

147
PRELIMINARY INVENTORY OF THE RECORDS
OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON COMMUNIST AGGRESSION,
83rd CONGRESS

Compiled by
George P. Perros

The National Archives
National Archives and Records Service
General Services Administration

Washington: 1959

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	1
Inventory	6
Appendices:	
Appendix A (Administrative Records)	14
Appendix B (Munich Hearings)	16
Appendix C (East Germany)	16
Appendix D (Hearings and Reports)	17

INTRODUCTION

The House of Representatives created the Select Committee to Investigate the Incorporation of the Baltic States into the U.S.S.R. on July 27, 1953, when it adopted House Resolution 346, 83rd Congress. The resolution, which had been submitted on July 20, 1953, by Representative Charles J. Kersten, of Wisconsin, provided as follows:

Whereas the Government of the United States of America maintains diplomatic relations with the Governments of the Baltic nations of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and consistently has refused to recognize their seizure and forced "incorporation" into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That there is hereby created a select committee to be composed of seven Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the committee shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

The committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of said seizure and forced "incorporation" of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the treatment of the said Baltic peoples during and following said seizure and "incorporation".

The committee shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) as soon as practicable during the present Congress the results of its investigation and study, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of carrying out this resolution the committee, or any subcommittee thereof authorized by the committee to hold hearings, is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memoranda, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

Accordingly, the Speaker of the House, on August 3, 1953, appointed as members of the Select Committee to Investigate the Incorporation of the Baltic States into the U.S.S.R. Representatives Charles J. Kersten (chairman); Fred E. Bushy, of Illinois; Alvin M. Bentley, of Michigan; Edward J. Bonin, of Pennsylvania; Ray J. Madden, of Indiana; Thaddeus M. Machrowicz, of Michigan; and Thomas J. Dodd, of Connecticut.

House Resolution 438, 83rd Congress, agreed to on March 4, 1954, broadened the scope of the committee's investigative authority and, in addition, increased its membership to nine. The resolution provided, in part, as follows:

Resolved, That the second paragraph of H. Res. 346 is hereby amended to read as follows:

"The committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of (1) the seizure and forced 'incorporation' of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the treatment of the said Baltic peoples during and following said seizure and 'incorporation'; and (2) the subversion and destruction of free institutions and human liberties in all other areas controlled, directly or indirectly, by world communism, including the treatment of the peoples in such areas."

Sec. 2. The fourth paragraph of such resolution is hereby amended by inserting immediately after the word "within" the following: ", and after March 1, 1954, outside,".

The name of the committee was thereupon changed to the Select Committee on Communist Agression, this title being more descriptive of the work of the committee under the new resolution. The appointment of Representatives Patrick J. Hillings, of California, and Michael A. Geighan, of Ohio, brought the membership of the committee to the designated nine.

In carrying out its trust, the committee, or subcommittees thereof, held more than two score public hearings in the United States and Europe from November 30, 1953 to December 3, 1954: sessions were held in Washington, Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Milwaukee, Wilkes-Barre, Los Angeles, London, Munich, and West Berlin. The committee received the testimony of more than 300 witnesses as well as about 1,500 pieces of documentary and other evidence. Among the witnesses were Poles, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Azerbaijanians, North Caucasians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Idel-Uralians, Cossacks, Turkestanians, Russians, and Guatemalans. The committee concealed the identity of some witnesses, lest their relatives and friends in Communist nations might be subject to reprisals for the adverse testimony, and many witnesses submitted written statements for the record of the committee upon its pledge not to divulge their names for the same reason. Because of the want of time, the committee declined the offers of testimony of hundreds of other witnesses.

Many public and private organizations assisted the committee. Foreign service officers of the State Department attested depositions of witnesses and arranged for the delivery of them and of other documents to the committee. The United States Information Agency, besides other services, recorded the testimony in the hearings and broadcast it to nations under Communist dominion. The Committee for a Free Europe (Radio Free Europe) broadcasted highlights of the hearings and provided information for the committee's reports. The Foreign Operations Administration, supervising the "Escape Program," was also helpful, particularly in the preparations for the hearings held in Europe. To the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress

the committee was indebted for research and other services. On the other hand, the non-governmental bodies aiding the committee consisted of organizations representing the Protestant, Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Jewish, and Moslem religions, and also of organizations composed of national groups whose former homelands are now under communist dominion. In addition, Georgetown University, together with experts assembled from various parts of the United States, wrote the special reports of the committee; records of the hearings, exhibits, witnesses' statements, and other types of documentation (these various classes of records were made accessible, or turned over, to the "Georgetown project") form the basis of the special reports.

The committee formally wound up its study and investigation on December 31, 1954; ten interim reports, fifteen special reports, a summary report, and a report on Communist aggression in Latin America embody the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of the members of the select committees (see Appendix D for a list of these Congressional documents).

The records described in this inventory are the records of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression, 83rd Congress (also known, after the name of its chairman, as the Kersten Committee), housed in the National Archives building. It should be noted that some of the records of the select committee, including exhibits, are missing from its files. The records of the select committee in the National Archives, amounting to about 27 cubic feet, are a part of Record Group 233, Records of the United States House of Representatives.

Since some categories of the select committee's records overlap, documents pertaining to a particular subject may be found in two or more categories.

No person may obtain access to, or receive information from, the records of the select committee, without the express permission of the House of Representatives.

ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS. July 1953-Feb. 1955. 5 ft. *Box 1-11* 1

Among the administrative records of the select committee are letters from individuals and organizations commenting on the work of the committee, expressing support for its study and investigation, or requesting copies of its published hearings and reports; resolutions of ethnic groups the fatherlands of which are under communist rule, commending the work of the committee; correspondence with agencies of the executive branch of the federal government, or with members of the Senate, or of the House of Representatives, respecting the agenda of the committee; staff correspondence with committee members; copies of vouchers showing disbursements of the committee for articles and services; other financial records; applications for employment with the committee; some correspondence of the chairman; mailing lists; copies of press releases; translations of news articles pertaining to the committee published in the European press; correspondence relating to the committee's published reports; staff investigative memoranda; and other investigative documents, particularly numerous "witness forms," each of which, besides other information, summarizes the testimony which could be furnished to the committee by an eyewitness to the establishment and consolidation of communist rule in Lithuania, Latvia, or Estonia. For a list of the folder titles of the records of this series, see Appendix A.

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE. May 1953-Dec. 1954. 6 in. *Box 12* 2

The general correspondence of the select committee comprises correspondence and memoranda of the chairman, and of staff members, respecting, in the main, the committee's agenda; documentary evidence submitted for

the committee's record by exiles from communist rule, or by representatives of their organizations, respecting communist tactics and strategy in their former homelands; studies and informational materials relevant to the committee's inquiry; and some administrative records. Arranged alphabetically by name of correspondent, or by subject.

RECORDS RELATING TO THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF LITHUANIA.

July 1953-Dec. 1954. 2 ft. Box 13 - 17

3

Records resulting from the select committee's study and investigation of the forcible incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union. Documentary evidence submitted by Lithuanian exiles and by representatives of their organizations constitute the bulk of the records of this series; other records consist of correspondence and memoranda of the chairman and staff members, and of publications. Exhibits received by the committee, including most of the Chicago exhibits listed in the eighth report of the committee's Hearings, pp. VII, VIII, form a sizeable part of the documentation. Arranged by subject, except the exhibits, which are in numerical sequence. Incidentally, each Chicago exhibit is numerically identified in the Hearings with a number which is one digit higher than it actually bears; consequently, the exhibit listed as No. 4, for example, carries the symbol No. 3.

RECORDS RELATING TO THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF ESTONIA.

June 1953-Dec. 1954. 2 ft. Box 18 - 20

4

Like those described in series 3, these records document the communist takeover and occupation of another Baltic state during World War II. Statements of eyewitnesses to the extension and consolidation of communist rule over Estonia are preponderant; among them are many obtained from Estonian exiles in Sweden. Arranged by subject.

RECORDS RELATING TO THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF LATVIA.

July 1953-Nov. 1954. 5 in. *Box 21*

5

This file is a counterpart to series Nos. 3 and 4, concerned, respectively, with the forcible incorporation of Lithuania and Estonia into Soviet Russia; documentary evidence, submitted by Latvian exiles and by their organizations, forms virtually the entire written record of this segment of the committee's files. Arranged by subject.

"BALTIC STATES CORRESPONDENCE" May 1953-Dec. 1954. 4 in. *Box 22*

6

The documents constituting this segment of the select committee's records are mainly of the type described in entry 2, except that they relate almost exclusively to the communist takeover and occupation of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. The bulk of the documents, however, deal with communist activities in Latvia. Arranged alphabetically by subject, or by name of correspondent.

EXHIBITS ENTERED IN THE COMMITTEE'S HEARINGS RELATING TO THE BALTIC COUNTRIES. Nov. 1953-Dec. 1953. 5 in. *Box 23*

7

Part I of the printed Hearings of the committee, titled "Baltic States Investigation," embodies the text of many exhibits received by the committee evidentiary of some aspects of the sovietization of the three Baltic States. This file contains the printer's copies of most of these exhibits, which are listed on pages IV, V, and VI of Part I of the committee's Hearings. Arranged in sequence by exhibit number.

RECORDS RELATING TO THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF POLAND.

Mar. 1954-Jan. 1955. 2 ft. Box 24-27

8

In this category of the committee's records are documents of the same type as constitute the files concerned with the sovietization of the Baltic countries (series Nos. 3, 4, and 5): correspondence and staff memoranda; statements of witnesses; publications; etc. This group of the committee's files includes documents stemming from the London hearings of June 1954; among the latter records are most of the "London exhibits" listed on pages V and VI of Part 2 of the Hearings (Fourth Interim Report) of the committee. Also in the file is the Government Printing Office's copy of the Polish Documents Report, which was published as an appendix to the committee's report on the communist takeover and occupation of Poland (House Report 2684, Part 4, 83rd Congress, 2d session). Arranged by subject.

"HEARINGS FILE" Nov. 1953-Dec. 1954. 2 ft. Box 28-31

2

This part of the files reflect, in general, preparations for holding hearings in the United States and abroad. Among the papers of this series are correspondence, including letters pertaining to the procurement of testimony; staff memoranda, among which are lists of intended questions for prospective witnesses; statements of eyewitnesses to communist activities in their former homelands; and press releases. In addition, the hearings file includes the stenographic transcript of the executive hearings held by the committee in West Berlin on July 6, 1954; the stenographic transcript of executive hearings in Munich on June 26, 1954; and some exhibits: Polish exhibits Nos. 1-5, inclusive (listed on page V of Part 2 of the Hearing), received in the hearings held in Chicago on May 3 and 4, 1954;

the exhibits (listed on page IV of the Fifth Interim Report of the Hearings) received in the hearings held in New York City on August 23-25, 1954; all but one of the exhibits (listed on page VII of the Sixth Interim Report of the Hearings) received in the hearings held in Milwaukee on October 21 and 22, 1954; and exhibits 45, 45A, and 45B (listed on page VI of the Eighth Interim Report of the Hearings), received in the hearings held in New York City on October 11-14, 1954. Arranged chronologically.

RECORDS RELATING TO THE HEARINGS HELD IN MUNICH. May 1954-Nov. 1954.

3 ft. *Boxes 32-38*

10

Records connected with the hearings held in Munich, Germany, on June 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, and on July 1, 1954. Among them are a mimeographed copy of the transcript of hearings held in Munich on June 25, 1954; some of the committee's Munich exhibits; several copies of the transcript of the hearings held in executive session in Munich on July 1, 1954; statements of witnesses; and other documentary evidence. Some of the documents relate to the Sudeten Germans. For a list of the folder titles to these records, see Appendix B.

RECORDS RELATING TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN EAST GERMANY. June 1954-
Sept. 1954. *Box 39*

11

Except for a handful of items (such as publications of the German National Union of Students, committee correspondence, and staff memoranda), this group of records consists of statements made by West Germans recounting communist actions which they had experienced or observed firsthand when they had been in East Germany. For a list of the folder titles of this series, see Appendix C.

RECORDS RELATING TO THE RUSSIAN AND NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS OF THE U.S.S.R.
Mar. 1954-Oct. 1954. 1 ft. *Box 40-41*

12

This documentation, obtained by the committee from both domestic and foreign sources, pertains to the communization of, and the aftermath of communist rule in, Armenia, Azerbaizan, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Georgia, Russia, and the Ukraine. About half of these documents are sworn statements of Ukrainian witnesses. Arranged alphabetically by name of country.

RECORDS RELATING TO CERTAIN COMMUNIST EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN NATIONS.
Sept. 1953-Nov. 1954. 1 ft. *Box 42-43*

13

This segment of the committee's files, encompassing documents like those found in counterpart categories of records, deals with the communization of, and the consolidation of communist control in, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. A sizeable part of the documentary evidence pertains to Hungary. Arranged alphabetically by name of country.

EXHIBITS RELATING TO THE "TREATMENT OF JEWS BY THE SOVIET." Sept. 1954.
5 in. *Box 44*

14

On September 22-23, 1954, a subcommittee of the select committee conducted hearings in New York City dealing with the "Treatment of Jews by the Soviet." The subcommittee then received for its record twenty exhibits, which, listed on page IV of the committee's seventh interim report of hearings, constitute this category of the committee's files. Arranged by exhibits number.

RECORDS RELATING TO "COMMUNIST AGGRESSION IN LATIN AMERICA." Feb. 1954-
Oct. 1954. 1 in. *Box 45*

15

These records resulted from the work of the committee's Subcommittee on Latin America, which devoted most of its attention to the study and

investigation of communist activities in Guatemala. Among its records are a few exhibits, some newspaper clippings, a U. S. Government report titled Penetration of the Political Institutions of Guatemala by the International Communist Movement: Threat to the Peace and Security of America and to the Sovereignty and Political Independence of Guatemala, and another report entitled Report on Central America, prepared by John A. Clements Associates, New York City. Arranged by subject.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND MOTION PICTURE FILMS. July 1953-Dec. 1954. 4 ft. *Box 46* 16

Among the evidence received by the select committee bearing on its inquiry are many photographs and many reels of 35 mm. motion picture film. In addition, there are some photographs, along with their negatives, of proceedings before the committee. *- SEE NOTE ON LAST PAGE*

"CHRONOLOGICAL FILE" Aug. 1953-Feb. 1955. 3 in. *Box 47* 17

The "chronological file" is the committee's reading file; it consists mainly of carbon copies of letters and memoranda typed in the committee's offices, both in the United States and overseas. Arranged chronologically except for the "overseas" file, which is unarranged.

PRINTS OF THE COMMITTEE'S HEARINGS AND REPORTS. Nov. 1953-Dec. 1954. 1 ft. *Box 48* 18

The files of the committee include prints, sometimes extra copies thereof, of most of its special reports and hearings. For a complete list of these reports and hearings, see Appendix D.

INDICES. July 1953-Dec. 1954. 1 ft. 1049

19

The committee staff created 3 indices, each consisting of 3"x5" cards: (1) an alphabetical index to organizations composed of former nationals of countries now under communist dominion; (2) an alphabetical name index to the committee's witnesses; and (3) another name index to many witnesses of the committee, with the cards grouped according to certain geographic areas and then arranged alphabetically thereunder by the name of the witness.

Appendix A

Headings of the Administrative Records (Entry 1):

Committee Hearings - Volume #1
Congratulatory
Correspondence - Committee members
Correspondence - Government Agencies, Senate, House, etc.
Disbursements (Copies of vouchers)
Documentary Evidence
Documentary Evidence Forms
Documents
Employment Applications
Final Summary Report
Financial - Airlines
Financial - Budget
Financial - Expense Regulations
Financial - GSA Labor
Financial - General
Financial - Hotels
Financial - Mines, Printing
Financial - Newspapers
Financial - Overseas
Financial - P. A. Systems
Financial - Payroll
Financial - Reporting Services
Financial - Reports
Financial - Staff Members
Financial - Supplies
Financial - Telephones
Financial - Vouchers
Franks
Georgetown Project
Kersten, Charles J. (Speeches, etc.)
Mailing List
Miscellaneous
Newspaper, Subscriptions
Mr. O'Connors Personal File
Passport Forms
Potential Witnesses
Press
Press Releases
Publications
Reports
Resolutions - Nos. 231, 346, 438, & 467 (83rd Congress)
Second Interim Report
Signed Vouchers (Payee)
Space Report

Staff Papers
Subcommittee on Latin America
Supplies and Equipment
Third Interim Report
Vouchers
Welch, Bette B. (Personal)
Western Union Forms
Witness Forms
Witness Forms

Australia, New Zealand
Canada
England
France
Germany
Italy
South America
Spain
Sweden
Others

Witnesses

A, B, C,
D, E, F,
G, H, I,
J, K, L,
M, N, O,
P, Q, R,
S, T, U,
V, W, X,
Y, & Z

Appendix B (Entry 10)

Appendix C (Entry 11)

Because Appendix B and Appendix C include the names of witnesses whose relatives or friends living in countries under communist dominion might be subject to reprisals if the identity of the witnesses should be disclosed, the only copy of Appendix B and the only one of Appendix C have been made a part of the committee's files, so that these documents will be as secure as the whole body of the committee's records.

Appendix D

List of the Hearings and Reports of the Select Committee
on Communist Aggression, 83rd Congress:

Interim Reports of the Select Committee
on Communist Aggression, 83rd Congress, Nos. 1-10:

Interim Report No. 1:

Hearings on the Communist Takeover and Occupation of the Baltic States (Washington, Nov. 30 and Dec. 1, 1953; New York City, Dec. 3-5, 1953; Detroit, Dec. 7-8, 1953; and Chicago, Dec. 9-10, 1953).

Interim Report No. 2:

House Report 2650, 83rd Congress, 2d session - report of the Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression Against Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, East Germany, Russia, and the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R. (August 9, 1954).

Interim Report No. 3:

Report of the Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression and the Forced Incorporation of the Baltic States into the U.S.S.R. (1954).

Interim Report No. 4:

Hearings relating to the "Communist Aggression Investigation" (Chicago, May 3-4, 1954; New York City, May 7-8, 1954; London, England, June 14-19, 1954; and Munich, Germany, June 23-30, 1954).

Interim Report No. 5:

Hearings relating to the "Investigation of Communist Takeover and Occupation of Hungary (Washington, August 20, 1954; New York City, August 23-25, 1954; and Cleveland, August 26-27, 1954).

Interim Report No. 6:

Hearings relating to the "Investigation of Communist Takeover and Occupation of Poland, Lithuania, and Slovakia (Wilkes-Barre, Sept. 30-Oct. 1, 1954; Milwaukee, Oct. 21-22, 1954).

Interim Report No. 7:

Hearings relating to the "Treatment of Jews by the Soviet" (New York City, Sept. 22-23, 1954).

Interim Report No. 8:

Hearings relating to the "Investigation of Communist Takeover and Occupation of the Non-Russian Nations of the U.S.S.R." (New York City, Oct. 11-14, 1954; Chicago, Oct. 18-19, 1954 and Munich, Germany, June 30-July 1, 1954).

Interim Report No. 9:

Hearings on "Communist Aggression in Latin America" (Washington, Sept. 27-29, 1954 and Oct. 8, 1954; and Los Angeles, Oct. 14-15, 1954).

Interim Report No. 10:

Hearings relating to the "Investigation of Communist Aggression": Poland, Rumania, and Slovakia (Washington, Dec. 1-3, 1954).

Special Reports of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression:
House Report 2684, 83rd Congress, 2d session, parts 1-16:

Parts:

1. Communist Takeover and Occupation of Latvia.
2. Communist Takeover and Occupation of Albania.
3. Communist Takeover and Occupation of Poland.
4. Appendix to Committee Report on Communist Takeover and Occupation of Poland.
5. Treatment of the Jews under Communism.
6. Communist Takeover and Occupation of Estonia.
7. Communist Takeover and Occupation of the Ukraine.
8. Communist Takeover and Occupation of Armenia.
9. Communist Takeover and Occupation of Georgia.
10. Communist Takeover and Occupation of Bulgaria.
11. Communist Takeover and Occupation of Byelorussia.
12. Communist Takeover and Occupation of Hungary.
13. Communist Takeover and Occupation of Lithuania.
14. Communist Takeover and Occupation of Czechoslovakia.
15. Communist Takeover and Occupation of Rumania.
16. Summary Report of Select Committee on Communist Aggression.
- . Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate Communist Aggression in Latin America.