



Slave Labor in the Soviet World

The prisoners live in primitive wooden barracks whose interiors are reminiscent of the famous scene in "The Lower Depths" of Gorki. About 100 prisoners live in one room, on plank beds arranged in two levels....The mass of the prisoners are dressed in stinking rags and present a pitiful sight...an indescribable hell to the eyes of a European. Persons who knew Polish prisons and the German Dachau of the year 1937 remembered them in the Soviet camps as a comparative paradise.

Dr. J. Margolin

—from a statement by Dr. Julius Margolin, Polish-born Zionist scholar, an inmate of Soviet prisons and labor camps from June, 1940, to June, 1945.



In our time, there are horrors of such enormity that the human mind finds it almost impossible to believe they exist. Not until Allied troops burst into Germany and reported what they found did the world believe the stories of what had been happening in Hitler's death camps. Similarly, for twenty years now, a few voices have warned of camps like Hitler's in the Soviet Union. Many still do not believe. But the evidence has mounted in a staggering way. Thousands of escapees have told what they have seen. Documents have been collected. Statistics have been analyzed. There is no longer room for doubt. Slave labor on an unprecedented scale has been proven to be an integral part of the Soviet world.

How many slave laborers there are in the Soviet Union is not known. Since 1929, when its penal statistics were last released, the U.S.S.R. has been the only major power to conceal figures for persons imprisoned. Nevertheless, an enormous amount of documentary and eye-witness evidence has led well-informed scholars and political analysts to fix the total camp population at no less than 3,000,000 and perhaps as high as 15,000,000. Uncounted others have been enslaved in the satellite countries. The variation in these figures is due partly to Soviet secrecy and partly to the fact that the population of the camps is constantly changing. Moreover, the computation depends on whether or not one includes transplanted communities, forced migrants, and other categories of forced laborers. But even the minimum of 3,000,000 gives the Soviet Union the highest penal population in the world. (In the United States, for example, the total number of prisoners was 157,470 in 1948.)

What is the basis for these slave-labor statistics?

First: Eye-witness testimony of thousands of inmates of forced-labor camps—escaped Russians, released Poles, and others. Among the documents presented before the United Nations by the American Federation of Labor in 1949 were numerous affidavits of former inmates. A portion of one such affidavit is quoted at the beginning of this pamphlet.

Second: Eye-witness testimony of former Soviet officials who had worked in the camps. Colonel Vladimir Andreyev, for example, testified at Brussels in May, 1951, that from 1937 to 1941 he had served as commandant of guards for the Central Asian camps around Karaganda. Under his command were 3,400 armed guards.

Third: Official information published openly in the Soviet Union. Reproduced on the following pages are the texts of Soviet laws and decrees, in effect after World War II, empowering the secret police to sentence to "corrective" labor camps, without benefit of trial or opportunity for defense, any persons considered "socially undesirable."

Fourth, and perhaps most important: A group of hitherto confidential Soviet documents, some of which are photographed and reproduced in the following pages. The authenticity of these documents, many bearing the seal of the government of the U.S.S.R., has never been denied by any spokesman of the regime. The **State Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R. in 1941**, for example, is an official and confidential Soviet text. It presents precise figures on the 1941 budget for industrial production and capital construction projects, including those to be implemented by the NKVD or secret police. (These police were first called the Cheka, then OGPU, later NKVD, and now, MVD.)

Here are a few figures, taken from the plan, indicating production quotas to be filled by slave labor:

Chrome ore: 150,000 metric tons (40.5% of total planned output for the whole U.S.S.R.);

Coal output: 5,325,000 metric tons (2.8% of total);

Commercial timber and firewood: 34,730,000 cubic meters (11.9% of total);

Commercial timber shipped: 151,590,000 cubic meters (14% of total);

Furniture: 189,300,000 rubles (14.49% of total);

Leather shoes: 14,700,000 pairs (2.1% of total);

Wide-gauge cross-ties: 10,500,000 ties (22.58% of total).

These four sources of information lead to one inescapable conclusion: the Soviet economy rests heavily on the institution of slave labor. Because the presence of forced labor anywhere in the world is a threat to free workers everywhere, the representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Miss Toni Sender, asked the United Nations to investigate the evidence. Meeting at Santiago, Chile, on March 19, 1951, the eighteen nations of the United Nations Economic and Social Council approved a world-wide inquiry into forced labor. The Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Poland tried desperately to prevent any investigation. It was pointed out, however, that the Soviet Union had nothing to fear, if slave labor did not exist within its boundaries; indeed, it should welcome such an inquiry. The resolution passed by a vote of 15-3.

The United Nations declared that it had been "deeply moved by the documents and evidence brought to its knowledge and revealing in law and in fact the existence in the world of systems of forced labor." The U.N. decided "to study the nature and extent of the problem raised by the existence in the world of systems of forced or 'corrective' labor, which are employed as a means of political coercion or punishment for holding or expressing political views, and which are on such a scale as to constitute an important element in the economy."

Soviet Documents

The following documents are official publications openly distributed by the government of the Soviet Union and available in foreign as well as Soviet libraries: the official text of the Criminal Code as of July 1st, 1950; the official texts of two currently effective decrees dealing with the powers of the secret police; excerpts from the article on **Corrective Labor Policy** in a current volume of the **Large Soviet Encyclopedia**.

These *openly* distributed official documents prove the following basic propositions:

a . "Forced labor is one of the basic measures of punishment of Soviet socialist criminal law." (Quoted from page 36, Volume 47, of the **Large Soviet Encyclopedia**, published in 1940.)

b . Persons may be condemned to forced labor by the secret police without trial or opportunity to defend themselves.

c . Persons may be condemned to forced labor without having committed any crime. They need only be "socially dangerous" in the eyes of a secret police official.

d . Forced labor plays an important role in the planned economy of the U.S.S.R.

Opposite: Title-page of Soviet criminal code. On the following pages, red numbers are used to identify translations of excerpts of documents.

Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!
МИНИСТЕРСТВО ЮСТИЦИИ РСФСР

УГОЛОВНЫЙ КОДЕКС РСФСР

Официальный текст
с изменениями на 1 июля 1950 г.
и с приложением
постатейно-систематизированных
материалов

ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО
ЮРИДИЧЕСКОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ
МОСКВА — 1950

РАЗДЕЛ ЧЕТВЕРТЫЙ
О мерах социальной защиты¹⁾, применяемых
по Уголовному кодексу в отношении лиц,
совершивших преступление

* 20. Мерами социальной защиты судебно-исправительного характера являются:
а) объявление врагом трудящихся с лишением гражданства Союза ССР и обязательным изгнанием из его пределов;
б) лишение свободы в исправительно-трудовых лагерях в отдаленных местностях Союза ССР;
в) лишение свободы в общих местах заключения;
г) исправительно-трудовые работы без лишения свободы²⁾;

¹⁾ В постановлениях ЦИК и СНК СССР, начиная с постановления 8 мая 1934 г. о дополнении Положения о преступлениях государственных статей об измене родины (СЗ СССР № 33, ст. 255), вместо термина «мера социальной защиты» применяется термин «наказание»;
²⁾ В соответствии с тем, что Исправительно-трудовой кодекс РСФСР, утвержденный ВЦИК и СНК РСФСР 1 августа 1933 г. (СУ № 48, ст. 208), заменил термин «принудительные работы» термином «исправительно-трудовые работы», что в большинстве последующих законодательных актов, в частности в изменениях Уголовного кодекса, также проводилась такая же замена (СУ 1934 г. № 9, ст. 51, № 27, ст. 157, № 42, ст. 259 и др.), она проведена по всему тексту Кодекса.

д) поражение политических и отдельных гражданских прав;
е) удаление из пределов Союза ССР на срок;
ж) удаление из пределов РСФСР или из пределов отдельной местности с обязательным поселением в других местностях или без этого, или с запрещением проживания в отдельных местностях либо без такого запрещения;
з) увольнение от должности с запрещением занятия той или другой должности или без такого запрещения;
и) запрещение занятия той или иной деятельностью или промыслом;
к) общественные порицание;
л) конфискация имущества — полная или частичная;
м) денежный штраф;
н) возложение обязанности загладить причиненный вред;
о) предостережение. [20 мая 1930 г. (СУ № 26, ст. 344)].

Примечание. Верховному суду Союза ССР, Верховному суду РСФСР, краевым и областным судам.

Примечание. Термином «исправительно-трудовые работы» в большинстве последующих законодательных актов, в частности в изменениях Уголовного кодекса, также проводилась такая же замена (СУ 1934 г. № 9, ст. 51, № 27, ст. 157, № 42, ст. 259 и др.), она проведена по всему тексту Кодекса.

59. Преступлением против порядка управления признается всякое действие, которое, не будучи направлено непосредственно к свержению Советской власти и Рабоче-Крестьянского Советского правительства, тем не менее приводит к нарушению или подрыву деятельности органов управления или деятельности, несовновению с законами или с интересами государства, вызывающими ослабление или авторитета власти.

Особо опасными для Союза ССР преступлениями признаются преступления без контрреволюционных целей, которые подрывают основы государственного управления и хозяйственной мощи Союза ССР и республик. [6 июня 1927 г. (СУ № 49, ст. 330)].

59¹. Массовые беспорядки, сопровождающиеся погромами, разрушением железнодорожных путей или иных средств сообщения и связи, убийствами, поджогами и другими подобными действиями, влекут за собой:

а) в отношении организаторов и руководителей массовых беспорядков, а равно всех участников,

Proletarians of the world, unite!
MINISTRY OF JUSTICE R.S.F.S.R.

CRIMINAL CODE
R.S.F.S.R.

Official Text
with amendments to 1st July, 1950,
and with appendices to
the articles

State Publishing House
of Juridical Literature
Moscow-1950

Article 20. The following are the measures of social defense of a juridical-corrective character:

b) deprivation of freedom in corrective-labor camps in remote areas of the U.S.S.R.

[Footnote to Article 20 prescribes that the term "corrective labor" be substituted for the previous term "forced labor."]

Article 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

* Emphasis added

THE COLLECTION OF LAWS

of The Government of The U.S.S.R.

№ 36 of 19th July, 1934

283 On the formation of an All-Union People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs. [Editor's note: The initial letters of "People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs" are "NKVD"]

The Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. declares:

3. The following Directorates are formed in the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs:

e) The Chief Directorate of corrective-labor camps and labor settlements.

8. Under the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs U.S.S.R., a Special Council is to be organized, which, under appropriate regulations, is to have the power of applying, as an administrative measure, deportation, exile, imprisonment in corrective-labor camps for a period of up to five years and expulsion beyond the confines of the U.S.S.R.

№ 11 of 7th March, 1935

84 On the Special Council under the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs U.S.S.R.

Further to sub-paragraph 8 of the Instruction of the Central Committee of the U.S.S.R. . .

1. The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs U.S.S.R. have the right to apply the following measures against people who are regarded as socially dangerous:

a) Deportation for a period of up to five years under supervision in those localities listed by the NKVD.

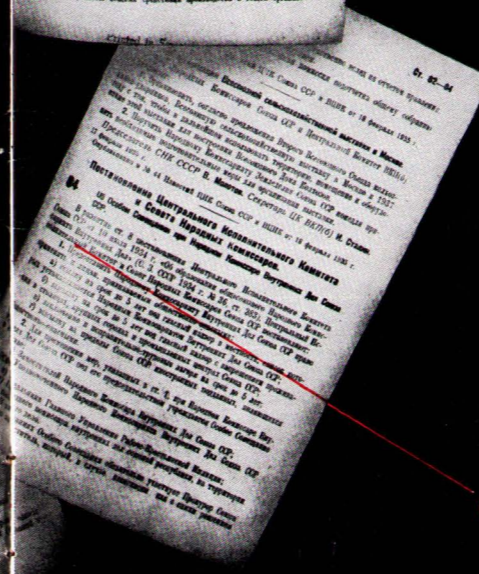
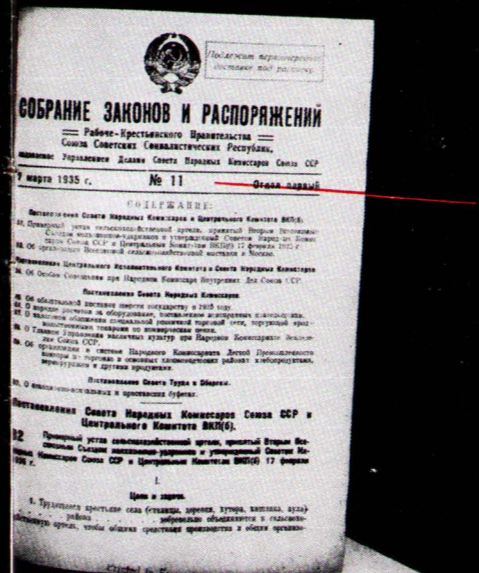
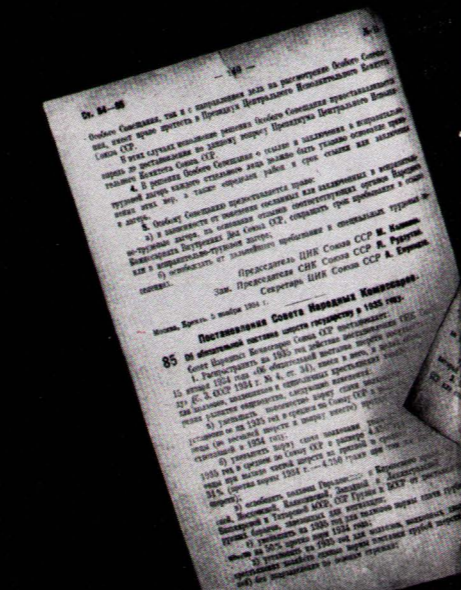
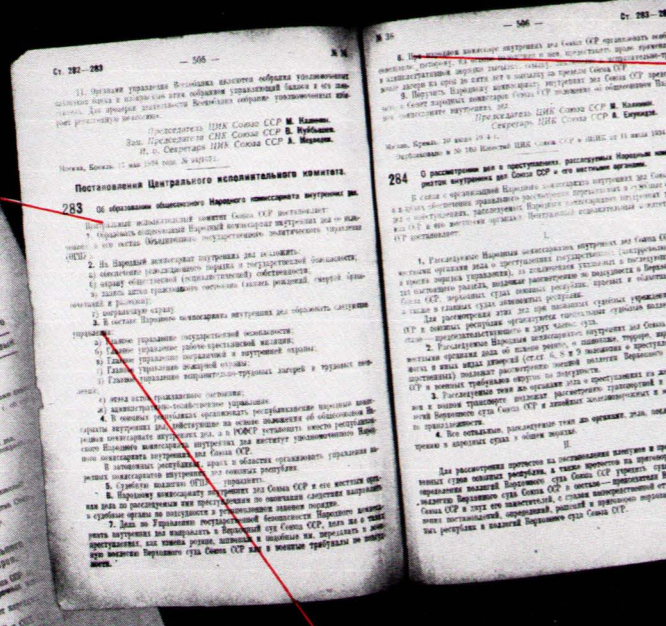
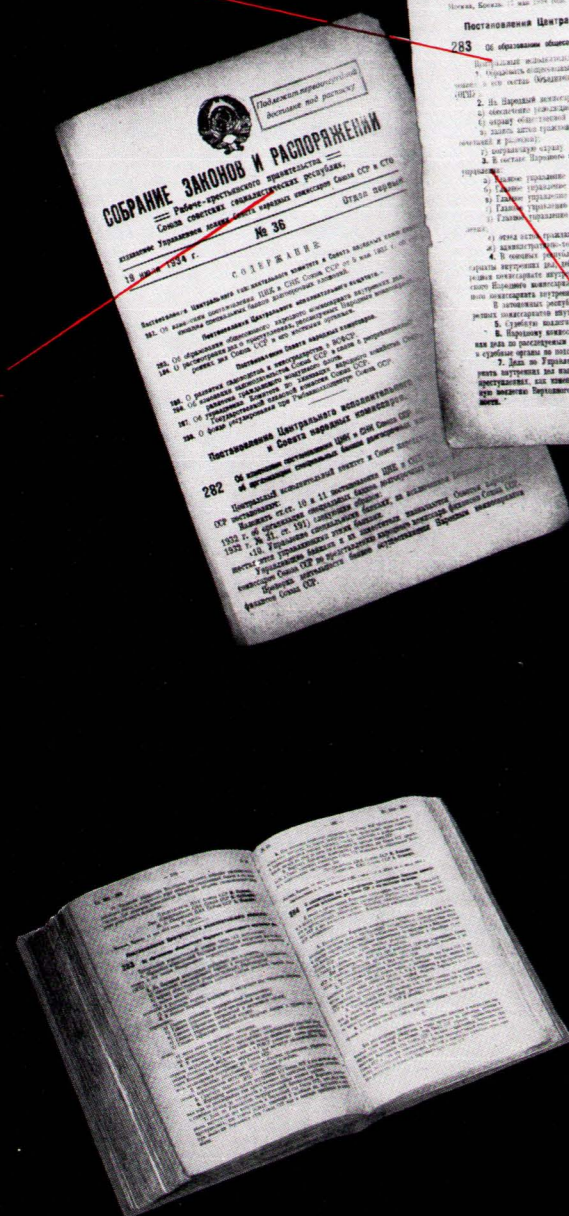
b) Exile for a period of up to five years under supervision, with deprivation of the right to live in capital cities, large towns, and industrial centers of the U.S.S.R.

c) Confinement in corrective-labor camps for a period of up to five years.

d) Expulsion beyond the U.S.S.R. frontiers of socially dangerous foreign subjects.

*Emphasis added

Note: (The Special Council of the MVD continues in force today; the above decrees were cited with approval in volume 52 of the Large Soviet Encyclopedia, page 523, which was published in 1947, as well as in an official textbook on Administrative Law, edited by Evtkhiev and Vlassov, which was published in Moscow in 1946, pp. 244-245.)



Soviet Documents

The following series of official Soviet documents has become known to the free world despite Soviet security measures. They have all been presented to the United Nations in the presence of the Soviet delegate. Their authenticity has never been disputed. Included are identification certificates issued to released prisoners (opposite page), a confidential supplement to the government's economic plan for 1941, and excerpts from a book on feeding regulations issued by the secret police.

These documents can bear close and careful study. They support the following conclusions:

a • There are millions of prisoners — men, women, children — toiling in hundreds of slave-labor camps scattered throughout the Soviet Union.

b • Prisoners are deliberately kept in a constant state of starvation, and hunger is the whip by which they are driven to work.

c • The regimented, mobile labor of these slaves is a mainstay of the U.S.S.R.'s economy and is an essential element of the Soviet system of state planning.

Opposite: Release certificate from "Pechora Corrective-Labor Railroad Camp of the NKVD."

16.11.42

НКВД СССР
УПРАВЛЕНИЕ
ПЕЧОРСКОГО
Железнодорожного
Исправ. Труд. Лагерея

Подъявитель гр. [REDACTED]

Отдел [REDACTED]

№ [REDACTED]
пос. Абезь, Коми АССР.

1901 года рождения, уроженец
полюция Лосинск

на основании Указа Президиума Верховного Совета СССР амнистиро-
ван, как польский гражданин и имеет право свободного проживания
на территории СССР, за исключением запретных зон, местностей,
объявленных на военном положении и режимных городов 1-й и 2-й ка-
тегории.

При нем находятся члены семьи: [REDACTED]

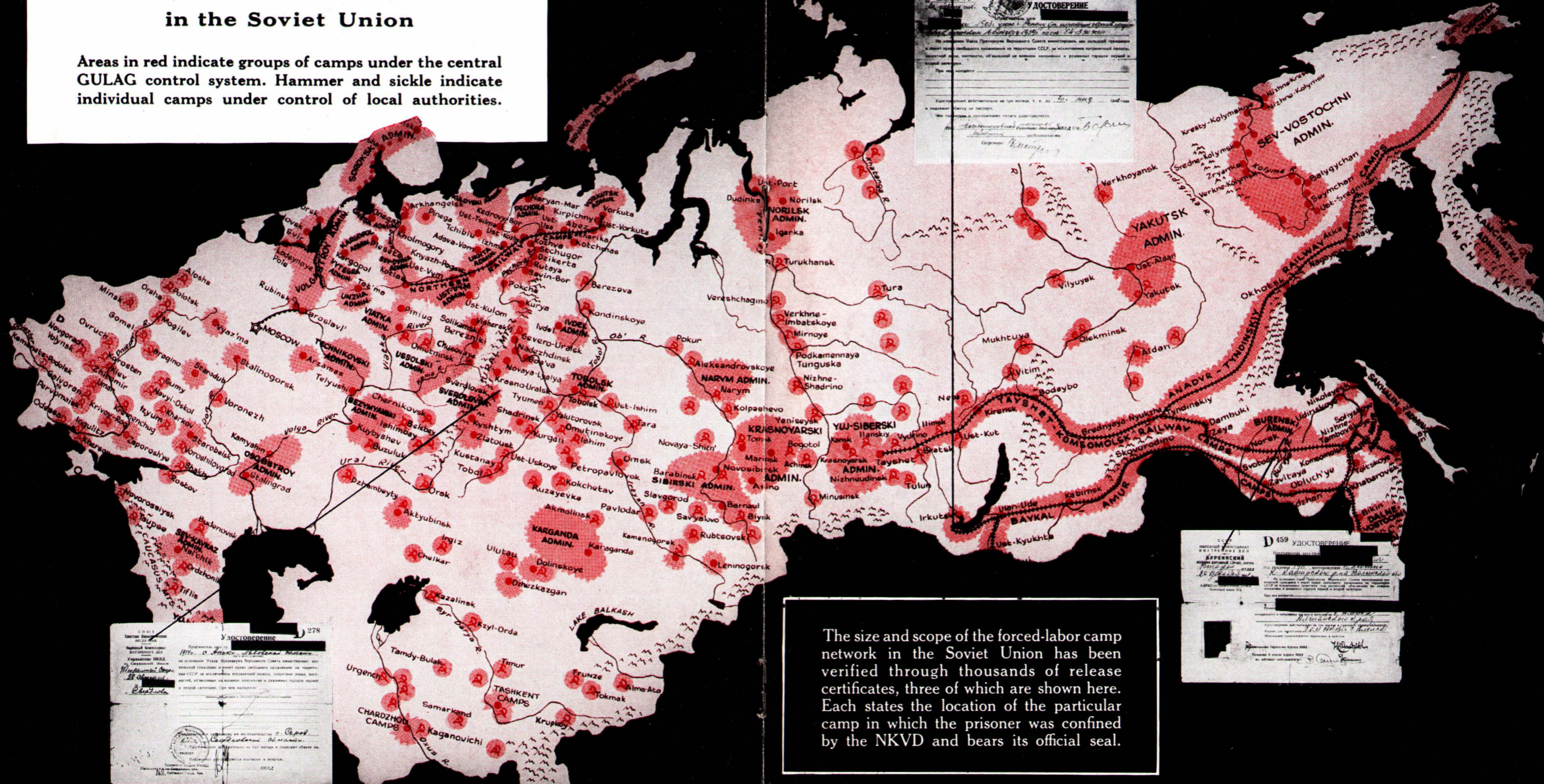
Гр-н [REDACTED]

направляется к избранному месту жительства:
? 8-й [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

дача, подлежащая выдаче на пасп-
Исполненное удостоверяется
Зам. начальника УПРА-
ВЛЕНИЯ ПЕЧОРСКОГО НКВД СССР
СТ. ЛЕЙТЕНАНТ ГОСБЕЗОПАС-
НОСТИ (РАДИН)
НАЧ. ОТДЕЛЕНИЯ [REDACTED] (ТАРНОПОЛЬСКИЙ)

Areas in red indicate groups of camps under the central GULAG control system. Hammer and sickle indicate individual camps under control of local authorities.

Areas in red indicate groups of camps under the central GULAG control system. Hammer and sickle indicate individual camps under control of local authorities.



The size and scope of the forced-labor camp network in the Soviet Union has been verified through thousands of release certificates, three of which are shown here. Each states the location of the particular camp in which the prisoner was confined by the NKVD and bears its official seal.

ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ ПЛАН РАЗВИТИЯ НАРОДНОГО ХОЗЯЙСТВА СССР на 1941 год

(Приложение к Постановлению СНК СССР и ЦК ВКП(б)
№ 127 от 17 января 1941 г.)

План капитальных работ в области развития народного хозяйства
СССР на 1941 г. (в млн. руб.)

Наркоматы и ведомства	Объем работ	Всего в д.т.
Наркоминтер	1 000,00	1 000,00
Наркомфин	2 000,00	2 000,00
Наркомвнестран. дел	1 407,00	1 407,00
Наркоминтер	1 407,00	1 407,00
Наркоминтер	2 730,00	2 730,00
Наркоминтер	1 010,00	1 010,00
Наркоминтер	1 170,00	1 170,00
Наркоминтер	300,00	300,00
Наркоминтер	1 190,00	1 190,00
Наркоминтер	840,00	840,00
Наркоминтер	220,00	220,00
Наркоминтер	300,00	300,00
Наркоминтер	140,00	140,00
Наркоминтер	37,00	37,00
Наркоминтер	507,00	507,00
Наркоминтер	170,00	170,00
Наркоминтер	190,00	190,00
Наркоминтер	140,00	140,00
Наркоминтер	200,00	200,00
Наркоминтер	3 854,00	3 854,00
Наркоминтер	1 000,00	1 000,00
Наркоминтер	1 710,00	1 710,00
Наркоминтер	1 020,00	1 020,00

Наркоматы и ведомства	Объем работ	Всего в д.т.
Госпландарб	80,00	80,00
Наркоминтер	6 000,00	6 000,00
в т.ч. ГУЛАГ	2 070,00	2 070,00
ГУВД	800,00	800,00
ГУЖЗ	1 300,00	1 300,00
Наркоминтер	110,00	110,00
Наркоминтер	82,00	82,00
Наркоминтер	100,00	100,00
Наркоминтер	904,00	904,00
Наркоминтер	90,00	90,00
Министерство	300,00	300,00
Наркоминтер	272,00	272,00
Наркоминтер	540,00	540,00
Госпландарб	101,00	101,00
Г.а. управление южной Москвы - Восток	3,00	3,00
Управление гражданского воздушного флота	70,00	70,00
Наркоминтер	71,70	71,70
Наркоминтер	230,00	230,00
Наркоминтер	22,00	22,00
Г.а. управление гражданской авиации	30,00	30,00
Наркоминтер	103,00	103,00
Наркоминтер	300,00	300,00
Наркоминтер	9,00	9,00
Центральный	8,00	8,00
Наркоминтер	161,17	161,17
Комитет по делам физкультуры	11,00	11,00
ВЦСПС	25,00	25,00
Наркоминтер	162,15	162,15
Комитет по делам высшей школы	0,30	0,30
Радиотелеграф	2,30	2,30

Наркоматы и ведомства	Объем работ	Всего в д.т.
Академия наук	20,00	20,00
Комитет по делам науки	40,14	40,14
Комитет по делам изобретений	60,00	60,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	181,85	181,85
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	120,00	120,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	330,10	330,10
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	240,00	240,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	17,00	17,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	9,00	9,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	2,50	2,50
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	3,00	3,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	10,00	10,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	75,00	75,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	10,00	10,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	9,70	9,70
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	8,00	8,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	1,00	1,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	3,00	3,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	3,00	3,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	4,00	4,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	37,70	37,70
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	101,00	101,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	60,00	60,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	21,14	21,14
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	250,00	250,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	270,00	270,00
Жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство	217,00	217,00
Всего по народному хозяйству СССР	37 050,00	37 050,00

Soviet authorities have never denied the authenticity of this 746-page book. Printed in the Soviet Union, it fell into the hands of the British at the war's end. Several of its production quotas for the NKVD are quoted above on p. 5. In addition, the book contains a chart (left) outlining the yearly plan for capital construction, which reveals that forced labor, under the auspices of the NKVD, was responsible in 1941 for over 6 billion rubles' worth of capital construction, or 14 per cent of a total of 46.47 billion. (The chart gives a total of some 37 billion, but it also states that the capital allotments for the commissariats of Transport, Defense, and the Navy are not included. Elsewhere, the book gives the total as 46.47 billion rubles.) This giant allotment to the NKVD was larger than that assigned to any other single Commissariat (see sample allotments quoted below).

Dr. Naum Jasny, distinguished scholar and analyst of Soviet affairs, has made a careful study of The Plan and makes the conservative estimate that it would require between 2,500,000 and 3,500,000 laborers to fulfill the 1941 NKVD quotas specified in The Plan. The secret police, furthermore, in accordance with Article 101 (a) of the Corrective Labor Code, subcontracts the use of its forced labor to other ministries, thus making for additional numbers of slaves. There is also reason to believe that the camp population increased substantially after 1941.

STATE PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE U.S.S.R. In 1941

Confidential

Supplement No. 128....

Plan For Capital Construction Projects....

in millions of rubles

People's Commissariats and Agencies	Volume of Construction
• People's Commissariat of Coal	1,680.00
• People's Commissariat of Heavy Metals	2,730.00
• People's Commissariat of Textile Industries	567.00
• People's Commissariat of Food Industries	296.00
• People's Commissariat of Aviation Industries	3,854.00
• People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs [NKVD]	6,310.00
Including Main Administration of Corrective-Labor Camps	2,675.00
Including Main Administration of Paved Highways	550.00
Including Main Administration of Railroad Construction	1,380.00
• People's Commissariat of Health	161.17

Slave Labor is Spreading

In opposing the passage of the U.N. resolution, the Soviet Union was attempting to hide the vast system of forced labor which exists in the Soviet world. They were seeking to conceal the fact that the evil of slavery, far from receding, has actually spread like a disease to other countries in the Soviet orbit.

These are the facts:

In Hungary, some 20,000 persons were deported to the Soviet Union in the last six months of 1950. By March, 1951, when the United Nations was debating the resolution in Santiago, additional tens of thousands of "unreliable" Hungarians had been sent to the U.S.S.R. for "re-education" in forced-labor camps.

Bulgaria introduced its own forced-labor camps by two decrees on January 20, 1945. Subject to confinement are "politically dangerous persons" — Bulgarians who have manifested what the regime considers to be an "antipopular" attitude. The legislation was broadened on May 9, 1949, to include men and women who do not perform work that the regime considers "socially useful." The names and locations of dozens of these forced-labor camps have been conclusively identified.

Czechoslovakia's wholesale purge of small merchants, artisans, and professionals in 1949 condemned more than 10,000 victims to forced labor; this was in accordance with Law No. 247 of October 25, 1948, which legalized forced-labor camps that the secret police had already set up. The law required that persons between eighteen and sixty who "shirk work" be sent to camps "in order that their capacity for work may be utilized for the benefit of the whole body corporate." In addition,

Repatriated Japanese

rump courts and People's Committees imposed heavy sentences on peasants who showed "lack of enthusiasm" for farm collectivization. On a single day — September 30, 1950 — in Vlasim, twenty-four people were sentenced to from one to twenty-five years of forced labor because they "obstructed rural development." In Moravsky Krumlov, thirteen farmers were sentenced to up to seven years each for "agricultural sabotage" — that is, for refusal to surrender their land. have filed sworn depositions stating that the return of captured Japanese soldiers from the Soviet Union was delayed because the Japanese were used in forced labor and not because of a ship shortage, as the Soviets claimed. One repatriate, Yoshiyuki Ikehara, worked twelve hours a day, unpaid, in a brick factory at Voroshilov. About 1,000 of Ikehara's fellow prisoners were employed at a cannery in Churkina. Men were forced to work regardless of sickness or malnutrition, and attempts to rest at work were punished with beatings.

In East Germany, in the area occupied by the Soviet Army, forced labor is now — as under the Nazis — a familiar institution. As early as March 13, 1945, a large transport bound for the Soviet Union left West Prussia. It contained approximately 2,200 German women from the territories now under Polish administration. In the uranium mining area of Aue, Saxony, approximately 400,000 Germans were conscripted for forced labor. Women, too, are in the mines — usually wives or relatives of men who have dodged conscription or fled from the pits. Camps are also known to exist in Rüdersdorf, Erlabrunn, Cranzahl-Sosa, and Volkstedt.

In Poland, where information is less complete, there are eight known camps, 80 to 90 per cent of whose inmates are political prisoners. As in the other satellites, there is forced-labor service of six months for young people of both sexes; last year President Beirut estimated their number at 75,000.

But the bulk of the vast army of forced laborers in the Soviet world is composed of citizens of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet regime treats its own people no less cruelly than it does the subjugated peoples of other countries. Forced-labor camps are distributed in all sectors of the Soviet Union. An estimate by the authoritative Russian scholars, David Dallin and Boris Nicolaevsky, listed one hundred and thirteen camps. This figure seemed to many incredible, in view of the fact that the population of a "camp" — actually in some cases a collection of camps under one name — could run into the hundreds of thousands.

Since the appearance of these figures, however, the Hoover Library of Stanford University, California, has received tens of thousands of original Soviet documents: certificates of release issued to Poles in 1941-42 and to Polish Jews in 1945-46 (see pages 15, 16, 17 for four examples). In issuing these certificates to former members of slave-labor camps, the Soviet bureaucracy made a serious mistake; for, through them, some 175 different camp headquarters have been definitely identified to date. (Each of these central camps, moreover, may in turn include a number of separate sub-camps operating under the same headquarters.)

Exact identification of all camps is made more difficult by the fact that the camp population is in constant flux. As a result of the heavy work, long hours, and small food ration, the annual mortality rate sometimes runs as high as 30 per cent. The vacancies left by the sick and the dead are filled by successive waves of new victims, drawn largely from the particular group Soviet domestic policy may be currently singling out for persecution. The history of the Soviet Union can be traced in the varying populations of the slave-labor camps.

In the 1920's, there were the "bourgeois" intellectuals and peasants who resisted the seizure of grain, as well as former political opponents of Communism. After the Five Year plans began, workers who resisted the speed-up of production and the new "labor discipline" found their way into the camps. At this point in Soviet history, the NKVD had acquired a vested interest in slave labor. The population of the camps grew by leaps and bounds. During the forced collectivization of the early 1930's, peasants seeking to retain the land the Revolution had given them were deported to camps in the east. After the middle 1930's, the purge of Old Bolsheviks at the Moscow trials was extended to large numbers of the rank and file members of the Party and the bureaucracy.

During the Second World War, Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, and other victims of Soviet expansion swelled the population of forced-labor camps. The use of Poles for slave labor has been exhaustively documented. In 1942, the Soviet Union was obliged to release all Polish citizens as part of the Sikorski-Stalin agreement (as a result of the direct pressure of the British and American governments). In the course of this mass exodus, it developed that the "crime" these tens of thousands of persons had committed was residence in

Soviet territory without a Soviet passport; the Poles had been living in that part of Poland which was seized by the Soviet army under the Hitler-Stalin Pact and, naturally, were without Soviet papers.

The United Nations has examined not only the Poles' release papers, but also an extensive official correspondence between the Polish Embassy in Kuibyshev and the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union. Letters bearing the seal, letterheads, and signatures of the government of the U.S.S.R. even make the claim that "persons not of Polish nationality" — that is, Poles of Jewish origin or Poles who had resided in those parts of Poland which the U.S.S.R. had determined to make a permanent part of its empire — would not be released from the Soviet slave-labor camps. (Some of the Polish Jews were released in 1945 and added their accounts to the long roster of eye-witness stories of life in Soviet slave-labor camps.)

With the war's end, hundreds of thousands of Soviet soldiers and civilians, who had fallen into German hands as prisoners of war or as slave laborers, were "welcomed" back by the homeland only to find themselves in Soviet slave-labor camps without even being allowed to visit their homes or families. Whole communities, whose only crime had been the misfortune of living under German occupation, were also treated as persons contaminated by unauthorized foreign contacts.

"Repatriation centers" were established in Eastern Germany to screen all returnees, who were under a cloud of suspicion even if they had returned voluntarily. Some returnees escaped from screening to warn the others, but forcible repatriation was stepped up by Soviet authorities. Until British and American officials decided to halt these practices in their zone, an unknown number of former Soviet citizens committed suicide rather than fall into the hands of the Soviet repatriation teams that roamed Western Germany at will. Colonel Vassily Yershov, a former high official of the MVD, who was decorated eight times by the Soviet government, testified at Brussels in 1951 that he had organized and supervised the operations of one such repatriation center in Eastern Germany. By the time he was transferred to other duties, 180,000 Soviet citizens had passed

through his center: 40,000 were permitted to return to their homes, after passing the "screening"; 90,000 were shipped directly to slave-labor camps; 50,000 were still being processed.

In the years after World War II, large sections of the border population — Ukrainians, Karelians, Balts, and others — were resettled wholesale and put to work by force in barren regions of the east. They were replaced by Great Russians and others.

Furthermore, in 1946, several Moslem "autonomous" republics and oblasts were liquidated by official decree, and their Moslem inhabitants deported en masse. Indeed, throughout the past thirty years, Georgians, Ukrainians, and members of other minority nationalities, some of whom at first believed the Bolshevik promises of national self-determination, were curbed and controlled by the threat of labor camps.

Finally, throughout the whole period of Soviet history, tens of thousands of religious people, whether Greek Orthodox, Moslem, Jewish, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, or Armenian Church, have been sent to labor camps for resisting the antireligious campaign of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Evidence of this may be found in published Soviet laws. Article 122 of the R.S.F.S.R. Criminal Code (Moscow, 1950) lays down a penalty of one year of corrective labor for anyone who instructs minors in religious doctrines in private as well as state schools. Another Soviet decree (Collection of Laws R.S.F.S.R., April 8, 1929, Article 353, par. 17) prohibits religious groups from organizing special prayer or gatherings for youths or women and also prohibits any gatherings for religious instruction.

The result of the successive waves of persecutions is a highly mixed slave population. The so-called "political" prisoners are divided into two categories: KRD's (counterrevolutionary activists, or those accused of specific offenses) and KRE's (counterrevolutionary elements, or those suspected merely of being unreliable). Professor Ernst Tallgren, himself a former prisoner in the Soviet labor camps, points out that there are two other types of prisoners, both in the minority: **bytoviks** ("offenders against the mode of life") and professional criminals. The **bytoviks**, he states, are "mostly officials in public institutions

found guilty of abuses." They "are often given posts in the administration of the camp or in the 'cultural and educational department.' They are proud of their distinct character and position of preference over the 'enemies of the people,' or political offenders."

As to the thieves, burglars, murderers, and other genuine criminals, Professor Tallgren points out that "they usually get along better in the labor camps than any other prisoners. . . . Most of them continue to practice their criminal trades, stealing anything they can get their hands on, especially food. . . . Bread would often be seized while a prisoner was eating it. This struggle between hungry people for a 500-gram loaf of bread might have been a scene out of Dante. The camp authorities, though claiming a desire to suppress criminality, shut their eyes to most of these practices and are sometimes in silent accord with the criminals."

Perhaps the most shocking aspect of Soviet forced labor is the development of a new concentration-camp "class." Already several million strong, it is rapidly becoming self-renewing. This class consists not only of mature prisoners, whose only hope of release lies in death, but also of younger prisoners. These children were either born in the camps or were sent there on a variety of pretexts from about the age of twelve. Eye-witness evidence for this development was given at the 1951 Brussels public hearings sponsored by the International Commission Against Concentration Camp Regimes. This unofficial organization represents 100,000 survivors of Nazi death camps, who are determined to focus world opinion on concentration-camp systems, wherever they exist.

Detailed testimony about the presence of children in Soviet concentration camps was given in Brussels by Ludwig Golubowitsch, a former NKVD official who served a five-year sentence in the Bamlag group of concentration camps in Eastern Siberia:

"Children in the Soviet Union can be sent to concentration camps at the age of twelve. . . . They are herded with criminals and treated as criminals. There is only one exception — Russian law forbids the shooting of prisoners under eighteen — but in many cases 'offenders' under eighteen are sentenced to be shot as soon as they reach their eighteenth birthday."

The youngsters now in Soviet labor camps, for the most part, live out their entire life cycle in or around the camps. Cut off from normal contacts with Soviet society and reared in an environment of brutality, moral degradation, and near starvation, the new prison generation of Russia, according to the witnesses, has become a separate world, a world in which the camp commander is God and the Soviet penal code the Bible.

The prison-camp children, if released, are forbidden to revisit their homes or to enter some 200 specified towns and cities of Russia. Their marked identity papers deprive them of normal work. As a result, even after release, they are dependent on the whims of the police. Their future lies in becoming police spies — usually in the vicinity of camps. By agreeing to denounce others, thus replenishing the numbers of prison inmates, the present generation of prison children is perpetuating its own species and the system that established it.

Only a small sampling of the total evidence can be reproduced here — enough, however, to reveal the truth. These bare documents, statistics, and affidavits are not addressed to scholars alone. They are addressed to the conscience of the free world. This time the world must believe.

The pressure of world opinion must force the Soviet government to release the men, women, and children in forced-labor camps. And the victims themselves must inevitably hear, and be heartened by the knowledge, that we of the free world know of their plight and are working to rescue them. These are some of the ways in which you can help.

1. Show this pamphlet to your friends, especially to those who are not aware of the existence of slave-labor camps in the U.S.S.R.

2. Show this pamphlet to anyone you know who talks of or believes in Soviet "democracy" and Soviet "socialism."

3. Write to your local newspaper saying you have read this pamphlet and feel that the press should give space to the truth on this matter.



Free Trade Union Committee, A. F. of L.
Box 65 • Radio City Station
New York 19, N. Y.