THE SOVIET SLAVE EMPIRE

Albert Konrad Herling

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By

ALBERT KONRAD HERLING

HERE IS the first documented exposé of slave labor both in the USSR and in its satellite countries. Here are photostats of documents from the very files of the Russian secret police. Here is strong light on the dark places of Soviet economic policy in the "People's Democracies." And here are human stories that add flesh and blood to the documents. This is a study which will have to be taken into account in the welter of current discussions revolving about United States foreign policy.

Albert Herling has interviewed hundreds of former inmates of Soviet labor camps. He has a thick pile of Soviet documents, here represented by photostats for America. Having shown the pattern of the slave labor system, the author here shows the design for the U. S., and brings out the deeper meanings for the reader by showing how the

(Continued on back flap)

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Preface

An unbelieving world has too long refused to face the growing menace of slavery in its new 20th century guise —the slave-labor camps of the Soviet Union and its satellite states. The refusal to believe the mounting evidence was not so much an expression of confidence in the Soviet Union as it was a reluctance to believe that a society rapidly developing into one of the leading industrial powers of the world in this era was resorting to such a discredited and degrading system as slavery.

It is only now, at the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, when the true nature of Stalinism has become a matter of concern to everyone, that it is possible to get the peoples of the Western World to take time to learn about the new slavery in which the Soviet Union is a pioneer. It would be sufficient to arouse our concern and righteous indignation if this slave system were confined to the Soviet Union itself. But it is now manifest that it is such an integral part of Communist economic life that it must and does spread wherever the followers of Stalin seize power.

When the stories of the Nazi concentration camps first

became known, most people refused to believe them, counting them merely as horror stories which the opponents of the Nazis use to arouse the world to a fighting pitch. Decent people are always loth to believe that other human beings can resort to such bestiality as the Nazis were charged with. But we have learned that the immense capacity for good in each human being and in each human system is matched by an equal capacity for evil.

In presenting the experiences of many individuals, and of life in the Soviet Union and the satellite states (with the exception of Poland), I have deliberately withheld some of the most harrowing stories, with their detailed descriptions of almost unbelievable tortures. I here present objective facts. If at times I have been unable to retain a "scholarly objectivity" in my comment on various aspects of the Soviet slave system, I beg forgiveness. These are not statistics I am writing about, they are people suffering as few of us have suffered, and condemned to die in ways in which none of us expect to die.

I have not written this book to prove the incorrigibility of mankind—indeed my faith is quite the opposite. But the facts presented here are placed in the belief that we cannot exert our best efforts and thought to the creation of a decent world by closing our eyes to the evil that exists and accepting as reality only the good.

There is one group in particular I hope to reach—those who look to the Soviet Union as the *sine qua non* of political, social, and economic progress. These people, members of various Communist parties, fellow-travelers

and members of the travelers' aid, refuse thus far to believe the evidence presented to the world and to them by the actual victims of the slave-labor system of the Soviet police state. I hope that these people will pay particular attention to the reproduction of the official orders issued by the Soviet secret police and the various exhibits from official Soviet sources.

And now a word about the material in this book and how I came by it. In December 1948 the Workers Defense League—a noncommunist agency doing a prodigious job in helping to eliminate the vestiges of illegal peonage which exist in the United States, as well as working against discrimination of all kinds and generally doing a magnificent job in behalf of the underprivileged—initiated the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor. The Workers Defense League recognized the need for an autonomous and completely unhampered commission to bring to light the extent to which chattel slavery, peonage, and forced labor still exist in the world. It was my good fortune to be asked to become Assistant to the Chairman and Research Director of the new Commission. This Commission, organized at a meeting at Hunter College in the City of New York, consists of the following persons:

Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, Chairman of the Commission, President of Brooklyn College, N. Y.;

Morris L. Cooke of Washington, D. C., formerly of the Rural Electrification Program and now Chairman of the President's Water Resources Policy Commission;

Dr. George S. Counts, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University;

Max Delson, labor attorney, and author of the first FEPC law;

Mrs. Ethel S. Epstein, Finance Chairman of Americans for Democratic Action;

John F. Finerty, constitutional lawyer;

Dr. Frank P. Graham, formerly President of the University of North Carolina and U. S. Senator from that state;

John Green, president of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilders, CIO;

Rev. Donald Harrington, minister of the Community Church of New York, and National Chairman of the Workers Defense League;

Francis Heisler of Chicago, attorney, civil liberties and labor lawyer;

Dr. Sidney Hook, Chairman of the Philosophy Department, New York University;

Emil Mazey, Secretary Treasurer, United Automobile Workers of America, CIO;

Frank McCulloch, former director of the labor school of Roosevelt College, Chicago, now secretary to Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois;

A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL;

Dr. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Associate Professor of History, Harvard College, Pulitzer Prize winner, author of *The Age of Jackson;*

Max Sherover, President of the Linguaphone Institute of America;

Dr. George N. Shuster, President of Hunter College of the City of New York, now civilian administrator for Bavaria;

Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, Chairman of the Post War World Council;

Matthew Woll, 2nd Vice President of the American Federation of Labor;

Dr. Ralph Gilbert Ross, Department of Philosophy, New York University, Director of the Division of General Education of New York University, Secretary of the Commission;

Thomas L. Parsonnet, General Counsel to the Commission, formerly Corporation Counsel for the City of Newark, N. J., Chief Counsel for the New Jersey State Federation of Labor;

Ernest Fleischman, Associate Counsel to the Commission, labor attorney;

Carl Rachlin, Associate Counsel to the Commission, labor attorney.

The Commission met on February 24, 25, and 26, 1949, in the auditorium of the New York Bar Association, for its first public hearings. At these hearings victims of forced labor, eyewitnesses of forced labor, and experts on the subject testified. Much of the material in this book is based on the hearings held by the Commission; but a good deal of the material presented here has come as a result

of the continuous program of research which the Commission has continued to carry on.

Many influences combine to make up a person's life, and many people are contributors to the work he does. Since this is my first published work in book form, it is therefore not surprising that a host of people come to mind, people to whom I am indebted for encouragement, understanding, and help. Some of these persons must be here mentioned:

The late Professor Leo Rich Lewis of Tufts College, Medford, Mass., and Mrs. Lewis; Dr. John Haynes Holmes and the Rev. Leon Rosser Land; the late Dr. Clarence R. Skinner, Dean of the Tufts College School of Religion; Mr. and Mrs. Eli Yoffe and Miss Beatrice Reed of Natick, Mass.; Miss Beatrice Bretzfield, formerly with the Town Hall of New York, Inc., and now with the U. S. Mission to the United Nations; Constantine R. Jurgela, Director of the Lithuanian American Information Center; Norman Thomas; the late Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, feminist, fighter for peace, and pioneer founder of the World Government movement; Rowland Watts, National Secretary of the Workers Defense League; Brant Coopersmith, formerly Assistant National Secretary of the Workers Defense League, now New Orleans director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; Mrs. Carola Weingarten, my assistant on the research staff of the Commission of Inquiry; Mrs. Dorothy O'Connell; Mr. David Dallin and Mr. Boris Nicolaevsky, outstanding students of Russia today; Miss Anna Bourguina and Mr. and Mrs.

Brutus Coste, friends and faithful workers against today's tyrannies and for tomorrow's freedoms. To Professor Warren B. Walsh, Chairman of the Board of Russian Studies of Syracuse University, go my special thanks for his considerate and constructive criticism. And finally, to my father, Morris Herling, whose life of integrity has been and is exemplified by his devotion to spiritual values, social responsibility, and independence of thought and spirit, my everlasting gratitude.

ALBERT KONRAD HERLING

New York, New York
December, 1950

Once to ev'ry man and nation
Comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of truth with falsehood,
For the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah,
Off'ring each the bloom or blight,
And the choice goes by forever
'Twixt that darkness and that light.

James Russell Lowell,
"The Present Crisis"

This book is dedicated to the living disciples of freedom, those who will break the chains of slavery

Introduction

Men of my generation who grew to maturity before World War I thought that chattel slavery was definitely a thing of the past—among other reasons, because it was economically inefficient. We knew that some very evil vestigial remnants of chattel slavery existed under various forms of contract labor in colonial regions. We suspected that there was still some peonage in the United States, particularly in the south. A few of us even knew that the white minority in South Africa was supported by exploiting the native population under conditions far worse than slaves endured in Greek and Roman times. Nevertheless chattel slavery as such we believed was a thing of the past.

In all history, there is no more tragic irony than its revival on an immense scale by communist dictators who profess to be the champions and leaders of the workers of the world.

How this happened is vividly and accurately told in Mr. Herling's book. He gives authoritative information on the extent of slavery in the Soviet Union in the satellite states. He piles up evidence concerning the monstrous nature of life in their slave camps. And he examines the

political and economic factors which make the system essential to the very life of dictatorial regimes which seized power shouting the slogan, "All power to the workers."

The book speaks for itself and requires neither comment nor interpretation. I should, however, like to stress a point which Mr. Herling makes. Neither he nor the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor which he serves so efficiently puts the emphasis on the adjective rather than the noun when it speaks of "Russian slavery." What we fight throughout the world is the denial of basic human rights of which chattel slavery is the extreme expression. Slavery in the Soviet Union is of peculiar importance to us, not primarily because that Union is our enemy in a cold war, but because it represents a new type of slavery which needs to be understood and explained to the world.

Indeed I think that anti-communist propaganda would be far more effective if the propagandists would substitute for general denunciation such sober statement of facts as Mr. Herling has given us. Masses of men who suffer in many parts of the world, including our own country, under various forms of racial discrimination and economic exploitation are inclined to pay attention to communist sympathy with their plight. They can be won away from communism only by two things: an exposition of the horror of communist deeds when communism achieves power, and a rapid and steady improvement in the performance of democracy. To the first of these Mr. Herling makes a great contribution.

NORMAN THOMAS

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Part I

CHAPTER ONE

The Forging of the First Links

Today millions of people in Russia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania are in the grip of a system of slavery without parallel in the history of the world. The system was introduced first in the Soviet Union. To understand how the system of forced labor began in the Soviet Union, it is necessary to go back to the early days of the Communist regime in that country. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union proclaimed the dictatorship of the proletariat with the declaration that the Bolshevik Party alone was the most advanced section of the working class. Basing their approach to the problems of labor upon the writings of Karl Marx, their first consideration was, or at least seemed to be, the eighth point in the Marx and Engels ten-point program as stated in the "Communist Manifesto." This point in Marx's program called for the "equal obligation of all to work. The establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture."

It was natural, therefore, that in the first labor code adopted by the new rulers of Russia this Marxist declaration should be applied at the very base of the code. The code, passed on December 19, 1918, provided for compulsory labor. In an official English translation of these

laws published in the United States, the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in the United States summarized the approach to labor law in the Soviet Union in the following language:

> The fundamental principle underlying the labor laws of Soviet Russia is that society owes everybody a living. The community is like one family, every member of which is supported out of the family income. The labor laws speak of "citizens." In practice, however, there is no difference between citizens and aliens, because any person may become a citizen by a mere declaration of intention to become one.
>
> It goes without saying that since everyone is entitled to a seat at the community table, every able-bodied person is required to contribute his or her share towards the work which is necessary to provide the community with the means for the support of its members. This is described as "compulsory labor."*

Article I of the first labor code is entitled, "On Compulsory Labor." It declares that "All citizens of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, with the exceptions stated in sections 2 and 3, shall be subject to compulsory labor."† The exemptions provided for are for persons under 16 years of age, all persons over 50 years; and injured or ill persons. Those who are temporarily exempt from compulsory labor are those who are temporarily incapacitated owing to illness or injury, for "a period necessary for their recovery"; and women, "for a period of 8 weeks before and 8 weeks after confinement."†

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* *The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia,* 4th ed., revised with a supplement, *The Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia,* by S. Kaplan, of the Commissariat of Labor, New York, 1921, p. 5.

† *Ibid.,* p. 15.

This approach to labor as an obligation has remained consistent in the Soviet attitude, so that the present constitution prescribes in Article 12 the following formula: "In the USSR work is a duty and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat.' The principle applied in the USSR is that of socialism: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.' "* This, then, is one of the Marxist principles which have been used, in perverted form perhaps, to justify a rigid attitude toward labor. But this is still not enough of a basis for the forced labor system in the Soviet Union.

There is still another approach, from the Marxist point of view, which represents another link in the chains of forced labor. This link is found in the theory concerning crime. The attitude toward crime and criminality is of course based on Marx's materialistic concept of society. According to Marx, the nature of every society is determined by the economic relationships which exist in that society. The reason crime exists in a nonsocialist, capitalistic, or feudalistic society, is that the means of production are not owned by the working classes but by the capitalists in the one case or the feudal barons in the other. It goes

* Students of Marx point this out as a distortion of the Marxist position, which is simply stated as being "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." It is this Stalin version of the Marxist principle which has made the Soviet Union a country of "piece workers," a system vigorously denounced by Marx and fought in all countries by the legitimate labor movements. In non-Communist countries the Communists denounce piece work as being the worst form of capitalist exploitation, but in the Communist-controlled countries they extol it as being "socialist competition" and a basic form of socialism.

without saying, therefore, that in a society with the proper economic relationships, where the means of production are owned by the workers, i.e., in a socialist society, the reasons for crime and other social ills will disappear. With the disappearance of the reasons for crime, the criminal will no longer exist. David Dallin and Boris Nicolaevsky summed it up well:

> To abolish crime it is both necessary and sufficient to abolish capitalism. As soon as the capitalist economy is destroyed, delinquency will begin to diminish and will eventually disappear. A harmonious society is ignorant of crime. In such a society prisons will be done away with or transformed into schools and museums; and the machinery of coercion, which is of the essence of a state, will become superfluous. The state will wither away. . . . Weakness of social devotion or lack of social conscience lies at the base of crime. And this lack of individual identification with society is rooted in the antagonisms of modern capitalism. The source of crime is to be found in poverty, hunger, voluntary idleness of the rich, and involuntary idleness of the poor; moral degradation is the result of social disharmony.*

This, then, is the second link in the chain.

But even this is not enough. The next links in the chain come not alone from the Marxist materialist ideology but from the totalitarian nature of the Soviet Union as well.

In the totalitarian setup which exists in the Soviet Union, and in those states which copy the Soviet pattern, there is an inter-relation between things economic, political, and legal far closer than anyone living in a democratic

* David Dallin and Boris Nicolaevsky, *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1947, p. 149.

society can envisage. Early in the history of the Soviet Union the lack of economic or political orthodoxy, as well as real opposition to the regime, became a crime. A class of political prisoners was thus guaranteed. Added to these political prisoners there developed a class of prisoners who had violated economic decrees or economic laws. In the Soviet Union it is hard to distinguish between the political prisoner and the "economic" offender; to all intents and purposes the two are synonymous. Then there is the third class of prisoners—those whom we would refer to as "ordinary" criminals. In the Soviet attitude toward crime it was these "ordinary" criminals they were certain would disappear with the coming of a new society. But the "politicals" were their first problem, especially those people who had fought against the Revolution. Dealing with these opponents of the Soviet Union was comparatively simple: they were put in newly established concentration camps and the existing prisons; and a system of exile similar to that imposed on revolutionaries during the Czarist regimes was also reinstituted.

Aside from these active opponents in the revolutionary fighting during the days of the Russian Revolution there developed other political opponents of the regime as well—dissident elements in the Bolshevik Party, as well as members of other working-class parties. These other working-class parties were permitted legal existence for a short while, but by 1922 the authorities had decided to limit the activities of these groups, and finally to eliminate them entirely. From 1922 onward the newspapers were

full of stories of the arrest, imprisonment, and exile of many of these non-Communist (though anticapitalist) members of other working-class parties. Some had been arrested as early as 1920, but the big drive was on by 1922, and the numbers grew to unknown proportions. The Cheka and the OGPU—Soviet secret-police agencies —were, of course, in charge of these prisoners.

It was at this time that the novel system of arresting and sentencing people without trial and without legal defense was made part of normal Soviet legal procedure.

> In the overwhelming majority of cases the political prisoners had no public trial of any kind. Usually the authorities inform the prisoner that he is held as having committed an offense under article or articles so-and-so; later, he is informed that sentence has been passed on him under these or other articles of the Criminal Code.*

This has become normal procedure in the Soviet system of justice.

Thus from the very beginning and through the early years of the revolutionary regime the Soviet Union had an unnumbered group of political prisoners. Presumably these prisoners had become antisocial as a result of the Czarist environment. The new Soviet attitude toward crime and criminality would have an opportunity to work yet, for with the coming of the Revolution and the new society there was bound to be a radical reduction in the number of ordinary criminals. Moreover, a method of rehabilitation existed—the Soviet attitude toward labor.

* *Letters from Russian Prisons*, Albert and Charles Boni, New York, 1925, p. 296.

Under a system of education and labor these antisocial elements would be corrected, re-educated, and redeemed, and would then make a constructive contribution to the building of the new society. As a matter of fact, they could contribute constructively to the new society while undergoing re-education and rehabilitation.

This new system of penology was tried first with the ordinary criminals. Model prisons were established. But something went wrong. As the Soviet regime developed the rate of crime did not decrease as the Communist theory said it must; actually the crime rate reached unprecedented proportions. So tremendous was this increase in crime that judges could not order the sentences carried out because the prisons were full to overflowing. Sentences were postponed because of these overcrowded conditions; and by 1925-26 only 36 per cent of all sentences imposed were actually carried out.*

Failure to commit all the offenders to prison was broadcast abroad as an example of Soviet liberalism in dealing with crime, a "liberalism" that did not exist. But it would not do to admit that the infallible theory had proved erroneous. Yet the myth spread for two and a half decades. According to this myth the prisons and prison camps were centers of re-education and rehabilitation in useful and constructive work—the only way to "socialize" the antisocial elements. Punishment was seldom if

* *Shirvindt in Sovetskaya yustitsiay*, 1927, p. 1063; and *Statistical Yearbook of the USSR, 1927* and *1928*. A. A. Gertzenson, *Bor'ba s prestupnostyu v RSFSR* (*The Fight Against Crime in the RSFSR*, Moscow, 1928). Quoted by Dallin and Nicolaevsky, *op. cit.*

ever employed, the dormitories were spotlessly clean, the food excellent, the bed linens clean and white. They were referred to as model towns or villages. It was these model prisons the tourists were shown through during those years. Actually stories of harsh treatment and brutality managed to seep through even then—stories denounced, of course, as anti-Soviet and capitalist-inspired lies. If we are to be charitable we might admit that some of the stories may have been exaggerated (although our present detailed information suggests that such charity is misplaced), but it is certain that nothing like the paradise the official Soviet spokesmen presented or their apologists preached ever really existed.

This "new" approach to penology in the Soviet Union was not applied to the political prisoners. Many of these political prisoners had been sent into exile by the overthrown Czarist regime, and in exile had written revolutionary pamphlets and books, and had studied and learned how to become active leaders of the Revolution. The Bolshevik regime was careful not to make the same mistake—no books or writing and study opportunities were made available.

As a substitute for the traditional treatment of revolutionaries, the new legal codes of the Soviet Union provided that these political opponents of the regime were to be punished for "a term of not less than three years in solitary confinement." This same criminal code of the RSFSR (Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic)

provided in Article 73 of "Special Section, Part One" (1922) that

> Invention and dissemination with Counter-Revolutionary intent, of false rumors or unverified news, which could provoke a public panic, mistrust of authority or discredit the latter, is punishable by deprivation of liberty for a term *not less than six months.* If the *actions are not proved* to have been Counter-Revolutionary, the penalty may be reduced to three months of *forced labor.*[*] [My italics.]

Thus early in the regime the idea of forced labor became part of the Soviet penal procedure.

This in bare outline is the background up to about 1927-28.

The very modest beginnings which we have just traced have now developed into a full-grown program of forced labor. Though the number of inmates of prisons, camps in exile, and "model correctional centers" are not available for the early period, there is no doubt that in the last decade the prison camps and forced labor camps have had a minimum of 8,000,000 workers, and at various times a maximum of 20,000,000. The prisoners in these camps are engaged in a fantastic variety of enterprises, ranging from railroad construction and gold mining to the manufacture of nursery furniture, and including agriculture and fishing. At the apex of the forced labor system stands the MVD—Soviet Russia's present secret police

[*] *Criminal Code of the RSFSR,* "Special Section, Part One, Crimes of State. Counter-Revolutionary Crimes," *ca.* 1921.

organization. Thus the MVD and the forced labor system is not a phenomenon of the past. It is a living and real thing today. It is now charged with an additional program of importance—the construction of six hydroelectric plants and three large canals. These new construction projects alone are estimated to require at least 10,000,000 forced laborers.

Let us now go into the details of this vast economic empire and the organization which runs it.

CHAPTER TWO

The Auction Block in Action

1.

We concluded the previous chapter with the simple declaration that the MVD will need a minimum of 10,000,000 forced laborers in the construction of six new hydroelectric plants and three canals which the government of the Soviet Union has ordered to be constructed. How is it possible to make such an unequivocal declaration? For a general summary let us go to the testimony of a former employe of the GOSPLAN—the central agency in charge of the various Five Year Plans. Our informant must remain anonymous, since he has only recently escaped from the Soviet Union, and only additional suffering would be brought on his family, still in the Soviet Union, if his name were published. I included the substance of his testimony in the report I submitted to the spring, 1950, session of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in behalf of the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor, as follows:

When I worked on the plans, just before the German invasion, the MVD was relied upon as the main construction agency of the USSR. Under the plan for that year, the MVD and its agencies were assigned 14 per cent of all capital construction—a greater

amount than that allotted to any other ministry. The aviation ministry was assigned the second highest volume, but this was less than two-thirds of the MVD portion.

MVD construction activities encompassed not only the building of camp buildings, but included mining facilities, logging camps, defense facilities, and some housing and children's nurseries. The MVD was also charged with the building and maintenance of all paved roads of national importance, as well as the construction of railroad lines through isolated regions.

Besides this key role as a construction agency, the other main economic tasks assigned to the MVD were the extraction of timber, gold, coal, chrome, ore, oil, and the production of some consumers' goods. Since the war, there has been added the sole responsibility for the building and operation of all atomic developments. The MVD's share in the planned production under one plan, for instance, amounted to from one-tenth to over half of the total USSR production in some industries. MVD forced-labor projects accounted for one-eighth of the total product of the timber industry, 10 per cent of all furniture and kitchenware production, 25 per cent of the total USSR Arctic freight towage, and over 40 per cent of the total Soviet chrome production. As to gold production, the estimate is that since 1938 75 per cent of all gold production was by prison labor. The MVD under the 1941 plan was also assigned certain production quotas for machinery, cement, and the operation of oil fields in the Komi ASSR near Ukhta.

The Komi ASSR has been transformed from a region economically significant for lumber production to a region which is now a new source of coal supply for the northern section of the European USSR and Leningrad. When the Germans attacked the USSR, Beria, head of the MVD, in order to replace the loss of coal in the Donbas, flung his forced-labor forces into the construction of a railway line across hundreds of miles of tundra to the Pechora River Basin to tap the coal supplies of this region.

For those prisoners who died while working in Komi ASSR, a

fitting epitaph, expressive of conditions in this area, was included in a letter sent by the local population to Stalin in 1946: "Under the Soviet regime the builders of a new northern industrial area came to Ukhta, Usa, Inta, and Vorkuta across the limitless taiga and the swamp mud, over the remote trails and the swift rapids of the rivers."

Since the completion of the railway, the mines in the Komi ASSR are being extensively worked, and the MVD has extended the work of its convicts to the oil fields and forests of the region.

The main life of the Komi Republic is in the hands of the MVD. The native population—called Komi—dwell in little villages along the banks of the Pechora River and its many tributaries. Like most Lapps, they gain their living by fishing, hunting, and reindeer raising. The agricultural collective farms consist largely of families from the south who were exiled to this area for resisting collectivization in the early 1930's.

The majority of prisoners in the Komi ASSR are "politicals." In 1947 more than 50 per cent belonged to this category, and many of them came from Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland at the end of the war. Few of them can ever be expected to return to freedom; and even after release ex-prisoners are barred from living in the major cities.

The principal incentive used by the MVD "builders" is hunger, not wages or force. The amount of work performed determines the amount of food that a prisoner receives in the "corrective labor camps." Those who refuse to work are put in solitary confinement and receive minimum rations. The prisoners' main concern is to get more food. Some convicts receive small monetary wages. At least in one instance that I know of, payment was not made until the prisoners were released.

The compulsion which attends the operation of MVD projects may make labor less efficient. Whatever this massive convict-labor force lacks in quality, however, is at least partly offset by unlimited quantity. The secret police constantly replenish their forced-labor re-

serve from the rolls of the displaced and the deported. In June, 1949, for example, an estimated 30,000 persons of Greek, Turkish, and Jewish origins were deported from the Black Sea coastal areas on three hours' notice. Entire peoples, like the Crimean Tartars or the Chechens in the North Caucasus, were transported *in toto* to Central Asia.

In all the plans the MVD's share of industrial production has always been greatly undervalued in terms of rubles. Liable for payment of only small amounts in wages, and with no responsibility for furnishing even the minimum of social services to its millions of enslaved, the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) in the Soviet Union is certainly the biggest and possibly the lowest-cost single economic agency in the Soviet Union. Another type of forced labor not separately accounted for in economic plans is performed by persons sentenced to continue working under police guard at their normal place of employment for reduced wages. Fully half the sentences in the Soviet Union are to this type of forced labor.

Behind the whole stringent system of manpower controls is the enforcement power of the MVD. These controls bind the worker to his job only slightly less firmly than those under prison sentence. The Soviet worker is not at liberty to sell his labor as he chooses or withhold it altogether, as a worker would be free to do elsewhere. Any Russian laborer who quits his job is guilty of desertion, and subject to severe penalties at the hands of the MVD. Under these conditions, whether employed on one of the vast MVD projects as a convict, or bound to his machine under Soviet job-freezing legislation, the Soviet laborer is completely fettered.

Our informant declared that the largest part of the capital construction for which the MVD was held responsible it allocated to GLAVZHELDORSTROI, the main administration of railway construction, to GUSHOSDOR, the main administration of paved highways, and to GULAG, the main administration of corrective labor camps. Each

of these three agencies, however, uses forced labor for its projects. Generally work done by GULAG includes building mining facilities, logging camps, some housing, and children's nurseries, as well as defense facilities. GLAVZHELDORSTROI has built railway lines through isolated regions, while GUSHOSDOR handles the construction and maintenance of important paved roads. The less important paved roads are in the hands of highway administrations attached to the Republic Councils of Ministers.

This, incidentally, is the most significant and direct report of the economic importance of the MVD that has come out of the Soviet Union from a person intimately involved in planning the economic life of the country.

From various sources it has been possible to establish that the MVD operates the following enterprises (excluding the operations in the Baltic states):

75 lumber camps, paper mills, etc.

160 mining enterprises, including gold, silver, platinum, coal, iron ore, uranium, lead, copper, aluminum, zinc, tin, tungsten, nickel, etc.

43 large-scale agricultural centers of cotton, grain, vegetables, and animal husbandry.

84 huge camps for construction of railroads, harbors, canals, roads, and ports.

12 hydroelectric plants.

41 factories, including chemical plants, textile mills, brick yards, etc.

16 stone quarries.

5 metallurgical plants.
10 fisheries and fishing enterprises.
8 oil fields.
At least 8 airfield construction jobs.
And the entire atomic program.

The above list is by no means complete; but it may be sufficient to indicate the basic role of the MVD in the Soviet economy. Without this slave labor at the very base of the Soviet economic structure the entire edifice would collapse—not alone because of the economic power it represents, but also, as has already been stated, because it functions as a means of destroying the oppositional elements in the Soviet Union, while at the same time it builds the country's economic strength.

It is obvious that the millions of forced laborers needed for these enterprises had to be readily available. For this story it is necessary to go back a little bit in Soviet economic history.

2.

The year 1928 marks the beginning of the first one of a series of Five Year Plans in the Soviet Union. Part of the first Five Year Plan was the enforced collectivization of agriculture. This drive for collectivization in agriculture was by no means a mere whim. This Five Year Plan called for an increase in industrial manpower. The Soviet authorities felt that collectivization would make agricul-

ture a more efficiently and economically run industry and would at the same time release men and women from small tracts of land, thus enabling them to go to the industrial centers as urban labor. The methods employed to effect collectivization were not at all subtle. The owners of fairly large tracts of land, who obviously would not be interested in joining a collective, were faced with a burden of taxation which was practically impossible for them to meet. In addition the government made grain-delivery requirements of such extraordinary proportions that delivery in the quantity demanded was out of the question. For failure to meet both the taxes demanded and the grain deliveries, these landowners, most of whom worked their land, were denounced as "kulaks," declared to be "enemies of the state," and condemned to exile.

The demand for grain to feed the industrial population remained unanswered, in spite of the harsh measures against the "kulaks." Whole villages, including peasants by even the most extreme Soviet definition, were taxed, and their grain quotas set so high that they could not possibly meet the requirements set for them. There then developed an extraordinary demonstration of passive resistance to the authorities and their demands. The peasants began to sow and harvest only sufficient grain to feed themselves. The government, outraged by this conduct, sent into the villages and farms agents of the OGPU, who confiscated even the little grain the peasants were raising for their own use. Two things happened as a result of this: starvation and famine on a tremen-

dous scale. The number of dead as the result of famine is conservatively estimated at 1,500,000. Heroic measures were called for by the proprietors of the Soviet State. Mass arrests took place, often encompassing entire villages. Thus the citizens of the USSR became in reality the first victims of the forced-labor system in their country. At first the peasants were loaded onto trains and brought to desolate areas, where they were disembarked and left to take care of themselves as best they could. But the obvious wastefulness of this procedure was soon apparent.

The timber industry was an important one, because timber was in fact the only really profitable export product available. The Five Year Plan required dollars and sterling so that machinery could be bought from the West. But production in the timber industry was far below the goal set by the GOSPLAN (central planning council for the Five Year Plans). The center of the timber industry was and is in the Archangel area. That there was an acute shortage of labor, for the timber felling and timber floating especially, is evident from the various circulars and decrees handed down at that time.

Circular No. 24 of the Supreme Council of National Economy, dated February 13, 1930, explained that the labor market "for timber floating promises to be very strained."* A decree of March 4, 1930, again referred to a shortage of labor and haulage for timber floating.

* Sir Alan Pim and Edward Bateson, *Report on Russian Timber Camps*, under the auspices of the British Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, London, Ernest Benn, Ltd., London, 1931.

In addition to the need of labor in the actual hauling and floating of timber, labor was needed for canal and railroad construction. Stories of the use of penal labor in the timber export industry were reaching the outside. The Soviet Government's export-timber program was in danger of complete disintegration as a result of protests from abroad. On March 8, 1931, M. Molotov made a statement at the sixth All Union Soviet Congress which was carried in a special number of *International Press Correspondence* on March 21. He said:

> It is necessary for us to answer with the real facts of the situation in the northern districts. First of all it must be pointed out that at this season 1,314,000 workers are engaged in the logging work . . . and that the normal conditions of voluntary labor prevail. No prison labor of any kind is used in the timber trade. We have never denied the fact that healthy prisoners capable of normal labor are used for road and other public works. We have used such labor in the past, are using it now, and will continue to use it in the future. This is very good for society at large. It is also good for the prisoners themselves, who are thereby accustomed to regular work and assisted to become useful members of society. Once again, prison labor and forced labor have nothing whatever to do with the timber trade or with any other commodities produced for export.*

The Pim Report on Russian timber camps states that M. Molotov "added details of the road, railway, and canal works on which 60,000 prisoners were employed in the northern provinces."

That M. Molotov was not telling the entire truth in declaring that no prison or forced labor was used in connection with the export trade was contradicted by a

Soviet trade agency in February, 1930, which described the work in the Leningrad harbor basins that required deepening in order to accommodate from 75 to 150 vessels.

> At all events, there will be no scarcity of workmen, as there had already been engaged for the 1st of January 2,500 workmen. Further, there is a signed contract with USLON for 400 workmen, and certainly about 5/6,000 workmen more will be provided for the season.*

The Pim Report explains that USLON stands for Upravlenie Solovetsky Lagerei Osobogo Naznachenia, which is equivalent to the board of the Solovetsky Prison Camps of Special Destinations, that is, coming under the authority of the State Political Department of OGPU.

Below we shall reproduce portions of the testimony contained in the Anti-Slavery Society report. But first let us continue with the story of the use of forced labor in the timber industry.

At the time that Molotov was denying the presence of forced labor in the timber areas, that portion of the Soviet Union was in fact one big prison camp. But to stifle the cries for an embargo on Soviet timber handled by prison labor the Soviet Government took extraordinary steps. George Kitchin,† a British subject who was a prisoner in the timber area at that time, tells of the instructions sent to the camps in the area that all evidence of penal camps was to be erased. In three days whole camps were

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* *Op. cit.*

† George Kitchin, *Prisoner of the OGPU*, Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1935.

deserted, barbed wire taken down, the inmates marched and transported to other centers. In those camps which remained, the guards were given civilian clothing, empty barracks were identified by signs proclaiming them "schools," etc. The incredible job was done within the allotted time of three days. Thirty thousand prisoners were evacuated through Archangel. Following this gigantic fraud, the consuls of the various nations and the newspaper correspondents were invited to inspect the area. They came and found sweetness and light; no prison labor was to be seen. The ill and undernourished who were evacuated lay, for the most part, dead and buried nearby in the forests.

3.

The report of the British Anti-Slavery Society (the Pim Report) gives the statements of several escapees from the timber area in 1930. Their stories are important to our understanding of the growth and continuity of the new system of forced labor. Though the witnesses whose affidavits are cited are identified by the use of "A," "B," "C," etc., their real names are in the files of the Anti-Slavery Society.

The exprisoners—or, more accurately, the fugitives—are from the Ukraine, and were opponents of the collectivization program. They freely admit their opposition to the policies of the regime. They could not be considered landed capitalists. Though their testimony may be dis-

missed by some as being the stories of "criminals" and therefore not to be trusted, there is too much evidence to indicate that except for some slight exaggerations the stories are completely factual. None of the witnesses had an opportunity to discuss their testimony with the others. All had come from different prison camps and had no previous contact with one another.

"C" gives his story in the following words:

My work was that of cutting down trees and selecting those suitable for planks or for other purposes. When we first got to the railway no work had been started. It was only forest, and the prisoners were living in tents. There was very heavy snow on the ground, and they started the prisoners on building barracks for their own use. Each man was supposed to clear 100 square meters of ground of trees per day. They had to cut down the trees and burn the branches. They worked in groups of from 5 to 8, according to the nature of the trees to be cut down, but the task was allotted per man. At first, when I was still strong, I could manage to do it, but it took me full twelve hours to complete it. Those who could not complete the work in the 12 hours' shift either had to work overtime and finish the task, or their rations were cut down. Most of the timber was carted on sledges, drawn by the prisoners, two versts to the river, where it was stacked, to be floated down to Archangel in the spring. The ration was 1 kilo of bread per day, if you could manage to fulfill your task. I generally completed mine until I hurt my foot, and then my ration was cut down to 700 grams of bread. Also we were given a little gruel when we got up, and fish soup at night, but this was absolutely uneatable. We lived in tents until the walls of the new barracks were completed, when we shifted into them. For the tents we made planks ourselves, and laid down the floors.

A number of men fell ill, and I had an accident when one of the

trees fell on my foot. There was no doctor in the camp and no medicine of any description. Men who were seriously ill and unable to walk were taken back to Penuga, where there was a doctor. It was impossible to escape, because men left definite tracks in the snow, and the guards were supplied with skis. [This reference to skis was apparently the result of inspired rumor to discourage escape, since skis would be valueless because of the forest underbrush. A.K.H.]

Altogether there were about 25,000 men working on the railway, with camps at twelve separate places. . . . The camps had armed guards. Those who worked without making complaints were more or less let alone, even if they did not accomplish their tasks, but anybody who expressed an opinion that his work was too hard, or made any other complaint, was liable to be taken into the forest by the guards and shot, their disappearance being explained by saying that they had tried to get away. I did not myself see any men taken away and shot, but I know of a group of men, more discontented than others, who were sent to a lonely place to cut down trees and were reported to have been all shot. At any rate they did not return. The guards were all Russians and soldiers under the OGPU. There were also some guards who were originally criminal prisoners, who had been Communists but who had committed some offence like stealing, and when imprisoned for this were given the position of guards in the camps. When the prisoners arrived all those who had previously worked in the OGPU, or who were members of the Communist Party, were separated.

Some were given staff jobs, some jobs of guarding the prisoners; and these men were fed, clothed, and housed separately, though they remained as prisoners in a special class.

Men who managed to do their work fairly well were not given punishments, but some were put into solitary confinement, and some were even beaten, though I have not actually seen this done. The men were very much afraid of solitary confinement, because

all their warm clothing was taken away, and they were kept there for two or three days without food. Several men who were with me and spoke about the treatment they were getting, were sent to solitary confinement and were treated very badly.

There were not many deaths at the point where I was working—about three a week. In Penuga, where the weaker men were sent, the conditions were very bad. They were housed in a locomotive works, in which there were three tiers of bunks, all full, and men died there every day. I saw the conditions when I was sent with a party to carry telephone wire there. [The witness had been a telephone operator during World War I.]

. . . At the end of three months a good many steamers had arrived at Archangel for wood, and all the more able men were collected from the points along the railway and sent to load these ships. They were sent from all the northern prison camps, and 550 men were taken from the point where I was working and were sent by rail to Archangel.

Witness "F" had spent 18 months on a penal farm and several months in a prison in the southern Ukraine before he was sent to the north. He was uncertain as to dates, but recalled that he arrived at Kem, on the shore of the White Sea, when "the trees had old leaves on them." From there he was sent to a camp at Letnia Rechka (the "Summer River"). Three hundred prisoners lived there in log barracks, but the new arrivals slept in tents until they could build their own barracks.

We had no blankets given us and we had to sleep on boards. Some of us were given soldiers' overcoats, but most people wore their own clothes. The work on which we were employed was the felling and stripping of trees and cutting them into lengths to serve as pit-props. For working purposes the prisoners were divided

into groups of four. Each group had to cut the trees, strip the trunks, saw them into lengths, and stack the logs. The day's task was to make a pile of 450 cubic feet. If the task was completed, then each man received 3 lbs. of bread as his ration, if not the ration was reduced to 2 lbs. Work commenced at sunrise and ended when the task was finished or when it was too dark to work. There was no interval for food and rest. In the morning we were given about 4 oz. of gruel, and when we returned in the evening we were given the bread ration and half a pint of soup. The logs were conveyed to the banks of the river, and were made into rafts to be floated down the river to Sinouka, where they were loaded on to ships. . . . The living conditions were very bad; we had no blankets, and slept on boards.

There was one doctor, with an assistant, for the 300 people in the camp, but the supply of medicines was very scanty—many of us suffered from internal troubles and from scurvy. A number of men died, but I do not know how many. Out of 25 that came with me, only 16 were alive when I left. They died from hunger and cold. . . . While I was there I knew of three men being shot. One of them belonged to my group. . . . Each of the men shot had good warm clothing; the guard in each case sent the man off . . . to pick berries . . . and reported to the commandant that the prisoner was shot attempting to escape. The group to which the prisoner belonged . . . had to confirm the statement of the guard. If we had not done so we should ourselves have been shot in the same manner. The guards all belonged to the Cheka.

After nearly two years in this camp I was taken ill with scurvy. I could not walk and was therefore sent to Solovki. From the steamer at Solovki I was carried in a buggy to the temporary hospital. There were about thirty men in the hospital, and for six days we had no medical help. The food ration for five days was 5 lbs. of bread with a plate of soup each day. On the seventh day the doctor came round and put a mark against my name and those of five other men, saying that we were to be taken to the pit (Yama)

as being incurable. We all knew that being taken to Yama meant that we would be done away with and buried. I tried to explain that I was not dying, and was sure that I would recover, but the doctor would not listen to me. About 12 o'clock on the same day one of the prisoners, whose duty it was to take the incurable cases to the pit, told me that there was a parcel for me at the office . . . of food, blankets, and clothing. . . . The doctor asked if I would sell him my blanket. I said he could have it for nothing, because I was to go to the pit. The doctor was glad to get the blanket, and I also gave him a part of my food parcel. He then told me that I should be sent to a hospital in Kem, and that if anybody asked me how I got there I could say that he was my cousin. That night I was put on a steamer and taken to a hospital at Kem. I was there for two weeks; the food was good and I soon recovered.

In another part of his statement, the witness said that during his stay at the camp on the Summer River he had received two parcels and was permitted to keep most of the contents, but that "any money and half of the fat" was taken by the guards.

Both "C" and "F," among others, were eventually sent to Archangel, where they were put to work loading foreign ships with timber. "C" describes his experiences at Archangel, before his escape, in these words:

When we got to the railway station at Archangel we were put on a barge and taken to Point No. 2, which was the general distribution center for prisoners. There were altogether about 45 loading points, and at some of these points, including No. 2, there were sawmills. As regards the total number of prisoners in Archangel, all I know is that when we were taken on the barge to Point No. 2 some of the prisoners were speaking to the captain of the tug, and he told them that there were 100 ships loading

wood in Archangel. At point No. 2 they had 1,600 prisoners and could only load two boats, so from that a rough estimate could be made of the number of men required at all the points. It is, however, not only for loading that men are required, as the timber had to be cleaned and planks made. There were sawmills at many points for making planks. The wood came down in a rough state and was stacked, then all the bark was taken off and it was sawn into sizes and then into planks.

From Point No. 2 I was sent to Point 21, which consisted of four barges fastened to an island. The ration of food was the same as on the railway, and the food was of the same kind. I always tried to work near the steamers, because I was preparing to escape. The task depended on the size of the logs and the distance they had to be carried. It might be 180 logs or as high as 300. I only just managed to complete the task, and sometimes I could not do it. A tally was kept of the number of logs carried, and if a guard saw that a man could perform more than his allotted task in the 12 hours, they gave him more to do. He had to work the whole of the 12 hours. All round this island, where the barges were anchored, sentries were posted on high points, and they were given full power to shoot anybody who they considered was behaving in a suspicious manner or trying to escape. The shift had to work a full 12 hours without any break. No holidays were allowed, except the first of May, on which day we were allowed ½ lb. of white bread. Even after the shift was finished we had to stand in long queues to get our rations. We worked night and day in two shifts, but it was always daylight in Archangel at that season. Among the prisoners were many Church ministers, priests of the Orthodox Church and others. The priests, however, were not allowed on board the foreign ships, and they worked in the cleaning of the timber. There were some sanitary arrangements on the barges.

Some of the men could not complete their tasks, and they used sometimes to fall under the weight of the logs; and then the

guards would beat them, as I have myself seen several times, usually with their fists, but I have seen them strike prisoners with the butts of their rifles. If prisoners were unable to work they were sometimes put into solitary confinement, and many of them died. The general opinion of all the prisoners was that they were only there for a certain time, and that it was not intended they should live to serve the full term of their imprisonment. In Penuga there was a settlement for the old and the very infirm, but I do not know about its arrangement. I believe that Point 19 in Archangel was something like Penuga, to which the more weakly men were sent. I never saw anyone shot. We were never given either shoulder pads or anything else to make it easier to carry the logs. I had no actual illness except the injury to my foot. The bones were not broken, but it was all blue and I could scarcely stand. I had, however, to carry on with my work, but could not complete my task, and my ration was cut down to 700 grs.

So far as I know the only labor which was not forced labor was that of a few experts in the sorting of the wood. At the point at which I was working there were only two of these men. I know that they were free workers, but I do not know what they were paid. No one else was paid anything. According to the Soviet law no person can be sent to a prison camp for less than three years or more than ten. Sentences of more than ten years are not given, as the maximum penalty then is that of being shot. There were not many Communists, and the few that there were were actual criminals. They were not working on the same work as the political prisoners, but were either employed on a staff job or as guards. While I was there I do not know of any persons having been discharged as having completed their sentences, and new batches kept arriving all the time. There were no free workers, such as the peasants who did the transport for the railway.

My own impression is that the real reason for my arrest and for people of my type having been arrested was that more labor was required for the purpose of pushing on the Five Year Plan.

This last observation is perhaps the shrewdest one to be made by any of the witnesses I have myself personally interviewed, or in the numerous sworn affidavits which have come to me in my work with the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor. How the OGPU, the NKVD, and the MVD (all are different names for essentially the same organization) play a leading role in the various Five Year Plans will be demonstrated as we go on with our account. But to set the framework of this discussion for later chapters, let us first view some aspects of Soviet criminal law and the so-called "Correctional Labor Codex" of the USSR.

4.

The problem of genuine reformation of the criminal in accordance with Lenin's principles of the reformation of the reformable, was posed and basically solved in Soviet corrective labor establishments from the first days of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But this problem became particularly real with the entry [of the USSR] into socialism, when already at the end of the first Five Year Plan the possibility of employing corrective labor measures increased considerably thanks to the complete liquidation of unemployment in the USSR and the broad development of socialist construction, which demands an ever increasing growth of cadres.*

The above quotation is plainly unequivocal as to the role of prison labor in the economy of the USSR. Durmanov is even frank enough (the year was 1935,

* N. Durmanov, "Corrective Labor Policy," p. 598 of the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia*, Vol. 29, *Soviet Encyclopedia*, Moscow, 1935.

before the great purges of the years following) to continue in his article to state that:

The grandiose victories of socialism on all fronts made possible the wide employment of the labor of criminals in the general channel of socialist construction, in the process of which the criminals are transformed into toilers of socialist society. At the present stage it has become possible to begin also the work of re-education of *déclassé* elements from the shattered hostile classes by passing them through the "testing furnace" of dekulakisation, isolation, and labor coercion. A brilliant example of the successes of Soviet corrective labor policy is the construction of the White Sea-Baltic Canal named after Stalin, where tens of thousands of prisoners received labor habits and qualifications and many of them proved themselves to be heroes, while some of them were decorated with government orders. As a result of the correct carrying out by the organs of the NKVD of corrective labor policy, nearly 12½ thousand criminals were released on completion of the construction from any further sentence of measures of repression as having been fully reformed and having become useful members of society; over 5½ thousand criminals, who had proved themselves to be energetic workers on the construction, received remission of their sentences of imprisonment; 500 criminals were restored to rights of citizenship and their conviction annulled on account of their selfless work, by decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

Comrade Durmanov neglects to state that the number of prisoners employed in the construction of the White Sea-Baltic Canal was 127,000.

In still another article in the same encyclopedia, Durmanov declares that the Corrective Labor Codex

published in the first years of the reconstruction period became obsolescent in later years. In particular it failed to satisfy the tasks

of corrective labor policy at the time when, with the entry of the USSR into the period of Socialism, the possibilities of exerting influence by corrective labor grew to an infinite degree.

Thus we have, from an authoritative source, the unconditional statement that the "corrective" labor camps are closely allied with the economic objectives of the various Five Year Plans.

Where and how does the MVD (formerly the NKVD, the OGPU, and the Cheka) secure sufficient man power to play their role in the Five Year Plans? Both the Criminal Code and the Corrective Labor Codex answer this question, at least in part.

It is not difficult to become a ward of the MVD, a criminal or counter-revolutionary enemy of the state, in the Soviet Union.

Article 58 of the Criminal Code (the edition we quote from is the Official Text with amendments to 1st August, 1948, published by the Juridical Publishing House for the Ministry of Justice, USSR, in Moscow, 1948) deals with "Counter-Revolutionary Crimes." Article 58 i. has a broad statement to the effect that:

> Any act designed to overthrow, undermine or weaken the authority of the workers' and peasants' Soviets and the workers' and peasants' governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of the Union and Autonomous Republics, elected by the Soviets on the basis of the Constitution of the USSR and the Constitutions of the Union Republics, or designed to undermine or weaken the external security of the USSR and of the basic economic, political, and national achievements of the proletarian revolution, is deemed to be a counter-revolutionary act.

Thus any criticism of the economic tasks which a worker is told to perform can easily become a matter of counter-revolutionary activity. Any criticism of the Communist Party can be construed as an attempt to "undermine or weaken . . . the political achievements of the proletarian revolution." And this too is counter-revolutionary. The Communist Party being the only legal party in the Soviet Union, any attempt to set up another party is counter-revolutionary activity. Article 126 of the Soviet Constitution makes this clear. Article 126, in full, reads as follows:

> In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the USSR are ensured the right to unite in public organizations—trade unions [i.e., only those officially created by the state—A.K.H.], cooperative associations, youth organizations, sport and defense organizations, cultural, technical, and scientific societies [all of them organized by the Soviet state]; and the most active and politically most conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state.

In this manner the central position of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union is established by the Constitution of the Soviet Union. Since this Article describes the Communist Party as the "leading core of *all* organizations of the working people, both public and state" (italics

mine), it will be seen that the criticism mentioned above, when levelled at the Communist Party, is a serious offense indeed. It is obvious that this is included in the very first section of Article 58 of the Criminal Code.

Section i.c. of the same Article 58 relates to the flight abroad of members of the armed forces. This section is particularly interesting because of the punishment it metes out to those completely innocent of any wrongdoing.

In the event of flight abroad by land or air of a member of the armed forces, the adult members of his family, if they in any way assisted the preparation or the commission of this act of treason, or even if they knew of it but failed to report it to the authorities, are to be punished: by privation of liberty for a period of from five to ten years and confiscation of all property.

The remaining adult members of the traitor's family, and those living with him or dependent on him at the time of the commission of the crime, are liable to deprivation of their electoral rights and to exile to the remote areas of Siberia for a period of five years. (Italics mine.)

Speaking before a meeting of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in Geneva during the summer of 1950, Mr. G. T. Corley Smith, United Kingdom Alternate Delegate to the ECOSOC, declared that:

It has long been known that hard punishments were inflicted upon the innocent relatives of persons who escaped from the Soviet Union, but it still comes as a bit of a shock to see this in cold print, in an official text issued by the Soviet Ministry of Justice, at the very time when the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Pavlov, was making daily speeches in the Assembly of the United Nations in Paris on the subject of Human Rights.

Article 59 of the Criminal Code commences with another broad and vague statement of crime. Here the Code declares that:

Any act which, though not directly aimed at overthrowing the Soviet regime and the Workers' and Peasants' government, nevertheless *leads to the disturbance of the smooth functioning of the organs of the government or of the national economy,* and which is accompanied by resistance to the organs of government and hindrance of their activity, by disobedience to the laws *or by other activities,* causing a weakening of the force and authority of the regime, is considered a crime against the system of Government. These crimes against the system of Government committed without counter-revolutionary aim, which shake the foundations of the State administration and the economic strength of the USSR and of the Union republics, are regarded as crimes constituting a special danger to the USSR. (Italics mine.)

Section iii.c. of the same Article declares that:

The infringement by transport workers of working discipline (infringement of traffic regulations, poor quality repairs to rolling stock and lines, etc.) if such infringement has led *or might have led* to the damage or destruction of rolling stock, the line or line constructions, or accidents involving human lives, *the despatch of trains or vessels off schedule, the accumulation of empty trucks, etc., at unloading points, the holding up of trucks and vessels and other events entailing the breakdown (non-execution) of the freight plans determined by the Government,* or a threat to regular and safe traffic, entails: deprivation of liberty for a period up to ten years. When these crimes are of an obviously malicious character the supreme measure of social defence [death by shooting] is applied with confiscation of property. (Italics mine.)

The quotation of these few of the sections of the Criminal Code of the USSR makes clear the relation-

ships between the economic and political arrangements. The ease with which perfectly innocent conduct or human errors can be, and often are, made into illegal acts is obvious. But this is not all.

A decree of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of June 26, 1940, declared that a Soviet workman is guilty of absenteeism if he loses more than 20 minutes' working time by arriving late, leaving early, or extending his dinner-break, or if he commits any of these offenses three times in one month or four times in two consecutive months, even if the loss of time in each case is less than 20 minutes. Absenteeism is a crime in the Soviet Union punishable by a sentence of up to six months of "corrective labor" at the place of employment of the guilty individual; and the sentence usually involves a reduction of pay up to 25 per cent—in practice it is almost invariably the full 25 per cent.

Lest anyone think of the Soviet system of justice as being analogous to that which prevails in the West, i.e., accusation, trial by jury, right of defense, a reading of the Soviet Constitution, Criminal Code, and Corrective Labor Codex will set him straight. Article 111 of the Soviet Constitution declares that "In all courts of the USSR cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right to be defended by Council." The clause "unless otherwise provided for by law" refers not only to the matter of public trial but to the right of defense by counsel as well. But in none of the cases of deportation referred to in the preceding chapters did the accused have an opportunity

to defense by counsel; nor did they have an opportunity for a public trial. In most cases they knew nothing of the charges lodged against them until they were informed of their sentences by the agents of the secret police.

Yet according to Soviet procedure all this is legal. The law provides that a Special Council is empowered to decide these cases. In the provisions for this Special Council there is no word as to the rights of the accused, that is, provision for the accused knowing the charges, or right to a hearing with the aid of counsel—none of the rights we assume an accused person is entitled to.

Basically, what all this means is that under the Soviet totalitarian regime all rights of individuals are subject to the desires of the State and the policies of the State at any particular time. Laws change, and the uses of law change, with the changes in Soviet political positions and economic plans. The cry "All power to the Soviets" has thus a completely different meaning than it had in the revolutionary days of 1917.

5.

Under the liberal-sounding name of "Corrective Labor Code" the administration of the forced-labor camps is carefully formulated. Spokesmen for the Soviet Government have repeatedly denied that "corrective labor" means forced labor. Yet in the *Soviet Encyclopedia* (Vol. 47, 1940) an article entitled "Forced Labor" appears, reading as follows:

Forced Labor is one of the basic measures of punishment of Soviet socialist criminal law. Forced labor consists in the sentenced person either being forcibly directed to work organized by corrective labor organs, or remaining at work at his normal place of work, in which case the authority sentencing that person to forced labor imposes a deduction from the wages amounting up to 25%; in the time remaining after his work the sentenced person is not subjected to any limitations.

In bringing this quotation before the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations at its 1950 Geneva meeting, the United Kingdom delegate, Mr. G. T. Corley Smith, pointed out that:

It should be especially noted that the Russian word used here is *PRINUDITELNYIE,* which specifically means "forced" or "compulsory." In fact, this same word is also used in Article 2 of the Corrective Labor Codex of the RSFSR, though according to the footnote quoted below this was evidently a lapse on the part of the drafters. The so-called "corrective labor" in the Soviet Union is thus identified with "forced labor."

It is interesting to note the sensitiveness of the Soviet authorities themselves on this score; a footnote to Article 20 of the 1948 edition of the Criminal Codex of the RSFSR states:

"In accordance with the fact that the Corrective Labor Codex of the RSFSR, approved by the All-Union Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars on the 1st August 1933 (Collection of Decrees No. 48, Article 208), replaced the term 'forced labor' (Prinuditelnyie Raboty) by the term 'corrective labor work' (Ispravitelno-Trudovye Raboty), and that in the majority of subsequent legislative acts, in particular in amendments to the Criminal Codex, similar changes were made (Collection of Decrees 1934, No. 9, Article 51, No. 27, Article 157, No. 42, Article 259, and others), this amendment has been introduced throughout the text of the [Criminal] Codex."

There can be no doubt that what is meant is punishment, and not education and correction; and that the work is forced labor and not "corrective labor."

To return then to the "corrective labor" code, which we shall henceforth call the forced-labor code, we note that it is clearly stated that "Persons are directed to corrective labor who have been sentenced thereto by:

a) Sentence in a court of law.
b) Decree of an administrative organ." (Clause 8)

Clause 129 declares that:

the general guidance and management of the corrective labor institution belong to the People's Commissariat of Justice. By ordinance of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of 27th October 1934, *corrective labor institutions were transferred from the jurisdiction of the Republican Ministries of Justice to the NKVD of the USSR.* (Italics mine.)

In this way the NKVD (now the MVD) is in complete control of the forced-labor system. In what way does the MVD proceed to perform its duties in regard to forced labor? The second clause of the forced-labor code declares that the policy is:

To re-educate and adapt them [the condemned] to the conditions of the laboring community by means of directing their work to socially useful ends and by organizing their labor on the principle of the gradual approximation of forced labor to voluntary labor based on socialist emulation and the shock-brigade system.

In this passage the term "forced" labor was actually used rather than the term "corrective" labor—obviously a momentary lapse by the draftsmen.

The Code provides four ways for the forced labor to be directed toward "socially useful ends." Clause 101 of the forced-labor code describes these four main categories in these words:

> Persons condemned to exile with corrective labor perform this work:
>
> (a) for hire in State, cooperative, social enterprises and institutions on the basis of contracts between the enterprises and institutions on the one hand and the corrective labor institution on the other;
>
> (b) in enterprises specially organized for this purpose by the corrective labor institutions;
>
> (c) on mass work organized by contract between the corrective labor institutions and State and cooperative authorities;
>
> (d) in colonies for mass work.

In other words, the MVD can and does contract its prison labor out to various industries, cooperatives, or other enterprises and institutions. This means that the MVD, in effect, in many areas, as will be seen later, is the sole source of labor supply for certain industries or enterprises. Of course the MVD receives payment from these industries for the labor it contracts to them. This does not mean that the prisoners are released to the particular industry in order to perform the work set for them; what it means is that the MVD moves into the particular operation and contracts to have the work done by their own prison-directed labor. This is the real meaning of sections (a) and (c) of the clause just quoted.

The other two sections of this clause 101 mean that the MVD is in business for itself; that is, instead of contracting the work to another industry or enterprise it takes over

whole enterprises. The "colonies for mass work" referred to is something else again. Much could be written of the compulsory movement of large groups of people from one end of the Soviet Union to the other.

During the first two Five Year Plans, the Soviet authorities boasted of whole new towns being built by "pioneers" in the vast unsettled and inhospitable portions of the Soviet Union, namely the northern areas and the desert regions. These stories were told to give the picture of voluntary migrations of pioneers going forth, as did the American pioneer in his covered wagon, to seek new lands to cultivate and conquer. But this was not at all the story in the Soviet Union. The new "cities and villages" which the Soviet Union boasted of were the result of mass arrests and forcible movements of condemned populations into exile—settlements run by the MVD or the NKVD or the GPU. These were cities and villages of forced laborers—not settlements of voluntary pioneers, seeking freedom and independence; they certainly were not seeking their fortunes, either.

Thus far we have noted the vast extent of the MVD business enterprises, the various legal bases for these enterprises, the role of the MVD in the Soviet economy, and the role which the agricultural collectivization program played in setting up the forced-labor system.

CHAPTER THREE

"I Was a Slave"

After this recital of laws, and a brief excursion into the economic value of the MVD to the Soviet Union, it is well to come back to the meaning of these in human terms.

Dr. Jerzy Gliksman told his story in *Tell the West,* and was the leading witness at the public hearings of the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor in February, 1949. His book was placed in the official record of those hearings; and below are portions of his story as he told it to the Commission and as he related it in his book.

Dr. Gliksman was the half-brother of the famous Polish Jewish Socialist leader, Victor Alter. Alter went to the Soviet Union expecting that the Socialists of Poland, and especially the Jewish Socialist movement, would receive some help in their resistance against the Nazi invaders. Instead, Alter and his coworker, Heinrich Erlich, were both executed by the Soviet authorities on the cynical ground that they were Nazi collaborators. Gliksman, who did not know the fate of his half-brother, also expected that these seasoned fighters against fascism, the Polish Socialists, would receive decent consideration by the Communists. His story tells what happened to this expectation and his experiences in the MVD forced-labor system.

Inside the car it was pitch-black. I remained where I had fallen, while around me pressed some fifty strange people of different characters, ages, and nationalities. I was just one of the few thousand prisoners locked into this long train going full speed toward the mysterious I.T.L.'s ["I.T.L." is an abbreviation for corrective labor camps.]

In my youth I used to hear a great deal about Russian revolutionaries sent by the czarist regime to Siberia. At home, in Warsaw, we had living memories of the terror of the czars. My brother Victor told me many a story about his exile in Narim in the interior of Siberia in 1913. But these stories had invariably appeared to me distant, unreal, something out of the past which had disappeared with the czars. And now, I myself was thrown into a Russian prison transport and sent to forced labor; only the jailers had changed. . . .

Ours was a small type cattle car adapted for its new purpose—that of transporting people for periods of several weeks at a time—by the addition of three features: two tiers of wooden berths, a small iron stove, and a round hole the size of a plate out in the center of the floor to serve as a toilet. [According to the affidavits of other experiences, even the convenience of berths and "round holes" were absent.—A.K.H.]

We traveled in this manner for a full three weeks. We left the transport prison on October 25, 1940, and we reached our destination on November 15. These weeks were even harder on us than the long months we had previously spent in prison.

We suffered from overcrowding and filth, from the continual stench of the toilet hole; from the brutal inspections and nightly hammerings from outside; from fear, sickness, and the uninterrupted close association with criminals.

However, this was not all. Hunger and thirst also made our life miserable. Our daily rations consisted of a pound of dark, clay-like bread and a small piece of dried raw fish. . . .

Once we were left for two days without a drop of water. We experienced extreme suffering. My tongue was transformed into

a piece of leather, my mouth was filled with a glue-like clay, my head burned, the blood beat in my temples.

When the train stopped for a short while we heard the prisoners in other cars hammering on their walls and shouting "Water! water!"

In Orsha our train halted several miles from the city and from the railway stations. The door of our car suddenly flew open and somebody barked a crisp order: "Get off! Hurry! Hurry!" Carrying the sick with us, we quickly jumped off the high cars. Once off the train, however, we were immediately ordered to kneel beside the car in deep snow. The soldiers threatened to shoot anybody who dared stand up. We were forbidden to talk.

Dazed and senseless, we were unable to understand what was going on. After the darkness of the car we were blinded by the sunshine and the whiteness of the snow blanketing everything around us.

After I managed to collect my wits a bit, I beheld a sight which I will not forget as long as I live. We were located in an immense area traversed by at least a dozen railroad tracks. Unending trains similar to our own stood on each line, and beside each car I could see a dark, cramped-together crowd of several dozen prisoners surrounded by soldiers with rifles at the ready.

It was an infernal view: thousands of living shapes, some of whom had already lost all resemblance to human beings, their faces blue with cold, thin, matted with hair. All were shaking in the freezing temperature, trying to wrap themselves as best they could in the remains of their clothing. The bright sunlight made the hideousness of their rags even more apparent. One could see torn jackets, parts of quilted coats, old blankets, even women's wraps. All the prisoners knelt in the wet snow, beating their arms to keep warm.

Among these wretched crowds, the tall and elegant figures of numerous NKVD officers moved about in long, well-fitting coats, in caps with blue and red piping, and high boots of a shiny black. These were officers of the highest rank, in many of whose faces

could be discerned discipline, energy, and intelligence. Their well-fed appearance of self-assured, powerful, and proud dignitaries was in sharp contrast to the gray, humiliated mass around them—the human dirt whose fate was entrusted to their hands.

Surrounded by a great number of lesser-ranking and less elegant NKVD fry, they were all very busy. They moved among the mass of prisoners with large piles of sealed brown envelopes containing their charge files. They glanced into the cars, accepted reports from their subordinates, issued orders, counted the prisoner groups, called some names from the brown envelopes, and so on. It was a general inspection which kept us in the cold until the darkness of the evening.

It was small wonder that it took them such a long time. Many thousands of prisoners were assembled near Orsha that day. I could see groups in front of their cars wherever I looked. Some of them were so far away that I was unable to distinguish the individual figures—only large, blurred, dark shadows on the snow were visible in the ever-increasing darkness. . . .

Our train continued to roll to the northeast. We passed Vyazma. Strovsky [one of the prisoners] told us we were not far from Moscow.

"There are concentration camps here, too," he told us, "even model *lagers* where conditions are really good."

For me this was no news. In 1935, while on a tour of the Soviet Union, I visited such a camp. But I said nothing. Ginsburg, [another prisoner] however, showed enthusiasm.

"Model camps near Moscow!" he exclaimed. "If we would only be sent there!"

We all heartily agreed with Ginsburg, but Strovsky was firmly skeptical. "No, my dear fellows," he said, "those camps are not for us."

Dr. Gliksman then describes the transfer camp at Kotlas. Brief portions of this description are presented here.

The "Polish" zone consisted of about a dozen wooden barracks, each similar to the one in which we had spent our first night in the camp. About four hundred prisoners were crowded into every structure. Our newly arrived group received buildings recently vacated by prisoners who had been transported to their permanent camps of detention.

The barracks were indescribably filthy, and full of thousands of gigantic bed bugs. We fought the scourge energetically with our shoes and with burning kindling sticks. The berths became reddish from the slaughter, but we did not feel any relief after the battles. The swarms of insects continued viciously biting us, denying us sleep, covering our bodies with characteristic marks.

As in the prisons, we had to sleep on one side, turning over simultaneously on command. This did not, however, apply to the lowest shelves. The cold was so intense there that nobody cared to remain on them, for we had neither straw bedding nor blankets. The lower shelves thus stood empty while the upper ones were overcrowded. . . .

At Kotlas we daily received less than a pound of black clay-like bread and a very thin, watery *kasha* (two portions of not more than a glass each), compared to which the hated thick *penchak* of the Oshmiana prison was a regal meal. . . .

From the moment we left Kotlas we could observe the same sight everywhere through the window of our car: *lager* after *lager* [*lager* is the Russian word for camp] spread over the tayga forests.

For ten days we traveled, and for ten days we saw one gigantic net of barbed-wire fences, one vast chain of turrets; camps, camps, and camps everywhere. Sometimes we could see groups of heavily guarded prisoners marching to their work or returning to their living quarters; sometimes we also noticed labor gangs finishing some phase of their work on sections of the line. With dull eyes they glanced at the passing train. Their own hands had built the line over which new masses of slaves were now being transported farther into the cold wastelands. . . .

With the exception of myself, all prisoners in our car were Soviet people. I had never before had occasion to associate with such a large group of Soviet Intellectuals. . . .

It was late at night when we arrived in Tchibyu in the Komi Autonomous Soviet Republic. The train halted several miles from the railway station. After dismounting, we were led afoot through the dense forest. The snow lay deep on the ground and the cold air pained us as we breathed.

The UKHITIZHM Camp was divided into more than a score of sections—designated O.L.P.'s [O.L.P. are the Russian initials for "Separate Camp Point"]—and concentrated around the town of Tchibyu. Our section was ten miles from the town and was distinguished as No. 2.

After a thorough inspection and the usual *obisk* we were taken to the bathhouse. We were overjoyed, for we were greatly in need of washing after the ten-day trip and the two months spent in the filthy and lousy Kotlas camp. . . .

We hoped that we would be issued other government clothes—the universal wadded camp uniform—as provided for by camp regulations. Unfortunately nothing came of these hopes. The *kaptyor* [chief of the clothing warehouse], himself a criminal camp inmate, told us that his supply was exhausted. Only those very few among us who actually had nothing to wear, and covered themselves with rags, managed to get some wretched garments from the clothing attendant: a torn *fufayka* with dirty patches of cotton protruding on every side, or a pair of well-worn, stained quilted pants.

"You are lucky," the *kaptyor* told them. "A few prisoners just died and that's why I have some clothes available. . . ."

With primitive machinery and working methods, mostly in severe climate, making use of undernourished, inexperienced slave labor, the quotas assigned for the camps are wholly unattainable. Work becomes the most wretched punishment, a veritable curse. So hard are living conditions there that all human effort is expended

in the struggle for survival, in the fight to pull through and, at least, keep alive. The work forced upon the inmates is far above their endurance, and instead of morally raising the individual, it makes of every prisoner a dazed, unhappy working beast.

As the camp commanders and officers are responsible for the fulfillment of their assignments, they goad their slaves, swindle, fix their reports and their books, bribe their superiors, and accept bribes from their underlings.

The influence of the *lagers* on criminality in the country is disastrous. I do not here refer to political prisoners, millions of whom are kept in the camps, but to the real criminals, the ordinary convicts, for even insofar as they are concerned the labor camp is not a corrective institution but, on the contrary, a place where demoralizing influences reach their climax. . . .

I was assigned to a section of wood-cutters. I had a hard time at my work, especially when I first started at it. . . .

According to camp rules, prisoners were not to be taken to the woods when the cold reached −35° F. This reasonable regulation was, unfortunately, not heeded, and we were frequently herded to work even in cold up to −50° F.

Camp regulations also explicitly stated that in the cold regions of the north inmates were to receive, in addition to wadded clothes and warm underwear, a pair of *valenki* (also called *pimy*), or high boots of a felt made from the pelt of sheep and horses; *chunye,* or socks made by sewing together two pieces of heavy fabric; and a pair of warm gloves. Actually, however, most of us had little with which to protect our hands and feet from the intense cold. Our leather shoes were entirely inadequate for the severe climate, and, in addition, they were by now in a sorry state. . . .

In spite of the fact that the work was beyond the limits of our endurance, we all strained to the utmost to perform it as best we could. This was partly to avoid the jeering advice and mocking remarks of the section leaders and supervisors; but mainly in order to obtain more food. For the size of the daily rations directly

depended upon the amount of work every one of us accomplished on any particular day. It was the general policy to keep all in a state of semistarvation, and to give individual prisoners a chance to better their rations as a reward for better work. Hunger was thus made to serve to increase the level of production. . . .

Even the smallest task in camp had its predetermined and carefully computed "norm." Special tables stated the amount of all possible kinds of work that a camp inmate was required to do in a day. These quotas foresaw the amount of boards a prisoner was to plane, the number of square meters of ground he was to clear, how many nails he was to drive, or what tonnage he had to load or unload. The norms were very high. Even an exceptionally strong laborer would have had great difficulty in filling them, and we, the perpetually hungry and weak slave workers, found the task utterly impossible.

The worst off were those who filled less than 10 per cent of their daily norm. Those were considered *otkaschiki,* that is, people refusing to work at all. Such an individual was put in a penal chamber (the "isolator"), where he received only some water and 300 grams of bread a day. As a further punishment he was also brought to court and sentenced anew.

Not much luckier were prisoners who executed only between 10 per cent and 30 per cent of their assigned work. They too received only 300 grams of bread a day, but in addition were allowed some unshortened watery soup from the "penal pot." I was extremely careful not to fall into this category, for those who once suffered this misfortune—and there was a great number of prisoners who did—were lost forever. After a few days of such semistarvation, these people became weaker and weaker and their working capacity thus kept decreasing. These unhappy individuals were consequently never again capable of the greater amount of work which would enable them to raise their status to that of a higher category and cause them to obtain an additional

piece of bread. A vicious circle indeed! We could see these people shrinking before our eyes. . . .

Along with the survivors from about 1,500,000 other Poles who were similarly treated, Gliksman was finally released as a result of the agreement reached between Sikorski and Stalin, after the Nazi-Soviet pact collapsed.

The following account was written by the Rev. Julius Juhkental of Estonia. The original is in the files of the World Council of Churches. An attested copy was made available to the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor.

It was in the summer of 1941. Estonia had been invaded by the Soviet Army in 1939 and thereafter forcibly and illegally occupied in 1940. Thus by that time Estonia had already suffered enormously, and to such an extent that her existence as an independent Republic had come to an end. But the series of bitter blows never ended. They became more intensive only and followed one after another in a rapid succession. The air was full of tension even for the Russians, as the rapid changing in the world predicted something bad also for the Soviet Union. Those ominous facts drove the Russians to even quicker action. The night of June the 13th, 1941, saw one of the cruellest acts committed by the Communists when tens of thousands of innocent people were arrested and immediately deported. But when the Germans attacked the Soviet Union on the 22nd of June, 1941, then it was obvious to the Russians that soon their days in Estonia would be numbered and they must do all they could to take out of Estonia the most dangerous element—her manpower. They therefore began with mobilization at once.

At that time I was working at the St. Charles Church [Kaarli kirik] in Tallinn as pastor. Since June the 13th the number of us pastors had diminished considerably. Fortunately enough only a

few of us had been arrested and deported from Tallinn [Prof. H. B. Rahamagi, Dean H. Kubu, and Pastor K. Tiit], but the majority of us went underground as the arrests went on unceasingly, and it was quite natural that everyone was afraid of being perhaps the next victim. Those were really the days of horror one can hardly imagine. I, however, noticed at every step how great was the anxiety and how all the people were yearning for spiritual help and encouragement. It was why I could not get rid of that feeling that people needed me most urgently. It was also the only reason that prevented me from going underground. The nights I spent with my relatives, moving constantly from one place to another, and went on working during the day.

On the 25th of July, 1941, the Soviet authorities declared mobilization for all the men up to the age of 37 to take place on the 27th of July. I was among those who had to join up. We had to leave for Russia, not knowing that it would mean leaving behind our home country perhaps for good. I also could not even guess that I would not see my family again for more than 5 years.

We had been ordered to take along food for 5 days and our strongest footwear. No order was given as to clothing. Everything was arranged in a hurry, and I left home on Sunday the 27th of July, 1941. The first night we had to spend outside in a courtyard of a school in Tallinn because the house was already packed with others before our arrival. At about 4 A.M. next morning we were taken to the stadium in Tallinn where there were many others, I should say thousands of others, from different other mobilization centers waiting for us. There we spent the whole day. It was kept secret where we should have to go and whether we should be sent away by train or by sea. In the afternoon we were ordered to get ready for moving on. Our way led us to a station just outside Tallinn, where a long train consisting of cattle trucks was ready waiting for our arrival. In the trucks there were only plain planks for sitting and nothing else. As each of these trucks was meant for more than 75 men there was no possibility whatsoever of even

dreaming of sleeping. Approximately 3,000 young men were taken to Russia at that time. It was one of the most moving scenes I have ever seen, and at the same time a desperate one too, when the train started to move. Wives, children, fathers, mothers, and sisters quietly sobbing, but those leaving pretended to face the situation calmly. And yet deep down in their hearts they were feeling most heartbroken. It was, however, quite natural, because the train was to take them into an unknown and dismal future. All were uncertain whether they were to be taken to the front for military training or for some other special but mysterious purpose.

Early on the morning of July 29th we crossed the Estonian-Russian frontier. So we were out of Estonia, and many of those who were in the train did not realize that they were never to see it again. It was their last journey leading to destruction and death. Before crossing the border many of us thought to escape from the moving train to join Estonian guerillas hiding and fighting in the forests. But there were few who attempted it, and even fewer who succeeded in getting away, because on both sides of the railway armed guards were patrolling the line and whoever was caught was shot on the spot. I had no intention of leaving the train on account of my fears for my family.

Our journey up to Leningrad was extremely dangerous. The front was quite near at many places, so that the boom of raging battles was clearly audible. Air raids on the trains and railway stations were frequent. It was strange to see ordinary Soviet citizens looking undernourished, ill, and exhausted. In the same way they were surprised to see us, because to them we looked like giants. They would not believe that we were Estonians, as they had been told that in a capitalist country like Estonia people had been hungry and starving.

We passed Leningrad, and then the train turned to the east. All we saw on our way was appalling. The stations were full of trains packed with those arrested and being deported. They often had been standing there for weeks without any food and water, locked

in the trucks. The heat was extraordinary, which increased their plight. Next to those trains were others full of wounded soldiers, new troops for the front, ammunition, and all kinds of war materials. Compared with the situation of those who had been arrested and deported, ours was considerably better. The hope of our ultimate return to our own country was the main factor which encouraged us and kept us going. It was distressing to see those poor creatures who were completely at the mercy of the Russians, and yet we were absolutely unable to help them in any way. We were not hungry, because we had our own food taken along from home, but they were. We were allowed to get water for drinking, but they were not. Of course the Soviet authorities did not care for us either. It was almost entirely our own job to look after ourselves. During our whole journey, lasting exactly a week, to an unknown destination, we got 2 or 3 meals, 2 kilograms of dry bread and 2 eggs. The food we got was of bad quality, but we discovered later that it was the best we ever got in Russia. The officers in charge of us belonged to the Estonian Army, but they were under the control of the officers of the MVD. We passed through Vologda, Kirov, and then our way turned to the north. We were shocked to see that on both sides of the railway there were barbed wire fences. We did not know what to think of it. Soon we were told that those were labor camps where there were working political prisoners and politically suspected persons. The real Soviet Union began to take shape in our minds.

We arrived in Kotlas on the 5th of August, 1941, after having been on our way exactly one week. We were tired and exhausted and expected very much to get some rest, but this hope was in vain. We were accommodated in different schools, where we had to lie down on the most filthy floors. No arrangement for food and sleeping had been made. Next morning they began to make lists of those who had arrived. It was obvious that all the lists which had been made of us at the mobilization centers and our documents had been left behind. It was still uncertain what they

were going to do with us. We had to go on living on our own food. There were already many whose food was nearly finished. To buy food from the town was impossible, or if possible it happened only occasionally. Perhaps it was due to the general complaints we all made, or it may have been officially arranged, but on the third day we were taken to a public dining room. It was something like a filthy stable or a pigsty, where we got some bread and one plate of soup or rotten fish. It was all for the whole day. It did not taste like anything, but it was only the beginning of real troubles lying ahead.

We were divided into several groups and had to begin with military training. Yet it was obvious that it was not the real object we were taken to Russia for. A few days later we were divided again, but this time into four companies, of which two were sent down the river Northern Dvina on the banks of which Kotlas lies. Their destination was again kept secret, and therefore unknown to them as well as to us. In a few days our military training was brought to an end too, and we were sent to work. On one side of the town there was a small airfield, and their intention was to enlarge it. Our job was to cut down the trees and bushes growing on the sides, to level and drain the ground, which was awfully marshy and soft. We had to work there the whole day long, seven days a week, irrespective of weather, food, etc. We were soon removed from the town to live in an old collective farm on the other side of the river. It was a horribly long trek, partly by barges, to our working place every morning, and in the same way back in the evening. We were sent to work at 7 o'clock in the morning and returned at 7 o'clock in the evening. As our food we got 88 gr. of bread, 2 plates of soup, and some porridge per day. The time we spent on the barges was used for political instruction and propaganda for the Soviet Union. We were under the rigid control of the MVD both while working or at home. On the same airfield there were working also political prisoners, with whom it was strictly prohibited to speak or associate in any way. Despite the

restrictions I became acquainted with an ex-professor of history at the Moscow University who at that time had been imprisoned for more than 12 years. He told that also his wife, a doctor by profession, 2 daughters and a son had been arrested shortly after his arrest but that was the last he heard of them. It seemed that almost all of those prisoners were highly educated and had been imprisoned solely for political reasons. Unfortunately I could not have long talks with them. Every one of them had plans for escape ready in case an opportunity might become available. It was really astonishing to see their gleaming faces one morning but I did not know the actual reason. Then the professor whispered to me that three of their fellow prisoners had escaped in the night. This professor was also the first to tell me that the Soviet Union is but a huge prison with the sky as its ceiling. According to my later experiences it proved to be absolutely true. It is not only those in jails, whose number was calculated to amount up to 15 millions or more at that date, who are the prisoners.

Our living conditions in that collective farm were appalling. We had about 20 men in a room of about 35-40 sq. meters. We slept in bunks built round the walls in two tiers which were full of bugs, fleas, and cockroaches. Only lice were missing, but we did not know that soon also they would be our companions. There was no arrangement for washing, and we could use a canal which was nearby. We had there a room which was supposed to be a Russian bath, but it was mostly cold and without water. Our personal things were checked continuously. Any literature and books we had brought along were confiscated. That is why I had to hide my New Testament most carefully either in wall cracks or between roof beams. Once a rumor was spread that all valuables like rings, watches, etc., would be confiscated. As a result of it I hid my wedding ring in a cake of soap and kept it there until we left that place. I must add that fortunately that rumored order was not carried out. Worst of all was the mental strain we were living

under. It was clear that we were suspected and taken to Russia for our disloyalty to the Communist regime. We were threatened that we never would see our home country again. Everyone who could not keep his thoughts to himself disappeared forever. Some of us attempted to escape, but very few were successful in getting away. The country was wet and marshy and such a net of rivers and their tributaries that such plans were mostly given up.

Our clothing was extremely poor. A few of us were lucky and got some cotton shirts. A few old Estonian Army uniforms were distributed among us. As to the footwear situation, that was even more desperate. The majority of us, like myself, had only a pair of light shoes. The aerodrome where we were working was very often like a lake, and there we had to wade one day after another. Consequently our feet were always soaking wet. We had no place to dry the shoes during the night. Next morning it was quite a job to get on wet shoes again.

Thus we worked there for about three weeks. All of a sudden this work was stopped, although the aerodrome was far from being ready. We were told that that place was considered not suitable for an aerodrome. Anyhow, that was given as a reason for such a sudden and unexpected stoppage. We were then sent to work on a field on the other side of the river, a place which was about 3 km. from our camp. That place was full of stones which we had to remove. There we had to work with the greatest of speed for about three weeks. Our astonishment was really great when that work too was stopped again before the aerodrome was completed.

We were ordered to get everything ready for moving on. This done, we were waiting for a ship that was supposed to come for our transport any day. Fortunately we were not aware of the extreme suffering which was waiting for us ahead. As the ship did not come for nearly a fortnight, we took it for granted that the trip must be a long one. Eventually the ship appeared, but to our great surprise we had to embark in order to be taken only to the

other side of the river, i.e., we had covered a distance of ½ km. It was really funny that for such a short trip we had to wait there so long. From there we were taken on foot to a village at a distance of about 10 km. There we were supposed to have our lunch. For this no arrangement had been made. So every one of us had to find a place to rest and get something to eat. It was a difficult job, especially to find food, because the local villagers had nothing even for themselves. If it was at all possible to get something, then it was only a few potatoes and nothing else.

At about 3 P.M. we started off again, and again on foot. We had to carry our own things. After every 50 minutes' walk we were given a rest for 10 minutes. This march lasted till midnight; we had covered a distance of about 50 km. We were promised that in the village we arrived in everything would be arranged for rest and meals, but eventually it proved to be just the opposite. A MVD officer in charge of us was scarcely able to get a room for himself. Finally he managed to get for us three tiny rooms where we had to rest. One can imagine what kind of a rest it was if three tiny rooms had to accommodate about 250 men. We had scarcely room enough to sit, not to speak of sleeping. But sleep we must. All of us had sore and stiff legs and feet full of blisters.

At 8 o'clock in the morning we had to start off again. Many of us were on the verge of collapse, but we were forced to go on. In spite of threats, blows, and kicks a few of our number remained behind because of mental and physical breakdown. Nobody cared for them. What happened to them I don't know, as we never heard of nor saw them again. In those conditions we had to travel for more than three days, and I should think we covered a distance altogether of 150 to 200 km.

Finally we arrived in a remote lumber camp in the north. First of all we saw there a few rows of plain wooden crosses. We were told that these belonged to the Poles who had died while working there. It was late in the autumn, and as on the last lap of our journey we had to move along a fire lane we were scarcely able to move

on at all. The ground was so soft that it was almost impassable. Then in a wet and muddy hollow we saw a small group of huts. Two of them were to accommodate our group of 250 men. The first day we spent in making bunks and settling down.

Next day the work began. As I have said before, we had no proper footwear. Only those who had nothing to put on were given flimsy sandals made of bark. They were not waterproof at all, although we had to wade in water the whole day long. For food we got 800 grams of bread and 2 plates of soup per day—one in the morning and the other in the evening. One can be sure it was most insufficient for such hard work as we had to do there. I must add that what was supposed to be soup was only boiled water. Our work was to fell trees, the hardest toil the majority of us had ever done, under such poor conditions and under such enormous pressures. As to sanitary arrangements and hygiene, none whatsoever were made. No doctor was on the spot, only a female nurse who seemed to have no medical training. Medicines were missing. Even that poor arrangement had been made as a matter of form, as they had no intention and no interest in looking after our health and well-being. Their only interest was to get out of us the greatest possible amount of work. There was an incredibly high fixed standard of work for each of us to do daily, and if one failed to do it his food was cut accordingly. It was clear that in the long run we could not possibly put up with those inhuman conditions. Our health deteriorated day by day. Bodily strength and spiritual strength and will power diminished to such an extent that in about two months' time we were so exhausted and our health was so much undermined with insufficient food of the worst quality and unbelievably high pressure of work that death began his work. It was quite common that every day four to six of us died. The main diseases which ended in death were pneumonia and dysentery. We had to work 12 hours per day—from 6 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock in the evening. That winter was extraordinarily cold. It happened often that the temperature was −50° F. There

was an order that if the temperature was −30° F. there was no working in the forest, but that order was not applicable to us.

Apart from the discouraging and oppressive feeling of physical strain constantly with us, there was something even worse, created by the gloomy and dismal prospect of our future. It was the mental and spiritual oppression which caused anxiety, and made us worry and feel unsafe and uncertain day and night. It was a horrifying trial, to find out our political mentality and re-educate us to become loyal Soviet subjects. One political meeting followed another, ordinarily called at night, at which we were threatened with being shot if the output of our work did not reach the target expected from us; or not to be allowed to return home if we would not change our political views regarding the Soviet Union and Communism. Besides those regular meetings they went on with individual interviews and interrogations. They suspected me especially, and solely for the reason that they knew I was a pastor. Several of my fellow workers were questioned about me. Their aim was to find out my views regarding politics and my attitude towards Communism. After those interrogations the persons questioned had been coerced to sign a paper to keep everything secret and especially not to inform me about it. If they acted contrary to that signed pledge the result would have been their death by shooting. Yet they came and told me everything, in spite of running the risk of being shot.

It is really difficult for me to describe the most pitiable sights I saw there; how every morning, persons who were seriously ill were forced to go to work, and were beaten and otherwise ill-treated; how a row of tired and exhausted creatures were stumbling to their work; how coming back from their work in the evening many of them fainted and collapsed on the way. I noticed at every step how much every one of us was longing for spiritual help and strength.

I have mentioned already that our food was extremely poor and insufficient. With us there were working also some farmers from

the neighboring collective farms. We bartered with them, giving them whatever we had, especially clothing, to get from them in exchange some food or tobacco. But as we had almost nothing to give them, many of us began to steal from them. Oats, which they had put into the stables for their horses, were stolen and made into a kind of soup. Potato peelings they had thrown out, frozen in the snow, were picked up most carefully and eaten. Carcasses of horses which had died from overwork were cut into and used as food.

We could not even think of running away, because the place was remote and inaccessible. All of us and our bunks were full of all possible kinds of insects, including lice. Not one of us could claim to be free from lice, because washing arrangements did not exist at all.

It happened in February, 1942, that quite unexpectedly we were asked who of us would be willing and prepared to go to the front. We found it an excellent opportunity and therefore we all grasped at it. For us it seemed to be the only possible moment and means to escape from that hell and the eventual death already staring us in the face. There were about 200 of us left at that time. It seemed that they had not expected that willingness from us. So many applied to go to the front that they had to start sifting us according to our political views. Only about 20 of us were accepted at that time. The others had to continue working. The death rate was increasing continuously. In March about 50 more were sent away; and so about 75 of us, including myself, had to stay behind to wait our deaths there. About 15 of us were well enough to work; all the others were either disabled and unfit for work. I was considered able to work, although I had stomach trouble, which was undoubtedly a very bad sign.

Then a new order came through in April that all of us must be sent away. Even those who were ill tried to come along, because they were afraid that if once left there they would be left there forever. Thus only the most serious cases remained, and they were

told that transport arrangements would be made for them. Whether it was true or not I cannot tell, as I never saw them again. Our way back to Kotlas was again on foot, as we had come. But now it lasted over a week; we could not move fast any more for weakness. From Kotlas we continued our journey in cattle trucks, but the destination was again kept secret as usual.

We passed Kirov, Perm, Sverlovsk, Cheyabinsk, and arrived in Chebarkul, where we were told an Estonian Division would be in military training. Perhaps it will give an idea of how long we had been on our way if I say that we left the forest in the middle of April but arrived in the camp of the Estonian Division in the beginning of June. During that time we were ourselves responsible for our food, because officially we were fed only twice. On the way we realized all we could, but we lived mostly on thefts. On our arrival we were like monsters, dressed in remarkably shabby clothes and our feet wrapped in rags. I was really ashamed of myself, so that I did not like to show myself to my friends I met there.

There we met also those who had been sent away from the forest before us. We also learned that it had been the Kremlin's order to collect all the Estonians scattered all over Russia in two centers, i.e., in Chebarkul and in Kamoshlov further north. At those places two Estonian Divisions were to be formed. In Chebarkul there were approximately 20,000 Estonian men. For the first time since our arrival in Russia we were given proper clothes, namely Soviet Army uniforms. The food we got there was comparatively good, but it could not make up the deficiency. We lived in huts built partly underground. The military drill was heavy; but much heavier was the political purge, which went on vigorously all the time. The death rate was high in spite of the better conditions we enjoyed there. The mental strain remained, and every day many from amongst us disappeared into underground dungeons forever. They did not trust us, and I must say they did well. Because of that distrust they gave us only wooden rifles for training. There was no doubt that they were preparing us for the front at full speed.

Because of the political purge and espionage every one of us tried to keep his mouth shut. We all hoped that once at the front there might open up a possibility of escape. I too tried to be most cautious and careful in all my expressions. But I am sorry to say that it did not help very much; I was still suspected and I could not get out of that state. I was questioned again and again. Once it was decided that a court made up of three of our own men must be set up. I was put up as a candidate for that office, because my companions respected me and wanted to see me in this office. But alas, at a public meeting all three candidates had to tell their life story. After I had finished mine I was questioned by officers of the MVD who were present. This questioning did not happen to the others. One of the questions was whether I would take up pastoral work again after having returned to Estonia at the end of the war, although I ought to know—as they put it—that all pastors were liars and religion was only poison to the people. Their aim was clear to me. I was put in a dilemma. I was sure that if I gave an answer according to my convictions I should be lost. Such an answer they all expected. So I tried to evade the question by replying that I would not take up that work if I could find anything else. But when I left the meeting I had tears in my eyes, because I was feeling just like St. Peter who had denied Christ and His Church.

All my efforts to please the Communists had been vain and futile. A few days after that nerve-racking meeting I was told not to join the others in their training. Later I gathered that there were about 200 like me who had been ordered to stay home. Our army uniforms were taken away and replaced by rags. Special identity cards were issued to us from the Headquarters, and we were taken to the station. It happened in the beginning of July, 1942. I had thus been in the Division for a little less than a month. Our destination was again kept secret, which made us nervous and had a very bad psychological effect on us. We were ordered off the train at Urshumka, a place not far from Slatoust—a well-known small

town. That meant that we were again in a forced-labor camp, and in exactly the same position as in the forest. A new period of slavery began. The huts we had to live in were partly underground and were in a most horrible condition. The roofs were leaking, the bunks were full of bugs and lice, and as a whole unimaginably filthy, and crammed with men. The food was like that in the forest, with the exception that we now got only 700 grams of bread per day. During the war an ammunition factory had been erected there, and our job was to build houses for the staff and workers of that factory. The work was hard, as one can imagine. We were hungry, which compelled us to steal either from the fields roundabout or to kill dogs for additional food. The winter was approaching rapidly, and it was inevitable that if we remained there we should not see the next spring. Every day some of us ran away. We were threatened and told that all had been captured and shot. I, however, could not stop the flow of escapes.

We got together a group of five. As we all were suspects, we began to make plans for escape. It was our determined decision that whatever the outcome of our attempt, we must take the risk, because we thought it would not matter very much where we died. In taking the other course there was always a chance of being successful in getting away. I had bought in Kotlas an elementary geography book containing also a poor map of Russia. I had kept that map very carefully, and now it proved very useful. We were extremely lucky to have it, because to get one then would have been absolutely impossible. It was strictly prohibited by the Government to sell or possess any maps. We forged the documents we had and made some new ones. Whatever we had left we sold and tried to buy food for the journey. It is funny that how little one may have, he still can find something for selling and realizing. It was on the 25th of September, 1942, after we had finished all necessary preparations, that we left our room, or more correctly, stealthily crept out one by one late in the evening, and met later at a certain place to continue our journey together. We belonged to different occupations—one farmer, one

accountant, one bricklayer, one house agent, and myself, a pastor. But now we acted and thought like one. We came to the station, where a train for Chelyabinsk was just in. We rushed in without any delay. Our object was to get to Tashkent From there we planned to go either to Turkey, Iran, or Afghanistan. It would be an awfully long story if I should go into details. Suffice it to say that our being able to travel at all was partly due to the general chaos prevailing in the whole of Russia in those days, and partly to the fact that one of my companions and myself were able to speak Russian fluently. We were outlaws in the real sense of that word, but it was our main duty not to show it. We were ticketless travelers. Whenever we came in contact with the officials, either of the MVD, railway, or militia, we had to tell them lies to escape from those critical moments. We had taken along a pair of pincers even, to open the doors of railway coaches on the opposite side when the officials were checking tickets and documents of other passengers on the front side. When the officials came to check tickets and papers on the moving trains, we either told them all kinds of lies, which very often put us in a bad position, or we moved slowly on in front of the officials from one coach to another until the train stopped at the next station, and then moved over to those parts of the train which had been already checked. We tried to get our food at those stations where food arrangements had been made for soldiers on transport. They very often took us for soldiers returning from the front. After having traveled for four days we arrived in Chkalov [previously called Orenburg]. There we had to change trains, as we wanted to go to Tashkent. We had to wait there for another train coming from Moscow. It was 6 days late! We slept in a park just outside the station. There was a vast crowd of *évacués,* and it was quite easy for us to hide ourselves amongst them. It was far more difficult to get into the train leaving for Tashkent. Thanks to a piece of bread of about 200 grams we gave to a railway worker, we got into a coach packed full of travelers. It was a sort of corridor, a tiny one, where we had to travel for

6 days with two Russians as our fellow travelers, i.e., seven persons in an incredibly small space. In Tashkent we had to stop to find out what we should do next. We stayed there for a week, and then decided to go on to Stalinabad. We knew that on this line the railway was running for miles just alongside the Russian and Afghanistan border, in some places only half a mile from it. We hoped there to get over the border. But it turned out differently, because all the trains and stations were so heavily guarded that we could not help going on to Stalinabad. There we were in a most miserable situation. For a couple of nights we slept at the station. We were so tired and exhausted that I did not notice when one night my boots were stolen from my feet while sleeping. I had only a pocket watch left, which I had to sell in order to get money to buy new boots.

We could not possibly find any other way out of that predicament than to go to the local recruiting office and tell them that we were Estonians from the Estonian Division on sick leave, and as we were feeling better now and almost fully recovered we should like to be sent back to our units. When they asked for our papers we said that they had been stolen. They believed us, because thefts were most common in those days. We had to pass a medical examination, but had to wait for it approximately a week. We had been fortunate beyond any expectation, because now we were out of the outlaw state and could rest in peace. We each got 500 grams of bread per day and a plate of soup twice. We all passed the medical examination, although I had hernia, which I had got while working in the forest. Fortunately the doctors had not noticed it; otherwise it would have certainly been a reason for my disqualification. We got all the necessary papers and documents, including a permit for food on the way. We left Stalinabad immediately, and came to Termes near the Afghan boundary. But I am sorry to say that as before we were unsuccessful in crossing the border. According to our railway warrants we ought to have gone to the north; but we turned to the west instead and came to

Ashknabad, in order to try to go to Iran. There we were told that the northern part of Iran was occupied by the Red Army. Consequently we had to give up that plan. We started back again; came to Mery; changed trains there, and started off for Kushka. After having traveled for about 200 km. we noticed that all the civilian passengers had left the train, and we were left alone with only Red Army men of the MVD. It was a clear sign that the train was approaching the border region. About 2 o'clock in the morning we left the train under cover of darkness and moved hurriedly into the nearby hills. Our main and first intention was to get away from the station and roundabout villages as quickly as possible. We walked on until it began to dawn, and stopped then for a rest. We did not move during the day, owing to the extreme danger. We walked on only in the night, and rested in the daytime. For food we had only some dry bread—just enough for six days if each of us had eaten about 100 grams in the morning and another 100 grams in the evening. We had to ration that bread accordingly; that was all we had to eat, and nothing else. It was here that my primitive map served its purpose excellently. The nearer to the border we came the more dangerous the situation. We could not show ourselves to the people, because it had happened either in 1935 or 1936 that the population of the frontier for 10-15 km. into the country had been transferred, and replaced by the most fanatic Communists. We were moving all the time alongside and not very far from a river running towards Afghanistan. From it we fetched our drinking water in the night.

We had been walking for four nights. I should think that each night we had moved about 40 km. But then we became worried. We still could not see any sign of the boundary nor that we were approaching it.

Our anxiety was increasing steadily. We became doubtful whether we were not moving away from the border. Finally we decided to venture a rather risky attempt. One of us had to enter a village to make inquiries and get information as to the border.

Thus a most critical situation was created, and we were on the verge of being caught and lost. I must say we had lots of trouble to get out of it again. But we managed it. One thing at least we had reason enough to be glad about; we had got enough information to make further plans. We went on the whole night; and one can imagine what we felt when we were standing on the boundary line. Early in the morning on the 2nd of November, 1942, we finally were able to cross the border and were in Afghanistan. There we gave ourselves up to the authorities. We made to them a most earnest request that we should not be sent back to Russia. So at last our escape journey had come to an end, after having lasted for nearly one and a half months, during which we had covered a distance of about 3,000 km. We felt such a great relief there that I am hardly able to express it properly. We were interned in Afghanistan, where we spent nearly two years in a jail in Kabul. Finally the British Government of India came to our rescue; and to the ministers of that Government and to the authorities of Great Britain we all are extremely grateful. They were responsible for the fact that on the 22nd of May, 1944, we arrived in India. It was not until we had arrived in India that we felt really free and out of danger. In India I joined a Danish Mission Society working at Mardan in the North-West Frontier Province, and began working as a missionary.

Throughout all those years since I had left Estonia in 1941 I had had no news whatsoever about my family and relatives. I did not even know whether they were alive, nor did I know anything of their whereabouts. From India I managed to find out that my family had escaped to Germany and my relatives to Sweden just before the reoccupation of Estonia by the Red Army. After strenuous efforts I got my family to join me in India in 1946. It was a happy reunion after having been separated from them for over five years. . . .

All I have written is an impartial, unbiased, and true picture of the life in the Soviet Union as I saw it there. It is also a brief but

true description of the sufferings I had to go through. But may I add that I was not the only one who had to undergo that suffering. There were thousands, nay, even millions who had to suffer the same, and perhaps even to a much greater extent. And nowadays there are still millions and millions who are suffering as we did. It is a great pity that it goes on.

Be it added that whenever I think back on those years of horror I cannot help wondering that it was God, and only He, who guided me throughout those years, and that it was God's marvellous grace and mercy that protected me and led me safely out of all my troubles. Without God and His guidance such a miraculous survival and escape would not have been possible.

CHAPTER FOUR

Chains in the Baltics

1.

On November 15, 1917, V. Ulyanov-Lenin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, and Josif Djugashvili-Stalin, People's Commissar for National Affairs, enunciated a policy of self-determination in these ringing terms:

This policy [i.e., the former policy] must now be superseded by an open, honest policy leading to complete reciprocal confidence among Russia's peoples. Only on such a foundation is it possible to achieve an honest and durable union of all the Russian peoples and to weld the workers and peasants into one revolutionary force, capable of resisting all the plots of the imperialistic and annexionist bourgeoisie.

Proceeding from these viewpoints, the first congress of Soviets in June proclaimed the right of the Russian peoples to free self-determination. The second congress of Soviets in October confirms this inalienable right of the Russian peoples still more securely. Executing this determination of the congress, the Council of People's Commissars has decided to adopt the following principles in its dealings with nationalities:

1. Freedom and sovereignty to the peoples of Russia;

2. The right for Russia's peoples of free self-determination even unto separation and establishment of independent states;

3. Abolition of all and every kind of national and nationally religious privileges and restrictions;

4. Free development for national minorities and ethnographical groups inhabiting Russian territory.

The concrete regulations required by the above are to be drawn up without delay as soon as a commission for national affairs is formed.

Then again on February 2, 1920, at Tartu a treaty between Russia and Estonia was signed. This treaty declared (Article 2) that:

On the basis of the right of all peoples freely to decide their own destinies, and even to separate themselves completely from the State of which they form part, a right proclaimed by the Federal Socialist Republic of Soviet Russia, Russia unreservedly recognizes the independence and autonomy of the State of Estonia, and renounces voluntarily and forever all rights of sovereignty formerly held by Russia over the Estonian people and territory by virtue of such former legal situation, and by virtue of international treaties, which, in respect of such rights, shall henceforth lose their force.

Substantially the same phraseology was used in the treaties with Latvia and Lithuania. Yet nineteen years later, in conspiracy with Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union invaded these independent states. These Baltic states became Soviet states in 1940; yet, in the confusions of 1941, the NKVD and General Staff left behind a map dated 1939 describing these states as Soviet Republics. The annexation by conquest of these states has not been recognized by the United States, and in effect, the deportation of the Baltic peoples to the slave-labor camps of the

Soviet Union represents the second large group of non-Soviet peoples subjected to the slave-labor system which the Soviet citizens had known too well for a long time.

Testifying before the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor on February 24, 1949, the former Estonian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Kaarel R. Pusta, Sr., declared:

On November 22, 1947, an appeal had been presented to the President of the General Assembly of the United Nations by the diplomatic representatives of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, accredited in the United States, which exposed "a planned, systematic, and cruel genocide" in the Soviet-occupied Baltic States. According to this document, during one single week (June 14-21, 1941) 34,260 Lithuanians were deported in freight cars and in such inhuman conditions that thousands died in the trains and in transient prisons before reaching their destination. While husbands were separated from their wives and children from their mothers, the destination for the surviving men was slave-labor camps in Northern Siberia, in the Altai mountains, and in Kazakhstan. The women were sent to collective farms or to the fishing industry at the mouth of the river Lena. Of the children almost nothing is known.

At the same time 15,000 Latvians were arrested and deported, while in two and a half months (April-June, 1941) 60,000 Estonians disappeared. The ill-famed deportation center of Vorkuta, amidst the polar tundra of Northern Russia, held 100,000 Lithuanians, 60,000 Latvians, and 50,000 Estonians, in October 1946. Although on the average 25-30 per cent of the inmates are reported dying every year, the loss is filled by regular "deliveries" of 1,500 to 3,000 persons a month from each of the three Baltic countries. . . .

According to a statement of the Soviet broadcasting station in

Tallinn, of May 14, 1946, the population of Estonia, which totaled 1,134,000 inhabitants on January 1, 1939, had decreased by a quarter "in consequence of the war events." Now, according to Colonel Bulineh, a Soviet repatriation officer in Germany, Estonia has a total of 1,500,000 inhabitants in December 1947. The explanation of this sudden increase of population is that multitudes of Russians have been brought to Estonia and the other Baltic countries, while the native population has been shifted to remote places in Arctic Russia, Siberia, Kamtchatka, Sakhalin, and even to the Kurile Islands, formerly in the possession of Japan. For instance, near Habarovsk, about two million acres have been reserved in the wilderness for the resettled Estonian farmers. . . .

Witnesses who escaped to Sweden have stated that there are also many slave-labor camps in the Baltic States. A large concentration camp is situated at Kohtla-Jarve, Estonia, where Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and Finns from Carelia are working in the oil-shale mines. Other larger camps are at Lavassaare and Vasalemma (Estonia), to provide labor for the peat industry and the limestone quarries. The ruins in the war-razed towns were cleared away mostly by slave labor.

The establishment of new armament plants, and the realization of projects required by the Soviet Five Year Plans, require great masses of cheap man power. Mass arrests and deportations therefore never cease in the Soviet Union. In order not to waste labor the death penalty was allegedly abolished in 1947, and replaced by penal servitude, either for life or a great number of years. Yet not over five years of this servitude can be sustained by an average healthy person. The slave-labor camps' population consists mainly of workers and peasants, but there are also members of national governments, diplomats, writers, and clergymen, all those who had no chance to escape to Sweden or the DP camps in Western Europe.

It also seems clear that these Soviet measures intend an indirect extermination of Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians—a crime which is termed *genocide*. A large part of the present populations

is already composed of alien intruders, since the Russians have been settled in the Baltic countries as peasants and workers. *Even the names of the expelled Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians have been given to them.* [Italics mine.—A.K.H.]

From Stockholm, Sweden, the former President of the Republic of Estonia, Dr. A. Rei, wrote the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor that:

In the summer of 1941 the German army drove the Soviet occupational army out of Estonia and occupied the country in its turn. The German occupation, which lasted until the autumn of 1944, did not differ essentially from the Soviet one, and the Estonian people was further decimated by Nazi murders, arrests, and deportations.*

By October 1944 Estonia was reoccupied by the Soviets, who again treated the Estonians with the same brutality as under their first occupation. It has not been possible to ascertain with accuracy how many Estonians have been arrested, murdered, or deported to Russia during the second Soviet occupation. However, from the testimony of people who have lately escaped from Estonia, it must be concluded that from 1944 until this writing (February, 1949) the number of the arrested and deported is much larger than during the first occupation. During both occupations Estonia has lost altogether over 10 per cent of her entire population.

All the men who had been forcibly and unlawfully conscripted by the Germans and fallen into Russian hands were deported to forced labor in Russia as early as 1944 and 1945, mainly to the neighborhood of Leningrad and Northern Russia.

Before Christmas in 1945, and in February 1946, two great mass deportations took place, similar to the one on June 14-16 under the first occupation in 1941.

* See Appendix A for a detailed breakdown of the deported Estonians during the first occupation.

Individual arrests are undertaken every night. At Tallinn, which had only one prison while Estonia was independent, there are now four prisons. The moment one of them is full, the inmates are sent to slave-labor camps in Russia in the notorious cattle wagons. The people live in constant terror, for nobody knows when his or her turn to be arrested or deported may come. . . .

The entire population of some Estonian islands, which are now used as naval bases, have been deported either to the Caspian Sea or the shores of the Pacific Ocean in the Far East.

However, not only the Estonians in Estonia are being deported to Russia, but also Estonians found by the Russians in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Eastern Germany as displaced persons, where the Germans had forced them to work in war industries and even drafted some into their armed forces. The latest of these deportations took place in the spring of 1948, when with the help of the German police the Russians rounded up the few Baltic nationals remaining in Eastern Germany and sent them to Russia. . . .

It is not stretching the facts to say that the program of labor-reserve schools for youths between the ages of 14 and 17 is a thinly veiled system of compulsory labor. A decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR dated October 2, 1940, ordains the foundation of schools for so-called labor reserves (factory, railway, nautical and industrial schools) and the drafting of children and minors into these schools.

The decree [writes Mr. Rei] provides for the forcible enrollment of minors between the ages of 14 and 17 in the labor-reserve schools, roughly at a ratio of two minors per every 100 inhabitants. The local executive committee make their selection among the boys of the above age, and neither the children themselves nor their parents have any say in the matter. . . . Thousands of Estonian boys have been deported to Russia in this manner, while Russian

boys have been brought to Estonia to attend the labor-reserve "schools" and, later, to work in Estonian industries. On May 28, 1948, the Tallinn radio announced that until the completion of the present Five Year Plan (i.e., until 1950) it is proposed to put 40,000 Estonian boys through these schools. Actually this means that 40,000 children have been condemned to compulsory labor.

2.

Returned German prisoners of war, especially those repatriated from the Baltic States, are an excellent source of information. The substance of what these returned prisoners have told reveals the story pretty much this way.

In July, 1948, the Soviets carried through a large-scale deportation in the town of Vinius and its environs (Vinius is in Lithuania). The POWs got a day's holiday, owing to the fact that the lorries which usually take them to their place of work were requisitioned by the MVD for the task of deportation. Even regular troops participated in the action.

Units of the Soviet Army and the MVD police surrounded whole villages or blocks of houses in the towns. Patrols penetrated into the villages and houses and seized the deportees, who were driven to the railway stations, where cattle trains with barred windows awaited them. In the villages all people who had held any public office in independent Lithuania, and all those considered "politically unreliable," as well as farmers who had refused to join *kolkhozes*, still owned two horses, or had a well-cared-for farm, were branded as "kulaks" and carried off.

They got a quarter of an hour to pack their luggage. Even their families had to follow them into exile.

The cattle trains carrying off the unfortunate deportees were sealed almost hermetically; had heavily barred windows; and lacked even the most primitive conveniences for the transport of people. Moreover, up to 80 persons were squeezed into cars which might hold 40 persons at the most. Lithuanians estimate that between 70,000 and 80,000 people were deported in the summer of 1948.

Latvia too was the scene of a deportation drive during this same period. German POWs returning from the USSR declared that they met, in Central Russia, between Kuibyshev and Smolensk, 25 goods trains with deportees from Latvia. The men had been separated from the women and children. The majority of the deportees had been farmers; and the MVD had given them 30 minutes to pack their belongings before taking them away from home. Every person had been allowed 30 kilograms of luggage. The reason for deportation, as far as the deportees had been able to elicit, had been their general anti-Soviet attitude and refusal to join *kolkhozes* voluntarily.

Several sources maintain that three Soviet tank divisions had been commandeered to Latvia to help carry through the deportation and quell possible revolts. It was said that this deportation was greater than the one in 1941. In addition to the above trains, seven goods trains with deportees were seen on the line between Kalinin and Brest-Litovsk with civilian prisoners from Latgallia.

The majority were women and children, with a small number of old men. According to the women, the younger men had been deported earlier.

A released German N.C.O., who had come from Siberia, met Latvian deportees in a settlement on the River Tura in February of 1949. They were for the most part women, old men about 60 to 70 years of age, and a very small number of children. The forced laborers worked at a sawmill, carrying planks and boards the whole day. At a temperature of —40°F. they wore wooden shoes. The only food they had in the first weeks of their stay was the food they themselves had been able to take with them.

Letters smuggled out of Latvia in April and May of 1949 give the information that the deportation went on during the whole of April. On some of the railways there had been no civilian traffic because of them. The districts adjoining the seashore were most savagely harried. From the port of Ventspils alone (population about 15,000) 60 cattle wagons with people had gone off to Siberia. A rumor in Latvia had it that this time the deportees had not been sentenced to penal servitude for any fixed number of years but were permanently resettled in the more desert regions of Soviet Asia.

On October 28, 1949, the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor received a report to the effect that Latvian industry was run almost exclusively by prisoner-of-war and convict labor. By the time the report was received, the situation had changed, but there are still plants, such as the Factory of Electrotechnical Machinery in

Riga, to which penal camps are attached, whose inmates supply the plants in question with labor. There is every reason to believe that POWs and convicts are included in the total of 118,000 workers announced by the Soviet authorities.

This figure was released by the authorities to show a 20 per cent increase in the number of workers over 1938. As a matter of fact, this increase was obtained in spite of the severe war losses in the area, the escape of many people, and especially the deportations undertaken by the regime. The precarious labor-supply situation in the towns at the beginning of the second Soviet occupation (many workers had drifted to the country) resulted in the drafting of "free labor," the use of prisoners of war and convict labor, and the importation of labor from Russia. Without these aids Latvian industry could not get going.

Aside from the very general provisions of the Soviet Criminal Code now applicable, of course, in the Baltics, the labor force needed by the MVD is secured in other ways as well. The "Operative Register" (1939-41) of the NKVD listed 29 classifications of persons to be "registered for later arrest or deportation to Russia." The "Operative Register" is a secret manual, used particularly in connection with the arrests to be made in the "new Soviet Republics" of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Following are the classifications of persons to be deported:

1. Trotzkyites
2. Anarchists

3. Terrorists
4. Social Revolutionaries
5. Prominent members of the Estonian (or Lithuanian, or Latvian) anti-Communist Parties, viz., Social Democrats, Liberals, Small Farmers, Agrarians, etc.
6. Counter-revolutionary Fascist elements
7. Active members of anti-Soviet organizations
8. Active members of Jewish counter-revolutionary organizations, viz., the "Bund," Zionist organizations, etc.
9. Active members of White Russian emigrant organizations
10. Various anti-Soviet elements, such as defeatists, spreaders of rumors, etc.
11. Participants in anti-Soviet manifestations, viz., strikers under the Soviet regime, opponents of the *kolkhoz* system, etc.
12. Mystics, such as Free Masons and theosophers
13. Persons who had occupied prominent positions in the civil or communal service of independent Estonia.
14. Commissioned and noncommissioned officers in the standing army
15. Active and prominent members of the Home Guard
16. Policemen
17. Frontier guards with anti-Soviet leanings
18. Prison personnel
19. Public prosecutors, magistrates, and lawyers who had fought the Revolution; all the public prosecutors in political cases
20. Industrialists, wholesale merchants, owners of large houses, great landowners, shipowners, owners of hotels and restaurants
21. Persons of aristocratic descent
22. Persons who have been in the diplomatic service
23. Permanent representatives of foreign commercial firms
24. Relatives of persons who have escaped abroad
25. Persons whose relatives have engaged in anti-Soviet propaganda abroad
26. Spies

27. Germans
28. Close relatives of persons convicted under the Soviet regime
29. Criminal elements, viz., prostitutes, speculators, hiders of arms, owners of brothels, etc.

Classifications such as these assure an adequate supply of labor for the vast industrial enterprises of the MVD.

3.

Inasmuch as collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union contributed so much to the establishment of the forced-labor camps on their present huge scale, it is both interesting and important to watch the process in the latest areas incorporated into the Soviet Union, namely, the Baltic States.

The task of convincing the individualistic farmers in the Baltic States that they must join the *kolkhoz* system is not easy. One of the first steps in the convincing process is to deprive the farmer of his land by imposing upon him heavy quotas of produce to be delivered to the State; also equipment and livestock so that the newly founded *kolkhozes* in the Baltic Republics may be equipped. The authorities also exact of the farmers heavy statute labor, and failure to perform the imposed work involves severe penalties. Statute labor is compulsory labor similar to the work which serfs had to perform for the benefit of their feudal lords.

There are two types of statute labor—that performed by

individual persons or farms, called individual statute labor; and collective statute labor, performed jointly by several persons or farms. The performers of individual statute labor receive, as a rule, a minor and totally inadequate compensation (in forest work and some types of road improvement), or no compensation at all (miscellaneous or incidental work). No remuneration at all is paid for collective statute work.

In the rural districts there are a number of compulsory statute labor types. Their fulfillment is checked by different officials and Party functionaries. Every farmer, man or woman, who manages a farm must perform the following statute labor:

(1) cut a specified amount of lumber;
(2) cart a specified amount of lumber to railway stations, rivers or lakes, or sawmills;
(3) repair a section of specified length of the rural roads and transport the necessary material;
(4) perform public carting service with the aid of horse-drawn vehicles.

In addition to the statute labor outlined, the incidental labor the farmers are required to do includes:

(1) clearing highways of snow in the winter;
(2) participation in the construction of fortifications;
(3) various transportation services, such as carting building material for public edifices, or for highways maintained by the government.

Then there is the collective statute labor to be performed. Government agencies impose on each administrative district a specified amount of statute labor; the district executive committee divides this amount among the individual communes and villages in its area; the executive committees of the villages and communes and the local Party functionaries divide the amount of statute labor imposed on the communes and villages among individual farms "according to plan and diagram." Only officials of the executive committees, Party functionaries, and a few other minor groups (for example, invalid veterans and the like) are exempted from statute labor.

The volume of statute labor may occasionally differ in individual districts and communes, depending on the object of the statute labor, such as the size of forests, and the density of the network of roads. But farmers are not exempted from statute labor if, for example, neither forests nor the roads to be fixed are in their communes. In such cases they must perform their quota of labor outside their commune, or, at times, even outside their district. In the winter of 1949 hundreds of farmers had to travel 80 to 100 kilometers (irrespective of road conditions) in order to perform compulsory lumber cutting and carting work outside their communes. To visualize the difficulties besetting the farmers in such cases, it must be added that they must take with them food and fodder for several weeks, and material for the repair of tools and vehicles. Practically nothing beyond lavish propaganda literature is available on the sites of work.

On an average, the forest statute labor in the winter of 1949 was as follows:

(1) cutting: for a woman 16 cubic meters of lumber, for a man 30 cubic meters;
(2) carting: for each horse a quantity of 60 cubic meters to be transported to an indicated place.

Women farmers whose husbands are dead, missing since the war, or have been exiled to Russia are not exempted from this statute labor.

Even in cases where the statute labor is well organized, a considerable number of farmers must make strenuous efforts, occasionally working at night, in order to perform the imposed labor without greatly exceeding the time limit set. Organization, however, is often far from satisfactory. Here is what the newspaper *Cina* (published in Riga) of February 15, 1948, reports with respect to the Tukums district:

> It has frequently occurred that cutters come to the forest and find that there is nobody who can assign them the sectors to be cut. Carters who have loaded their carriages must often wait for hours until they are given documents permitting unloading. The checking of lumber is very slow, etc.

Individual road repair work means that a farmer must repair a road section of between 200 and 300 meters. He must transport gravel and other necessary material; even cut the track and dig or improve the ditches along the road. This is one of the heaviest types of statute labor, especially for farms which lack horses and man power,

as confirmed by the press. A correspondent of the official paper *Cina* reported (February 15, 1948) the following incident in the Tukums district:

> The road maintenance tasks have in numerous cases been distributed in an improper manner. Working farmer Pavare, an old woman, had thus to repair 300 meters of road which is in a disgraceful state. It is plain that she is not able to repair this road section. The village council instructed the road commission to check the road distribution plan and to see to it that badly damaged roads which cannot be repaired by individual efforts be improved collectively.

Each farm with at least one horse must also provide, for the so-called general services (such as transportation of officials and other carting), a horse-drawn vehicle with a driver for a specified number of days each year. The number of days varies greatly in individual communes.

The farmer must also spend much time in performing nonperiodical statute labor, especially in areas where fortifications and other constructions are being built. This type of statute labor must not infrequently be performed during the harvesting and sowing seasons, and without any compensation.

In addition to the individual statute labor already described, the farmers must perform collective statute labor several weeks a year for work which cannot be done individually. The main types of this labor are road repairs and filled drainage.

A resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Latvian Soviet Republic and the Central Committee of the Latvian

Communist Party set aside a "road-work month" every year from May 25 to June 25. During this period all the major highways and bridges in Latvia are repaired. Highway boards and district and communal executive committees must see to it that all district, commune, and individual farmers perform their tasks in road repair in good time and in the proper manner.

Compulsory drainage work is usually organized from June 5 to July 5. The Riga-Madon radio station reported on June 9, 1948, that 12,886 persons participated daily in this action in the month of June.

Failure to perform the imposed statute work makes a person liable to severe punishment. A case was reported in *Cina* February 10, 1948, of one "Alvine Puraine, owner of the Abaci farm in the Brukna commune of the Bauska district, who had to cut 70 cubic meters of firewood last year and to cart this quantity before March 1948. She has failed to do so. The court sentenced this saboteur of forest work to two years' imprisonment and the confiscation of all personal property." The newspaper omitted to say that the convict faced deportation to Siberia, as no criminal with a sentence of two years or more is allowed to serve it in his or her homeland.

One wonders how and when these unfortunate people are able to perform all the compulsory work imposed upon them, since they must also attend to their own farms in order to earn a living and to complete the high compulsory deliveries of farm produce. This of course is possible only if they work 18 to 20 hours a day without any holidays.

Tired and worn-out farmers cutting wood at night are no unusual sight in the Baltic countries today.

One hundred and fifty years ago the peasants of the Baltic States had to perform statute labor. The Baltic States at that time were under the domination of feudal lords in a feudal society. The difference between now and then is only in the severity of the punishments imposed: whereas eviction from his farm was the severest punishment which could be given a farmer for failure to fulfill his obligations under the statute labor of feudal times, now the punishment includes the confiscation of his entire personal property and deportation to Siberia.

Perhaps the best picture of the collectivization process is from the speeches and newspaper items in the Estonian press.

On December 25, 1949, for example, the chairmen of the Estonian *kolkhozes* were convened in Tallinn. One of the speakers was N. Karotamm, the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party. In his speech he declared:

> Our *kolkhozniks* should know what the state expects of them, and that is that every *kolkhoznik* should give his best towards the flourishing and prosperity of the state. This prosperity is sabotaged by the kulaks and their slavish hangers-on. We must cast out all this refuse from our midst, for in the Socialist society there is no place for sluggards and insubordinates. . . .
>
> Twenty per cent of our peasants have not joined *kolkhozes* yet, but this state of things must now be ended. The agitators [i.e., the members of the agitation and propaganda sections of the Communist Party] are bound to see to it that these adherents of capitalistic comforts join the *kolkhozes* voluntarily without delay, for

an individual farm in the middle of *kolkhoz* fields is like an island in the middle of the ocean which must be skirted.

We cannot tolerate this, and the agitators must make it plain to these opponents of collectivization that they must either join a kolkhoz *voluntarily or pack their bags and WE WILL FIND A PLACE FOR THEM ELSEWHERE. At the same time the agitators should not be in too great a hurry: THESE PEOPLE SHOULD BE GIVEN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS FOR THOUGHT.*

Karotamm then announced that for 1950 the compulsory deliveries must be discharged by July 20. He said:

Next year will see the completion of four years of the Five Year Plan, and by that time we must keep our promise to Stalin—fulfill the Five Year Plan in four years. In the towns things are not so bad—there we shall carry out the plan somehow; but in the country there are many shortcomings, and last year the peasants delivered only 18 per cent over and above the quota. In order to fulfill the plan we must give 46 per cent over and above the quota this year. And therefore we must make the greatest efforts next year in order not to be "a black sheep" in a flock of white ones. We must sow more, we must reap more, we must work with greater fervour, we must work by night if the day proves too short. . . .

All of you know how the kulak exploited his poor hired men; and now, when these hired men are free from kulak slavery, they do not want to work, although they know that all they accomplish profits them alone and their future prosperity. You say we are at the end of our forces. That is no excuse; we must find new forces. The Soviet regime knows no such words as "I am at the end of my strength," "I cannot," "I do not want to."

The will to work of all the workers has increased; only in the countryside there is grumbling and malingering. This must end; laziness must stop; and the handles of the plow be grasped firmly. Thereby you will pay to the party and the government that great

debt which you owe them for your liberation from capitalist slavery.

The Czarist regime exploited the workers, but that was only a tender caress as compared to the exploitation by Estonian "grey barons" [kulaks] and capitalists. For whom did you work then? For those who sucked your blood. Now you work for the state. And who is the state? You yourselves, dear comrades. You have said here that you are punished unjustly when failing to deliver your quotas "because there is not enough produce to deliver." This is an arrant lie; nobody punishes you unjustly, for, as I have mentioned before, Soviet punishments are severe but just. . . . In our country there are no longer any bourgeois courts or any bloodthirsty bourgeois police, but Soviet courts and a Soviet militia.

You must understand that we must and want to keep our promises to Stalin, and that every attempt to interfere by the enemies of collectivization will be crushed in embryo.

As harsh as the speech was, a harshness which is plainly obvious, it should be pointed out that one major project is plainly absurd, because impossible of accomplishment. Karotamm demanded that all the compulsory quotas of agricultural produce must be delivered by July 20, 1950. The only possible crop which could be delivered by that time is hay; all other crops ripen considerably later in Estonia. For example, rye is not harvested before the end of July; wheat, oats, and barley in August. The only possible reason for this demand made by the Communist authorities may lie in the fact that in the Ukraine and the southern regions of the Russian SFSR the crops are indeed ripe by that time, and the All-Union plan is compiled with these regions in mind. If Karotamm's order were carried out, the Soviets would receive only green

corn from Estonia, which would rot in a few weeks, and at best could be used only as fodder.

In any case, failure to deliver the crops may certainly be declared sabotage and counter-revolutionary subversion, thus providing for the roundup of those who might still be holdouts from the *kolkhoz* system.

But there is still another design in this. Reference has been made to the mass expulsions of peoples from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. An analysis of the areas from which these people have been removed indicates that there has been a systematic removal of peoples from the areas bordering on the old boundaries of the Soviet Union from the Gulf of Finland to the shores of the Black Sea, and the resettlement of these areas with Soviet citizens from the eastern reaches of the Soviet Union. These newly settled people are unable to carry on any intercourse with the inhabitants of the nearby regions for want of similar language and culture. This, then, constitutes another compelling reason for the forcible removal of peoples from their homeland—the creation of a "sanitary" strip to keep the infection of unorthodox ideas even more completely away from the Soviet Union proper.

It may be appropriate to present here the orders issued by the NKVD (or MVD) regarding the manner of conducting the deportation of "Anti-Soviet Elements from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia." The following order from the files of the NKVD is presented almost in its entirety.

STRICTLY SECRET

INSTRUCTIONS

Regarding the Manner of Conducting the Deportation of the Anti-Soviet Elements from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia

1. *General Situation*

The deportation of anti-Soviet elements from the Baltic States is a task of great political importance. Its successful execution depends upon the extent to which the county operative triumvirates and operative headquarters are capable of carefully working out a plan for executing the operations and foreseeing in advance all indispensable factors. Moreover, the basic premise is that the operations should be conducted without noise and panic, so as not to permit any demonstrations and other excesses not only by the deportees, but also by a certain part of the surrounding population inimically inclined toward the Soviet administration.

Instructions regarding the manner of conducting the operations are described below. They should be adhered to, but in individual cases the collaborators conducting the operations may and should, depending upon the peculiarity of the concrete circumstances of the operations and in order to evaluate correctly the situation, make different decisions for the same purpose, viz., to execute the task given them without noise and panic.

2. *Manner of Issuing Instructions*

The instructing of operative groups should be done by the county triumvirates within as short a time as possible on the day before the beginning of the operations, taking into consideration the time necessary for traveling to the place of operation.

The county triumvirates previously prepare necessary transpor-

tation for transferring the operative groups to the villages in the locale of operations.

In regard to the question of allotting the necessary number of automobiles and wagons for transportation, the county triumvirates will consult the leaders of the Soviet party organizations on the spot.

Premises in which to issue instructions must be carefully prepared in advance, and their capacity, exits, entrances, and the possibility of strangers entering must be taken into consideration.

During the time instructions are issued the building must be securely guarded by the administrative workers.

In case anyone among those participating in the operations fail to appear for instructions, the county triumvirate should immediately take measures to substitute the absentee from a reserve force, which should be provided in advance.

The triumvirate through its representative should notify the officers gathered of the decision of the government to deport an accounted-for contingent of anti-Soviet elements from the territory of the respective republic or region. Moreover, a brief explanation should be given as to what the deportees represent.

Special attention of the (local) Soviet party workers gathered for instructions should be drawn to the fact that the deportees are enemies of the Soviet people and that, therefore, the possibility of an armed attack on the part of the deportees is not excluded.

3. *Manner of Obtaining Documents*

After the issuance of general instructions to the operative groups, they should definitely be issued documents regarding the deportees. Personal files of the deportees must be previously discussed and settled by the operative groups of townships and villages, so that there are no obstacles in issuing them.

After receiving the personal files, the senior member of the

operative groups acquaints himself with the personal files of the family which he will have to deport. He must check the number of persons in the family, the supply of necessary forms to be filled out by the deportee, and transportation for moving the deportee, and he should receive exhaustive answers to questions not clear to him.

At the time when the files are issued, the county triumvirate must explain to each senior member of the operative group where the deported family is to be settled and describe the route to be taken to the place of deportation. Routes to be taken by the administrative personnel with the deported families to the railway station for embarkation must also be fixed. It is also necessary to point out places where reserve military groups are placed in case it should become necessary to call them out during possible excesses.

Possession and state of arms and ammunition must be checked throughout the whole operative personnel. Weapons must be completely ready for battle, loaded, but the cartridge should not be kept in the chamber. Weapons should be used only as a last resort, when the operative group is attacked or threatened with an attack, or when resistance is shown.

4. *Manner of Executing Deportation*

Should a number of families be deported from one spot, one of the operative workers is appointed senior in regard to deportation from the village, and his orders are to be obeyed by the operative personnel in that village.

Having arrived in the village, the operative groups must get in touch (observing the necessary secrecy) with the local authorities: chairman, secretary, or members of the village soviets; and should ascertain from them the exact dwelling of the families to be deported. After that the operative groups, together with the local authorities, go to the families to be banished.

The operation should be commenced at daybreak. Upon entering the home of the person to be banished, the senior member of

the operative group should gather the entire family of the deportee into one room, taking all necessary precautionary measures against any possible excesses.

After having checked the members of the family against the list, the location of those absent and the number of persons sick should be ascertained, after which they should be called upon to give up their weapons. Regardless of whether weapons are surrendered or not, the deportee should be personally searched, and then the entire premises should be searched in order to uncover weapons. . . .

5. *Manner of Separating Deportee from his Family*

In view of the fact that a large number of the deportees must be arrested and placed in special camps and their families settled at special points in distant regions, it is necessary to execute the operation of deporting both the members of his family as well as the deportee simultaneously, without informing them of the separation confronting them. After having made the search and drawn up the necessary documents for identification in the home of the deportee, the administrative workers shall draw up documents for the head of the family and place them in his personal file, but the documents drawn up for the members of his family should be placed in the personal file of the deportee's family.

The moving of the entire family, however, to the station should be done in one vehicle, and only at the station should the head of the family be placed separately from his family in a railway car specially intended for heads of families.

While gathering together the family in the home of the deportee, the head of the family should be warned that personal male articles are to be packed into a separate suitcase, as a sanitary inspection will be made of the deported men separately from the women and children.

At the stations the possessions of heads of families subject to arrest should be loaded into railway cars assigned to them, which

will be designated by special operative workers appointed for that purpose.

6. *Manner of Convoying the Deportees*

It is strictly prohibited for the operatives convoying the vehicle-moved column of deportees to sit in the wagons of the deportees. The operatives must follow by the side and at the rear of the column of deportees. The senior operator of the convoy should periodically go around the entire column to check the correctness of movement.

The convoy must act particularly carefully in conducting the column of deportees through inhabited spots as well as in meeting passersby; they should see that there are no attempts made to escape, and no exchange of words should be permitted between the deportees and passersby. . . .

DEPUTY PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR OF STATE SECURITY OF THE USSR
Commissar of State Security of the Third Rank
Signed: SEROV

CORRECT: (Signed) MASHKIN*

The forced-labor code quoted in a previous chapter indicates clearly that the MVD is in the business of supplying labor not only for its own enterprises but for other enterprises as well. It should not be concluded that the labor supply is given to other industries simply because they are in need. The MVD makes a profit from the "hiring out" of this labor.

* This order of the NKVD (the Soviet Secret Police), and several other secret documents presented in this book, were secured by Lithuanian underground fighters, and were made available to the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor by the Lithuanian Information Center in New York City.

To indicate how this commercial transaction was carried out in the Baltic States, the following extract from an NKVD telephonogram may serve.

Riga—Comrade Serov
Comrade Avakumov

Echelons from Latvia to proceed as follows: . . .
From Lithuanian SSR to the Altai Region: . . .
From the Estonian SSR:

37.	Station Kotielnichi, Gorki Railway	1,600	persons
38.	" Shakhunya, " "	300	"
39.	" Kirov, " "	500	"
40.	" Slobodskoye, " "	400	"
41.	" Filonki, " "	300	"
42.	" Vekanskaya, " "	300	"
43.	" Murashi, " "	100	"
44.	" Orichi, " "	100	"
45.	" Yurya, " "	100	"
46.	" Koparino, " "	100	"
47.	" Pinyur, " "	100	"
48.	" Lusa, " "	100	"
49.	" Novosibirsk, Tomsk Railway	700	"
50.	" Chany, " "	1,000	"
51.	" Kargat, " "	1,000	"
52.	" Promyshlennaya, " "	1,000	"
53.	" Starobielsk, Moscow-Donbas Railway		
	Men only without their families	1,930	"
54.	" Babynino, Moscow-Kiev Railway		
	Men only without their families	1,000	"
55.	Solikamsk, Perm Railway		
	Criminal offenders	472	"

Bills of lading to be prepared in accordance with above destinations.

Heads of the echelons to report progress once daily to Transport Department of the NKVD of the SSR.

(Signed) Chernyshev
Delivered: Kotliarev
Received: Vorobiev
June 13

No. 30/5698/016
June 13, 1941

Part II

CHAPTER FIVE

Romania in Chains

> A specter is haunting Europe. It is the specter of Communism.
> Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The Communist Manifesto"

When Marx and Engels wrote the above words they were careful to explain that what they meant was not so much the immediacy of Communist conquest of Europe, but the use by the existing powers of the term Communist as a rallying cry against all progressive social legislation and the extension of the franchise.

Today the words have a real and terrible meaning; they have come to mean the specter of Stalinist Communism, with the extension of repressions and a new form of slavery. That this is not a matter of whipping the dead dog will become abundantly clear as we see what has happened in those countries which have succumbed to the power of the followers of Stalin.

Not only does the pattern of forced-labor camps and deportations appear, but the so-called "free" population acquires the liabilities which the Soviet population have long labored under. This is not accident. It is part of the development of Stalinist Communism that the "new democracies" must slavishly follow the pattern initiated in the Soviet Union. Only in this way can the orthodoxy

of the regime be demonstrated; only thus can the requirements of a monolithic religious structure be fulfilled.

Perhaps the clearest example of this can be seen in the events which have taken place in Romania.

1.

For years a fascist regime had been imposed upon the Romanian people. This regime had made common cause with Hitler, and when the tide of battle in World War II had turned, Romania, whose borders join that of the Soviet Union, was occupied by Soviet troops. In Romania there were many people who had been imprisoned by the fascist regime for their opposition to totalitarianism. These men and women were committed to democracy in no uncertain terms. Among this number was General Nicolai Radescu, jailed by the fascists, and at one point chosen by the Moscow conquerors to be Prime Minister of Romania. Radescu could abide the Soviet totalitarian masters no less than he could the Nazi masters. For this crime he almost paid with his life. Escaping by miracle to the United States, he appeared in the auditorium of the New York Bar Association to testify before the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor. Radescu's testimony, with the documentation of his charges, illustrates so clearly the development in the satellite countries that it is here presented in detail.

The most inhuman form under which present-day slavery appears is that of the deportations of great masses of people from the Soviet-

occupied countries, which are forcibly rounded up and sent into the interior of Russia.

A part of the working population of Romania is in this way kept in captivity in the mines and forests beyond the Urals, in the dreaded Gulags, where the life of the prisoners is a nightmare and death means deliverance. Although four and a half years have passed since the cessation of hostilities between Romania and the Soviet Union, at least 180,000 Romanian prisoners of war and peace (because the Soviet Army continued to take prisoners after the acceptance of the armistice on the part of Romania) still remain to be repatriated. A great number of these unrepatriated prisoners have probably already perished, and those who are still living are condemned to the same fate in the inferno of modern slavery.

That these figures are no exaggeration can be seen from the following. From the Soviet war communiqués it appears that over 500,000 Romanian prisoners were taken by the Red Army. The figures in the possession of the Romanian General Staff, however, showed that the total number of Romanian prisoners of war captured by the Russians amounts to approximately 320,000. Of this number, 130,000 were captured illegally, that is, after August 23, 1944, when hostilities by Romania against the Soviet Union were suspended.

In addition to the 320,000 there were at least 100,000 men from Northern Transylvania who were taken prisoner while serving in the Hungarian Army. After Northern Transylvania was reunited to Romania, and when the repatriation of the Romanian POWs began, the Northern Transylvanians were included in those to be repatriated as Romanians. Therefore the total number of prisoners

who should be returned to the newly created borders of Romania would appear to be 420,000.

Of this number, according to official figures, only 190,000 were repatriated (30,000 in 1944, 68,000 in 1945, 39,000 in 1946, 31,000 in 1947, and 22,000 in 1948). Of the remaining 230,000 POWs, 50,000 were declared dead by the Soviet authorities. This latter declaration was made in February, 1945, by the Soviet Political Representative to the Romanian Government. The names of the deceased Romanian POWs were not given then or later. Thus, even though more conservative figures than those given by the Soviet Union are used, the total of the repatriated Romanian prisoners being 190,000, it follows that at least 180,000 are still retained in captivity, after deducting the 50,000 who were declared dead.

As far as the condition of the POWs and the POW camps is concerned, the somber story is the same as already told in these pages. With the exception of about one-fourth of those repatriated, who had been held in special camps for political indoctrination and were afterward brought to Romania to provide the core of the Romanian Sovietized army and of the Communist militia, the remainder spent between three and seven years at hard labor, in the mines and forests of Asiatic Russia. They were compelled to work under inhuman conditions; and whenever unable to fulfill their allotted exhausting quotas were denied even the starvation rations on which they had tried to live. A great number of them were sent to work in Arctic regions without any medical care or proper

clothing or footwear, and they were lodged in improvised sheds. It is not surprising that as a result the mortality among the Romanian POWs was extremely high.

It is safe to assume that a substantial part of the unrepatriated 180,000 men found their graves in remote Siberian regions, and that the survivors are doomed to a similar fate.

Giving substance to this assumption is the decree issued on November 30, 1948, by the Presidium of the so-called Popular Romanian Republic, which declares that "all inhabitants of Romania who had disappeared during the war outside the national territory are presumed to be dead." This of course means that the repatriation program is at an end, and that the Romanian Government as now constituted will not press for the return of those of the 180,000 POWs who may still be alive. The only definite information to date—information not supplied by either the Romanian Government or the Soviet Union—is that there were 4,000 officers still alive at the end of 1948 in Soviet Labor Camp Number 117 at Katona Gorki, in the province of Obelti Gorku.

But the prisoners of war were not to be the only sufferers, the only Romanian gift of labor to the ever-increasing demands of the Soviet economy. As General Radescu testified:

> Within a short lapse of time, beginning with January 5, 1945, a total of 36,590 men and 32,748 women, Romanian subjects of German origin, were taken from their homes by Soviet troops and

MVD agents in the middle of the night and deported to the Soviet Union.

This action was evidenced by a decision taken on behalf of the Allied Control Commission by the Soviet High Command in Romania. Lists were drawn of all Romanian nationals of German stock (men between the ages of 18 and 45 and women between the ages of 17 and 35) in order to arrange for their being sent as forced labor to the Soviet Union. The decision was immediately put into effect, with the result that by the end of January, 1945, 69,332 of the listed persons were rounded up and carried to Russia.

These people [continued General Radescu] were transported to Russia huddled in unheated cattle cars without food and without being permitted to take any luggage. My repeated protests, as Prime Minister, the post which I held at that time, were completely ignored by the Soviet occupying power. I was able to secretly inform the leaders of the German minority about the impending deportation, so they were enabled to warn their people and advise them to seek safety by hiding. The fact that only 69,332 of the 95,000 listed for deportation were actually rounded up during the main phase of the deportations may be due to this warning. Since that time the number of almost 70,000 deported Romanian nationals of German origin has grown to at least 107,000. According to carefully checked information, a considerable part of this number died during their journey, or as a result of the barbarous treatment to which they were subjected in the camps situated in the Stalino region (Ukraine), where women were forced to draw ox wagons or to work in mines.

Typical of the experience of the people who were rounded up at this time is that of Mrs. H. M. Her notar-

ized affidavit is in the files of the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor. The complete text of Mrs. M.'s statement is here presented.

I, Mrs. H. M., herewith state that the report about slave labor in the Ukraine consisting of two pages and starting with the words "soon after" and ending with the words "ghost transport" was written by me according to my experiences. I did not sign the documents, as I have relatives living in the Eastern Zone. However, I am willing to give to any persons who can present themselves with a pass from Dr. Rainer Hildebrandt any details to my report. [Dr. Rainer Hildebrandt is the director of an organization called "The Fighting Group against Inhumanity," which operates out of the Western Zone in Berlin. The organization, in addition to caring for those refugees who escape from the East, also carefully takes the stories of the refugees, and has developed a most complete statistical as well as human documentation of the forced-labor and concentration-camp system behind the iron curtain.]

Soon after the Red Army entered Romania, all *Volksdeutsche* had to report to the police. It was said that only lists would be made out. Nobody knew what was back of it.

One morning at 5 o'clock Soviet cars arrived at all houses, the streets were closed, and all Germans had to pack up all their belongings within ten minutes. Quite a few who were met on the streets and who had identified themselves as *Volksdeutsche* could not even pack up their belongings. In this manner, within a few hours, the first large transport was put together. All German men between the ages of 17 and 18 were among same. Only women who had a child that was younger than one year were permitted to remain home. My sister, whose child was only two months over a year, had only time to give the child on the street to a strange person and to call at her address.

We were 90 men and women pressed into one freight car, which was sealed. We did not even have a pail for the urgent necessities.

It was January 13, 1945, that this transport began. Yet there was not even an oven in our car. However, quite a few Russian guards were decent, and you could bribe a few, who—though it was not permitted—brought us wood and we could start a fire in the car.

At the border station, Yasch, we stayed for four days. From Yasch the trip continued to Krvoirck [sic]. It was said that there was our labor camp. The Soviets gave orders that all men should prepare themselves so that they could go first to start fires in the camp. The women were to follow. Quite a number of fathers or brothers took all the luggage along. Suddenly—it was already night—we noticed that the train started to move. We yelled out and called for the Russian guards, who quieted us and told us the train was proceeding further into the interior of Russia to Neprosierkinsk. We were brought into a camp wholly unprepared, where there was neither straw nor beds. That evening for the first time after crossing the border we received food from the Soviets.

In this camp we had to get up each morning at 5 o'clock to walk 8 km. to our place of work. We had to dismantle a destroyed factory and to pack the stones for transport. At 11 o'clock we got the first food. We received the usual cabbage soup and 800 grams of bread, which had to be sufficient for the whole day. We did not get any meat or fat. In the afternoon we got the same cabbage soup.

After we returned at night, totally exhausted, we had to listen to lectures; and were told we had not filled our quota. We did not work enough, and therefore they could not pay us any wages. Our work would not even be covered by the State advance, especially since so many of us were sick and our work had also to keep up the sick ones. Once a week we had to go to the movies. Whoever did not attend the propaganda film did not get anything to eat. Also they did not spare the most severe punishments to make us fulfill our quota. Many a woman had to kneel down in the snow for four or five hours. If that did not help, corporal punishment was given. One of my friends went away for half an hour from the work in order to warm up. She was denounced to the officer and con-

demned to the bunker, where she had to lie on the cold, naked cement floor without receiving a blanket during the coldest of winter. In the morning she did not receive any food and had to go to work. On the evening she again had to return to the bunker; and the following morning she was found lying dead. The Soviet soldiers became quite alarmed, and this harsh punishment was not again given.

Of the 386 camp inmates, 38 were returned home during this winter because they could not be used for any work. This, however, was the same as being a candidate for death. Quite a few had already died during the journey. Of the remainder, 15 more died during the same winter.

In one of the neighboring camps there were 5,000 inmates, men between 16 and 60 years, who had been deported. Of these 2,800 died during the same winter. Mass graves had to be prepared.

I also came into contact with German prisoners of war. They looked horrible. Many of them broke down while at work. Quite a few of the guards hit at them, sometimes with their feet, and could not understand that they could not work any more.

However, it must be pointed out that we met quite a few decent Russian civilians, and also good soldiers, who helped us wherever they could. Some of them gave us their last savings. When we returned home from our work, quite a few, especially older civilians, standing on road crossings, threw us fat, candy, fruit, and similar things. Quite a few who saw our torn shoes took off, in the cold, before our eyes, their own shoes, and gave them to those who needed them most.

After the wrecking work had been completed, we were divided into various brigades. I went to a coal transport. Four of us had to unload, within fifteen minutes, one carload of coal. Once we found in the coal a 7-year-old dead child, and another time a dead man. When we called the Commissioner, on account of finding this man, the Russian soldiers took off the shoes from the dead man before the Commissioner arrived.

For a while we had to load sulphur. Quite a few who had to do this kind of work for any length of time got infected eyes, skin diseases, and *carbuncolosis*. Comrades of mine who had to go down into the coal pits to dig coal got lung sickness; and most everyone had a hernia. After one year not even half of them were capable of working any longer, and many had died. Our work brigade was assigned to another camp after two years. It was said that the factory could not supply us any longer with food, because we had not done enough work. We were promised the trip home. We received payment in supplies for five days. We departed happily, until we found out one day that the trip, instead of bringing us homeward, took us 300 km. further into Russia, to Eivakiewo, which is 60 km. from Stalino. My sister, whom I met there, could hardly recognize me. Luckily the officer assigned me to easy work in the washroom of the factory. There I worked for five months until I was granted the trip home. When we returned we were called the "ghost transport."

Unfortunately the POWs and the Germans of ethnic origin were not the only ones to suffer this treatment; for in addition to the approximately 107,000 Romanian subjects of German origin, there also were deported, from August, 1944, until the end of January, 1948, about 20,000 Romanians from Moldavia and Northern Transylvania (taken from their homes up till March, 1945). In addition there were about 50,000 people, formerly inhabitants of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, and between 60,000 and 70,000 persons deported to Russia for political reasons. Those in the last two categories were sent to the labor camps of Central Asia and Siberia.

Both Moldavia and Northern Transylvania were under direct Soviet military administration between August,

1944 and March, 1945. The 20,000 people referred to were sent as "politically unreliable." The figure is that of the Romanian authorities. Those from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina were removed by means of an "abusive" interpretation of Article 5 of the Armistice Agreement of September 12, 1944, which stipulated the repatriation of "the Allied citizens forcibly removed to Romania."

Brutus Coste and George Munteanu, two extremely reliable Romanian expatriates, the former once a member of the Romanian diplomatic corps of proved democratic devotion, and the latter of demonstrated devotion to his people, declared that:

> In the name of the Allied Control Commission, the Soviet High Command decided that all Romanian inhabitants who, up to the end of June, 1940, had their domicile in Bessarabia or Northern Bukovina, should be "repatriated" to the Soviet Union. In virtue of this decision, according to data assembled by the Romanian Armistice Commission, 24,000 persons were sent to Soviet Russia. However, this number includes only the persons that were recorded by this Commission. Additional data established that the total number of persons involved in this operation amounted to around 50,000. On the other hand, according to a note published by *Pravda* in March, 1945, subsequently broadcast by the Moscow radio in its Romanian program, the total of "Soviet citizens" that were repatriated from Romania amounted to 93,000. In other words, it follows from this information that another 43,000 inhabitants of Romania were rounded up by the Soviet police authorities and sent to Russia. The latter figure, in all probability, included several thousands of White Russians. These deportations, under the name of repatriations, were carried out in most cases without the knowledge of the Romanian authorities, because up to the end

of 1945 the railways and all means of communication were directly administered by the Soviet military authorities.

It should be further noted that a decree of the Presidium of the so-called Popular Romanian Republic, enacted at the end of December, 1948, established that both those inhabitants of Romania born in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina and those who settled there after the termination of the first Soviet occupation of these provinces, that is, after July, 1941, were required to register with the authorities. Inasmuch as the Budgetary Law for 1949–50 established an important credit to cover the expenses "of the transportation of Allied subjects to their country of origin," it may be concluded that, yielding as usual to the Soviet demands, the Bucharest Government is planning to furnish the labor camps in the Soviet Union an additional contingent of several thousand Romanians.

These deportations [declared General Radescu] were unfortunately only a beginning. In effect, whereas until January, 1948 the deportations were carried out in small groups—with the exception of the Romanian nationals of German origin—all information which reached us from various trustworthy sources shows that during the last year and continuing this year, i.e., 1948 and 1949, mass deportation for forced labor in the Soviet Union of political opponents of the Communist regime have become the common practice. Political prisoners from several concentration camps and jails are reported to have already been deported; it has been similarly reported that several thousand former Romanian Army officers were brought near the Soviet-Romanian border as a preliminary to their deportation to Russia.

According to a most conservative estimate, the number of people taken into captivity up to the beginning of 1948, under the conditions described above, total at least 240,000 inhabitants of Romania —in its present frontiers. But the Romanian people are justified in accusing the Soviet Union before the civilized world of a crime of even greater proportions—a crime which assumes the form of an *authentic* genocide, because the deportations in this case are

but a means of exterminating a whole branch of a people. This crime has been and continues to be perpetrated against the Romanian population of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, the two provinces which in 1940 and 1944 were forcibly annexed by the Soviet Union.

In June, 1940, when, in agreement with Hitler, the Soviet troops occupied these provinces, there were slightly over 2,000,000 Romanians living in this region. A year later, when they were reunited to Romania (which has never given up *de jure* sovereignty over them), almost 300,000 of these people were missing. From the statements made by the local population it appears that, following the occupation of these two provinces by the Red Army, the Soviet authorities started the deportation into the interior of Russia of the intelligentsia and of the politically articulate members of the village communities. On the other hand, from the declarations of those who succeeded in escaping from the trains which were transporting them to their doom or managed to escape from the camps, it has been found that the Soviet authorities resorted in this instance also to the barbarous practices which today have become known to the whole world: raids in the middle of the night; the seizure of entire families; the separation of husband from wife, of children from their parents; their transportation in cattle cars, without food or water for several days; a journey which lasted several weeks in cars full of the corpses of those who succumbed to these conditions; and, in the end, the distant camp where a slow death was awaiting the survivors.

In August, 1944, the Soviet Union had again taken possession of the two provinces; and in the four years and a half which have passed since then, more than half of the remaining 1,700,000 people of Romanian stock were deported beyond the Urals. The process is still continuing. This time, as confirmed by various sources, the manner in which the deportations were carried out surpasses the savage methods used in 1940: the children were taken from their parents, and interned in Soviet orphanages in order to be forcibly Russianized. The other nationalities from the same provinces were

subjected to similar treatment. The Soviet Government seems to plan the replacement of the native population from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea with elements of Mongolian stock.

This sorry tale, however, is not all. Within the borders of Romania the jails, prisons, and concentration camps are going full blast. More than 100,000 Romanians are in these prisons and camps because of their political beliefs, and about 50,000 people are imprisoned for "economic sabotage." Only a few thousand of these people have ever had any semblance of a trial, even what we would consider a mock trial. To show what life in the prisons is like, the statements of some of the former prisoners should serve. Thus, several political inmates of the *Vacaresti* penitentiary, near Bucharest, in April, 1947, sent a memorandum to the Minister of the Interior, in which they declared that:

> The undersigned, members of the National-Liberal, National-Peasant, and Independent Socialist parties, were brought to the *Vacaresti* penitentiary in March, 1947, without any warrants of arrests nor any explanation from the Security Police. At first we were taken to the Ministry of Interior and the Police Prefecture. Upon our arrest, we were not allowed to take along any food or underwear. Twenty-four of us were put in one small cell without daylight or sufficient air. For necessities there is a pail in the cell which infects the air. The cell is full of vermin. . . . Our food consists of some badly smelling corn mash and a soup served in wooden vessels. We get no medical assistance. . . .

A political prisoner who had been through several prisons smuggled out a letter dated November 16, 1948, in which he wrote:

The treatment applied to political prisoners is considerably harsher and more inhuman than the regime to which are subjected the common law convicts, and the worst treatment is reserved for the prisoners not yet tried. . . . All jails are packed several times beyond their capacity. Many prisoners are compelled to sleep on the floor. Those who are more fortunate have to share their narrow bed . . . which has no mattress or blankets. . . . The beds are placed close to one another, and form a triple tier which reaches to the ceiling. The air is hardly breathable, especially in winter, when the dungeons, damp and dark, are heated exclusively by the warmth generated by the bodies of the prisoners themselves. The place is infested with vermin, and nothing is being done to destroy it. . . .

There are several thousand political prisoners who throughout the last three years were kept in solitary confinement, while others have completed one year under the same conditions. . . . Food is given twice a day, and it consists of a soup made of weeds, which very seldom includes potatoes and beans, and of 400 grams of stale corn mash. . . . In the last four months the warders were replaced by rabid Communists who are pathological sadists. . . . "

By September, 1950, word had come through from Romania that the prisons were less crowded than they had been up to then. The partial emptying of the prisons is due to the fact that 80,000 prisoners were set to work as forced laborers and construction workers on the Danube-Black Sea Canal now under construction.

2.

In a manner almost reminiscent of the slogans in George Orwell's *1984*, "War is Peace," "Freedom is Slavery," "Ignorance is Strength," the forced-labor policies of the

Romanian and other satellite countries of the Soviet Union are masked by the use of the term "voluntary brigades." Thus in all these countries "voluntary labor brigades" flourish.

According to the Romanian press, more than 200,000 youths were mobilized for "voluntary labor" in 1948. There are four kinds of labor brigades. The first is the youth-brigade setup. This is divided in two—permanent and temporary brigades. The permanent brigades are manned by unemployed or union-designated manual, office, or intellectual workers. For this full-time daily job they are given subsistence and a nominal pay. Temporary brigades are attached to the permanent brigades. The temporary brigades are made up of students, young magistrates, teachers, public officials, and workers who are drafted for the whole period of their summer vacations. These "volunteers" receive no pay; the food they receive barely differs from that on which the inmates of the concentration camps have to subsist. Both types of brigade are engaged in public works. Discipline is harsh, and the schedule is ten hours of work and two hours of "political education."

General Radescu describes two other types of brigade which are organized on a nonpermanent basis. These are employed locally for so-called "spare-time" jobs, either in rural or urban areas. In the rural brigades peasants are compelled to work without pay, either at village projects or at national public work projects which are being carried on in the region where they live.

In the urban brigades [declares General Radescu] all salary and wage earners, jobless and retired people, students (and, generally, any man, woman, or child receiving a special summons) are compelled to work "voluntarily" at such jobs as street paving, tree planting, etc. They are summoned to their tasks by representatives of the Communist Party, the labor unions, or school authorities, and absence at roll call is punished with withdrawal of the ration card, loss of job, or expulsion from school. The supplementary unpaid labor an individual is forced to contribute through these nonpermanent brigades during his spare time, which should be normally devoted to rest and leisure, averages 40 hours per month. To prevent church attendance and participation in other kinds of social activities that may escape the control of the Communist Party, these types of "voluntary brigades" usually work on Sundays or other religious holidays.

There is a fourth type of labor brigade. This is reserved for public officials who were victims of various political purges, dismissed army officers, and, generally speaking, anyone not gainfully employed. The conditions in the labor camps to which those people are confined is practically the same as in the concentration camps: starvation subsistence, harsh discipline, no pay, complete separation from families. Yet all these types of brigade are called "voluntary."

A very reliable Romanian informant, who fled from his country at the end of January, 1949, and whose name must be withheld in order to protect his family still in Romania, reported that:

In the labor brigades set up in 1948, on an experimental basis, in the Jiu and Pruth valleys (railway construction, coal mining,

land reclamation, and construction of river dams) the mortality was between 25 and 30 per cent—due to starvation, exposure, and accidents.

With this background, the cynical description of the brigades at work, which appeared in *Romanian Review*, the official publication in English of the Bucharest Ministry of Propaganda, takes on an entirely new meaning. Here is the story as the Romanian Government presents it for foreign consumption. The excerpts here presented are from issues 7 and 8 of the *Romanian Review* for 1948. The article was written by Ion Marinescu, Secretary of the Workers' Youth Union's Central Committee, Education and Cultural Section, and was entitled: "Steeling a New Youth in Romania."

When visiting present-day Craiova on a Sunday noon, these visitors could note a very curious fact: on Stalin Square, in the centre of the town, they could see 5,000 to 6,000 people gather, including 3,000 to 4,000 students and pupils, alongside of young workers, grown-up workers, peasants, and women. They are all gathered to listen to the order of the day conferring the flag of labor on the best volunteer brigade which has distinguished itself during the week in the work of constructing an engine shed. . . .

Our visitors will find in the building yard of the engine shed, every day, hundreds of youths and especially high-school boys, beating the working record, excelling each other in the competition.

. . . But who trained these youths for their work? In November, 1947, the brigade training school "Chivu Stoica" was set up in Craiova. Here 350 youths from various brigades of the Workers' Youth Union engaged in the work of building the engine shed. Half of them are working in the morning and attending a course

for political and technical education in the afternoon, and the other half vice versa.

First, they were alone with some technicians of the Romanian State Railways. Then came thousands of volunteers. Today there are 70 brigades numbering 5,000 youths. . . .

. . . Late in October there began looming as a threat to Bucharest industry the growing shortage of natural gas on account of the exhaustion of its sources. It became necessary to build a new pipe line connected with the main, supplying to Bucharest valuable fuel, the sources of which are in Transylvania. A pipe line had to be constructed between Botorca-Cetatea Alba, where the natural gas wells are located, and Agnita, the junction with the main leading to Bucharest, over a distance of 51.5 kilometers. Technical experts estimated 6 months in favorable weather for the completion of the work.

But the Government, relying on the enthusiastic efforts of the Workers' Youth, appealed to the Workers' Youth Union, setting a time limit of 48 days for this work. Within 2 days, responding to the appeal of the W.Y.U.'s Central Committee, 350 young Bucharest workers presented themselves, prepared to brave lashing rain and snow, cold and mud. They were joined by another 400 young members from the Workers' Youth Union in the neighborhood of the building yard, and formed the brigade "Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej." In the free hours and on Sundays there came thousands of Romanian and Hungarian peasants, young workers, women and soldiers. . . . The pipe line was completed in 34 days. . . .

This has been possible only because the youth worked day and night, vying with each other in a vertiginous *élan,* and beating their own target norms.

. . . This achievement was preceded by a series of reconstruction works which the W.Y.U. had organized in the summer and autumn of 1947. At this time there existed 13 permanent brigades in various parts of the country, which performed 3,319,000 work-

ing hours, completed 110 kilometers of railway lines, and extracted tens of tons of coal. Moreover, there were throughout Romania 350 nonpermanent units of the Workers' Youth Union, which in 750,-000 working hours performed 45,000 miscellaneous works such as repairs on machinery, agricultural implements, scrap-iron collections, and repairs of tools, rallying little short of 100,000 youths.

The experience of the Romanian Youth in the field of reconstruction work expanded by participating with a number of voluntary working brigades in Yugoslavia in the construction of the railway line carried out by the youth between Samac and Serajevo, and similar works in Bulgaria and Albania. . . . And Marilla came next. At Marilla in the Banat, 103 young workers completed in record time the building of Romania's biggest sanatorium for lung diseases. . . .

Next came Ceaunul Mare-Cluj: a new pipe line to supply natural gas to the town of Cluj. Here 550 youths from the "Vasile Luca" brigade, including 45 of the Agnita record workers, achieved again miracles of sturdiness in the field of creative work. Instead of three kilometers of pipe line a month, as estimated by technical experts up to three kilometers a day were achieved. This is how the 34.5 kilometers of the pipe line were completed within 27 days. . . .

Bucharest came next. 800 Workers' Youth Union volunteers built in record time a big factory. At the same time, the railway line Caciulata-Snagov, with a length of 16 kilometers, was constructed . . . by 450 young volunteers, aided by thousands of workers from the capital in their spare time, and by peasants from the surroundings of Bucharest. . . .

To celebrate the first anniversary of the setting up of the Workers' Youth Union (February 21st, March 15th), in every country the youths are performing at least one work of local public utility. The Government of the Romanian People's Republic, in view of the *élan* of the Youth, has set up a special commission to steer the works, which scheduled 6 national building yards for

the work of the Volunteer Youth brigade. The first of these building yards was the natural gas pipe line Ceaunul Mare-Cluj, by now completed. Three big building yards were set up on April 1st. They are:

1) The railway line Bumbesti-Livezeni, with a length of 31.4 km., started 20 years ago but left derelict by the past anti-popular regimes. This railway line . . . will be completed through the relentless work of the youth by November 30th, 1948. . . .
2) The railway line Slva-Viseu, covering 65 kilometers.
3) Damming of the inundation area of the lower Pruth River, to recover for agriculture 13,000 hectares of arable land.

Two new building yards are to follow this summer: the paving of the streets in the Bucharest outskirts, and the reconstruction of Galatz, an important Danube port. . . .

It should be apparent by now that the forced-labor system is not confined to the camps in which the "enemies" of the state are placed, but is in fact a condition of the entire population, varying only in degree from that of the centers for the condemned.

Romania has laws similar to those which the Soviet Union long ago enacted. The particular form in which the Romanian Government places the laws defining "crimes which would endanger the security of the State and the development of the national economy," is contained in the text which *Romanian News* published on February 6, 1949.

Text of the Romanian Law of January 13, 1949. Official English translation published by the Press Service of the Romanian Legation, Washington, D. C.

Art. 1—The following crimes are liable to the death penalty:

a) treason to the country, work for the enemy, prejudicial actions against the State power;

b) procuring or transmitting State secrets to a foreign or enemy power;

c) plot against the internal or external security of the People's Republic of Romania.

Art. 2—The sabotage against the development of the economy of the People's Republic of Romania is also liable to the death penalty. Under sabotage is understood:

a) destruction and deterioration, by any means, of buildings, machineries, any kind of equipment of industrial or other kinds of enterprises, of power plants, of gas plants or of other similar plants;

b) destruction of tracks, of installations, materials, or means of communication by air or water, bridges, aqueducts, telephone and telegraph equipment, or destruction of broadcasting stations;

c) destruction by fire, or by any other means, of industrial and agricultural means of industrial goods, or of forests;

d) intentional nonaccomplishment of duties or careless performance of duties in the enterprises mentioned under paragraph (a) and which can bring about calamities or public catastrophes.

Art. 3—The death penalty applies to terroristic actions, performed by individuals or groups, by any means, as well as the spreading of microbes or poisonous substances which kill or injure. The same penalty applies to organizers of gangs for terroristic or sabotage purposes.

Art. 4—The instigation of, complicity with, hiding of accomplices, as well as preliminary actions in connection with the crimes mentioned in the present bill, are punished with the same penalty. Those who do not denounce the preparation or the commitment [sic] of the above-mentioned crimes, although

they are aware of them, are liable to sentences at hard labor ranging from five to ten years.

Art. 5—The crimes mentioned in the present law will be tried by a Military Court.

An amendment to the Criminal Code by Decree No. 187 of April 30, 1949, adds to Article 1 of the Code the following preliminary statement:

Criminal law has the purpose of defending the Romanian People's Republic and its legal order against actions dangerous to society by enforcing legal measures of social defense against persons who commit such actions.

In the meaning of the preceding paragraph any action and *omission* that brings harm to the economic, social or political structure, or to the security of the Romanian People's Republic, or which trouble the legal order established by the people under the leadership of the working class—are to be considered as dangerous to society.

The actions which are considered dangerous for society can be punished even when they are *not expressly prohibited by law. In such cases the extent and limit of criminal responsibility is to be determined in accordance with the legal provisions in force for similar crimes.*

Further to demonstrate the "impartiality" of the laws and courts of this Soviet colony, *Justitia Noua*, Nos. 3-4, 1949, the law journal of the Ministry of Justice, declared that:

The judge must interpret the law in favor of the party that belongs to the proletarian class. He must take inspiration from the strong and infallible spirit of fairness which may plead in favor of one of the litigants and may demand that irrespective of any adverse evidence on record justice be on its side.

In their enthusiasm to emulate the "Metropolitan Authority" (the Soviet Union), the colonial puppets went even further than existing Soviet law. But the general pattern on the basis of law is complete. Little effort would be required to integrate the Government of Romania as a constituent state of the USSR.

Economically the integration is approaching completion. The main industries in Romania are run by corporations jointly owned by Romania and the Soviet Union. The meaning and significance of these joint operations can be appreciated only by listing and describing them.

(1) SOVROM TRANSPORT. Originally this had only the monopoly of sea and river transportation, and a 50-year lease on the State-owned sea and river ports. Later, in 1949, it took over all enterprises in the field of international transportation of goods (shipping and forwarding firms), as well as all enterprises specializing in internal transportation of goods (shipping, forwarding, trucking, and moving firms).

(2) SOVROM PETROL controls over 50 per cent of the oil industry, and enjoys a preference in the exploration and exploitation of new fields.

(3) T.A.R.S. (Transporturi Aeriene Romano-Sovietice) owns and operates Romania's one and only air-transportation enterprise.

(4) SOVROM BANK has absorbed a large portion of the former commercial banks, and shares, with the State Bank, the former National Bank, a monopoly on banking. The financing of trade with the Soviet Union and most

other satellite states is carried out through this bank, which also handles exclusively the financial transactions and operations of the other SOVROMs.

(5) SOVROM LEMN controls the greater part of the timber and lumber industries, as well as the furniture and processing industries.

(6) SOVROM ASIGURARE has absorbed all the former private insurance enterprises, and has a monopoly on all types of insurance.

(7) SOVROM CHIM controls the entire chemical industry.

(8) SOVROM METAL has absorbed the entire metallurgical industry, with the single exception of the State Railway repair shops.

(9) SOVROM TRACTOR has taken over the largely State-owned Industria Aeronatica Romana (I.A.R.) aircraft manufacturing concern, the plants of which are located in Brasov. This factory was converted for the fabrication of tractors for agriculture.

(10) SOVROM-GAZ has taken over the exploitation, industrialization, and distribution of Romania's rich natural gas resources in Transylvania. These were previously exploited by a Romanian corporation in which the State had a substantial interest.

(11) SOVROM CONSTRUCTII has taken over the whole construction industry, including the cement plants, quarries, and contracting enterprises.

(12) SOVROM CARBUNE controls and operates all Romanian coal mines.

(13) SOVROM FILM is in control of the moving picture industry and the distribution of moving pictures.

In exchange for 50 per cent of the shares of these SOVROMs, Romania has contributed almost all its capital resources in the economic fields in which they operate. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, contributed some former German and Italian assets and other Romanian assets, and in most cases gave vague promises of future shipments of machinery and technical aid. What the Soviet Union received in return was not only 50 per cent of the shares (in some cases 51 per cent) but also full control by the appointment of Soviet managers.

Thus the Soviet Union is in direct control of the most important sections of Romania's industrial, mining, transportation, and financial resources—all accomplished in good old-fashioned colonial imperialistic style.*

In the Soviet Union the function of the trade unions is notably unlike that which they have in the West. In non-Communist countries the trade union movement functions in behalf of the workers they represent. In the Soviet Union the trade union movement is an arm of the Communist Party and the Government, to see to it that the quotas set by the planning agencies are met and exceeded —at whatever cost to the workers. In this the satellite countries are all alike—the trade unions no longer exist to represent the workers' demands, but as agencies of the Government. The following statement by Eftimie Gher-

* I am indebted to Brutus Coste and the special study he prepared on "Romania After Five Years of Soviet Occupation."

man indicates how closely the functions of the trade unions in Romania parallel those in the Soviet Union, and how they become instruments of what is almost forced labor.

Statement of Eftimie Gherman

The undersigned, Eftimie Gherman, organizer of the coal-mine workers in Romania, former Secretary General of the Miners' Union and socialist member of several Romanian Parliaments, at present a political refugee residing in Paris, France, hereby declares that the following is a fair and accurate description of the condition of labor unions under the present Communist government of Romania:

The labor unions in Romania had been established in the past on the initiative and by the free will of the wage and salary earners. They were free associations uninfluenced by the State or by the employers. Their committees were elected by the workers without any outside influence. The membership fees were established by the members, and were paid by them voluntarily and directly. The money collected from these fees was used exclusively for such purposes as unemployment relief, supporting strikes, assistance in case of sickness, funeral expenses, union administration expenses, and for subsidizing the official paper of the unions, which was distributed free of charge to their members.

The labor unions were engaged in a day-to-day fight for the defense of acquired rights and for the conquest of new rights, for the improvement of the moral and material condition of the worker, for the conclusion of collective agreements favorable to the workers, etc. The collective agreements were the fruit of direct negotiation between freely elected delegates of the workers and their employer. If no agreement was reached, the workers were free to strike, except in the case of workers employed by municipal and State enterprises or by enterprises of public utility. Both the right to

strike and the lockout were prohibited in these enterprises. In their case, when negotiations failed to lead to an agreement, disputes were settled by compulsory arbitration. The workers had protested in the past against this restriction to the right to strike and against compulsory arbitration.

The clauses of the collective agreements or arbitration decisions usually specified the conditions of work, the wage schedules, the measures of hygiene and safety to be taken by the employer, the workers' paid recreation leave, the attributes of the workers' delegates, the right to strike, etc.

Today the worker is compelled to join the unions, which are led and controlled by committees appointed from above. Labor leadership is designated by the Communist cells. Union fees are automatically retained from the payrolls, without the consent of the workers. The money collected from fees is used to finance huge Communist propaganda machines, to support strikers in the Western countries, as part of the sabotage campaign against the E.R.P., to assist the rebels in Greece, etc. No funds are available for aiding the members of the unions in case of sickness, or when they have to meet funeral expenses. Unemployment relief or strike aids are not merely unavailable, but the existence of unemployment itself is no longer recognized, while strikes are considered as economic sabotage punishable with death.

Today the Labor Unions, bossed by the "men of labor," are mere tools of the Communist Party, used for propaganda, political maneuvres, and other actions. The workers are forced to take an active part in all Communist demonstrations and activities. Those who happen to be absent for the first time from such demonstrations have their food and clothing ration withdrawn. If the "offense" is repeated, the "guilty worker" is purged from the community of labor, a penalty which is tantamount to a sentence to death by starvation. In addition to this, the unions are agencies of supervision and execution in the service of State capitalism and of the SOVROM (the Soviet-Romanian joint companies) that is

in the service of the present exploiting employers, for such tasks as: the supervision and prodding of the workers during their working hours, and the organization of "socialist competitions" aimed at raising labor productivity. By way of reward the winners of such competitions receive cheap metal decorations called "The Order of Labor," while their union is given a red flag called the "banner of production."

The collective labor agreements are today dictated by the Ministry of Industry in the interests of State capitalism. The time-work-wage system which the workers gained after prolonged struggle has been suppressed, and replaced in all enterprises by the piece-work system. The production standards, on which progressive piece rates are based within this system, are unilaterally fixed by the employer, that is by the Confederation of Labor and the State authorities.

In the mining industries the eight hour schedule was reintroduced. The worker has to spend these eight hours at his task in the pit. The time required to go down in the pit and to return to the surface is no longer comprised in the eight-hour working day, and consequently is no longer paid. All additional benefits, such as lodging, light and heating, which in the past the miners were receiving free of charge, have been suppressed. The workers themselves have supposedly given up these benefits, by special request, made on their behalf by the union. However, the Communist press failed to explain what would have happened to the miners if they had dissociated themselves from the request forwarded by their Communist bosses.

The present regime in the so-called Popular Romanian Republic has altered and debased the role of the unions, transforming them from free and independent organizations into compulsory organizations subordinated to the Communist Party, from associations for the moral and material defense of the workers into instruments of their subjection and exploitation, or into instruments of the Soviet imperialistic interests. A regime of this type, which deflected the

labor unions from their traditional purpose by adopting antidemocratic, primitive, and savage methods of exploitation, unknown in the civilized world, leading to the total exhaustion of the human being, has no right to consider itself democratic, and even less of being called socialist.

For a brief but touching picture of the lot of the Romanian peasant we present again the testimony of General Radescu.

As regards the great mass of the Romanian workers, those who work in the fields, their lot is hardly different from that of the serfs.

The peasantry has been impoverished by the so-called "monetary stabilization" of August, 1947, which in fact was but a disguise for the brutal confiscation of their savings, the fruit of the thrift of entire generations. They are being held between poverty and bankruptcy by means of a graduated taxation whose purpose is the destruction of private property. The process by which the peasantry is being impoverished and gradually enslaved can briefly be described as follows:

The State establishes a theoretical minimum yield per hectare (1 hectare equals 2.2 acres), and on this basis, irrespective of the volume of his harvest, the peasant is forced to deliver the required quotas of produce. Those who own less than 3 hectares—which are barely sufficient for the subsistence of a household—are compelled to deliver to the State 22 per cent of their production—estimated to be at least 1,000 kilograms per hectare. The peasant who owns 20 hectares must surrender to the State 58 per cent of the production. For the grain thus collected, the State pays to the producer 5.60 lei per kilogram, whereas the price on the free market is around 18 lei for the same quantity. The State resells to the peasant seed grain at 10 lei per kilogram.

Moreover, in order to exercise complete control over the landworkers the State has appropriated all agricultural machinery.

Such measures, combined with the effects of a newly introduced agricultural tax, five times higher than in the past, have produced the result sought by the Communist regime: (a) the disorganization of agricultural production (the average yield per hectare has descended from 1,160 kilograms in 1944 to 750 kilograms in 1947) —which now is serving as a pretext for carrying out the long-projected collectivization of agriculture; (b) the spoliation of the peasant, who, as a result of the measures directed against him, produces from 15 per cent to 45 per cent less than in 1938, is required to pay taxes that are five times higher than a decade ago, and must surrender to the State up to 58 per cent of his produce at the prices prevalent in 1938, while the finished goods needed for his family and household cost at least two and a half times more than in 1938.

We must keep in mind that failure to comply with this agricultural program makes the peasant liable to capital punishment under the law which was quoted just a few pages back.

To see how this situation as described by General Radescu actually affects the peasants' life, the following excerpt from an article by Michel Debray, a French technical expert who spent considerable time in Romania, is significant. M. Debray wrote his description in the March 13, 1949, issue of *France Soir*.

At the beginning of the ploughing season last fall the Romanian Ministry of Agriculture sent out a circular ordering the peasants all over the country to plough their land within the same period of time. In receiving this order the [Communist] chiefs of several thousand villages worriedly shook their heads; but in a Soviet country Government orders are not discussed, and thus, at the fixed date, all ploughs were taken out of their barns.

Unfortunately, eastern and northern Romania at this time were in the grip of a two-months-old severe drought, and the clayish soil was stone-hard. All attempts made with primitive ploughs and underfed draft animals to break the crust of the soil were defeated; in most cases they were barely able to scratch the surface, and wherever they succeeded in digging some furrows, the operation was extremely costly and the work useless.

The higher authorities, upon receiving reports from the local agents describing the failure of the peasants to finish the job as commanded, promptly ordered penalties, which were interpreted on the spot by sending to prison one out of every ten unfortunate farmers. . . . It would have been more logical to whip the soil.

. . . In former days the Romanian fairs were among the most amusingly picturesque shows; today, the patchy costumes worn and constantly repaired for the last ten years have lost their erstwhile color. The fairs recall scenes from the Middle Ages: tattered clothes, unshaven faces, filthy looking old men. Wool, textiles, leather—all go to Russia, and so do timber, iron, and copper. . . .

The peasants condemned to prison thus have become more grist to the insatiable mill of the forced-labor camps of the Soviet Union, and the growing number of camps in Romania itself.

Today, 150,000 of these peasants and other prisoners are in forced-labor camps. Eighty thousand of them are working on the tremendous Black Sea-Danube Canal. The final word on conditions in the camps connected with this project is contained in the following quotation from a letter a young intellectual sent to his mother.

We are fine. We all work voluntarily and only from 6 o'clock in the morning until 10 o'clock at night. The work on the Canal is very pleasant and poetical: only dirt and water, and mainly the

two together. *Should you have known, dear mother, how good it is at the Canal, you would have certainly assigned me thereto from the very outset.*

In Romanian the word for "canal" also means "sewer."

CHAPTER SIX

Hungary and Bulgaria—Under the Yoke

1.

To understand fully what is happening to the workers in the Soviet satellite countries, the following statement, with commentary, of the Political Committee of the Workers' (Communist) Party of Hungary of July 26, 1950, may be helpful.

According to the newspaper *Szabad Nep,* the Political Committee examined the work of Communists working in the national council of the trade unions and in their higher leadership. After this examination the following decisions were handed down.

In the hard struggle against the enemies of our people's democracy our working people are successfully building socialism in Hungary.

By "building socialism" the Political Committee really means the slavish emulation of the policies in force in the Soviet Union. That this is not a mere polemic statement will become obvious as we continue the statement and supply the commentary.

Our trade unions, too, have shared in the successes and in the development of our socialist industry. The trade unions assisted

the party in educating the workers, widening the scope of production competitions, developing a socialist wage system, and fostering socialist achievements.

From what follows it is evident that the first sentence is mere hogwash. The second sentence, however, means that the workers were "educated" to accept the findings and decisions of the party and the rulers of the State without question. "Widening the scope of production competitions" means that the quotas set for the production goals of individual workers and groups of workers were increased as a result of the institution of "*Stakhonovite* competitions." The developing of a "socialist wage system" is a euphemistic expression which means that the workers were becoming more and more tied to the piece-work system, a system which no self-respecting labor movement would endorse.

Alongside these successes, however, the work of the trade unions, and primarily that of the higher leadership of the trade unions, is lagging far behind the general development of our People's Republic and its increased tasks.

This is a prelude to the attack on the leadership of the trade unions which is to follow. Production not having met the impossible goals set in the Five Year Plan, scapegoats must be found. For this failure the "higher leadership" of the trade unions is to be sacrificed.

The majority of the trade union council and the high-ranking leaders of the various trade unions have still failed to grasp the essentials, and consequently have failed to make it understood that in Hungary it is the working class which is in power, and that

the fruit of its work belongs not to the exploiting capitalists but to the community of the workers.

What is meant here is very plain. In their naïveté, the trade union leaders were under the false impression that in a "People's Republic" they were required to see to it that the conditions of the workers became better and that the workers were to secure more of the "fruits of their toil." They had made the mistake of considering the State as the employer, substituting for the capitalist, and of supposing that the worker was still the underdog in need of protection. But their desire to make the conditions of labor more palatable were gross ideological errors.

They did not understand that they would systematically represent the interests of the working class if they fought without wavering for the strengthening of work discipline and for the steady increase in production; for these are the bases of a further raising of the standard of living, of the consolidation of our People's Republic, and of the successful building of socialism.

"Strengthening of work discipline" is the heart of the matter in this decision of the Political Committee. The purpose of the workers' representatives is to see to it that infractions of discipline are severely punished and that conformity with the rigid rules and regulations is more strictly enforced. Any softening of the attitude is bourgeois liberalism and economic sabotage.

It is true that they did speak about the new tasks of the trade unions, but they did not act accordingly to bring about a radical change. Thus, certain trade union leaders and even some trade union organizations and work committees carried on mechanically

the practices in problems of production, norms, and wages which was correct against the exploiters in the Horthy era, but which today is intolerable and not permissible because it entails the weakening of the power of the working class, the curbing of the building of socialism, and the slowing down of the raising of the standard of living.

In other words, when capitalist owners demand production and more production and increase the hours of work and resist the raising of wages, then it is the function of the trade unions to defend the workers by resisting these demands of the exploiters. But when a communist regime comes into power it is the function of the trade unions to take part in the creation of conditions the like of which never existed even under a fascist or semifascist regime. This is not exploitation, because it is done for the "benefit of the workers" and the building of what the leaders please to call socialism.

Grave responsibility falls on the trade union council and the leaders of the trade unions for the loose norms, for wage and norm swindling, because they tolerated, and even covered up, mistakes in this field. They failed to insure that the issues of an increased production and the development of our social industry should become the central problem of the entire trade union work. Communists in the trade union council and in the higher leadership of the trade unions committed these mistakes primarily because their relationship to the Party became lax and many of them broke away from the Party.

It would be dangerous of course for the Political Committee to go into the reasons for these actions. Obviously the trade union leaders took their fundamental socialism

seriously, and believed in the Marxian axioms concerning labor. This sincerity, however, this naïve belief that a "workers' regime" ought to make it easier for the workers, is a basic error. The trade unions must not be independent, they must become the tools of the State and of the Party.

Before going further in the presentation of the basic approach used in Communist countries to destroy the trade union movement, we must point out that the trade unions in Hungary always had a reputation for militancy, honesty, and sincerity in protecting their workers from exploitation. The Hungarian unions were among the best in Europe. The leadership of these unions was for the most part in the hands of Social Democrats who had achieved a wide and strong following in the unions. As will be seen from what follows, one of the main purposes of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party is to purge the trade unions of this Social Democratic influence entirely.

Commenting on the laxity of their relationship to the Party, and the fact that many Communists in the trade union councils had broken with the Party, the statement continues that this laxity is manifested in the following:

1. Communists in the trade union council and in the higher leadership of the trade unions did not fight to secure the firm leadership of the Party nor for the systematic execution of the Party's policy in the trade unions. Orally they recognized the leadership of the Party, but in practice they allowed and excused the belittling of the leading role of the Party, and some of them even indulged in it themselves. In other words, they supported the tendency of becoming independent from the Party. They tolerated and covered

up the fact that certain trade union leaders, as for example until quite recently the leaders of Thememosz [national association of Hungarian Building Workers] and of the miner's trade union repeatedly misled the Party and displayed an anti-Party attitude.

The incorrect relationship of the trade union leaders to the Party often manifests itself in the outward behavior of the trade unions to the Party, in the speeches of the trade union leaders, and in the trade union press. The aloof stand of the Trade Union Council and the Communist leaders of the trade unions is borne out by the fact that they did not take to heart, and only formally adopted, the criticism of the Party, and even after repeated warnings failed essentially to amend the mistakes. Trade union leaders and Communists in high trade union posts did not fight systematically within their spheres of activity for the execution of Party policy. They often avoided and dodged the implementation of tasks which they considered to be difficult or unpopular, because they underrated the political maturity of the working class and orientated themselves toward certain backward sections of the masses.

The underrating of the Party's leading role logically led to making room for counter-revolutionary right-wing Social Democrat influence in the trade unions and enabled the enemy to attempt to bring the trade unions into opposition to the Party, to the interests of the workers as a whole, and to the building of socialism.

Little comment is needed here, except that the ground work for a purge is obviously being laid. No trade union leader is secure if he is charged with permitting "right-wing Social Democratic counter-revolutionary influence" to infiltrate into the trade union leadership. Of all charges in Communist countries, the most serious is that of being a Social Democrat. Social Democrats have had a consistent record of anti-Communism, a record betrayed only by those foolish few who sell out to the Communists in

the hope that they will secure personal safety. But most important, behind the entire statement is the admission of failure of the Five Year Plan. Somebody must pay for this failure; and union leaders are now being informed that they are to be the victims, the scapegoats.

It may come as a shock to some of our American readers that the Communists insist on tight political control over all enterprises in which their members are present. Certainly this statement of the Political Committee is not an extraordinary statement, but rather typical.

The conclusions the Political Committee reached after their analysis were the following:

1. Opportunist Social Democrat influence and a falling away from the Party must be radically eliminated from trade union leadership; in the first place from their own work and attitude. The trade union leaders must make it their paramount task to see to it that the trade unions, without wavering, fulfill their mission by functioning as the main support of the Party as regards production and developing socialist industry. Let them systematically fight for the implementation of the Five Year Plan, for raising productivity, for reducing production costs, for the shaping of a correct wage and norm system, and for the expansion of the *Stakhanovite* movement and production competitions!

The leading organizations of the trade unions must be reinforced by new cadres loyal to the Party and the working class. Let them unmask before the organized workers both the right-wing Social Democrat traitors in the service of the war instigators and their real agents, and remove them from the trade unions! Let them stand up against all enemy tendencies that deny the leading role of the Party or question it, and which therefore want to bring the unions—the most important mass organizations of the working

class—into opposition to the rank and file of the working class, the leading force of the proletarian dictatorship—the Party!

Lest the reader missed it, the significance of the statement that the "leading organizations of the trade unions must be reinforced by *new cadres loyal to the Party*" is in effect the declaration of a purge in the trade union ranks. The nature of what is meant by a "democratic" republic is obvious in the statement that the enemies are those who "deny the leading role of the Party or *question it.*"

2. The ideological, political, and cultural-educational work of the trade unions must be improved and carried out systematically. Let them systematically and untiringly propagate among the workers the policy of the Party and concrete production tasks, and mobilize the workers for their implementation! Let them educate the working class for unflinching confidence toward the Party and Rakosi, for loyalty and affection towards the Soviet Union! Let them train new warriors for the Party and the State, let them educate new leaders from the ranks of the working class!

That the Political Committee was concerned with the future of the economic conditions in Hungary is apparent. Just prior to the issuance of the statement which has just been quoted in part, the following items appeared in the daily press during 1950.

INTELLIGENTSIA JOINS SPEED-UP IN HUNGARY

SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES

Vienna, April 23—Stakhanovism, the Soviet form of speed-up, has been adopted by Hungarian intellectuals, according to an announcement last week in the Budapest trade union organ *Nepszava.*

The aim of the Hungarian technical intelligentsia for a new series of "Socialist competitions," planned to begin on May Day, will be to "improve the average results not only of a single Stakhanovist but of whole brigades, workshops or factories." The newspaper rejoices that "the intelligentsia are gradually turning into good Stakhanovists."

HUNGARY ADMITS FOOD SHORTAGE

Budapest, Hungary, May 9 (AP)—The official Communist party newspaper admitted today that Hungary was having difficulties in the supply of certain foodstuffs and warned shoppers to display "more discipline."

HUNGARIAN WORKERS HIT

Accused by Red Leader of Failure to Meet Norms for Year

SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES

Vienna, May 11—The failure of Hungarian industry to fulfill goals of the five-year plan for 1950 as a result of what seems to have been a revolt of workers and trade unions against a progressive speed-up of production is admitted by the Hungarian regime. There is speculation whether it may have some connection with the deposition and arrest of Arpad Szakasits, former leader of the Hungarian Socialist party and former President of Hungary.

The Communist organ *Szabad Nep* announced that at a meeting of the Hungarian Trade Union Congress last Sunday its general secretary, Antal Apro, condemned "mass offenses against work discipline." He said:

"Swindling in connection with the establishment of labor norms and consequent unjustified increase in wages have become a mass phenomenon. This unfortunately has been facilitated by active cooperation of local representatives of factory councils."

This may be sufficient to indicate what is going on in Hungary itself. Here too Romania's experience is being repeated. The use of the nationals of Hungary as a source of slave-labor power for the Soviet Union is the same.

Msgr. Bela Varga, president of the Hungarian National Council, has pointed out that both Hungarian prisoners of war and civilians have been seized and deported to Russia.

When the Russian armed forces occupied Budapest and other cities and villages of the country they picked up in the streets part of the civilian population. Thus, together with the prisoners of war, about 600,000 men and women were deported to Russia, among them numerous people who were taken from trains returning from different Nazi concentration camps, such as Auschwitz, Buchenwald, and Ravensbrueck. There are still 200,000 Hungarian men and women in Russia and in Siberia five years after the end of the Second World War. The Hungarian exponents of the Russian Government, especially before certain political events of great importance, still promise, but always postpone, their return. . . .

Life and treatment in these camps do not differ in any way from that in the German camps. The gas chambers are replaced by the mines, the huge lumber camps, and the canalization works, which mean as sure a death as the gas chambers.

The concentration camps not only jeopardize the life and health of those Hungarians who are in Russia, but they are the most commonly used instruments of Soviet oppression in Hungary and in other satellite countries.

The Communist minority Government, keeping the Hungarian people under its oppression only through armed tyranny, completely took over the police force and the tribunals. There is no independent court of justice in Hungary any more. There is a special political police force, called State Security Police (AVO),

which has a spy ring through which they observe and control every citizen in his home and at his work. There is a particular division to keep an eye on the religious institutions and the clergy.

The Communist Government sent, and still sends, many thousands of people into the concentration camps, without a trial even by Party courts. Members of all social strata can be found there—many women, farmers, and workers. Hungarians at home have no opportunity, either in writing or speech, to express their opinion, discontent, or protest.

One more item may suffice to give the picture in Hungary. By a governmental decree of January 27, 1950, almost unlimited power over the workers was given to the Hungarian Workers (Communist) Party. The Communists are empowered to appoint disciplinary committees which can punish those who infringe the strict work rules, and the accused cannot appeal to the ordinary courts. Damage to property, refusal to work, and doing work badly are defined as crimes which the disciplinary committees can punish with sentences ranging from fines to forced labor.

2.

Bulgaria is dotted with forced labor camps, as are all the Soviet satellite countries. That the pattern and purposes are the same as those in the Soviet Union are apparent as one reads the following authentic, although incomplete, list of forced labor camps in Bulgaria.

At ROSITZA, the most notorious, because it is the most cruel, the forced-labor camp has 5,000 inmates working

chiefly on dam construction. Once a month each inmate makes "a confession of faith" in relation to the regime, on which his future treatment depends.

KOPRINKA employs 1,000 workers in dam construction on the Tundja River near the city of Kazanlik. Not all are forced laborers; only 35 per cent, or 350, fall into that category.

TASH-BOAZ employs 2,000 forced laborers on the Black Sea-Sutka Dam in the region of the villages of Dospat and Batak.

Seven thousand forced laborers operate the coal pits of the Pernik mine. They operate out of the KUTZIAN forced-labor camp.

BOBOV-DOL, with 2,000 forced laborers employed in the mines, has the distinction of having a director who personally subjects the inmates to physical cruelty.

PIRIN employs 2,000 in the mines.

The ZAGRAD camp in the province of Dobrudja has 4,000 inmates. The nature of the work in this camp is undisclosed. No information as to the kind of work done is available in connection with the GENERAL TODOROV camp, with 1,500 inmates; or the BELITZA camp in the Razlog District, which employs another 1,500 forced laborers. The forced-labor camp HAIM-BOAZ, with 3,000 forced laborers, also falls into this category.

At BELI ISAK the 1,000 inmates supply the labor needed for the construction of the Beli-Iskar Dam.

Three thousand forced laborers work in the mines at TCHERNO MORE, while an additional 1,000 forced

laborers work the mines at PLAKALNITZA. The forced-labor camp at TOPOLNITZA is probably no more in existence, since the dam on which the inmates were working is now completed. But at ZATNA-PANEGA 1,000 inmates are engaged in dam construction, and another 2,000 are working on the rivers Iskar and Vit at the TCHERVEN-BRIAG camp.

Railway construction accounts for 3,000 inmates building the Elhovo-Malko-Tarnovo Railroad. They are inmates of camp CHRISTO BOTEV.

No information is available about the number of inmates in the camp DERVISHKA MOGHILA, but it is known that they are working on fortress construction.

At TROIAN-KARLOVO 3,500 inmates are working in railway construction; also the 4,000 at MAKOTZEVO-KLISURA SOPOT.

Thus in a comparatively short time—less than five years, in fact—20 *known* forced-labor camps in Bulgaria are in operation. As to the number of other camps unknown, and the number of their inmates, there is no guessing.

Perhaps the most significant story which has come out of Bulgaria, a story which demonstrates the degree of pressure and terror used on the population, is the Shipkov story.

Michael Shipkov, it will be recalled, was an employee of the American Legation in Sofia, the Bulgarian capital. In August, 1949, Shipkov was arrested by the Bulgarian secret police and forcibly persuaded to write and sign a

false confession of spying. He was also forced to agree to return to the American Legation as a Bulgarian spy. Instead of spying, he returned to the Legation and wrote the following story. Shipkov's story, like perhaps no other, can give the American reader a real understanding of the treatment any "opponent" or "suspected opponent" of a Communist regime can expect. That the unfortunate people have not only their chains to lose but also the torture and rack to which they are put is only too obvious. This, then, is Michael Shipkov's own story, as he wrote it.

On leaving the Legation building at 2:00 P.M. on Saturday, August 20, 1949, I bicycled down toward the tennis club in order to take a parcel and some money to my mother at 8 Sv. Terter Street; then I crossed over to my home at 39 Shipka Street to see if any mail had arrived for me in the mailbox. Not finding any, I proceeded up Shipka Street, intending to keep an appointment for lunch on Slavianska Street with Legation janitor Krustyo.

When I had reached the little park on Shipka Street, I was overtaken and passed by a civilian on a bicycle that did not bear any license plate, a matter which came instantly to my attention. This person crossed my line of progress, summoned me to descend, asked for my name, and ordered me to walk alongside of him up Shipka Street. I already had no doubt whatsoever that my long-expected contact with the State Security Militia had come along.

We proceeded to the back entrance of the National Assembly without my having seen any familiar person in the meantime. I was ordered to enter the back door of the Assembly building, to go into the first room on the right of the entry, and to face the wall with my back to the window, while some negotiation in low tones proceeded between my escort and the guard on duty. I recall that on my left of the little I saw of the wall, was a cabinet with rows

of numbered keys, and that above my head was a loud speaker in a box, which I supposed was joined to the building loud-speaker system.

Allowing that I had been arrested at 2:20 P.M., I was held in the Assembly about half an hour; I heard some commotion outside, and the guard in the room ordered me to walk out, preceded by another, and followed by him, and was ordered to keep my eyes on the ground, to enter a small automobile which had drawn up outside the gate. I was once more ordered to keep my hands out in front of me on the cushion of the front seat, and to keep my eyes on the floor. We drove around the cathedral, where I succeeded in perceiving Tanio Kableshkov, an acquaintance of mine, talking to another person at the corner of 11th of August and Moscovska Streets; we then rapidly proceeded up Moscovska, down Rakovski Street, turned left up the canal, and stopped at the front entrance of the Militia Headquarters on the main street to the station. Allowing time for a trolley bus to pass, I was ordered out of the car and was hurried in the building. After having been kept some 30 minutes waiting in a nearby room on the ground floor, I was taken between two escorts up two flights of stairs into a small office.

On entering, I was made to stand left of the door, in the corner, facing the window. In front of me was a desk, two chairs on either side, and a metal cabinet on the right of the window. On the wall to my left was a picture of Lenin, on the opposite wall a frame with the phrase "Merciless Fight Against Foreign Agents."

I was taken up by a team of two agents of the State Security, age between 25 and 30, stern, serious, and incredibly earnest.

I was ordered to empty out my pockets on the desk, which I did. I had been previously asked whether I carried any arms on me. I was not made to take off my watch.

I was then asked whether I was aware of where I had been taken, and the reasons for my detention. I replied that I was in the building of the Militia—they corrected that to State Security

Militia. I told them that I was perfectly aware, and that I had been expecting for many months, that any employment at the Legation would end in trouble with them.

First, presumably until the arrival of a superior functionary, I was made to answer the questions contained in militia Form No. "10-T," which I had filled out on two previous occasions when I had been trying to obtain a passport. The first unpleasantness occurred when I was asked to name three persons who would confirm that I was not affiliated with any political party. I named my wife, which was rejected; then (a) my brother-in-law, George Petrovish, (b) Detchko Uzunov, of the Academy of Arts, and Alexander Jendov, a Communist painter. The next hitch came over my statement of salary—25,000 leva per month; but they did not bother to insist at the time. I noticed that they were writing down my replies in a perfunctory manner, which confirmed my belief that that was to give time for the actual investigator to arrive.

My state of mind at that stage: I was trying very hard to reconcile myself with what I had long considered inevitable, and to impress into my mind the necessary fortitude and resignation. Already I had been faced by the difficulty of maintaining any continuous line of thought, while having constantly to correspond to their moves and give them the replies or indications requested.

In about thirty minutes another functionary arrived, presumably of superior standing, as the chair at the desk was ceded to him. After a whispered conference, he began to direct the interrogation. There always was a great play of locking and double-locking the door whenever anybody came in or out of the room.

I was immediately faced with the accusation—no, with the statement, that I had been a spy, a traitor, and a saboteur of my country, an enemy. I was told with a fair display of solemnity that I had been arrested on express authorization of the chief prosecutor, on the strength of undeniable proof, and that now I was to complete their knowledge by a full confession and repentance of my guilt. It was not their aim, it was repeated, to destroy men,

but to render enemies harmless, to make them see their evil ways, and to re-educate them. I was given warning against any attempt to conceal or distort the truth, and was told they knew enough to be able to control the truth of my words. I pleaded innocent to the charges of espionage and treason, and explained that I had been earning my living by translating the press and the laws for the Americans, and that my nonallegiance to their beliefs and my nonsupport of their regime did not constitute any crime. I also tried to explain that I had no hope whatever of convincing them of my innocence, and I was resigned and ready for the punishment or treatment which they would decide for me. In between, I had been directed to describe my life history from 1930 on, with details insisted on from September 9, 1944. I was also directed to tell of my private life, my friends, acquaintances, connections, hobbies, relaxations, etc., ever since I came in contact with the English and Americans.

While this lasted, I had made the acquaintance of all the seven functionaries who dealt with me throughout my stay in the building. There were two relays of lesser agents, working in teams of two, one of whom was always on hand. Then there were two higher ranking functionaries, aged between 30 and 40, who conducted the interrogation proper—the lesser one merely kept up the tension and maintained the assault. They all seemed familiar with things connected with the Legation, with the names and functions of the Legation officers, clerks, and Bulgarian employes, with all other relatives or friends of mine who had previously got into trouble—such as my brother, Hadji, Cheshme, poor Secoulov, etc. They all had the practice of taking notes from what I spoke, although they did not do so in a very convincing manner—more for my own benefit—but I did see on frequent occasions that they merely scribbled or doodled on their papers.

I maintained a show of resistance, without a semblance of defiance, up till some time late in the evening—9 or 10 o'clock. Tempers had been rising in the meantime; I had been often warned

not to exhaust their patience, not to force them to turn the other leaf. I was told that this had been the behavior of all the numerous spies and traitors who had passed through their hands in this very room, and they mentioned Dimitroff, Peev, Hadji Christov, my brother, Cheshme, Nikola Petkov, the Protestant pastors. And they stressed that any such obstinancy on my part would only worsen my future, without any real inconvenience to them. They also stressed, and I sincerely agreed, that I could not really hope for aid from the Legation. I had been so long prepared for this that I agreed sincerely, and told them I was quite resigned to accept their judgment and penalty. Already there appears in the mind of the person arrested a desire to be told the extent of one's punishment, and to begin serving it, if only to be gone from the pressure and fear of their presence. Before the investigation passed from one to another, the outgoing one would come near, bluster, slap me in the face: one of the middle category ordered me to turn around and face the wall and then hit me several times with the thick of his palm, I imagine, in the back of the neck. I recall that this treatment was not particularly painful or frightening, and that I was not afraid of its recurrence.

Before I had broken down, I saw the head of the team in the room for half an hour—a short, stout, pasty-faced individual of evidently superior rank to all the others. Yellowish tinge, thinning hair, careless and slovenly dress, no culture, great energy, very sharp and cunning, very highly strung and tense, very self-assured, I suspect, very self-satisfied. He professed and indicated more knowledge of me than even I had. He informed me that he had personally kept me under his eye ever since September 9, and that I held no secrets from him. He went off on a reminiscence about an anti-patriotic act of mine as far back as 1945, when I had gone shooting ducks with General Oxley at Belen, on the Danube—and he accused me of having concealed my nationality at that time, feeling secure in the protection of my masters, the English, and of having spoken English to local Bulgarians. And when I made to

deny that, he declared with much self-satisfaction that he had been there personally, shadowing us in the guise of a local huntsman. And I had the thought that this bit of self-esteem was more for the benefit of his inferiors than for me—but it did not detract from his quite evident routine, agility, and quickness of mind, and determination. It was he who gloated—there is no other word—over the quixotic mental attitude of my brother, who had refused in a very romantic way to translate for the English and inform the Security Militia at the same time. And the familiar way in which he used my brother's first name, and recalled the further unhappiness which had befallen him, made me think it had been he who had ordered my brother to be beaten into insensibility in the street, to pay him for his gallantry. He lingered long on the subject of my private family life, accepting the theory that I had nothing any more in common with my wife, that I had engaged picking up mistresses here and there, and that I had not cared if my wife did the same—mentioning persons at the tennis club. It was he who again suggested the parallel between my espionage and that of the Protestant ministers—and that was ruthlessly taken up later by his subordinates, until they had got me to tell them exactly the words that fitted their theory—that the British were the master minds in all the system of espionage, and that this espionage, this loyalty they exacted from their agents, included espionage on the American employees to the benefit of the English. He specifically mentioned Ziapkov as a preceding illustration of this double espionage, and he made me perceive that I was to be the second confirmation of this theory of his. He either lost his temper in the end, or had another appointment, because he left me to the others, and then I was broken down very quickly.

I was ordered to stand facing the wall upright at a distance which allowed me to touch the wall with two fingers of my outstretched hands. Then to step back some 12 inches, keep my heels touching the floor, and maintain balance only with the contact of one finger on each hand. While I stood so the interrogation con-

tinued—nor was I allowed to collect my thoughts. This posture does not appear unduly painful, nor did it particularly impress me in the beginning. And yet, combined with the mental strain, with the continuous pressure to talk, with the utter hopelessness and the longing to go through the thing and be sent down into silence and peace—it is a very effective manner of breaking down all resistance. I recall that the muscles on my legs and shoulders began to get cramped and tremble, that my two fingers began to bend down under the pressure, to get red all over, and to ache; I remember that I was drenched with sweat and that I began to faint, although I had not exerted myself in any way. If I tried to substitute the forefinger for the second finger, I was instantly called to order, and the same if I tried to bolster my middle finger by placing the forefinger over it. No attention is paid to the suffering, nor is there any hope that they would take pity on you. And when the trembling increased up to the point when I collapsed, they made me sit and speak. I did get several minutes respite, to catch my breath and wipe my face, but when I again declared that I was innocent, it was the wall again.

After a time of this, I broke down. I told them I was willing and eager to tell them all they wanted. The overmastering desire is to end the pain, to stop needless, futile resistance, and to come nearer to the moment when they would leave me in peace. And there is an enormous deception there, even more effective in the successive breakdowns of any remaining resistance.

I was allowed to pull the chair to me, in the corner, and sit down. Already my legs had become stiffened, and equilibrium was not easy. And while I caught my breath and tried to stop my trembling, they allowed me a cigarette, out of my own pack of Chesterfields, and even lit it for me. At this moment I believed that I had covered the worst, and that I would tell them I was a spy and a traitor, and that I should be sent below into a cell to await or serve my punishment. And that did not appear very grim at the moment.

It was a very painful surprise to realize the error I was in. The interrogation began again, unrelaxed. Here I want to describe their method of interrogation. You are a spy and a traitor; tell us what tasks you were given to do, who gave them to you, in what manner, and with whose help you achieved them; and to whom and in what manner did you report. No further indication and no generalities, no overall statements of guilt accepted. And this went on, hour after hour, throughout the night, throughout the day, without respite or end. How can I best explain? The only straw for which I could reach is the impression that I had, in my emptied, vacant thoughts, of some sentence that had pleased them, or that had conformed with the pattern I had so often seen in the newspapers. And if I were to stop and plead fatigue, or poor memory, or ask to rest—the wall again and again, and the slaps, and the blows in the nape of the neck. And I remembered I would come up gasping and talk and talk and feel utterly broken. It began with my prewar origin—the well-to-do bourgeois family, the American school, the attraction of English prestige and power. September 9—I am a class enemy, if only my antecedents had made me into a natural class enemy. Then, turn this class enmity into active resistance—then come the British—hasten to place myself in their service; General Oxley, a person they most earnestly hate and mistrust, is for them the agent of the British Intelligence Service, with the underhandedness and ruthlessness and danger that one finds in a crime novel. To them, however, it is very real. So, upon our meeting, Oxley adopts me as his chief agent here. He is interested in economic, political, and military data on Bulgaria. I thereupon oblige and acquaint him with Hadji Christov, an expert in the rubber industry, with Palankov and Ivan Mihailov, experts in the timber industry, with Kiril Pajkuric, expert in ports, port installation, and shipping. Do they supply him with such secret data? They did. How? I had frequently seen them making themselves at home in the General's house, and they had boasted to me of his good graces. What else did he make you do? If I point out that

in 1945 and 1946 Oxley had free contact with all Bulgarian leaders in politics and economy, that he must have preferred opposition leaders and big business leaders to me, that was not accepted. What else? The elections. Oxley told me to "proagitate" among my friends and relatives to support the slogan of the postponement of the elections. In writing? No. When? Among my friends and relatives. Who were they? The Shipkovs, Gusehovs, Kirtchevs, Petrovitches. Did you tell them you were specifically authorized to transmit Oxley's assurances? Yes. They even were instructed by me to pass on the good news to all their friends and relations. But there was an active opposition press at the time calling on the people to desist—no matter!

Another similarity with previous trials. What else did you do with Oxley? I cannot remember. Did you send him a statement slandering the government and asking for foreign intervention? No— No— We have a document which bears your signature, that of Hadji Stankov, lawyer, Gancho Ganchey. Can you deny that? And, in the end of ends I admitted having signed this petition—just as poor Hadji, poor Stankov, and the others had admitted signing it.

Oxley again, endlessly. Oxley spying, with my connivance, on the Soviet troops, on the garrison in Yambol, on the port facilities in Bourgas and Varna, on the Danube frontier, on the railroad tunnel at Kunimo in the Iskar gorge. On the Beli Iskar water supply dam. On the Americans. Oh, yes—it was Oxley who transferred me to be the translator at the American Legation, with instructions to tell in private in his home what the Americans thought, planned, acted, whom they saw, who their spies were. Oxley's shooting trips only served to cover the espionage.

Then the Americans. Barines, Rewinkel, Strong, Wiezel, Horner, Courtney, the Minister, every single officer and clerk, past and present. Every member of the military missions, American and English. Whom had I been placed under; whom had I acquainted with them; whom had I won over for their espionage? This does

not give a true impression—such questions were not raised—they were suggested; it is truer to say that these were questions I asked myself and strove to answer to their satisfaction. What report had I made to the Americans? The hostility of the peasants; the poor crops; the drought. Arrests, beatings, internments. I had drawn up a report on the Pernik mines for Strong, compiled from tables and data in the 1942 Statistical Yearbook and the Jubilee Edition of the Pernik Mines, working in the library of the Regional Chamber of Commerce. I had drawn up, at Courtney's request, a table on the disappearance of persons from 1944 on, extracting them from the Official Gazette legal publications. I had kept up a file of biographies of leaders in the Government and Party. I had served as interpreter for Rewinkel and Horner in their conversations with Petkov in early 1947 when Petkov had asked for help, had admitted his complicity in the military conspiracies but had said that to keep up appearances he would have to deny any complicity. I had the task of explaining and interpreting major events —the political ones to Courtney and the Minister, the economic ones to Recknagel. I had made a report to Recknagel on the spurious sincerity of the Central Committee decision to reform the LCAF, by distorting the newspaper accounts of the Government commissions. I had reported to Courtney on the terror which accompanied the May 15 elections, on how I had been threatened to vote correctly, on the arrest of those who had not known better. I had informed Courtney of public opinion in the Traicho Kostov affair, on Macedonia, on Titoism; I had exaggerated, deformed, and invented in order to strain relations, provoke hatred, and cause foreign intervention. Who of the Americans is an intelligence agent—Courtney, possibly the Minister, possibly all the rest, Allan? Yes. The military? Yes. After Oxley left, I had continued to spy on the Americans by reporting to Bennett or to Green. What had I spied upon—here I believe I bogged down, and do not remember that they pressed the question. In Cham Koria, Yatesvitch had connected me with Greenhill. I could not think up any espionage

task Greenhill had given me, only that he was very amiable and said he would keep in touch with me. What was your salary? 52,000 leva seemed to satisfy. For the Commissary? 20,000. What were your wife's duties and salary? Accountant, 15,000—without much interest. Whom did the Legation suspect of serving the militia? Georgi Angelov. Whom else? I said I did not trust anybody else. Do you correspond with Oxley and with American friends abroad? Yes—Wiezel, Potts, Leyland. I send my letters by outgoing Americans, who oblige in mailing them abroad and occasionally bring in letters. A great amount of suspicion on Wiezel, his friendship with the Minister. A lot of questioning on Potts, on Cheshme, who they said had reached America with my help. How about Miss Pilts? She does the editorials; no further interest. How about Roussev, Moshkov? I have never collaborated with them in collecting information. How about your personal letter to Maynard Barnes, asking for intervention? First, I refused having ever written MBB; later confessed. How about your mistresses? Who are they, when did you meet, how often, in whose apartments? And there comes a time when I found myself in such unbearable depths of degradation and misery that I would gladly have ended it all at once. You plead with them not to force you to incriminate innocent persons, persons whom you have never engaged in any such activity—no response. Speak on, tell us more. All about Secoulov; when I had heard from Borissevitch? What did the Legation suspect? What had Secoulov told the Minister when he had first returned from his interview with the militia? What Bulgarians know the Minister? Did the Minister have love affairs with the crowd at the tennis club? And so on, endlessly.

Out of the jumbled memories, some impressions stand out vividly. One: they are not over-interested in what you tell them. It would appear that the ultimate purpose of this treatment is to break you down completely, and deprive you of any will power or private thought or self-esteem, which they achieve remarkably quickly. And they seem to pursue a classic confession, well rounded off in

phraseology, explaining why you were induced by environment and education to enter the service of the enemies of Communism, how you placed your capacities in their service, what ultimate goal you pursue—the overthrow of the people's government through foreign intervention. And they appear to place importance on the parallel appearance of repentance and self-condemnation that come up with the breaking down of their prisoner. Second: I rarely could perceive any personal hatred or enmity for me—contempt certainly, but rather an academic, detached dealing with an annoying problem in order to achieve the goal, and a fanatic, rabid obsession of devotion to Communism and hatred for Anglo-American resistance to them—all the newspaper talk is to them gospel truth. And in this respect they are to be taken as disciples and fervent followers of the dogma. Not much imagination, not quick brains nor much intellectual baggage nor sensitivity—but enormous stores of character, undeviating loyalty to their creed, fanatic belief in their own cause, fanatic hatred and mistrust of anything else. No possible contact with them on any intermediary grounds. No fear of possible retribution, not within the ranks that I met. No conscience, unless that of their duty to their creed.

Toward the evening of Sunday I had given them satisfaction. They gave me a glass of water, a bit of bread which I could not eat, and altered their bearing. I had been taken to urinate in a nearby toilet. And I was given a cigarette, and time to relax and control my trembling—hands, feet, teeth, so that I could write down what I had told them. It was then, just before I sat down to write, that I was visited by the chief, who seemed satisfied, and mentioned—or rather alluded to—my near freedom in exchange for perfect frankness and sincerity; and I remember his mentioning my daughter and that it was worth while looking forward to seeing her again.

I wrote six lined pages; beginning with my unfortunate origin and education; my formation into a class enemy; then a description of my espionage, with stress on each individual task—who had

entrusted me with it, when, how I had achieved it, whom I had enrolled to help, how I handed in my report. At the end, a plain statement of the purpose I had been pursuing—the destruction of the regime through foreign intervention. Signature after that—and although my deposition was controlled and checked paragraph by paragraph by the two lesser persons on duty, one of the superiors insisted that I add specific information as to my secret preference for the British and on my spying for them on the Americans.

When that was completed, I was allowed a cigarette and some rest; and I remember dozing off right away. Then one of the superiors went into a lengthy disquisition of my future—on my youth, my daughter, on the necessity to reform and be an honest Bulgarian—on my promising to collaborate secretly with the State Security and report to them everything I see, hear, or learn of the attempts of foreign spy centrals to undermine the people of Bulgaria. He dictated the thing to me in the most solemn manner; and I wrote and signed it. Then, giving me repeated warning of their omniscience—he said that if I were to tell Courtney, Courtney would tell the English and they would immediately come to know—he gave me back my possessions, and made me check them. Then he asked me to suggest a pseudonym under which I was to send in my reports. When I could not draw anything from my head, he suggested the word "KAMENOV." He said that I was to return home and go to work on Monday as usual. The first task would be for me to give him a lengthy character study of each of the Americans, together with a biography. He then gave me the time —8:30 P.M., and the place—the Seminary Square, where the train turns, ten meters on the highroad to Dragolevitsi, on the following evening, where I would be given further orders. Then I was led out of the building, and left in a very friendly manner in front of the tram stop. I never thought of my bicycle, but I remember his mentioning that I should not be able to ride it right away. Indeed I should not—I still had cramped muscles, and hardly any sense of balance. I headed for home with a completely blank head,

thinking only of cold water to wash in. Got home, washed, opened a can of sausage with some red wine, and went to bed.

In the morning I overslept. No one in the apartment. As I was gathering my thoughts and making ready to leave, a Miss Kalcheva appeared, a cousin of mine, who told me that Yoli had called her on the phone from Varna after getting no reply from me. I put in a call for Varna, and told her that I had been out on Vitosha on Sunday alone and had not heard the phone. As the Varna line did not come through soon enough, I left her to reassure Yoli, and left for work.

In the Legation my first obsession was to clear my conscience of the sense of guilt I had toward all the people I had incriminated. I wrote a brief statement in the morning, intending to enlarge on it in the afternoon. I could not do as I wished, because I felt observed and attended all the time by other Bulgarian employes. I locked the two in my drawer, of which I had given Courtney a key, left the office, saw my mother for a brief period, and went to keep my appointment. Either because of imagination or reality, I felt that I was tailed in every movement I made. I waited for 2½ hours by the entrance of "Serdiva" milk shop No. 52 and by the door of Post Office No. 26 on the corner of the Square, but nobody came. So I returned home. On Tuesday I tried first through Wallace and then through Burke to get Courtney to call me in the ordinary way. When he did not, I sent up the two statements through Burke; and when that was done I knew that the Militia no longer had any power to use me and to use my words against other people.

Later the same day I had an opportunity to relate to the Minister my experience in as much detail as I could recall.

I should like to make a few points very clear. I have been officially connected, first with the British Military Mission, and then with the American Legation, from the end of 1944 up to now. And from the very beginning, I have ever more clearly understood and borne the mistrust, suspicion, and hatred of the regime for any-

body who is in any way connected with the British or Americans. This feeling of oppression and fear has grown steadily, first because of the chain of unhappiness and hardship which has descended on my friends and relatives—my two sisters expelled from their homes with their families and deported to the province—my brother, first beaten into insensibility in the street, with a cowed spirit afterwards, later packed off to a concentration camp; my closest friends arrested, obviously subjected to some similar method of intimidation—one of them having disappeared, the other doing his second stretch in a concentration camp; the succession of other Bulgarian Legation employes who are arrested and either disappear from view or are reported hanged. This is in parallel to the other instances of fear, those that are featured in the newspapers and that I have had to translate—translation which has been more and more depressing with time. This depression is augmented by a feeling of helplessness and despair; no possibility of evasion, no outcome, no real hope for assistance or protection by the Legation—not while the Militia alone has force on its side. Resignation is achieved to a certain extent, but never enough to keep off the fear of the day when "it" will come to me. And the last instance, that of Secoulov, was very difficult to resign myself to.

Therefore while I was resisting them the first day I had long since been prepared to accept my lot—prison or concentration camp, without any hope for reprieve. From that it is easy to decide to end the struggle, accept their accusation, give them satisfaction, and be allowed to relax my mind. And this breaking in is immediately followed by the realization that it is not the end, but the beginning of an even more painful period, much more degrading; because at first I believed I should draw upon myself their penalty by agreeing to their accusations, and the thought of prison or camp for myself only is not as awful as that moment. However, with the first acceptance, my power of resistance grew weaker and I slipped steadily lower and lower, not only drawing punishment on myself, but time and time again speaking of others, friends and relatives

of mine, involving them in deeds or thoughts utterly untrue, unfounded, slanderous. And then the feeling of resistance is wholly broken; and I remember going deeper and deeper in this awful disloyalty, feeling utterly degraded and wretched, and yet powerless to protest and deny. Indeed, the only things I did not tell them were things they never thought of leading me into describing. At the end, when I wrote down the confession of guilt and repentance, I remember that the whole thing appeared fantastic and ridiculous; but it seemed to give them complete satisfaction.

Clear memory came back to me on Monday morning, August 22, when I started out to work. My most anxious thoughts then and thereafter were to cleanse myself of some of this depravity and baseness which I had accepted, by giving the Legation a true statement of the whole affair, and denying the Militia the possibility of making any use of my statement; and to do it in a way that would deprive the Militia of the chance to use my writings against any of those friends of mine. Therefore I state in full earnestness and truth, freely and eagerly, that any statement that I may have made orally or in writing to the Militia about Georgi Petrovish, Venediv Kirtchev, Yoli Shipkova, Georgi Georgiev, Ivan Secoulov, Cheshme, Hadji Christov, my brother Krustcho Shipkov, Ivan Mihailov, Palankov, Stankov, Ganchev, Detchko Uzunov, Mladjov, Nikola Stanchev of the Balabanov restaurant, and possibly others, involving any or all of them in subversive espionage or other punishable acts, is false, untrue, and dragged out of me against my will, against any knowledge of actual truth, under duress. And I want the Legation to bring to the knowledge of the Militia that any attempt of theirs to make use of that statement of mine will be countered by exposure of this letter of mine. I also want to testify that all the admissions of guilt forced from me by the Militia involving espionage or subversive activity of my employers of the British Mission or later the American Legation, requested of me by these institutions or by any of their offices, and executed by me, as the Militia has made me indicate, are false, untrue, imagi-

nary, preposterous, and have no foundation whatever. At no time, in no manner, and under no pretext have I been asked or instructed by the American Legation or its officers, or by the British Mission or its officers, to engage in any subversive, underhand espionage activity. And I furthermore request that this statement here be made public and used to justify both the good name of the Legation and my name, in case the Militia attempt to make use of the confession they drew out of me.

I sign this preceding deposition in full sincerity and honesty, certifying its truth and earnestness.

[s] Michael Shipkov

I have previously attempted to describe the appearance of the chief of the seven men who questioned me.

Next in rank came the two inspectors—or such I supposed them. The first, who spent far more time on me than the other, appeared to be around 36 or 38 years of age, height 5′ 10″, slight but wiry build, dark suit, no necktie, better appearance than his superior. Sallow face, brown eyes, clean shaven, dark wavy hair. . . . Thin face, prominent cheekbones, sunken cheeks. Soft-spoken most of the while, slow voice, more self-contained than his superior. However, it had been he who had administered the blows on the back of the neck and most of the slapping. Clean shaven.

His colleague, whom I assume of equal rank, is somewhat shorter—5′ 8″, stockier, of approximately the same age, abundant hair, hard face, and extraordinary eyes—blue, with the white circle of the eyeball very markedly stressing the blue of the center. Very hard and assured bearing. No necktie, gray suit. I believe he was the one who was to meet me on Monday evening for further instructions. Clean shaven.

The two teams of lesser officials: of the first team, one of the men must have been around 30 years of age, tall—6 feet, well built, with a remarkably handsome and soft face, manly, excellent features, black hair brushed back, soft-spoken, deliberate, almost gentle in his attitude toward me. He never pressed me for time.

He also stated that he felt no contempt, but that his duty was plain. Clean shaven.

His partner, age under 30, tall, well built, somewhat on the heavy side. Black hair, dark complexion, black eyebrows, deep-set dark eyes very close to each other, prominent nose: height—5′ 11″ (?). The least educated of the lot and the hardest driver.

The second team: one, very heavy build, age about 35, very abundant and very black hair, thick black moustache trimmed to the length of the upper lip, must weigh close on 200 lbs. Immovable features, very slow routine mind, very little education. He stumbled at first through the questions in militia form "10-T" which I was questioned on, and found it difficult to inscribe my replies. Most of the time he dawdled and scribbled with pen on whatever paper he had on the desk.

His partner, age 30, tall—6 feet, lanky, dark brown hair, suntanned face, prominent eyes, wide nose, thick lower lip. . . . Brown suit with a sporty cut. Poorly educated, very hard in his attitude. Clean shaven.

I cannot recall well the man who arrested me in the street, although he must have been of a still inferior rank.

I recall some other details that might throw further light on this experience of mine. I believe I explained that the endless interrogation seemed to be intended (a) to break down resistance and paralyze independent thought, and (b) to adapt to their pattern the "confessions" obtained. Whatever did not fit that pattern was brushed aside, and the subject was maintained until at the end some incredible story would seem to fit and satisfy them. As they maintained their questioning on a very general tone, without direct prodding or suggestions on the matter of the moment, very often I was completely at a loss as what to think up, and their resentment at these unproductive moments made me even more bewildered. Example: they had stated that they had in their possession a document bearing my signature, along with those of Stankov, Hadji, and others, which had been intended to defame the Fatherland Front

regime before the Western World. When pressure and force brought me to cease denying, I was then made to describe the contents of this document—a grotesque fumbling to produce whatever I could recall at the moment of the alleged letters of complaint of the Bulgarian opposition to political friends abroad. And this detailed guesswork, even to the person it was addressed to, did not displease them; but they would keep on prodding me to talk until some word or thought seemed to please them. When I recall the actual matter that I wrote down for them, I cannot believe that any intelligent reader would even stop to doubt—it seems so utterly preposterous. When we were on the subject of the biographical notes of Bulgarian leaders, I had said that what we could not translate from the press we obtained from the editors of the opposition newspaper *Zemedelsko Aname*. Questioned "How?" I remember I said that we had sent messenger Ivan Angelov to obtain the biographies of the agrarian leaders from the editors. After some moments, in which they pondered this, they accused me of lying and bade me tell them the truth. So after other tries, I produced a tale that I had gone to ask Bourov to give me brief biographical sketches of those leaders. I was then questioned on whether I had known Bourov personally. I was asked to name his street and floor—and that appeared to give them satisfaction. When relating the details of the hunting trips with General Oxley, they had made me follow the line of deliberate espionage on the part of Oxley, and of the latter's taking photos and making sketches along his travels. And that seemed to satisfy them completely—until I mentioned the presence of the Soviet liaison officer on the trips. Thereafter the photos and sketches were abandoned.

I have said that the final statement in writing was completed with the constant inspection and control of one of them, word by word, sentence by sentence, even to the grammar. I recall that I had written, "I had wilfully distorted the text and the meaning of newspaper articles and dispatches in order to defame and slander the government." This appeared to give satisfaction. However, at

the very end of my detention, when one of the inspectors was reading over the statement, he apparently saw a snag—the text could not conceivably be distorted—was that a weakness? So he came back on this subject. I recall I had the presence of mind to insert the negative term "not" before the word "text"—and the insertion is quite obvious by the compressed lettering—and to substitute the word "but" for the word "and" after the word "text"—that substitution was noticeable. So we obtained "distorted not the text but the meaning"—and that ended the matter.

I recall a very prolonged period of prodding at the time when they instructed me to specify what information I had been secretly supplying to General Oxley on the Americans. What indeed was the core of my espionage mission within the American Legation? What could I have told the British that would seem reasonable and would give satisfaction to my interrogators? The confession of such espionage was by itself not acceptable. And after endless summons to tell the truth, endless threats not to conceal anything, they abandoned the matter—I believe the best I could invent to end the matter was their friendly relations with the opposition and their direct conversations with Nikola Petkov.

I do not know what made them discontinue the investigation. They may have believed I was completely broken, and would be subservient and useful in the future and deprived of any initiative. Or they may have been otherwise instructed from above. Or it may be that they could not extract any more sense out of me at the time.

[s] Michael Shipkov

As harrowing as the reading of Shipkov's statement may be, his treatment was mild compared to others who were "interrogated" by the secret police of Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, or the Soviet Union. But the method of forcing him to concoct lies and to incriminate himself in false tales of espionage is typical of what many thou-

sands have gone through—only to end in the forced-labor camps of their respective "people's democracies" or the so-called "socialist" fatherland.

It is needless to add that in Bulgaria the trade unions function as they do in the Soviet Union and the other satellite states—not in defense of the workers and their conditions of work, but as coercive instruments of the State, seeing to it that the workers work longer hours, at poorer pay, and "volunteering" their time on Sundays and holidays.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Slave Power Goes West

> Dear comrades in Korea! . . . The people in Russia have rendered their possessions to great Stalin. . . . Under the guidance of Comrade Stalin, I have a firm belief that the people in Korea will win the war!
>
> From a speech on Radio Moscow to the North Koreans on Oct. 1, 1950

1.

It should be apparent by now that it is not only the Russian people who have rendered their possessions "to great Stalin," but the peoples of the satellite countries as well. Not only have they supplied Russia with industrial and agricultural products to their own hurt, but they have supplied endless thousands of forced laborers to supply the needs of the Soviet Union and the MVD in the gigantic task of exploiting the natural resources of distant regions of that country. Czechoslovakia is no exception to that rule.

Before the Communist seizure of power in Czechoslovakia, President Beneš thought that Czechoslovakia could function as a bridge between the East and the West. The Communist seizure of power in February, 1948, put an end to that dream of East-West collaboration. Since then the country has slavishly followed the political, economic,

social, and military leadership of the Soviet Union; and a recent announcement in the Czech newspapers declares that the study of Russian by all factory workers will no longer take place after working hours, but will be given on the job as another compulsory feature of the life which the Czechs undergo. Russian of course is taught in the schools, and is a necessary language.

Almost immediately after the *coup d'état* in February, 1948, the Communist Government set up forced-labor camps and frankly announced them as such. There was no sugar-coating the camps then; the use of such terms as "re-education," etc., came later. But on October 25 of that year the Government discovered that there was no legal provision for the forced-labor camps. A retroactive law on forced-labor camps was therefore passed by the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic, known as "Law No. 247 of 25th October 1948 Concerning Forced Labor Camps." It is not unlike the legal provisions we are already familiar with.

The law in this case is much franker than the Soviet law, in that it states categorically that the work shall be done in fulfillment of the "general economic plan."

It may be well to quote several parts of this law.

Section 1

(1) In order that the persons enumerated in Section 2 may be taught work as a civic duty, and in order that their capacity for work may be utilized for the benefit of the whole body corporate (Section 32 of the Constitution), forced-labor camps (hereinafter referred to briefly as "camps") shall be established.

(2) The camps shall be set up and conducted by the Ministry

of the Interior, who may as required delegate this competence to the Regional National Committees.

(3) Workers sent to the camps (Section 2) shall be employed on work undertaken by the State, by national corporations and local government bodies in fulfillment of the general economic plan.

Section 2

(1) To the camps shall be sent:

a) persons who have reached the age of 18 and are not older than 60, and are physically and mentally fit, but shirk work or menace the structure of the people's democratic order, or the national economy, especially the public food supply, and persons who aid and abet them therein.

b) persons convicted with final validity of any of the offenses enumerated in Law No. 231 of the 6th October 1948, for the Defense of the People's Democratic Republic;
Law No. 15 of the 13th February 1947, for the prosecution of black-market activities and similar machinations;
Law No. 27 of the 13th February 1947, concerning penal provisions to protect the carrying out of the Two Year Plan; or
Law No. 165 of the 18th July 1946, concerning penal provisions for the protection of national corporations, nationalized undertakings, and concerns under national administration.

Western influence can be seen in the law and the regulations, but all too frequently the phraseology is mere window dressing. As in the Soviet Union, sentence to a forced-labor camp, the law and regulations make clear, can be, and indeed normally is, by administrative decree. Thus while the accused under these regulations

has the right of appeal, his defense before a court in the traditional western sense is not one of the rights he is entitled to.

Testimony given to the Commission of Inquiry places the number at from 250,000 to 300,000 persons in the forced-labor camps.

The adoption of a new penal code, a code which follows the Soviet model closely, indicates that the camps must be flourishing. According to a *New York Times* story of July 12, 1950:

> Czechoslovakia's Parliament unanimously passed a new penal code that follows the Soviet model closely and is avowedly designed primarily to serve the interests of the workers.
>
> Sweeping aside traditional categories of crimes, such as capital crimes, felonies, and misdemeanors, the new code establishes "danger to society" as the sole standard by which punishability of crimes shall be measured.
>
> Special emphasis is placed on the concept of sabotage, which is taken over from the existing "law" for the defense of the republic. Deliberate interference in the execution of economic plans or the functioning of public services may be punished with death, in the same manner as treason.
>
> Severe punishment awaits those guilty of sabotage through carelessness or mere inactivity, not only in factories but also in offices of all kinds.
>
> Laws covering espionage affect not only spies but also those who through carelessness or naïveté are victimized by spies. Detailed provisions cover state, official, and economic secrets.

The lack of sufficient miners is a headache to the Czech regime. Not only have soldiers with only five months out of the required two years' training been offered the

alternative between staying in the army or working in the mines, but it is apparent that most of those sentenced to forced-labor camps are made part of the mining force. While some are sent to the coal mines at Kladno, others are sent to the uranium mines at Jachymov. We may leave to the section on Germany a discussion of the uranium mine workers. It is safe to say that the bulk of the middle class in Czechoslovakia has been sent to the forced-labor camps; between October, 1949, and January 31, 1950, at least 10,000 members of that class were sent to labor camps. By early 1951, authoritative information placed the number of forced laborers in Czechoslovakia at 250,000.

In Czechoslovakia, as in Poland, Romania, Hungary, Albania, and the Soviet Union, the workers have been issued "work books." In this book the work record of the individual worker is kept, countersigned by his employer. It follows him from factory to factory, and even into forced-labor camp. It is his "passport" for work; without it he can get no job. Not only is his ability as a worker in his trade described, but also the degree to which he performed the "norms" which were set for him, his earnings, his political reliability, his attitude towards the regime, etc.

2.

All the satellite countries are treated in a manner reminiscent of the old and now outdated methods of

Western imperialism. Thus the "new colonialism" of the Soviet Union becomes the modern counterpart of the horrors of Belgian rule in the Congo during the latter part of the last century and the early part of this century. That Poles, Czechs, and the Soviet people themselves are treated like the Romanians, Hungarians, and Albanians is sufficient indication that the Soviet Union shows little discrimination between former allies and former enemies. But even if the former allies were better treated, could any moral case be made out for the treatment rendered to former enemies?

One of the scandals and horrors of the Hitler regime was the system of concentration camps which the Nazis developed. Dachau, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen—these are names sufficient to rearouse the conscience of the people in the West who could not believe possible such crimes as were committed habitually in those places. One would think that with the end of the war, with the defeat of the Nazis, those camps, which were the evidence of total depravity, would have been destroyed forever, or at best maintained as monuments of shame. Only in September, 1950, was there any announcement that some of the concentration camps were being emptied. But until that time, under Russian auspices, the camps were in full operation—minus the gas chambers of course—but not minus the torture, a mild account of which we read in the Shipkov story.

The concentration camps of Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald still exist. They have, to be sure, different inmates

and sometimes different officials. Confirmation of this has come through inmates who were discharged for political reasons after the end of the war.

Yet until recently it was unknown that even within the city of Berlin a concentration camp existed, a camp where sadistic and brutal treatment of helpless prisoners is a daily occurrence. Should there be any doubt as to this, its location is Freienwalderstrasse 43 in Berlin-Hohenschoenhausen, formerly the site of the meat-processing plant of Heyke. Those who have been lucky enough to come out of this urban concentration camp speak with a shudder of the first inquiry through which everybody is required to go. This is the statement of one witness:

One has to undress; and in order to get the wanted confessions, all kinds of tortures are used; cold water brings back those who lose consciousness. Sometimes these tortures are kept up for weeks.

The prisoners live in community rooms; each has a straw sack to sleep on and one blanket. For special cases there are cells in the cellar for solitary confinement, bare of everything but a bed made of wooden slats, without straw sack or blanket, and with thousands of bugs. One outstanding torture is being put in punishment cells 18 inches square with a cement floor. The prisoner is required to stand in there for several days after he is fed two liters of black tea. He is not allowed to use outside bathroom facilities, and very soon stands in his own excrement. When the door is opened he usually, having lost all his strength, falls out of the cell flat on his face.

Generally the prisoner is required to do heavy work from 7 A.M. to 9 P.M. The food allotment is 300 grams of bread, twice a day a watery grit-soup, every other day 15 grams of sugar and 10 to 15 grams of fat. There is an automatic shortening of the food allotment if the work norm is not fulfilled. Under such circumstances the daily

death rate is high—30 to 40. The dead are stripped of their clothing, and without identification are thrown on a truck, taken to a nearby woods, and "buried" in bomb holes. Lime sees to it that every last trace of the victim is lost.

If a prisoner has the luck to get discharged—and some have had the luck—then they are made fit for their freedom. They get special food allotments, can bathe, and receive 1,000 to 3,000 marks, plus a food package, before they leave. After they have signed a paper that they would not mention any of the happenings in the camp, the officials can be pretty sure that the discharged prisoner will keep this promise. The memory of the tortures helps to keep mouths shut. And finally we should not forget to note that the highest officials in the camp, such as camp elder, kitchen chief, etc., are mostly former Nazis, who get a special pleasure in helping to torture the other prisoners.

But this is only one small camp in the city of Berlin. Here is a list of camps supplied by Dr. Rainer Hildebrandt, director of the Fighting Group Against Inhumanity.

Camp	*Number of Prisoners*	*Deaths*	*Remarks*
Wecsow	13,750	1,500	Regular shipments of prisoners to U.S.S.R.
Tost	5,200	3,050	" "
Landsberg	9,800	3,800	" "
Posen	7,500	2,550	" "
Hohenschonhausen			
Transfer camps	12,500	3,100	" "
Kotschendorf	19,850	7,590	" "
Jamlitz			
Internees only	14,200	5,200	" "
Torgau and Fort Zinna			
Internees and "convicts"	11,050	3,000	" "
Muhlberg	21,750	8,000	" "
Neubrandenburg	17,200	6,700	" "
Bautzen	no data	6,200	" "
Buchenwald	30,600	13,200	" "
Sachsenhausen	60,000	26,700	" "

Recently Dr. Hildebrandt announced that some of the prisons and concentration camps have been closed, and the total inmate population sent to the Soviet Union as forced laborers. But even the above figures should be understood to be but a partial picture of the real situation in Soviet-occupied Germany.

In pre-Hitler Germany the most important organizations the working people had were their trade unions. These unions not only performed the function which unions are naturally supposed to perform, but they were in a sense the center of the social and cultural life of the German workers. And at all times membership in the unions was free; no worker was compelled to join a union; and his participation in union activities was the result of his own personal decision.

The situation in Soviet-occupied Germany of the trade unions, and their function in the life of the working population, can be seen from the following account, based on first-hand knowledge of the trade unions there. As will be seen, the story is the same as in the satellite countries. The report from the Social Democratic Party of Germany is as follows:

The "Free German Federation of Trade Unions" (*Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* or FDGB) was founded in 1945 in compliance with the orders of the Soviet occupation authorities. It has been dominated by the Communists ever since. Said to be a nonparty organization, its object from the very beginning was to direct in accordance with Communist policies the activities of the trade union movement on its return to the industrial scene. In this the Communists have been supremely successful, the very existence

of independent trade unions being unthinkable under the rule of the Soviet occupation authorities. Consequently the FDGB has now developed into a compulsory organization, which has as little in common with a trade union as had the late German Front of the Nazis.

The FDGB claims at present about 4,500,000 members in the Soviet Zone, 32.3 per cent, or 1,500,000 of whom are women. (It should be noted that for some time no membership figures have been published.)

The organization of the FDGB is based on the principle of "centralism." This type of organization allows the federal executive committee to interfere directly with the affairs of any local branch. More than 90 per cent of the officers of the FDGB are Communists, and the Communists have an even bigger share in the state and federal executive departments. More than half the expenditure of the FDGB is on salaries.

So-called educational work is one of the most important aspects of Communist trade union policy. Its aims are the ideological integration of the trade unionists and at the same time the development and training of "cadres." A considerable number of schools are at the disposal of the FDGB for this purpose.

As employers' associations are banned in the Soviet Zone, the FDBG lacks its opposite number for collective bargaining. The employers' associations have been replaced by the chambers of commerce and industry; which, however, are as much under Communist direction as the FDGB, so that wages and working conditions in general are laid down according to the judgment of Communist officials, who recognize only political considerations.

The attitude of the FDGB toward payment by results (piece-work) is quite remarkable. In 1945 and 1946 the Communists were still opposing this as a technique of capitalistic exploitation. Their slogan was then *"Akkord ist Mord"*—piece-work is murder.

However, the Soviet Military Administration's Order Number 234 of October 10th, 1947, introduced payment by results in the

Soviet Zone of occupation on the largest possible scale. The FDGB supported the implementation of this order without reservation, through a grand publicity campaign.

According to the head of the Manpower Department of the Soviet Military Administration, Mr. P. Moronov, 35 per cent of the Soviet Zone labor force is at present paid by results—a very high percentage, which shows the importance accorded to this system of payment.

The real reason for this, however, was revealed by the Communist Minister of the Interior of Saxony-Anhalt, Robert Siewert, who in February, 1948, was reported as saying that "the economy of the Soviet Zone is serving also the military preparedness of our great ally, the Soviet Union" (addressing a conference at the Agfa film factory at Wolfen, February 3rd, 1948).

A barefaced fraud at the expense of the workers was the temporary introduction of the system of so-called "progressive payment by results," which was to ensure considerably higher remuneration for exceeding the production norm than that allowed under the plan for direct payment by results. The German Economic Commission announced the introduction of progressive payment by results in October, 1948. There was a full-scale publicity campaign by the Socialist Unity (Communist) Party and the FDGB, trying to popularize the plan, which was introduced in nearly all the bigger factories. Then, toward the end of December, 1948, the publicity campaign came to a sudden end. The head of the Manpower Department of the Soviet Military Administration reprimanded the FDGB—and indirectly the Socialist Unity Party—for the "mistaken use" they were supposed to be making of the plan for progressive payment by results. It appeared that it was the production norms which had been amiss: i.e., they should have been set higher, so as to lead to an increasing productivity of labor. The Socialist Unity Party and the FDGB obediently changed their line. In most factories calculation of wages according to the system of progressive payment by results was discontinued, and replaced by direct payment

by results. This was based, however, on new and higher norms, as the workers, spurred on by the higher earnings possible under the plan for progressive payment by results had shown what they could do.

The Russian *Stakhanov* movement was also copied in the Soviet Zone of occupation. On October 13th, 1948, a certain Adolf Hennecke, a coal-face worker in a mine at Zeickau in Saxony, and a member of the Socialist Unity Party, produced 380 per cent of the norm. That was the beginning of the so-called Hennecke Movement. As in the Soviet Union in the case of Stakhanov, Hennecke's achievement was imitated in other industries. As in the Soviet Union, a new privileged class, the activists, developed in the Soviet Zone of Germany. Their achievements were given plenty of publicity, and they themselves received special allocations, favors, and even decorations.

The introduction of workers' competitions gave the Communist officials of the Socialist Unity Party and the FDGB the opportunity to drive the workers recklessly to achieve as high percentages as possible, regardless of the depreciation of plant and mounting accident rates, often involving loss of life.

By now there is no doubt that the workers of the Soviet Zone are very resentful of this systematic exploitation. But through fear of political retaliation they are still forced to work so-called Hennecke shifts.

There are no strikes in the Soviet Zone, though the workers have plenty of good reasons for striking. Spontaneous strikes of individual groups of workers have been immediately suppressed by heavily armed Red Army commandos and by German "People's Police," the ringleaders being sent to Siberia for long stretches of forced labor.

While in Western Germany the trade unions could protest-strike against the dismantling of factories which were not serving military purposes, the FDGB in the Soviet Zone had no objections to place on the record against the extensive dismantling of peaceful indus-

tries in Eastern Germany. Quite to the contrary; prominent spokesmen of the FDGB and the Socialist Unity Party pronounced solemnly on the Soviet Union's alleged legal and moral claims on these factories, because the Soviet Union was protecting them against the "grabbing hand" of Western "monopoly capitalism."

When German skilled workers, engineers, and scientists were carried off by the thousands to Russia at the orders of the Soviet occupation authorities and put to work in the Soviet armament industries, the FDGB did not intercede in their favor. In the same way the FDGB has failed so far to voice any protest against the inhuman forced labor into which hundreds of thousands of men, women, and young people have been pressed. The FDGB, the alleged representative of the interests of the workers, had also not the slightest objection to the way the Soviet authorities were pressing people into so-called service agreements quite in keeping with the style of the Nazi dictatorship, though there cannot have been a single FDGB official who could claim ignorance of the conditions in forced-labor camps like the one at Aue. Even members of the Russian occupation forces admit that the conditions in the uranium mines in Saxony are far worse than in the Siberian lead mines, where people condemned to forced labor are being put to work.

For an account of what happened to a skilled worker who was "requisitioned" for work in the Soviet Union, the following report from one who escaped can be considered typical. Though the name of the person is known to the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor, his name is withheld in order to protect his family. Here is his story:

In December, 1945, I returned to Berlin from Western Germany in order to reconstruct my life. Since any entrance into Berlin was at that time forbidden, I could not begin work at my old firm

(Telefunken), and finally accepted an offer from Dr. Steimel, the head of the Oberspree Works, since in this way no entrance difficulties arose, and the factory placed a dwelling at my disposal. I worked first in the laboratory of Dr. Hasselbeck, and later in a laboratory of my own. I *never* concluded a contract with the factory or with the Russian authorities.

On Monday, October 21—Tuesday, October 22, 1946, we were wakened at about 4 A.M. A Russian officer, three armed soldiers, and a female Russian interpreter entered our apartment, and told us that our factory would be removed to the Soviet Union and that we should be obliged to work in the Soviet Union for a tentative period of five years. I did not, on this occasion, have to sign any contract or similar document.

We were given 30 minutes to evacuate and pack our entire three-room apartment, and when our packing didn't go fast enough the Russian soldiers began to pack things themselves. They tore the curtains from the windows, smashed open a wardrobe with an axe, and in general packed indiscriminately suits, dresses, dishes, pictures, etc., in rugs or other things which seemed to them useful for this purpose. My wife fainted, and only came to when I gave her water and laid her on a couch. I have neglected to mention that not only I but my wife and my sister-in-law, who was accidentally present in the apartment, remained unwatched for not even one moment. We even had to dress in the presence of the Russian soldiers, and only with difficulty obtained permission to use the unlocked toilet in privacy. I sought permission to leave my wife here, but it was not granted. We also sought to give my sister-in-law some things, but the only consequence was that she too was almost taken along. Nor did we have any opportunity to inform other relatives or acquaintances in any way of our prospective deportation to the USSR. After the Russian soldiers had loaded the first truck, I had to sit in the driver's seat between the driver and the officer, while my wife was put between the furniture and

the Russian soldiers. We drove to the freight station at Koepenick. The streets leading to the station as well as the whole area around it were carefully watched by NKVD patrols and other Russian soldiers. We were given a freight car for our furniture and an express train compartment for ourselves.

We waited all day for our departure. It was delayed till about 10 P.M., since new transports with the workers of the Oberspree Works and their families kept coming in constantly.

Perhaps I should also add that early on October 21, the two directors of the factory, Dr. Steimel and Dr. Spiegel, were brought to Moscow by airplane, ostensibly for conferences; and Mr. Grimm (divisional superintendent) and Mr. Zigenke (laboratory superintendent), and Mr. Floor (engineer in Mr. Zigenke's laboratory) were also flown to Moscow to explain the work. The dependents of the above named gentlemen were likewise loaded on the train on Tuesday, except that instead of Mr. Floor, who was away on a trip, a servant was taken along with the two small children. On the train there was also one of our colleagues whose mother had died the day before and who had sought permission to bury her. Because of the shortage of time, however, this was denied him. It is also interesting in this connection that a critically ill woman who had just had a breast operation was also taken along, as was a woman who was on the verge of giving birth.

When the sun went down we had to go to our compartment and keep the window shut—it couldn't be opened very far in any case. We were once again registered, and at our departure received a food package. In this was food entirely of German origin, with the following content: 3 lbs. of bacon, 2 lbs. of wurst, 5 lbs. of onions, 5 lbs. of sugar, 6 bars of chocolate, 5 kgs. of canned meat, 1,200 cigarettes, 2 pieces of toilet soap, pepper, salt, etc.

We were to be told the next day how long we had to make it last.

While it was dark, I tried to open the door of the car with a skeleton key which I had providently brought along. I did not

succeed, however; and it would probably have been foolish in any case to attempt a flight while still in Berlin, since, as we already knew, the whole station area was surrounded and later also lit up. Thus, when the train was switched from one track to another a Russian soldier with fixed bayonet stood at the entrance of every car. We also heard that telephone wires were laid across the roofs of the cars. I think that a telephone conversation was possible between the last car, on the outside of which a sentry stood, and the locomotive, by way of the Russian troop cars and the Russian officers' compartments.

After our departure from Berlin I succeeded in opening the connecting door to the next compartment. In the dark I then tried to open the door of the connecting platform, and with some difficulty was able to open one side wide enough to creep through. Shortly after passing Erkner the train went a little more slowly, my wife and I left our compartment with two light handbags, and succeeded in getting out on the step between the second and third cars. Since meanwhile the train had again put on speed we had to remain there till shortly before reaching Fuerstenwalde, before we found the courage to jump off. The speed of the train must have been from 45 to 50 kilometers an hour. By a miracle we were unharmed, aside from some bruises and abrasions. We found refuge in a farmhouse, and learned there two days later that our jump had been noticed and a search made for us. Disguised and separated from each other, we succeeded in reaching Berlin again on Thursday evening.

In conclusion I should like to remark once again that I entered into no contractual obligations, nor did the other employes of the Oberspree Works with whom I spoke in regard to this point before our departure.

Other reports from fugitives from the transports of deportees state that when the trains arrive at the Russian

border the men are separated from the women and children and sent on ahead. They are told that the children will be sent to homes and the women to assembly centers until the houses and factories have been built. The pattern is familiar.

At about this same period, Marshal Sokolovski, Commanding Officer of the Soviet Military Authority in Germany, issued the famous order No. 323 of November 20, 1946, with reference to measures for the increase of coal deliveries. Order No. 323 reads as follows:

> I command the Presidents of the provinces and districts to take decisive measures against labor shirkers and violators of labor discipline. The following punishments are to be employed: public censure (reprimand), withdrawal of ration cards for additional maintenance, diminishing of vacation by the amount of the days of labor lost without adequate grounds, and finally the bringing to criminal jurisdiction of the guilty. Consequently not only can disciplinary measures be taken against workers who remain away from work without adequate excuse, or who come into conflict with labor discipline in some serious way, but in addition they may be subject to criminal prosecution. The punishment is unlimited. I will add that in severe cases Order 160 on the punishment of acts of sabotage and diversionism comes into consideration.

But it took the race for uranium to bring about the real pressure for forced labor in Germany proper. In connection with the need for labor in the uranium mines the following orders were issued to the employment agencies in the Soviet Zone; the order given here is typical.

Employment Agency, Dresden
Main Office, Maternistrasse 17

Notice concerning male man power for temporary work, ordered by the Military Occupation Authority.

Richard Fischer, G.m.b.H.
Dresden-A
Wienerstrasse 12, II

The employment office of Dresden has received an order to make available, for most urgent work, several hundred men in good physical condition. The number needed is not registered at this time at the free labor market. In accord with the proper authorities, therefore, we must secure them from their working places. In order not to burden any single shop with this requirement, we have decided on a quota basis for all shops, according to size, in our region. In agreement with the office for industry and commerce, and the union, your shop has to furnish a contingent of 20 men, in good health, between 18 and 45 years of age. The drafted men have to appear on Monday, May 12, 1947, at 8 A.M. at the Dresden Employment Office, where they will be told at what place to report for work.

With reference to the urgency and importance of the work to be done, which has to be finished within the time specified for it, we want you to take full responsibility for the execution of the above order.

Consideration for hardship cannot be given. We want to call to your attention that in all cases where the above quotas are not fulfilled, the proper authorities will mete out punishment under Order No. 3.

Signature

Stamp

Those drafted then received this notice:

You are hereby ordered to appear for work from July 19, 1947, until further notice at Aue (Erzgebirge).
You must report July 18, 1947, 6 o'clock, at the Dresden Railroad Station with all your working papers (work-book, tax and social security cards).
Information on the back of this page should be read carefully. The work contract can only be dissolved by the employment office of the city in which you are going to work.

Dresden, July 17, 1947
City Employment Office
Signature

Stamp

Food for 5 days has to be brought.

As to what greeted the workers who were drafted for work in Aue the following account by Dr. Fritz Loewenthal is authoritative. Dr. Loewenthal, a lawyer by profession, joined the Communist Party of Germany in 1927, and was elected to the Reichstag on the Communist Party ticket in 1930. He left Germany some days after the Reichstag fire, and lived in France and the Netherlands for two years. From there he went to the Soviet Union, where he stayed for twelve years, at first in Moscow, and later, at the outbreak of the war, in various parts of that country. At the end of 1946 he was allowed to go back to Germany, where he became Director of the Ministry of Justice in the Soviet Administration in Eastern Germany. The material he presented to the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor is essentially that contained in his book, *Der Neue Geist von Potsdam.* The forced labor he describes covers the regions of Oberschlema,

Schneeberg, Aue, Zschorlau, Marienberg, Brambach, Kunersdorf, Schmiedeberg, Anaberg, Buchholz, Grohnau, and Johanngeorgenstadt. What he presents is from personal observation and knowledge.

Forced labor [states Dr. Loewenthal] in general has assumed huge proportions throughout the Russian occupation zone. It is used principally in dismantling plants for shipment to Russia, and in building dams and harbors which have strategic as well as industrial value to the Soviet Union.

Approximately 10,000 persons brought from the entire Eastern Zone are working on the dismantling of the lignite mine, Regis-Breitingen. Of 5,000 who are tearing down the Lauta Works in Hoyerswerda, 1,500 are from the Doebeln district alone. In order to collect a labor force quickly to dismantle a large plant in Bitterfeld, a Russian captain appeared before the director of the Labor Office in Magdeburg, laid his pistol on the table, and declared threateningly, pointing to the 40 trucks he had brought with him: "I will not leave until all these vehicles are filled with men." The necessary men were simply picked up in the street or dragged from the street cars. The same officer demanded 12,000 workers for the dismantling of Giesches Erben, which he planned to accomplish in two months by the use of three continuous shifts. Speed records win the admiration of those "above." What happens to the workers, and the resulting technical mess, is of no concern to the ambitious overseer.

The same methods were used to gather workers when heavy floods came in Oderbruch at the end of the winter. Then it was the profiteers who were caught, also many residents of the western sectors of Berlin, who were picked up in crowds when they crossed the border without having secured special Russian permission, and sent just as they were to build dams on the Oder. The Oder flood-control program which was undertaken later was also carried out primarily with forced labor.

In the Guestrow region in Mecklenburg 3,000 men were mobilized for the construction of the new Baltic harbor of Wismar, which the Russians are building for purposes of their own. Even the orchestra of the Guestrow theater had to turn out with shovels and pickaxes.

In Thuringia 25,000 workers from "unessential" industries were obliged to work on supplying firewood. Transportation of the wood required 600 freight cars a day; only 120 to 150 were available. But an order is an order. Failure was treated as "sabotage." . . .

A true picture of life in the labor brigades was furnished me not by a dissatisfied worker, who might perhaps have exaggerated out of bitterness, but by a dyed-in-the-wool Socialist Unity Party man. He said that 20,000 men had been supplied to dismantle a distilling plant at Borna. Most of them were returned prisoners or immigrants—all worn out, many ill and crippled. The barracks were so overcrowded that they interfered with one another's sleep; there were no mattresses, no straw sacks, no blankets, no provision for washing. Food for the heaviest labor was even less than the low-ration quota of the Province of Saxony—twice daily a liter of water with raw carrots, 400 grams of a bread difficult to digest, every ten days a little fat, honey, or sausage of the meanest sort, for which the daily sum of one mark, 55 pfennigs was taken from the hourly wage of 62 pfennigs. There was little medical care, for where could physicians and nurses for so many be found? Every expression of discontent was met with withdrawal of rations, or with imprisonment for up to four days. Beatings by the Russian officers were the order of the day. A major, enraged over the "laziness" of a forty-year-old woman, so weak that she could hardly stand, knocked out her teeth.

Dr. Loewenthal gives an account of work in the Uranium mines in these words:

While I was in Zwickau I heard what was being done in the neighborhood, so I motored to Schneeberg. On the outskirts of

the city guards stopped me with a road block. Only after an energetic display of my Russian pass did they let me through. . . .

After some investigation, I began to understand why the world had not discovered this slave-labor enterprise. Many thousands, no one knows exactly how many, work in the mines and on the surface with the most primitive tools. [Later information places the figure at 150,000.—A.K.H.] The pitchblende they gather is sent to the Soviet Union in long trains, some of it even by plane. . . .

In the meantime the influx of compulsory laborers from all of Saxony and even beyond increased day by day. They were immediately set to burrowing for pitchblende in the long-abandoned mines, many of them without clothing suited to the work, and without adequate tools. . . .

Like the forced labor in Hitler's armament industries during the war, work in the mines is arranged through placement orders of the labor officials, without consideration for the workers' health, occupation, or family circumstances. The laborers have been drafted from every level of the population, regardless of their suitability: office personnel, students, barbers, former lawyers and officials—anybody with arms and legs. In theory only those from 18 to 45 may be taken; actually children under 14 and men of 65 or more are at work. Only when they have a baby or children under six years of age are women exempt from work; housewives only when the household includes two or more working members. The "norm" demanded by the occupation authorities must be filled, and filled quickly. If the supply falls below this quota, those responsible must face dismissal or worse. The Labor Office of Dresden alone sent 8,000 men to forced labor at Aue, and the Leipzig office sent considerably more. The small city of Langensalza in Thuringia had to supply 800. In June '47 a textile factory in the Chemnitz district had to supply four of the one hundred men in its employ who fell within the age group for the mines. Many men and whole families pack their bags and hold themselves in readiness to flee from their homes to avoid the labor call. A few cases of self-mutilation have

occurred. If the husband has disappeared the wife has to take his place.

The work is extremely dangerous to health, because, underground, the workers inhale the gaseous disintegration product which emanates from radium; above the ground they inhale uranium dust. Sometimes the effect is fatal.

Inside the mines I saw that there were not even the most primitive safety appliances; no dust filtration, no provision for supplying air and light, and none for blowing out the used air. Most of the wooden supports in the shafts were rotten. The laborers had to descend into the depths on damp wooden ladders, and to work eight hours without a break in marshy passages, often in water to the knees, and often in a bent position. Before the mines were abandoned, horses took the minerals to the surface; today, in the age of progressive techniques, the carts are drawn by men.

Underground, three shifts drudge without interruption; the "norm" for each shift is three cubic meters. Above ground, there are two shifts; whether it is stiflingly hot or pouring rain does not matter. No one asks where the workers will get dry clothes for the next day. Every worker—adult or adolescent, man or woman—must work on Sunday. Only about once a month is there a free day.

I saw these weary brigades coming from their work in clay-smeared clothing, high-water boots on their legs, steel helmets on their heads, their sunken faces gray and dust-covered. They looked like the slave army of a Pharaoh of our time.

The number of severe industrial accidents, especially those caused by falling stones, is extraordinarily high. On April 25, 1947, in Pit 3, "Breakknee," a gallery collapsed, and twenty workers were buried. A few days later there was a bad accident in Pit "Abraham" shortly after midnight; two days later another in the Lautaer Pit. So it goes day after day, with nothing at all being done to protect the workers.

Under such circumstances it was soon impossible to get sufficient replacements from the male population. So the forced labor of

women and girls was instituted at the end of April. Among those called to the Labor Office were pregnant women, mothers of small children, and women who did not have a single pair of shoes. They were told that they were being sent to the so-called "Sulphuric Acid Corporation" in Marienberg. No appeal was allowed; as additional compulsion, the women's ration cards were taken from them. When they arrived in Marienberg, they had to dig on the dumps in day and night shifts—to the point of exhaustion. They received ration cards for heavy workers, some additional food, and occasionally cigarettes as a premium. But the rations were not nearly sufficient to replace the overpowering use of bodily strength.

The youth brigades sent into the Erzgebirge are grouped in units of fifty. Four to six occupy a room, which is furnished only with wooden beds, cotton sacks, and possibly a blanket. For this the rent is 18 marks a month. Those who work underground have ration cards for heavy workers; those who work on the surface, card two. In addition each receives monthly a kilo of meal,. three-quarters of a kilo of groats, barley, or noodles, and half a kilo each of butter and meat. Also distributed to workers in the mines are 100 grams of cheese and 200 grams of skimmed milk. The noon meal, very poor, is reckoned at 60 pfennigs. Since there are no vegetables, scurvy threatens. The bread tastes sour, and causes stomach and intestinal difficulties.

"When we go to work," one young man reported to me, "we have to climb down 722 ladder rungs. Then we have to dig like mad in the bad air for hours. If we don't fill the norm, there is neither food nor pay. When we get to the surface after work, we are completely exhausted. The pay is 7 marks 20 pfennigs for each shift—that is, it's supposed to be, but payment is always delayed for six to eight weeks. We have no means of cleaning up decently. And the place looks just like a prison camp. It is surrounded by barbed wire, and we are guarded by sentries with automatic pistols. Those who stay away from work are dragged before the plant police; with bad luck, they get eight to fourteen days in the cell.

"When we come from the pit we are soaked with sweat; then we go out into the winter cold. I hope I'll get pneumonia quickly—that's the only way to escape from here."

The workers are driven ruthlessly. The Russian soldiers who act as guards continually shout "davia, davia" (give, give), and are quick with blows and kicks. If, in the opinion of the management, too little has been done, food is simply withheld. Often the workers do not get the warm meal they are supposed to have after the shift.

Naturally, illness is frequent. But unless they have open wounds or are running a high fever, the sick are considered capable of work. German physicians who report such "capable workers" as ill are in danger of punishment of "sabotage of labor." If a worker is absent one day without excuse, he is given no food scrip for three days; if two days, no scrip for six days. Those who are absent three days are turned over to the police and imprisoned.

Then a still worse nightmare of suffering unfolds. Prison conditions in the Russian-occupied zone are, in general, not worthy of human beings; but those in the prison of Schneeburg are frightful. The prison building in its beautiful parklike surroundings appears modern and clean from the outside. Inside, cells with space for 23 persons are crowded with 83, mainly youngsters from 16 to 18, who could no longer stand the work in the mines and had tried to run away. And how these poor devils looked! Pale and wasted, with sunken, black-circled eyes and long, shaggy hair; wearing layer on layer of filthy clothing, their shirts often unwashed for months. Many were lousy, and plagued by itching skin diseases; many had open, unbound, wounds. The prison physicians, barbers, and showers were insufficient to handle such a mass; and day by day new prisoners were added.

It is not possible to protest about these conditions. The German foremen, engineers, and physicians, have only one answer to any complaint: "We can do nothing against the Russians."

The uranium story is brought more up to date by the

following report that has come to the Commission of Inquiry. The report states that the Soviet authorities have declared that work in Aue is as voluntary as work anywhere in the Soviet Zone—which is quite untrue. Since early in 1949 there have been large-scale publicity campaigns attempting to persuade labor to contract it on a "voluntary basis." But the demands put forward by the Soviet Russian Vismut-AG, which runs the uranium mines, are so excessive that it is well-nigh impossible to find enough "volunteers" to satisfy them, and the labor exchanges have therefore to resort to forced recruiting.

An official memorandum of the Thuringian Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare dated January 17th, 1949, said for instance: "A labor exchange which believes itself to be unable to forgo direction of labor or forced volunteering should move such labor units in separate transports, as it has been ascertained that obligatory labor has had an extraordinarily damaging influence on the morale of voluntary workers in recruit transports."

The so-called principle of volunteering is being handled in rather a special manner. There is an extensive partial closing down of factories going on in the Soviet Zone, especially of private enterprise undertakings. But only those of the workers who are suitable for the mines may be released. When they are unemployed they are not given any other jobs; and provided they are found suitable in an obligatory medical examination, they are reported as "volunteers" for the uranium mines. They are not given any unemployment benefits, as there is useful employment available in the mines. So, if they do not want to starve, they have no option but to "volunteer."

The average wage of the uranium miner does not exceed 200 East marks. Only those workers who find a uranium deposit get the

highest wage of about 1000 East marks, but this is really more of a bonus; and it is paid only once.

The workers are paid for only 26 working days in a month, though they are often forced to work up to 30 days. Two Sundays a month have to be worked as Hennecke shifts, and another Sunday for the benefit of the Greek guerrillas, the Two Year Plan, or similar undertakings.

Safety measures and technical equipment in the mines are more than defective. The drainage of the shafts is completely inadequate. The majority of the miners work throughout their eight-hour shift up to their knees in water. They are issued protective suits made from oil cloth, and rubber boots, but these get damaged very quickly, and new issues can be expected only after 6 to 9 months, so that many of the workers are a large part of the time without proper protection against the water.

Fatal accidents are of almost daily occurrence, because of inadequate safety measures. Galleries frequently collapse, because drilling is proceeding at a reckless pace without enough propping. In Freiberg alone there were 312 fatal accidents between July 1947 and the end of December 1948, as compared with eight fatal accidents between 1938 and 1946, when the mines were under German direction.

Many workers are falling ill. Silicosis, tuberculosis, complete exhaustion, and defects caused by radio-active radiation are the most frequent causes of sickness. The doctors are allowed to give certificates only in cases where there is little prospect of recovery. Venereal diseases are very frequent in the uranium mining district.

The billets of the workers are unfit for human beings. Former dancing halls, barns, schools, and factories serve as barracks. The sanitation defies description. Only a small number of workers live in private billets.

Twenty to thirty per cent of the 150,000 workers in the uranium district are women. They are surface-workers, and they are expected to do exactly the same work as the men. The women are

considered fair game by the Russian guards and the German Mining Police.

Those who miss five shifts without good reason or are guilty of irregularities are transferred to one of the numerous penal mines, where they work on very little food; and mishandling of the workers by the supervisory staff is a normal occurrence.

The workers call these penal mines "KZ-Schaechte"—concentration-camp shafts. Political activities in the uranium mining district are permitted exclusively for the Socialist Unity Party and the FDGB, which both support the reckless exploitation of the German workers by the Vismut-AG.

Though the workers were promised 36 days leave a year, only a very short holiday is granted to them; 36 days, in fact, are available only for the supervisory staff, the officials of the Socialist Unity Party, and the Communist-dominated trade unions. There is very nearly no week-end leave, as most Sundays are work days.

The workers are subject to Soviet military law. On arrival at the uranium mines all their identity papers are taken away, and replaced by a pass to the mines printed in Russian. The workers are not allowed to leave the mining district, and those who are caught escaping are subject to severe punishment.

The mining district is strictly guarded. No unauthorized person is allowed to enter it; and the patrols are instructed to shoot anybody who fails to stop when challenged.

The strength of the MVD garrison in the uranium district is about 5,000. Its field-post number is 27,304 B. Every shaft has a MVD guard of 25. Apart from the MVD there is the German Mining Police, which closely co-operates with it. There is, of course, also a great number of informers working for the MVD and keeping the miners under political surveillance. Like everybody else, the relatives of the miners are not allowed to enter the uranium district.

For all practical purposes the mining district is nothing but a gigantic forced-labor camp serving Soviet atomic rearmament. As in the forced-labor camps in the Soviet Union, the emphasis is on

results only; the individual is nothing but a subject of exploitation. A representative of the Soviet Mining Administration has outlined the Russian point of view as follows: "Aue is a part of Russia, and I shall educate you in the same manner as I am used to educate the workers in Russia."

It can indeed be said without fear of contradiction that "the people of Germany have rendered their possessions to great Stalin."

CHAPTER EIGHT

America Next?

We here in the United States have our fill of fellow-travelers who have succumbed to the Communist promises of a better life. What this better life means to the people who live under it we have already seen. Yet there still are people who refuse to believe the living evidence of those who have been through the forced-labor camps and the so-called "free" society of the Soviet and satellite nations. Probably it is difficult for most people really to appreciate what others have gone through. The sole purpose of this brief chapter is to ask the reader to place himself in the shoes of the average person behind the iron curtain. Imagine, just for the sake of argument, that the Communists took control of the United States. Exactly what would it mean? How would it affect you, or me, or the garage man, the mechanic, the railroad engineer, the corner grocer, the farmer, the factory hand?

Here is the story—and it is not far-fetched. It has happened in Romania, in Bulgaria, in Hungary, in Poland, in Eastern Germany, in Czechoslovakia. The pattern is the same, the experience of the average person is the same.

Today the Communist Party of the USA took the control of our Government, the Army and Air Force,

the Navy, and the Marines. Immediately, Soviet-controlled generals, colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants, admirals, commodores, captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, were placed in charge of the typical duties which these officers have. The courts are in the process of being purged; Communist lawyers and fellow travelers are being placed in positions of judicial responsibility. Martial law has been declared; and several divisions of Soviet troops and troops from the Soviet satellites have been sent over to assist in maintaining order and putting down revolt. (Indeed, these troops appeared almost immediately upon the seizure of power.)

Decrees have established the legal procedures in all branches of life. The Constitution is suspended, and decrees put in force the basic criminal and labor laws of the Soviet Union with little or no modification.

Perhaps you are a farmer. By a miracle you managed to keep your farm during the twenties and the dark years of the thirties. You are comfortable now; the mortgage is paid off; and through the past years you have purchased tractors either alone or in co-operation with your neighbor farmers. In spite of the privations and worries you have suffered, your present success is your undoing. For this prosperity makes you a "kulak," a dangerous and anti-social element. You will not surrender your property willingly to the "collective" which the Government now insists must be established. You are unwilling to plant your crops with seed purchased from the Government at exorbitant rates, and then harvest your crops to be sold

to the Government at one-fourth the open-market value. You will not meekly accept an increase in your taxes of 40 per cent, and for this you will have to be punished. You will be rounded up one night—at 2 or 3 or 5 A.M., put in a truck, taken to the freight yards, and herded like cattle with other farmers into trains bound for Alaska. In Alaska you will be put to mining gold. You will have no doctor. You will work from 10 to 16 hours a day. You will live in a barracks, poorly heated, and with no bedclothes. You will know nothing about your family. You will have had no trial, no chance of defense. You will be informed of the length of your sentence; but when the happy expiration date comes—if you are still alive—you may well be resentenced by the secret police who arrested you, exiled you, and profits by your labor in the gold mines.

Or perhaps you are a mechanic—you repair trucks. And since the Communists have taken over, fewer trucks have been produced, in order to increase the production of military tanks and airplanes. Consequently the trucks are getting older and need more frequent repairs. You have done the best you can with the materials at hand, but you cannot build a new truck. The truck you repaired is in good mechanical shape now, and you have your fingers crossed as to whether the materials supplied to you are good enough to stand the strain of usage. Somewhere between Chicago and New York the truck breaks down. The shipment it contained is delayed, of course, and the boat waiting for the shipment to arrive is delayed

as a consequence. That seals your fate. You are arrested for sabotaging the economic development of the country, you are a counter-revolutionist—even if the truck broke down as a result of no purposeful intent on your part—you are guilty. Now comes the visit from the MVD in the middle of the night. You are taken from your family, and ordered to join the construction gang of forced laborers in the building of an atomic experiment station in the desert of New Mexico. You will labor in the hot sun, without sufficient protection; you will not meet the work requirements, and will be denied food. You will become ill, you will long for death as the only escape. And this one wish will undoubtedly come true. You will remember as you lie dying that you were a good and faithful member of the International Association of Machinists or the United Automobile Workers of America; but you could no longer get any help from the Union. The officers you elected have been liquidated, and in their place have come Government agents. The cowed members of the Union have denounced you as a saboteur. And now even the Union you helped to build, the Union you fought for and were blackballed for, is a fear-ridden company union. And now death is welcome. Your fellow prisoners envy you—you will not suffer any more.

Or perhaps you are a textile worker. You used to go to work by trolley or in your own car; you still have an old one. And it would happen that the car breaks down. You are twenty minutes late. For this you are severely reprimanded and held up as a horrible example to your

fellow workers. Thereafter you leave home an hour earlier than was your custom; but one morning an enormously long freight train held you up interminably. You missed the bus; and again you are late. Again you are reprimanded. And bad luck dogs your steps. One morning you feel just too ill to get up and work, but a check of your temperature indicates that it is not up to the required 102 degrees. Unfortunately you have delayed too long, and once again you are late. This combination of events entitles you to be included in the first grade of forced labor, and you suffer a 25 per cent reduction in pay. And your bad luck still holds—your loom breaks down. This is not unusual—that is, it is not unusual for a machine to break down—but this is your machine, and already you have incurred official displeasure and are in the first category of forced labor. To those in authority, this is no accident: you are a saboteur—this is obvious to the secret police. You are arrested and taken in for questioning. "Who are your accomplices?" "Who directs your sabotage work?" "Name them! name them!" The more you protest your innocence, the more certain they are of your guilt. At last you can stand the punishment no longer; and you name the first five people who come to mind. You have confessed. But you may remain in prison for a year or two before you are sent word that your case has been considered, and you are to be sent into exile for forced labor for seven years as an enemy of the State.

Or for fifteen years you have been a teacher. In your record there is only praise for your professional qualifi-

cations. But you are not a political leader—you don't know very much about Marx and Engels, about Lenin and of Stalin—you have not mastered the works of these prophets. "Pedagogical efficiency and ability are of the least concern—our teachers must be first and foremost political leaders." You are out of a job, and your failure to learn your political lessons places you under suspicion.

Or as a scientist you had a reputation for "scientific integrity, objectivity, and careful methodology." Now all this is of no account; these are bourgeois standards, and your science is reactionary, because it does not meet the approval of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Or you were a judge, a bourgeois, democratic judge: forced labor for you—a servant of the so-called democratic capitalistic courts. Or a minister; a rabbi; a priest—you are guilty of feeding opiates to the people. You may continue to function, but only in your own limited circle. You cannot visit the sick, the imprisoned, the unfortunate. You cannot teach children the religious truths you believe in. Try those—and forced labor will be your reward.

You have been a Socialist, or a Democrat, or a Republican: you are a counter-revolutionary, by membership in these "fascist" groups; therefore your lot is forced labor. If you were a policeman, a court clerk, a tax official—whatever you were, you served the enemies of the working class, the Wall Street imperialist monopolistic servants of the degenerate capitalistic warmongers—you are most liable to be condemned to forced labor.

This is what has happened everywhere in the Soviet Union; in Poland; in the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania; in Romania; in Hungary; in Eastern Germany; in Bulgaria; in Czechoslovakia. This is what will happen here if the Kremlin can put it over. This is what this book is about: it is about you and people like you. It isn't pleasant, but it is real.

CHAPTER NINE

Are the Chains Eternal?

The conclusions I present here are not the conclusions of the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor—they are mine alone.

What can be done? Is each age of human life to be cursed by some form of slavery? We are faced today with a slave system unmatched in history. It is peculiarly diabolical in that it is presented to yearning and toiling people disguised as freedom and liberty. It is tied to the marvellously efficient 20th-century machine civilization, which is also unmatched in human history.

Ancient slavery in Egypt was a reasonable system, compared to the Soviet slave system. The possibility of revolt, of an organized walkout, were present—if we give credence to the story of the Exodus. The systems of slavery which existed in ancient Rome and Greece, and the chattel slavery of our own South, differed drastically from that practiced by the Soviets. In these older forms of slavery the slave was of some value to the owner. He was cared for and fed as a valuable source of work and income; there was a regard for his welfare; but any such regard is completely absent in the Communist slave societies.

The medieval serf had a value to the feudal baron—and,

indeed, was finally able to assert himself and acquire greater rights. At the very least, the baron was in duty bound to give his serfs protection against marauders. But in the Soviet slave system no comparable honor, and no comparable duty, exist toward those millions of unfortunates who with their very lives are building the strength, and are the sinews, of the growing Soviet economy.

In the colonialism which the Soviet Union practices in the satellite countries, even the worst of what has ever been done by the most brutal imperialisms of the white man in Africa, Latin America, Asia, and the North American continent pales into insignificance. Certainly the ruthless thoroughness of the Soviet slave masters is unparalleled in today's world. The only thing that can be said for the Soviet slave system is that it shows absolutely no discrimination because of color or nationality, or previous condition of servitude—its sadistic brutality is impartial. This equality of Stalinism is best demonstrated in the slave-labor camps of the Soviet Union and the camps of its puppet states. In this sense alone the regime is "democratic."

There are those who point to the past history of other nations, and say that this is only a natural development in a country that has only recently begun to be developed. "England had its debtors' prisons, its child labor, and its exploitation of women. This is a phase which in the natural order of things must be gone through." This is not so—such a statement is self-deceit and deliberate lying. The

Soviet Union came into power on the basis of a so-called Marxist program. This very program was based on a criticism of capitalist England during the days of its worst exploitation of women and children in the factories, and the most shameful period of the Industrial Revolution—it was against this system that the Marxist movement developed. The rulers of the Communist movement know this well enough. What they have done is cynically to set up this monstrosity, this new monolithic slave state, with an all-pervasive secret police—a police power which grows as its victims multiply. And all this is justified in the name of what is called "freedom," "brotherhood," "equality." In the name of the highest ideals that man professes, it has debased these ideals, and the people who live in the lands this ruthless power controls.

Short of an almost unimaginably destructive war, what can be done to end this growing menace to free peoples everywhere? What can be done to help free those enslaved; what can be done to force change in these countries? The suggestions are far weaker than the brutal facts we face. Nevertheless, there are some things that can be done.

Through the United Nations the peoples of the world must insist that a thoroughgoing investigation of these conditions be made. If the Soviet Union and the satellite states will not permit an investigation of conditions on the spot—and they most certainly will not, since they are now more practiced than any other nation in hastily donning the chastity belt of "national sovereignty"—the U.N. must

hear the story from the lips of those who have been through the hell of Soviet slave-camps and were fortunate enough to come out alive and escape to the West. The full story of the atrocious conditions—as far as it is possible to get that full story—must be presented to all the peoples of the world.

In each country which has a free press, this press should be called upon to present to their readers the results of all such investigation. And these facts should be presented as being the actual basic program that all the various national Communist parties really stand for. The hydra-headed monster of the Communist movement must be exposed—not for what it pretends to be, but for what it really is.

Free trade unionists should learn the conditions under which the people in similar trades labor in the Communist "paradise."

All persons in the free nations should support the efforts being made by various groups and organizations engaged in the exposure of the new slave power. The formation of an international abolitionist movement is overdue; it must come now, and the free peoples of the world must demand the release of these millions of slaves. Over the air waves, through the press, in international conclaves of voluntary and official organizations, by every available communication medium, the demand must be made for the freedom of the enslaved. The voice of the free world must be raised in a mighty shout that will reach the ears, the hearts, and the minds of those who

suffer in the slave states, to give them hope, and courage, and at last the means of throwing off their chains.

It is my firm belief that a materialistic power can be hurt by not only material weapons—a boycott of all trade with the slave countries—but by the moral and spiritual potential which the free world still possesses. It is true that in the countries of the free world this moral and spiritual potential is immobilized to a large extent by those injustices which still exist in these countries. That these injustices are as nothing compared to the incredible slavery of the Communist states is beside the point; we need not keep quiet because of our own shortcomings. But the voice of the free world will ring more clearly and carry greater weight, if we at the same time free ourselves of our own faults of hate, segregation, exploitation, and discrimination. The program will work both ways. As we work for the freedom of today's slaves, we shall become more conscious of our failures in our own democratic system, and will work more devotedly to correct them. And as we work to correct them we shall be able to work ever more effectively for the freedom of these others—these others who have "nothing to lose but their chains."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: *Photostat and translation of NKVD order concerning Lithuanian deportees, 1941.*

APPENDIX II: *Photostat and translation of a portion of an NKVD order entitled:* Instructions regarding the manner of conducting the deportation of the anti-Soviet elements from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

APPENDIX III: *Photostat and translation of report forms used by the Ministry of State Security of the Lithuanian SSR.*

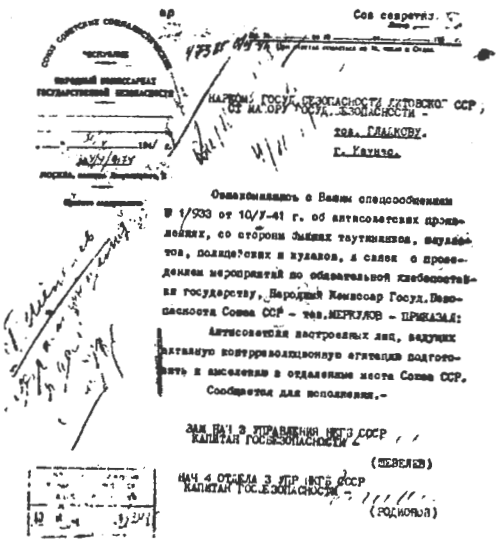
APPENDIX IV: *Photostat and translation of title page and section of the* Criminal Codex *issued by the Ministry of Justice, USSR, 1948.*

APPENDIX V: *Persons executed in Estonia or deported from Estonia during first Soviet occupation, 1940–1941.*

APPENDIX VI: *Estonians executed and deported during the first Soviet occupation, 1940–1941, according to profession.*

APPENDIX VII: *Photostats and translations of portions of NKVD regulations for the Ukhta Pechora labor camp, 1937.*

APPENDIX I: Photostat and translation of NKVD order concerning Lithuanian deportees, 1941.



UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF STATE SECURITY

31/V/1941

Moscow, Dzerzhinsky Plaza, 2

Short summary:

TO NARKOM [People's Commissar] OF STATE SECURITY OF THE LITHUANIAN SSR
SENIOR MAJOR OF STATE SECURITY FORCES
comrade GLADKOV.
city of Kaunas.

Having acquainted himself with your special report No. 1/933 of 10 May 1941 regarding the anti-Soviet manifestations from the direction of the former Tautiniki [Nationalists], Shaulisty [National Guardsmen], policemen and kulaks, in connection with the carrying out of the measures pertaining to compulsory grain deliveries to the state, People's Commissar of State Security of the Union of SSR—comrade MERKULOV—ORDERED:

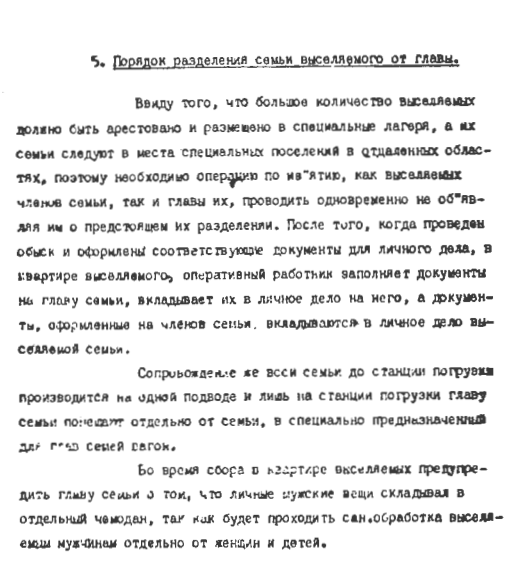
To ready for exiling into remote places of the Union of SSR of anti-Soviet minded persons who conduct active counter-revolutionary agitation.

Communicated to you for the execution.—

DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE BOARD 3 OF THE NKGB OF THE USSR
CAPTAIN OF STATE SECURITY FORCES–(Signature)
(SHEVELEV)

CHIEF OF DIVISION 4 OF THE BOARD 3 OF THE NKGB OF THE USSR
CAPTAIN OF STATE SECURITY FORCES–(Signature)
(RODIONOV)

APPENDIX II: Photostat and translation of a portion of an NKVD order entitled: Instructions regarding the manner of conducting the deportation of the anti-Soviet elements from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.



5. Порядок разделения семьи выселяемого от главы.

Ввиду того, что большое количество выселяемых должно быть арестовано и размещено в специальные лагеря, а их семьи следуют в места специальных поселений в отдаленных областях, поэтому необходимо операцию по изъятию, как выселяемых членов семьи, так и главы их, проводить одновременно не об"являя им о предстоящем их разделении. После того, когда проведен обыск и оформлены соответствующие документы для личного дела, в квартире выселяемого, оперативный работник заполняет документы на главу семьи, вкладывает их в личное дело на него, а документы, оформленные на членов семьи, вкладываются в личное дело выселяемой семьи.

Сопровождение же всей семьи до станции погрузки производится на одной подводе и лишь на станции погрузки главу семьи помещают отдельно от семьи, в специально предназначенный для глав семей вагон.

Во время сбора в квартире выселяемых предупредить главу семьи о том, что личные мужские вещи складывал в отдельный чемодан, так как будет проходить сан.обработка выселяемым мужчинам отдельно от женщин и детей.

5. Manner of separating deportee from his family

In view of the fact that a large number of the deportees must be arrested and placed in special camps and their families settled at special points in distant regions, it is necessary to execute the operation of deporting both the members of his family as well as the deportee simultaneously, without informing them of the separation confronting them. After having made the search and drawn up the necessary documents for identification in the home of the deportee, the administrative worker shall draw up documents for the head of the family and place them in his personal file, but the documents drawn up for the members of his family should be placed in the personal file of the deportee's family.

The moving of the entire family to the station, however, should be done in one vehicle, and only at the station should the head of the family be placed separately from his family in a railway car specially intended for heads of families.

While gathering together the family in the home of the deportee, the head of the family should be warned that personal male articles are to be packed into a separate suitcase, as a sanitary inspection will be made of the deported men separately from the women and children.

СОВЕРШЕННО СЕКРЕТНО

Пятидневная сводка №_____

По учету а/с и к/р элемента, согласно приказа НКГБ Лит. ССР № 0023 от 25 апреля 1941 года по _____ Уездному Отделу НКГБ Лит. ССР

за время с _____ по _____ 1941 г.

ОКРАСКИ	Выявлено и взято на справочный учет	Установлено на обслуж территории	Заведено дел форм	Заведено учет. дел	Заведено розыскных дел
1	2	3	4	5	6
I. По линии СПО:					
РАЗДЕЛ ПЕРВЫЙ.					
а) **Бывшие руководящие чиновники государственного аппарата.**					
1) Основные референты					
2) Директора департаментов и выше					
3) Уездные начальники					
4) Военные коменданты уездов					
5) Полицейские					
6) Жандармы					
7) Тюремщики (работавшие на административной работе)					
8) Прокуроры					
9) Члены военно-полевых судов					
10) " военных судов					
11) " Верховного Трибунала					
12) " апелляционных палат					
13) " окружных судов (принимавшие участие в разборе полит дел).					
14) Следователи по особо важным делем.					
15) Чиновники Жвальгибы (Саугумас)					
16) " Криминальной полиции					
17) Офицеры 2-го (разведывательного) отдела Генштаба литовской армии					
18) Активные участники банд ПЛЕХАВИЧУСА, БЕРМОНТ-АВАЛОВА, ФОНДЕРГОЛЬЦА, выступавшие против Советов в Битве.					
19) Троцкисты					
20) Эсеры					
21) Руководящие социалдемократы					
22) Провокаторы охранки					
23) Семьи репрессированных					
24) Помещики					
25) Крупные фабриканты					
26) Крупные купцы и крупные домовладельцы					

APPENDIX III: Photostat and translation of report forms used by the Ministry of State Security of the Lithuanian SSR. This form was used in connection with what the Lithuanians refer to as the "infamous order No. 0023." On these forms were recorded the numbers of persons rounded up for executions and deportation. A translation appears on the opposite page.

Translation from Russian

Strictly Secret

Five-Day Cumulative Summary No._____

Account of anti-soviet and counter-revolutionary element, in accordance with the order of NKGB of Lithuanian SSR No. 0023 of the 25th of April, 1941, of "_____" County Branch of NKGB of Lith. SSR. for the period of "_____" through "_____1941

CHARACTERISTICS	Investigated and taken into prosecuting account	Cleared on the covered territory	Instituted files forms	Instituted accounting files	Instituted cleared files
1	2	3	4	5	6
I. ON ACCOUNT OF SPO:					
FIRST SECTION					
a) Former leading officials of state apparatus:					
1) Basic referents					
2) Directors of departments and up					
3) County Chiefs					
4) County Military commandants					
5) Policemen					
6) Gendarmes					
7) Prison-keepers (who had done administrative work)					
8) Prosecutors					
9) Members of field military courts					
10) Members of Military Courts					
11) Members of the Supreme Tribunal					
12) Members of Appellate Courts					
13) Members of Circuit Courts (who had taken part in political trials)					
14) Investigators of especially important legal prosecutions					
15) Officials of Zvalgyba (Security)					
16) Officials of Criminal Police					
17) Officers of the 2nd (intelligence division of the General Staff of the Lithuanian Army)					
18) Active participants of the bands of Plechavicius, Bermont-Avalov, Von Der Goltz, who had served against the Soviets in battle					
19) Trotskyists					
20) Essers					
21) Leading social-democrats					
22) Security provocateurs					
23) Families of the repressed					
24) Estate landlords					
25) Sizeable manufacturers					
26) Sizeable merchants and large house-owners					

APPENDIX IV: Photostat and translation of title page and section of the Criminal Code *issued by the Ministry of Justice, USSR, 1948.*

Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!

МИНИСТЕРСТВО ЮСТИЦИИ РСФСР

УГОЛОВНЫЙ КОДЕКС

Официальный текст
с изменениями на 1 августа 1948 года
и с приложением по статейно-систематизированных материалов

ЮРИДИЧЕСКОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО
МИНИСТЕРСТВА ЮСТИЦИИ СССР
Москва — 1948

[*title page*]

Proletariat of all Countries, unite!

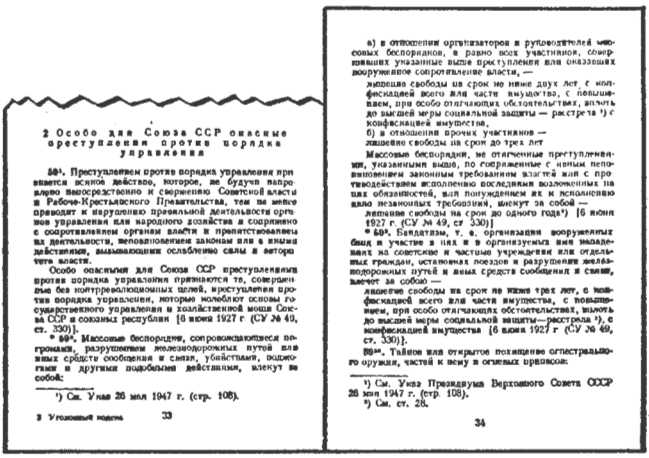
MINISTRY OF JUSTICE RSFSR

CRIMINAL CODEX

Official Text
with amendments to 1st August, 1948,
and with appendices
to the articles.

JURIDICAL PUBLISHING HOUSE
MINISTRY OF JUSTICE U.S.S.R.
Moscow—1948

APPENDIX IV



2 Особо для Союза ССР опасные преступления против порядка управления

59¹. Преступлением против порядка управления признается всякое действие, которое, не будучи направлено непосредственно к свержению Советской власти и Рабоче-Крестьянского Правительства, тем не менее приводит к нарушению правильной деятельности органов управления или народного хозяйства и сопряжено с сопротивлением органам власти и препятствованием их деятельности, неисполнением законов или к иным действиям, вызывающим ослабление силы и авторитета власти.

Особо опасным для Союза ССР преступлением против порядка управления признаются те, совершенные без контрреволюционных целей, преступления против порядка управления, которые колеблют основы государственного управления и хозяйственной мощи Союза ССР и союзных республик [6 июня 1927 г (СУ № 49, ст. 330)].

* 59². Массовые беспорядки, сопровождающиеся погромами, разрушением железнодорожных путей или иных средств сообщения и связи, убийствами, поджогами и другими подобными действиями, влекут за собой:

¹) См. Указ 26 мая 1947 г. (стр. 108).

3 Уголовный кодекс 33

а) в отношении организаторов и руководителей массовых беспорядков, а равно всех участников, совершивших указанные выше преступления или оказавших вооруженное сопротивление власти, —

лишение свободы на срок не ниже двух лет, с конфискацией всего или части имущества, с повышением, при особо отягчающих обстоятельствах, вплоть до высшей меры социальной защиты — расстрела ¹) с конфискацией имущества,

б) в отношении прочих участников —

лишение свободы на срок до трех лет

Массовые беспорядки, не отягченные преступлениями, указанными выше, по сопряженные с явным неповиновением законным требованиям властей или с противодействием исполнению последними возложенных на них обязанностей, или понуждением их к исполнению ими незаконных требований, влекут за собой —

лишение свободы на срок до одного года²) [6 июня 1927 г. (СУ № 49, ст 330)].

* 59³. Бандитизм, т. е. организация вооруженных банд и участие в них и в организуемых ими нападениях на советские и частные учреждения или отдельных граждан, остановках поездов и разрушение железнодорожных путей и иных средств сообщения и связи, влечет за собою —

лишение свободы на срок не ниже трех лет, с конфискацией всего или части имущества, с повышением, при особо отягчающих обстоятельствах, вплоть до высшей меры социальной защиты—расстрела ¹), с конфискацией имущества [6 июня 1927 г (СУ № 49, ст. 330)].

59⁴. Тайное или открытое похищение огнестрельного оружия, частей к нему и огневых припасов:

¹) См. Указ Президиума Верховного Совета СССР 26 мая 1947 г. (стр. 108).
²) См. ст. 28.

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[*page* 33]

2. *Crimes against the system of government*

59[1]. Any act which, though not directly aimed at overthrowing the Soviet regime and the Workers' and Peasants' government, nevertheless leads to the disturbance of the smooth functioning of the organs of the government or of the national economy and which is accompanied by resistance to the organs of government and hindrance of their activity, by disobedience to the laws or by other activities causing a weakening of the force and authority of the regime, is considered a crime against the system of Government.

Those crimes against the system of Government committed without counter-revolutionary aim, which shake the foundations of the State administration and the economic strength of the USSR and of the Union republics, are regarded as crimes constituting a special danger to the USSR. [6 June, 1927 (Collection of Laws No. 49, article 330)].

59[2]. Mass disorders, accompanied by pogroms, the destruction of railways and other means of transport and communications, murders, arson and other similar acts entail:

APPENDIX IV

[*page 34*]

a) in respect of the organisers and leaders of the mass disorders, and also of all the participants guilty of the above listed crimes or of showing armed resistance to the authorities,—

deprivation of liberty for a period of not less than two years, with confiscation of all or part of the [culprit's] property; to be increased, in especially grave circumstances, up to the supreme measure of social defence—death by shooting with confiscation of property,

b) in respect of other participants—

deprivation of liberty for a period not exceeding three years.

Mass disorders, not aggravated by the crimes listed above but accompanied by obvious disobedience to the lawful demands of the authorities, or by hindrance of the latter in the execution of the duties imposed upon them, or by the forcing of them to carry out obviously unlawful demands entails—

deprivation of liberty for a period of up to one year [6 June, 1927 (Collection of Laws, No. 49, Article 330)].

59[3]. Banditry, i.e. the organisation of armed bands and participation in them and in attacks organised by them on Soviet and private establishments or on individual citizens, in holding up trains and in the destruction of railway lines and other means of transport and communication, entails—

deprivation of liberty for a period of not less than three years, with confiscation of all or part of the [culprit's] property, to be increased, in especially grave circumstances, to the supreme measure of social defence—death by shooting with confiscation of property [6 June, 1927 (Collection of Laws No. 49, Art. 330)].

59[3a]. The secret or open theft of firearms, parts thereof, and ammunition stocks:

APPENDIX V: Persons executed in Estonia or deported from Estonia during first Soviet occupation, 1940–1941. This list, and that in Appendix VI, were supplied by the Estonian National Council, and are substantiated by Estonian Red Cross authorities.

	Men	Women	Total
Arrested and deported to Russia	5,451	525	5,976
Arrested and executed in Estonia	1,513	202	1,715
Deported to Russia	5,102	5,103	10,205
"Conscripted" and deported to Russia	33,304	..	33,304
Members of standing army, deported to Russia	5,573	..	5,573
Deported to Russia in the exercise of their duties	1,594	264	1,858
Lost without trace	782	319	1,101
Total	53,319	6,413	59,732
Disfigured corpses whose identity could not be ascertained	228	7	235

APPENDIX VI: Estonians executed and deported during the first Soviet Occupation, 1940–1941, according to profession.

Profession	Men	Women	Total
Agriculture	14,565	1,720	16,285
Industry	16,185	1,158	17,343
Transport and communications	3,793	305	4,098
Trade	3,839	868	4,707
Civil Service	11,224	1,582	12,806
Domestic work	77	73	150
Other professions	426	153	579
Profession unknown	3,210	554	3,764
Total	53,319	6,413	59,732

APPENDIX VII: Photostats and translations of portions of NKVD regulations for the Ukhta-Pechora Labor Camp, 1937.

The portions of the document reproduced and the translation on the following pages are most significant. For the first time we are permitted a real look into the Soviet attitude towards the inmates of the forced-labor camps as seen from the point of view of the NKVD. While the document is dated 1937, it is the only one available in this country or any other outside the Soviet sphere. The pamphlet was made available to the author by the Hoover Library of War, Peace, and Revolution at Stanford University in California. It had been under seal for many years and the seal has only recently been broken. In line with the cooperation which has always existed between the free trade union organizations (the American Federation of Labor and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) this and additional material were made available to the Consultant of the ICFTU for presentation to the Santiago, Chile meeting of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, in March, 1951.

A brief summary of the material in the document is in order.

The daily allotment for the forced laborers at Ukhta-Pechora doing heavy work is 1292 calories. United States standards call for 3000 calories a day for the worker doing work equivalent to that performed in the camps. The dogs in the NKVD forced-labor camps get a daily ration of 1184 calories, including 400 grams of meat, an item seldom appearing on the ration of the humans employed in the camps. Moreover, we must keep in mind that this particular camp, the Ukhta-Pechora Camp, is situated above the Arctic Circle and the calory content of the diet must be considered with that in mind.

Those convicted of infraction of the rules and regulations are placed in special confinement in the camp and their food allowance for the day totals 716 calories. It is obvious that this can only mean a sentence to death by starvation. But let the NKVD speak for itself in the following pages.

D 1286

УТВЕРЖДАЮ.
Начальник Управления УХТПЕЧЛАГа НКВД
Старший Майор Государственной Безопасности
27 мая 1937 г. Я. МОРОЗ

1286

ВВЕДЕНИЕ

„Положение о довольствии Ухто-Печорского исправительно-трудового лагеря НКВД" издано, как временное руководство для всех снабженческо-хозяйственных работников лагеря и администрации лагподразделений впредь до издания такого положения ГУЛАГом НКВД или утверждения устава лагерей НКВД.

Основу положения составляют указания ГУЛАГа НКВД, **данные в связи с переводом лагерей** по приказу НКВД № 295 от 5 сентября 1935 года **на сдельную оплату труда**, корректированные всеми позже данными распоряжениями ГУЛАГа и практическим опытом этой работы в УХТПЕЧЛАГе.

Положение делится на три основных раздела: продовольствие, вещдовольствие и фуражное довольствие. Кроме того в положении отражены общие принципы расчетов за продовольствие заключенных, более подробно изложенные в развитие и специальных указаниях Финансового отдела лагеря.

Положение является основным документом для руководства всем работникам снабженческо-хозяйственного аппарата лагеря. **Положение должно иметься во всех подразделениях лагеря**, включая и мелкие подлагпункты, отдельные командировки и производственные колонны, **имеющие самостоятельные хозчасти.**

Никто из работников снабженческо-хозяйственного аппарата лагеря не может ссылаться на незнание данного положения.

Все уточнения, **исправления и дополнения**, которые будут вноситься в последующее время, **будут издаваться специальными приложениями** к данному основному положению о довольствии.

Начальник Отдела снабжения и быта
Ухтпечлага НКВД ГЕЙДЕНРЕЙХ

D 1286

12[illegible]

1. ОБЩИЕ ПОЛОЖЕНИЯ

§ 1. **Задачей** продовольственного снабжения в лагере является:

а) **обеспечение нормального питания заключенных,**

б) **стимулирование лучшей работы заключенных и способствование росту производительности труда.**

[illegible] **преимущественное право на получение пищи лучшего качества и в большем количестве имеют** [illegible]

а) **работающие по-стахановски и ударники,**

[illegible]

§ 2. [illegible] **чем выше выполнение норм, тем большее количество продуктов получает заключенный.**

[illegible]

2. ДОВОЛЬСТВИЕ РАБОТАЮЩИХ ЗАКЛЮЧЕННЫХ

§ 4. **Все работающие заключенные довольствуются по единому котлу,** [illegible]

Нормы единого котла [illegible]

D 1286

МЕСЯЧНЫЕ НОРМЫ ЕДИНОГО КОТЛА в КИЛОГРАММАХ

№ по	НАИМЕНОВАНИЕ ПРОДУКТОВ	НОРМА в КГ	ЦЕНА 6 пояс	ЦЕНА 7 пояс	СУММА 6 пояс	СУММА 7 пояс
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Хлеб ржаной	12,000	0–98	1–08	11–76	12–96
2	Мука	0,300	1–35	1–50	0–41	[illegible]
3	Мука пшенич.	0,150	2–56	2–83	0–38	0–42
4	Крупа разная	2,400	1–88	2–16	4–51	5–18
5	Мясо	0,640	5–97	5–97	3–82	3–82
6	Рыба	3,960	1–32	1–32	5–23	5–23
7	Масло растит.	0,270	5–70	5–70	1–54	1–54
8	Сахар	0,200	3–74	3–74	0–75	0–75
9	Чай суррогат	0,120	3–20	3–20	0–38	0–38
10	Соль	0,600	0–08	0–08	0–05	0–05
11	Овощи	15,000	0–30	0–30	4–50	4–50
12	Томат пюре	0,080	2–00	2–00	0–18	0–18
13	Перец струч.	0,004	5–21	5–21	0–02	0–02
14	Лавр. лист	0,006	7–21	7–21	0–04,3	0–04,3
	ИТОГО				33–57,3	35–52,3
	Стоимость 1 чел. дня (1/30)				1–11,91	1–18,41
	Мыло хозяйственное	0,300	2–20	2–20	0–60	0–66

ПРИМЕЧАНИЕ. 1. **К пятому поясу** относятся нижеследующие подразделения Ухтпечлага: Сельхоз Сыктывкар, Архангельский пункт, Сельхоз Кылтово, Котласский пункт, Княж-Погост, Строительство ж. д. Усть-Вымь—Чибью, Леспаг Тобысь.

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НОРМЫ ДОВОЛЬСТВИЯ НА 1 ЧЕЛОВЕКА В МЕСЯЦ

№ п/п	НАИМЕНОВАНИЕ ПРОДУКТОВ	Норма в кг	Цена 5 пояс	Цена 7 пояс	Сумма 5 пояс	Сумма 7 пояс
1	Хлеб ржаной	9,000	0–98	1–08	8–82	9–72
2	Мука ржаная	0,150	1–33	1–50	0–21	0–23
3	Крупа разн.	1,050	1–88	2–16	1–97	2–26
4	Рыба	2,250	1–32	1–32	2–97	2–97
5	Масло растит.	0,150	5–70	5–70	0–86	0–86
6	Чай суррогат	0,120	3–20	3–20	0–38	0–38
7	Соль	0,600	0–08	0–08	0–05	0–05
8	Овощи свеж. и квашеные	12,000	0–30	0–30	3–60	3–60
9	Томат-пюре	0,080	2–00	2–00	0–18	0–18
10	Перец стр.	0,006	5–21	5–21	0–03	0–03
11	Лавров. лист	0,006	7–21	7–21	0–04,3	0–04,3
	ИТОГО				19–11,3	20–32,3
	Стоимость одного человеко-дня (1/30)				0–63,71	0–67,74
	Мыло хозяйств.	0,300	2–20	2–20	0–60	0–60

§ 29. Кроме положенного бесплатного довольствия по указанным выше нормам, содержащиеся под следствием в штрафизо возвнонаёмные сотрудники могут покупать за наличный расчет дополнительные продукты из ларьков и столовых или через обслугу штрафизо по разрешению Начальника ШИЗО.

§ 30. Работающие заключенные, содержащиеся в штрафизоляторах, получают довольствие на общих основаниях, в соответствии с разделом „2" настоящего Положения.

6. ДОВОЛЬСТВИЕ ДЕТЕЙ ЗАКЛЮЧЕННЫХ И ПОДРОСТКОВ

§ 31. Родившиеся и находящиеся в лагере **дети заключенных в возрасте до 13 лет включительно, а также** прибывшие в лагерь по особому разрешению Начальника Управления к заключенным родителям, **довольствуются бесплатно по нижеследующим нормам.**

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24. НОРМЫ ДОВОЛЬСТВИЯ СЛУЖЕБНО-РОЗЫСКНЫХ И КАРАУЛЬНЫХ СОБАК

§ 156 Служебно-розыскные собаки довольствуются по нижеследующим нормам на 1 собаку в сутки:

№ п/п	Наименование продуктов	Норма № 1 Для одной взрослой и молодой собаки от 6 м. возраста	Норма № 2 Для беремен. и кормящих сук (в течение 6 недель после щенения), а также истощен. соб.	Норма № 3 Для щенят от 3 недель до 6 месяцев возраста
1	Мясо 2 сорта	400	400	300
2	Овсянка	500	500	250
3	Овощи	200	200	100
4	Жиры животн.	30	30	10

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№ п/п	Наименование продуктов	Норма № 1 Для одной взрослой и молодой собаки от 6 м. возраста	Норма № 2 Для берем. и кормящих сук (в течение 6 недель после щенения), а также истощен. соб.	Норма № 3 Для щенят от 4 недель до 6 месяцев возраста
5	Хлеб ржаной	—	100	—
6	Хлеб пшеничн. (белый)	—	—	100
7	Молоко	—	$^3/_4$ литра	0,5 литра
8	Соль	20	20	10
9	Фосфорная кислота известь	—	—	2
10	Солома для подстилки	800	800	500
11	Опилки	800	800	500

ПРИМЕЧАНИЕ: 1. Мясо говяжье может заменяться кониной кондиционного качества

2. Овсянка в норме № 1 может заменяться гречневой крупой и пшеном, а в норме № 2, если этого требует состояние здоровья щенка, кроме того рисом. Овсянка в норме № 3 может заменяться манной крупой и рисом, а в более зрелом возрасте щенят — 4—5 месяцев — гречневой крупой и пшеном.

Питанию по вышеприведеным нормам подлежат служебно-розыскные собаки, принадлежащие только лагерю, питание же собак, принадлежащих вольнонаёмным сотрудникам, категорически воспрещается.

Количество служебно-розыскных собак устанавливается в пропорции одна собака на 1500 человек заключенных.

§ 157. Нормы для караульных собак на 1 собаку в день в граммах.

Наименование продуктов	Норма в день
Мясо 2-го сорта	250
Овсянка	400
Овощи	200
Соль	15
Солома для подстилки	800

ПРИМЕЧАНИЕ: Все отходы и остатки пищи от котла ВОХР по данному лагерному подразделению скармливаются собакам дополнительно к указанным нормам.

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TRANSLATIONS: Numbers in brackets are those of pages translated; they appear at the bottom of each page of the original document.

[*page* 3]

APPROVED

by the Chief of the Management of the UKHTA-PECHORA CAMP of the NKVD, Senior Major of State Security,

27 May, 1937 YA. MOROZ

INTRODUCTION

The Regulations governing supplies to the Ukhta-Pechora reformatory labor camp of the NKVD have been issued as a temporary guide for all the personnel of the supply and household administration of the camp and sub-divisions of the camp until such regulations are published by the GULAG (Central Board of Camp Administration) of the NKVD or until the general regulations and rules governing NKVD camps have been ratified.

These Regulations have been issued on the basis of instructions issued by the GULAG of the NKVD in connection with the conversion of camps to the piece-rate system, under decree No. 285 of the NKVD dated September 5, 1935, and improved upon by all the later regulations of the GULAG and as a result of actual experience in doing this work in the Ukhta-Pechora camp.

APPENDIX VII

The Regulations are divided into three main parts: food supply, clothing, and fodder supply. In addition, the Regulations include the general principles of accounting for supplies to prisoners. These principles are dealt with in detail in the special instructions of the Financial Division of the camp.

These Regulations are a basic guide for all the personnel of the supply and household administration of the camp. The Regulations should be at hand in all the sub-divisions of the camp, including small units situated near the camp, separate missions and production colonies that have household units of their own. The ignorance of such Regulations by any member of the personnel of the supply and household administration of the camp cannot be accepted as an excuse.

Supplementary details, corrections and additional information that may be available in future will be published in special supplements to these basic Regulations governing supplies.

CHIEF OF THE SUPPLY AND SALES DIVISION
OF THE UKHTA-PECHORA CAMP OF THE NKVD
GEYDENREIKH

[*page* 7]

1. GENERAL REGULATIONS

§1. Food is supplied to the camp for the following purposes:

a. *to ensure a normal diet for the prisoners;*
b. *to stimulate the prisoners to do better work and to favor an increase in labor productivity.*

With this in view, supplies to prisoners in the camp are organized in such a way that the following classes of prisoners shall have *priority in receiving food of higher quality and in greater amount:*

a. *Stakhanovite and shock workers;*
b. those engaged in heavy manual work.
c. skilled workers.

§2. Food shall be distributed in such order that *the higher the fulfilment of the norm the greater the quantity of foodstuffs received by prisoners.*

§3. The following categories have been set up for the purpose of supplying prisoners with food:

a. Prisoners engaged in basic and auxiliary production and construction and paid by the piece;
b. Prisoners who are not paid by the piece but who are engaged in subsidiary household administration duties in attending to the needs of the camp;
c. Campguards and firemen from among prisoners, and prisoners who do not work (the sick, temporarily unable to work, those sent away on duty tasks or assignments, those in transit, etc.).
d. Those who have refused to work, the punished, and those under investigation* who are not taken out to work.

* *Prisoners still under investigation do not work as a rule.* (*Translator's Note.*)

APPENDIX VII

2. PROVISIONS FOR PRISONERS WHO WORK

§4. All the working prisoners receive food from the mess general cauldron with the exception of the categories listed below.

The following are the norms established for the general cauldron:

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MONTHLY NORMS, MESS (GENERAL CAULDRON) IN KILOGRAMS

1	2	3	4. Price (kg.)		5. Total Cost (per month)	
Item No.	Commodity	Norm in kg.	5th zone	7th zone	5th zone	7th zone
1	Rye Bread	12,000	0–98	1–08	11–76	12–96
2	Rye Flour	0,300	1–35	1–50	0–41	0–45
3	Wheat Flour	0,150	2–56	2–83	0–38	0–42
4	Cereals	2,400	1–88	2–16	4–51	5–18
5	Meat	0,640	5–97	5–97	3–82	3–82
6	Fish	3,960	1–32	1–32	5–23	5–23
7	Vegetable Oils	0,270	5–70	5–70	1–54	1–54
8	Sugar	0,200	3–74	3–74	0–75	0–75
9	Ersatz Tea (tea sub.)	0,120	3–20	3–20	0–38	0–38
10	Salt	0,600	0–08	0–08	0–05	0–05
11	Vegetables	15,000	0–30	0–30	4–50	4–50
12	Tomato Puree	0,090	2–00	2–00	0–18	0–18
13	Red Pepper	0,004	5–21	5–21	0–02	0–02
14	Bay Leaves	0,006	7–21	7–21	0–04, 3	0–04, 3
TOTAL					33–57, 3	35–52, 3
Cost per man-day (1/30)					1–11, 91	1–18, 41
Household Soap		0,300	2–20	2–20	0–66	0–66

NOTE: The following sub-divisions of the Ukhta-Pechora Camp are included in the *fifth zone:* Selkhoz (farm) Syktyvkar, the Archangel (production unit) p. punkt, Selkhoz (farm) Khiltovo, the Kotlas p. punkt, Kuyazh-Pogost, Construction of the railroad Ust-Vhym-Chibyu, Lumber Mill (or camp) Tobys.

[*from page 24, not reproduced*]

5. PROVISIONS FOR THOSE-FORBIDDEN-EVERYTHING, THOSE-PENALISED, AND INVESTIGATED PRISONERS

§28. Prisoners who have been submitted, in a disciplinary manner, to the penal-confinement without permission to work; prisoners forbidden to work; and prisoners held without permission to work in penal-confinements in the capacity of being under investigation for a crime newly committed in the prison-camp, consume according to the penal norms given below:

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NORMS OF PROVISIONS FOR ONE MAN PER MONTH

Item No.	Norm in kg.	Price		Sum	
		Z. 5	Z. 7	Z. 5	Z. 7
1. Rye Bread	9,000	0–98	1–08	8–82	9–72
2. Rye Flour	0,150	1–35	1–50	0–21	0–23
3. Assort. Meal	1,050	1–88	2–16	1–97	2–26
4. Fish	2,250	1–32	1–32	2–97	2–97
5. Veg. Oil	0,150	5–70	5–70	0–86	0–86
6. Substitute Tea	0,120	3–20	3–20	0–38	0–38
7. Salt	0,600	0–08	0–08	0–05	0–05
8. Can-fresh Vegetables	12,000	0–30	0–30	3–60	3–60
9. Tomato Puree	0,090	2–00	2–00	0–18	0–18
10. Cayenne Pepper	0,006	5–21	5–21	0–03	0–03
11. Laurel Leaves	0,006	7–21	7–21	0–04, 3	0–04, 3
TOTAL				19–11, 3	20–32, 3
Cost of one man-day (1/30)				0–63, 71	0–67, 74
Household soap 0.300		2–20	2–20	0–66	0–66

§29. Besides the set free provisions in the above-stated norms, those freely-mobile prisoners being kept under investigation in the penal-confinement may purchase at personal expense supplementary foodstuffs from prison-shops and mess-halls of V/N only through an attendant at the penal-confinement by approval of the Chief of the I.Z.O.

§30. Working prisoners kept in penal-confinements receive provisions on the general bases found in section "2" of the standing rules.

6. PROVISION FOR CHILDREN OF PRISONERS AND ADOLESCENTS OF PRISONERS

§31. Children of prisoners born or located in the prison-camp up to the age of 13 inclusive and also those newly-arrived in prison-camp by a special order of the Chief Administration to the prisoner-parents are provided for free-of-charge according to the following norms:

[*pages 74 and 75*]

24. RATIONS FOR DUTY-BOUND SEARCH DOGS AND SENTRY DOGS

§156. Duty-bound search dogs shall be supplied according to the following rations per dog in 24 hours:*

* *Presumably in "grams" but this is not included in text. See list on page 75 where grams are indicated (tr. note).*

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Ord. No.	Name of items	Ration No. 1	Ration No. 2	Ration No. 3
		For one grown-up and young dog over 6 months of age	For pregnant and nursing bitches (during 6 mos. after pupping) as well as for emaciated dogs	For puppies from 3 weeks to 6 months of age
1	Meat of 2nd Rate	400	400	360
2	Oatmeal	500	500	250
3	Vegetables	200	200	100
4	Animal Fats	20	20	10
5	Rye-Bread	—	100	—
6	Wheat Bread (white)	—	—	100
7	Milk	—	¾ of a litre	0.5 of a litre
8	Salt	20	20	10
9	Phosphoric Acid Lime	—	—	2
10	Bedding Straw	800	800	500
11	Sawdust	800	800	500

NOTES: 1. Beef meat may be substituted by horse meat of conditioned quality.

2. Oatmeal in ration No. 1 may be substituted by buckwheat and millet, and in ration No. 2 by rice, if this is required by the health condition of the puppy. Oatmeal in ration No. 3 may be substituted by semolina and rice, and in case of puppies of older age—4–5 months—by buckwheat and millet.

The aforesaid food rations concern only duty-bound search dogs belonging to the camp; feeding of dogs belonging to hired employees is categorically prohibited.

The number of duty-bound search dogs shall be determined in proportion of one dog per 1500 inmates.

§157. Rations for sentry dogs per dog and per day, in grams.

Name of item	Ration per day
Meat of 2nd rate	250
Oatmeal	400
Vegetables	200
Salt	15
Bedding straw	800

NOTE: All waste and remains of food from the kitchen of the VOKHR (guard troops) in each camp subdivision shall be spent in feeding of dogs in addition to the above mentioned rations.

Index

(Continued from front flap)

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