria

PART B -

- |                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) Labour Affairs          | (7) Human Rights            |
| (2) Agrarian Affairs        | (8) U.N.O.                  |
| (3) Islamic World           | (9) Iron Curtain            |
| (4) Christian World         | (10) Communist Parties Out- |
| (5) Asiatic Affairs         | side the Iron Curtain       |
| (6) International Movements | (11) Miscellaneous          |

Note:- The index numbering system will be maintained as above, for reference purposes, whether or not there are items under all the various headings in any particular issue.

**CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY**