

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library
Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Matlock, Jack F.: Files
Folder Title: Pipeline – Forced Labor – USSR (1)
Box: 31

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

Withdrawer

JET 5/18/2005

File Folder USSR: PIPELINE-FORCED LABOR 1/7

FOIA

F06-114/9

Box Number 31

YARHI-MILO

3103

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
10772	CABLE	191434Z AUG 82 R 3/24/2011 F2006-114/9	1	8/19/1982	B1
10773	CABLE	201737Z AUG 82 R 3/24/2011 F2006-114/9	1	8/20/1982	B1
10774	PAPER	USSR R 3/24/2011 F2006-114/9	1	8/24/1982	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

file 8/82

pm

MEMORANDUM

TO: S/S - Clayton E. McManaway

THROUGH: EUR - Richard R. Burt, Designate

FROM: EUR/SOV - Thomas W. Simons, Jr.

SUBJECT: Guidance on Siberian Pipeline Labor

The following talking points may be useful when seeking NSC agreement to some changes in the press guidance which they have proposed on the use of prison labor on the Siberian pipeline.

o We must be careful not to overstate our concern about the use of Soviet prisoners or Vietnamese workers on the Siberian pipeline.

o We do not want to be in the position of "inventing" more objections to the pipeline, especially ones that may prove difficult to substantiate. To the extent that we take the lead on this we may dampen the interest of the Europeans who are pursuing the issue on their own.

o The use of such labor is not necessarily an abuse of human rights.

o Even in the United States we use prison labor on government projects, and it would be hard for us to condemn this practice.

o The information on Vietnamese labor is not conclusive and has not indicated that the labor is on the Siberian pipeline. There are some reports that the labor program is popular in Vietnam and that the workers receive wages and benefits comparable to those received by Soviet laborers. We are not in a position to condemn this form of intergovernmental labor cooperation until we have more facts. Therefore we should not at this time connect directly the issue of Vietnamese labor with the Siberian pipeline.

o We suggest that the press guidance proposed by the NSC be amended to take these factors into account (see attached guidance).

2

A Typical Press Guidance Clearance Story

Act One. The President decides to oppose the Soviet-European gas pipeline. Certain Senators subsequently try to reinforce this stand by raising the question of whether Vietnamese contract labors and forced labor are being used on the pipeline.

Act Two, August 11. EUR produces press guidance undermining the seriousness of this concern and it is cleared through State:

(Old State Guidance)

PRESS GUIDANCE

August 11, 1982

Labor on Siberian Pipeline

Q: Do you have any comment on reports that the Soviet Union is using political prisoners to build the Siberian pipeline?

A: We have heard rumors to this effect, but have not substantiated them. We are looking into the question. It should be noted that as a matter of standard procedure, the Soviets use prisoners from labor camps on many projects involving large amounts of manual labor.

Q: What about Vietnamese laborers on pipeline?

A: We've seen reports on this as well, but cannot confirm them.

Drafted:EUR/SOV:RHarms
8/11/82 x29369

Cleared:
EUR/SOV:KYalowitz
EUR/SOV:RECombs
EUR:JDScanlan
HA:HSimon
EA/VLK:JHalsted

Act Three, August 13. The NSC sends to State new, tougher press guidance saying that it "should be used in place of earlier State-proposed press guidance:

August 13, 1982

Labor on Siberian Pipeline

Q: Do you have any comment on reports that the Soviet Union is using political prisoners to build the Siberian pipeline?

A: We are aware of these reports and are actively looking into this question. The Soviets do use prisoners from Gulag camps as forced labor on priority projects, and we are therefore deeply concerned that these reports are plausible. There have also been reports that thousands of Vietnamese are being brought to the Soviet Union to work, under conditions which warrant close international scrutiny. The use of such labor, whether on the pipeline or elsewhere, represents a serious abuse of human rights that should not be ignored.

Act Four, August 16. EUR sends a memo to the other bureaus in State for clearance demanding that State fight the NSC and restore the original press guidance. HA refuses to clear and drafts a dissenting position suggesting that the NSC guidance be used with a change in the last sentence to meet a valid point raised by EUR - that not all use of prison labor is a human rights violation. The HA draft guidance follows:

August 13, 1982

Labor on Siberian Pipeline

Q: Do you have any comment on reports that the Soviet Union is using political prisoners to build the Siberian pipeline?

A: We are aware of these reports and are actively looking into this question. The Soviets do use prisoners from Gulag camps as forced labor on priority projects, and we are therefore deeply concerned that these reports are plausible. There have also been reports that thousands of Vietnamese are being brought to the Soviet Union to work, under conditions which warrant close international scrutiny. We are seriously concerned about the potential for inhumanity in the use of this kind of labor in such conditions, whether on the pipeline or elsewhere.

Act Five, August 17. EUR brings up the following press guidance, claiming that it is the same as the NSC guidance with HA's suggested change, and that HA had therefore already cleared it. HA again refuses to clear.

Labor on Siberian Pipeline

Q: Do you have any comment on reports that the Soviet Union is using political prisoners to build the Siberian pipeline?

A: We are aware of these reports and are actively looking into this question. The Soviets do use prisoners from Gulag camps as forced labor on priority projects, and it is possible that some are being used on the pipeline. We are concerned about the potential for inhumanity in the use of

EUR argued for its position with the following revision of its earlier memo. (see attached memo).

Attachment:
As Stated.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PIPELINE

6

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

10772

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 0054 DTG: 191434Z AUG 82 PSN: 052153
EOB479 AN004884 TOR: 231/1443Z CSN: HCE373

DISTRIBUTION: BALY-01 STER-01 MYER-01 RAY-01 LEVN-01 NAU-01
PIPE-01 RENT-01 ROBN-01 /009 A1

WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:
SIT:
EOB:

OP IMMED
STU3334
DE RUEHMO #0054 2311435
O 191434Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7812

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 8360
USICA WASHDC 2196
AMEMBASSY BONN 3312
AMEMBASSY LONDON 5126
AMEMBASSY PARIS 2238
USMISSION USNATO 2175
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT 5520

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MOSCOW 10054

E.O. 12356: DECL: OARD
TAGS: PEPR, PINT, ECON, UR, US
SUBJECT: SOVIET MEDIA, OFFICIALS COUNTERATTACK ON
PRISONERS/PIPELINE ISSUE
REF: MOSCOW 9681

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT).

2. TASS POLITICAL OBSERVER V. SEROV IN SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
(AUGUST 19) DENIED CHARGES APPEARING IN THE WESTERN
PRESS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE USING PRISON LABOR TO BUILD
THE SIBERIAN-WESTERN EUROPE PIPELINE. THE DENIAL
CAME IN THE FORM OF A REBUTTAL OF A STATEMENT ALLEGEDLY
MADE BY GERMAN CDU FOREIGN POLICY SPOKESMAN ALOIS
MERTES TO THE EFFECT THAT A HUNDRED THOUSAND PRISONERS
ARE WORKING ON THE PIPELINE.

3. SAYING THAT "THE SOVIET SIDE HAS ALREADY VERY
EXPLICITLY STATED THAT NOT ONE PRISONER IS WORKING
ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PIPELINE," SEROV GOES ON
TO IMPUGN "THE MURKY SOURCES" OF SUCH "ANTI-SOVIET
FABRICATIONS" AND TO CAST DOUBT ON MERTES' MOTIVES
FOR SPREADING THE STORY. ACCORDING TO THE TASS
OBSERVER, MERTES SEIZED THE CANARD HOISTED BY THE
FRANKFURT-ON-THE MAIN SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS,
WHICH, IT IS ALLEGED, IS AN "AFFILIATE OF NTS" - A
"DOOBLE-DYED ANTI-SOVIET ORGANIZATION" HAVING TIES
TO THE "CIA AND OTHER WESTERN INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES."
AS FOR MERTES HIMSELF, SEROV ALLEGES THAT HE HAS HAD
A LONG CAREER IN ANTI-SOVIETISM, HAVING BEEN EXPELLED
FROM THE USSR IN 1966 FOR ENGAGING IN "ILLEGAL
ACTIVITY -- IN PARTICULAR, IN ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA"
WHILE WORKING IN THE FRG EMBASSY.

4. IN AN AUGUST 18 CALL BY ECONOMIC COUNSELOR AT MFA
USA DIVISION, COUNSELOR MYSHKOV MENTIONED THE ARMSTRONG
AMENDMENT AS AN EXAMPLE OF WESTERN EFFORTS TO

"PRESSURE" THE SOVIET UNION. MYSHKOV WAS LOW KEY,
BUT ATTACKED THE AMENDMENT AS BEING BASED ON "FALSE"
REPORTS THAT SOVIET PRISONERS WERE BEING USED TO BUILD
THE GAS PIPELINE.

5. COMMENT: WHILE THE SOVIETS CLEARLY HOPED THE
ISSUE WOULD GO AWAY, THEY NOW APPEAR TO BE DEMONSTRATING
GROWING SENSITIVITY TO THE CHARGES. ASSUMING THAT
WESTERN PUBLIC ATTENTION TO THE ISSUE CONTINUES, OR
GROWS, MOSCOW WILL PROBABLY NOT BE ABLE TO AVOID
RESPONDING FURTHER TO THE ACCUSATIONS IN BOTH PUBLIC
AND PRIVATE FORA, AND WILL PROBABLY FOCUS INCREASINGLY
ON THE THEME THAT THE REPORTS ARE AN "INVENTION" OF
A U.S. ADMINISTRATION TRYING TO UNDERMINE EUROPEAN
INTEREST IN SEEING THE PIPELINE COMPLETED.
ZIMMERMANN
BT

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F06-114/9 #10772

BY KML NARA DATE 4/7/2011

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SAINTONAS~~
Pipeline
8/24/82
10773

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

PAGE 01 USMISSION USNATO 5229 DTG: 201737Z AUG 82 PSN: 054379
EOB419 AN005705 TOR: 232/2054Z CSN: HCE888

DISTRIBUTION: BALLY-01 MYER-01 GUHN-01 KRAM-01 LEVN-01 NAU-01
PIPE-01 RENT-01 LINH-01 /009 A1

WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:
SIT:
EOB:

PRIORITY
STU7103
DE RUFHNA #5229 2321829
P 201737Z AUG 82
FM USMISSION USNATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8802

INFO NATO COLLECTIVE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ USNATO 05229

EXDIS
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PEPR, ECON, UR, US, NATO
SUBJ: SOVIET USE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS ON CONSTRUCTION
OF YAMAL PIPELINE
REF: (A) OSLO 4107, (B) THE HAGUE 5978, (C) MOSCOW 10054

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE AGREE WITH REFS A AND B THAT HARD EVIDENCE OF SOVIET USE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS TO CONSTRUCT THE YAMAL PIPELINE WILL HAVE A POSITIVE IMPACT ON ALLIED VIEWS OF U.S. POSITION ON THE ISSUE. HOWEVER, THE DISSEMINATION OF SUCH EVIDENCE WOULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE ON PUBLIC OPINION IN ALLIED COUNTRIES IF IT WERE NOT SEEN TO BE ENTIRELY AN AMERICAN INITIATIVE. WE NOTE REF C THAT SOVIETS ARE ALREADY PUTTING OUT THE LINE THAT ALLEGATION IS "A U.S. -INVENTION."

3. WE THUS SUGGEST THAT, TO THE EXTENT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CAN OBTAIN HARD EVIDENCE OF SOVIET USE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PIPELINE, THAT WE SEEK TO GET THIS INFORMATION UTILIZED BY OTHER ALLIED GOVERNMENTS, WESTERN MEDIA, AND HUMAN RIGHTS AGENCIES AS WELL.
BENNETT
BT

EXDIS

EXDIS

EXDIS

EXDIS

DECLASSIFIED

NLRRF06-114/9 #10773

BY KML NARA DATE 4/7/2011

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8/24/82

BY KMT NARA DATE 4/7/2011

- 2 -

10774

4. USSR: REBUTTAL OF PRISON LABOR ALLEGATIONS

Soviet media continue to deny reports that political prisoners are being used to build the trans-Siberian natural gas pipeline. In an August 18 interview, the Soviet petroleum minister asserted that "there is not a single prisoner either at the Siberia-Western Europe pipeline, or at any other project of the ministry" The following day Sovetskaya Rossiya called the charges "ill-smelling anti-Soviet insinuations."

INR Comment: We cannot confirm the reports about the use of prisoners, but a Soviet emigre who claims 30 years experience in the Soviet petroleum industry has said that paroled prisoners have been used in the construction of gas compressor stations in parts of the USSR suffering severe labor shortages. The prisoners were paid and received reduced sentences. (CONFIDENTIAL)

5. MEXICO: ECONOMIC POLICY IN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

President Lopez Portillo and President-elect de la Madrid have made conflicting statements about the extent to which they will cooperate on economic policy prior to the inauguration on December 1. Lopez Portillo asserted he would make all the tough decisions that are needed, allowing de la Madrid to assume power relatively unscarred. De la Madrid, on the other hand, complained that "they" were not making decisions.

INR Comment: Lopez Portillo's slow action on the two recent devaluations and his failure to implement completely an austerity program indicate that de la Madrid's view is probably correct. Now that Lopez Portillo has taken several steps--notably discussions with the IMF--he may think that he has fulfilled his commitment to make hard decisions. Even if Lopez Portillo takes action to enforce economic measures and rally political support for them, de la Madrid's initial period in office will be difficult. (SECRET/EXDIS)

6. EL SALVADOR: GOVERNMENT LAUNCHES MAJOR OFFENSIVE

Salvadoran forces, including troops trained by the US and Venezuela, began a major sweep through the guerrilla stronghold of northern San Vicente department (see map) on August 18.

INR Comment: This operation involves nearly one-third of the Salvadoran army under a commander of proven competence. If properly executed, the sweep could inflict significant guerrilla casualties and disrupt logistics. (CONFIDENTIAL)

7. INDIA/PAKISTAN: BILATERAL TALKS

India and Pakistan agreed to gradually improve their bilateral relations at an August 11-12 meeting in Islamabad, according to Embassies New Delhi and Islamabad. The meeting dealt with three draft agreements:

FORCED
LABOUR
(Pipeline) 9



Forced Labour in Building the Gas-Pipeline Siberia - Europe

DOCUMENTATION

ISHR

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

IGFM

INTERNATIONALE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR MENSCHENRECHTE E. V.

Kaiserstr. 40 - Postfach 2965 - tel. 611 - 23 69 71
D-6000 Frankfurt/M. 1, West-Germany

P.O. Box 2175 • Grand Central Station • New York, N.Y. 10163
Section • USA

CONSTITUTION
OF THE UNION
OF THE SOCIALIST
SOVIET REPUBLICS

adopted at the
7th Extraordinary Session of
the Prime Soviet of USSR
at the
9th Legislation Period
on 7th October 1977

Статья 60. Обязанность и дело чести каждого способного к труду гражданина СССР — добросовестный труд в избранной им области общественно полезной деятельности, соблюдение трудовой дисциплины. Уклонение от общественно полезного труда несовместимо с принципами социалистического общества.

Article 60.

It is the duty and the honour of every citizen of the USSR who is able to work to provide conscientious labour in his common and useful field of work chosen by him and the observation of discipline at work.

Any refusal to perform useful labour to the benefit of the society is not comparable with the principles of the socialist society.

10

"Regarding crimes against humanity,
there is no doubt that political opponents
have been murdered in Germany before the war
and that many of them were detained in
concentration camps under disgracing and
horrible conditions. Such policy of horror
has certainly been pursued in a great style
and was in many cases pre-fixed and organized."

Extracted from a judgement of the
Nuremberg Processes - 1946

NATIONAL SLAVES IN THE SOVIET UNION A JURIDICAL HISTORIC COMMENTARY

by Prof. Michael Wosslenky, Munich

The usual Soviet formula proclaims vehemently:
The Soviet State was born with the word "Peace" on the lips.
Another expression followed soon afterwards: penal servitude

On 18th January 1918 only two months after the October Revolution
the Commissariat of Justice issued a decree concerning "penal
working groups".

The first concentration camps, houses of correction and penal
labour colonies were established during the Red Terror in
September 1918. In spring 1919 the 8th Congress of the Party
Assembly formulated the program of the Bolshevik Party
specifying amongst other things the principles of the
execution of punishment in the Soviet Union: in future
prisons were to be replaced by houses of correction "in order
to subjugate the condemned persons to a producing work useful
to the society".

In the year 1929 Trotzky justified the must of penal servitude
in socialism and advocated the "militarisation of labour" and
the creation of "labour armies".

After Stalin had come to power, instead of the labour armies
the concentration camps became the core of penal servitude.
On March 1928 a decree was issued concerning "penal policy
and the status of penal institutions" as an extension of
labour colonies.

The decree of 6th November 1929 of the Central Executive
Committee and the Council of the Commissaries of the Soviet
Union defined penal institutions as being houses of correction
in remote regions of the Soviet Unions as well as labour
colonies for those people whose punishment did not exceed
three years.

In the course of the liquidation of the Koulaks as a class,
the stalinien labour camps played a new role. A decree
issued on 7th April 1939 concerning the penal labour camps
asserted that contrarily to the concentration camps of the
bourgeois regimes, they were no institutions serving the
purpose to exterminate physically the enemies of the class.

As this was written three years before the Nazis came to
power and the first extermination camps appeared, the train
of thoughts of Stalin can be followed easily. Indeed from
1939 the camps in the Soviet Union became real extermination
camps. The evidence is given by the number of their victims.
Under the command of Krushev five to six millions of
these victims of the GOULAG were posthumously rehabilitated.
But this was only a few of them. The Koulaks for instance
have never been rehabilitated, although Krushev confided
to Churchill that the number of Koulaks exterminated in the
Stalinien camps amounted to more than 10 millions - that is
more than in the concentration camps of the Nazis.

However the method of extermination was different. In the
camps of Stalin the prisoners were rarely executed or murdered -
they died rather of exhaustion due to famine and cold as well
as to the hard work they performed.

After the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet
Union (February 1956) the execution of punishment in the Soviet
Union was a little humanized. The word "colony" replaced the
word "camp". GOULAG (Administration of the camps of the Home
Office in the Soviet Union) was changed into GOUITU (Adminis-
trative body for penitentiary matters) and the number of
prisoners decreased. It increased again in the course of the
last ten years.

But the principles of the Soviet execution of punishment
remained unchanged. The prisoners are exploited to slave
labour, and in the opinion of the Western countries they are
still very many. In the Soviet towns there are on an average
as many prisons as in the Occidental towns, but in 1971 only
0,3 % of condemned people were detained in prisons and it is
well known that the Soviet prisons are overcrowded.

As a result there are in the Soviet Union 330 times more
prisoners of other categories. They amount therefore to
several millions and form a special class of the Soviet
Society: the class of the national slaves.

In the paper I read at the 2nd World Congress for Soviet
and Eastern studies (Garmisch - Partenkirchen, 30.9.-4.10.1980)
I already mentioned the existence of this lowest class of the
Soviet society.

The constitution of the Soviet Union does not mention it -
with the exception possibly of a vague allusion in its
article 60: "The refusal to accomplish a labour useful to
the society is incompatible with the principles of the
socialist society".

Other official Soviet sources such as "The Principles of the
Legislation for Correction Labour in the Soviet Union and the
Republics of the Union or the Penal Codes of the Republics of
the Union and the Manual "The Soviet Legislation for Correction
Labour" give information about the status of these disfran-
chised people.

Most of them are detained in colonies for correction labour
and in case of juvenile delinquents in colonies for educational
labour.

Apart from the prisoners included in the categories mentioned
above, there are also the slave labourers who are not consi-
dered as prisoners: the banished who live in exile under the
supervision of the local authorities, are forced to slave
labour but allowed to move about freely within the limits
of the place where they are living in exile. As this category
of slave labourers was previously assigned to the construction
of important chemical plants, one calls them in slang "chemists".
As to the prisoners, in the slang of the camps one calls them
"Zek" (an abbreviation of the word "zakloutchonny" - prisoner.

The last category includes finally those who being either prisoners nor banished are sentenced to penal servitude by verdict of the court and carry on working in the same shop as before their judgment. However the greatest part of their salary is withheld by the state. It is maybe the most impudent form of slavery in the Soviet Union. A variant of this form is "the 15 days detention for hooliganism". The people concerned are to word as unskilled workers of burden carriers. This last group of servitude labourers constitutes the psychological and social bridge between the "free" salves of the Soviet society and the slaves of state.

The labour colonies are subdivided into four different regimes:

1. the general regime
2. the strengthened regime
3. the severe regime
4. the special regime.

There are furthermore five groups of colonies for the people who have committed a crime through want of care or imprudence, as well as six groups of colonies for people "being already on the mend" (these last groups are collecting camps where the conditions of detention are no more quite so hard). In the prisons there are two regimes: the general regime and the severe regime.

In the Soviet Union the penal execution is not limited to the detention. Its main principle is to exploit as much as possible the sentenced people. So it was in the GOULAG of Stalin and so it is nowadays. But the second principle of the Soviet execution of punishment was modified in the course of years. Under the commandment of Stalin (from 1939) these principles were exploitation and extermination. The aim was "expiation through privations and suffering". As the manual of the University Lomonossov in Moscow in the chapters treating: "The Soviet Legislation for Correction Labour" states it, "punishment is unconceivable without expiation, consequently without suffering and privations."

Nowadays the Soviet legislation allows no more to inflict "useless suffering, not indispensable for the aim of the punishment". It is of course an uncurrante notion which can be interpreted in different manners.

In short, if the camps of Stalin were camps of extermination, the present colonies are centers of torture, where the main method is the intensified exploitation of manpower.

For prisoners the scheduled time of work is 48 hours a week against 41 hours for the "free" wage labour in the Soviet Union. The prisoners have no vacation privilege even if they have been sentenced to 15 or 25 years. The only day off is Sunday but also this day can be declared working day by the administration of the colonies. The years detention do not count as years of service and are consequently not considered when the person retires. If a prisoner becomes disabled during the years of detention, he is not in title to receive disable pension until he is set free.

Disablement claims of a prisoner are generally not accepted. Article 27 of the principles of the legislation for correction labour stipulates: "work is compulsory for all prisoners". Consequently everybody is bound to work and fulfil the work norms even disabled of the first group who in civil are in bed-ridden state and dependent on assistance of others. They are also expected to work 48 hours and have no vacation privilege. And either the advanced age or the qualification of prisoners is taken into consideration by the administration.

Only the regime of the labour colony is of decisive importance. The principles stipulate expressively that people detained in colonies with severe regime are to be assigned to heavy work. But as the Soviet newspaper "Kasachstanskaja Prawda" mentioned, and this applies also to other colonies: "Prisoners are principally to perform the heaviest work and the work norms are critical values. We can change nothing about it. A labour colony is not a sanatorium but a penal establishment where one works in the sweat of thy brow".

What does labour cost to the state? Almost nothing. The greatest part of the wages of those hard workers is withdrawn:

1. To cover the maintenance charges of the administration - i.e. guards and supervisors costs.
2. For the food and clothing of prisoners.

As the state has no other expenses in connection with the existence of the prisoners, the Soviet forced labourers finance themselves their slavery. All deductions made it remains to the prisoner 10 % of his wages (25 % for disabled of the first and second groups). However even this ridiculous remaining amount is paid only if the prisoner has not offended the regime of the colony and fulfilled the work norms. In case the prisoner has not fulfil these conditions (what happens quite often) he receives no salary at all. Furthermore the administration is in title to assign the prisoner to underpaid jobs such as maintenance of the colony and adjoining estates.

In his writing "About the Dialectical and Historical Materialism" Stalin has characterised amongst other things the extent of exploitation in different social orders. The exploitation of soviet prisoners corresponds to the exploitation of slaves in slave-holding societies described by Stalin, and on the model of which he probably organized the Soviet labour camps.

In connection with correction labour the Soviet legisla states "a legal relationship between the Soviet state a

the sentenced people" and he insists on the fact that this relationship is not set forth in a contract but originates from a judgment execution and ends on the day the prisoner is legally discharged or dies.

In the definition of slave exploitation given by Stalin it is pointed out that slaves may be sold, tortured or even killed. This applies to Soviet prisoners. The German Democratic Republic is the only country of the East Block where it is usual practice to sell prisoners to other states. On the other hand in the Soviet Union prisoners may be "leased" to other institutions through the GOUITU. Some colonies serve as suppliers of labourers. The colony and the business in question conclude a contract according to which one party has to supply the labourers while the other binds itself to organize the labour of prisoners in production zones specially prepared and is willing to pay the salary corresponding to the services - this salary being paid of course to the colony administration and not to the prisoner.

Tortures and extermination of prisoners in practice under Stalin have been described above. Nowadays the Soviet penal execution represents a permanent torture of the prisoners and we are not speaking of abuses committed by some officials but of rules prescribed by the Soviet legislation.

The Soviet law points out that the principal element of the colony regime is "the compulsory isolation of the sentenced people and their permanent surveillance". The prisoners wear prison uniforms, their mail is submitted to censor, the parcels sent to them are controlled. They are not allowed to have money or valuables with them. Nonobservance is punished and the good seized for the benefit of the state.

We have here deliberately not described infringements or official oppression from the authorities of the colonies. Our information based only on soviet sources and especially on the Soviet legislation. The Soviet slave labour is in the practice worse than the theory but the theory is sufficient to enable to take a grave view of the situation. It can also not hide the existence of the slaves of state in the Soviet Union.

One can not choose one's neighbours and the social structure in the pretended real socialism is as it is. But this does not mean that the West may confidently participate to the exploitation of the slave labourers of the East. This causes a big political et moral damage above all to the West itself.

Sources:

1. "Svoj zakononij", Moskwa 191d. Nr. 19, Art. 284
2. "Programma KPSS", Moskwa 1961. Seite 106
3. L. Trotzky: "Terrorism and Communism", Ann-Harbour-Lin. 1961. pp. 134 - 147, 168 - 169
4. "Sbornik Normativnych Aktow po Sowjetskomu Isprawitelno-Trudowomu Prawu", Moskwa 1959. Seite 206
5. dto. Seite 224
6. dto. Seite 231
7. Siehe Ju. M. Tkatschewskij "Sow. Isprawitelno-Trudowoje Prawo", Moskwa 1971. Seite 38
8. M. Wossjenski: "Class-Structure of the Soviet Society", (II. World Congress for Soviet and East-European Study), Germisch-Partenkirchen 1980, Seite 795
9. "Verfassung (Grundgesetz) der UdSSR", Moskau 1977. Seite 29
10. Ju. M. Tkatschewskij, a.s.O. Seite 23
11. dto. Seite 23
12. "Osnovy Trudowogo-Isprawitelnogo Sakonodatelstwa RSFSR", Art. 28
13. dto. Art. 28
14. Siehe "Osnowy ...", Art. 31
15. Siehe "Osnowy ..." Art. 27
16. "Kasachetanskaja Prawda", 14.3.1973

LITERATURE

- Conquest, Robert
- Harasowska, Marta (Hrsg.)
Olhovych, Orest
- Heller, Michael
- Helsinki Watch (Hrsg.)
Committee
- Jaspers, Karl
- Kamiński, Andrzej J.
- Keston College (Hrsg.)
- Kosyk, Volodymyr
- Kusnezov, Eduard
- Martschenko, Anatolii
- Pollock, John
- Radygin, Anatolii
- Research Centre for Prisons,
Psychprisons and Forced-
Labor Concentration Camps
of the USSR (Hrsg.)
(A. Shifrin)
- Stalins Völkermord. Frankfurt/M., 1979.
- The International Sakharov Hearing. Smoloskyp Publishers, Baltimore-Toronto, 1977.
- Stacheldraht der Revolution. Die Welt der Konzentrationslager in der sowjetischen Literatur. Stuttgart, 1975.
- U.S. Helsinki Committee Marks Seventh Anniversary of Helsinki Accords with Report on Status of Soviet Political Prisoners. New York, Juli 1982.
- Die Schuldfrage. Für Völkermord gibt es keine Verjährung. Piper Verlag, München, 1979.
- Konzentrationslager 1896 bis heute. Eine Analyse. Verlag W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1982.
- Christian Prisoners in the USSR 1979. Keston Book No. 11, Keston College, 1979.
- Concentration Camps in the USSR. London, 1962.
- Lagertagebuch. Aufzeichnungen aus dem Archipel des Grauens. München, 1974.
- Meine Aussagen. Bericht eines sowjetischen Häftlings 1960-1966. Frankfurt/M., 1969.
- The Siberian Seven. Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1979.
- Das Leben in den mordwinischen Konzentrationslagern aus der Nähe betrachtet. München, 1974.
- Transportation of Prisoners to Places of Confinement.
 - The Death Camps in the USSR.
 - Work, Salary and Safety Measures in Soviet Forced-Labor Camps.
 - The Work of Soviet Prisoners for Export.
 - The Work of Prisoners in Soviet Oil-Industry.
 - The Work of Prisoners in Soviet Military Industry.
 - Places of Confinement in the USSR and the different regimes there.
 - How many Camps are in the USSR?
 - The Death Route.
 - Women and Children in Soviet Concentration Camps.
- Research Centre for Prisons, Psychprisons and Forced-Labor Concentration Camps of the USSR.
P.O.B. 32, Zikhron Yaakov, Israel. (1976-79)

- Sacharow, Andrej
Stellungnahme. Verlag Fritz Molden, München, 1974.
- Schulmer, Joseph
Arzt in Workuta. Bericht aus einem sowjetischen Straflager. München, 1963.
- Shifrin, Avraham
UdSSR Reiseführer durch Gefängnisse und Konzentrationslager in der Sowjetunion. Stephanus Edition, Uhdingen/Saewis, 1980.
(erhältlich über die IGFM Frankfurt/M.)
- Shymko, Yuri R.
For this was I born. The human conditions in USSR Slave Labor Camps. Toronto, 1973.
- Solomon, Michael
Magadan. Sieben Jahre in sowjetischen Straflagern. Bergisch Gladbach, 1978.
- Solschenizyn, Alexander
Der Archipel GULag. 3 Bände. Bern, München, 1974-1976.
- Tchornovil, Vlatcheslav
Je ne vous demande rien! Editions Pluf, Paris, 1977. (in frz. Spr.)
- Vins, Georgij P.
Der Familie entrissen. Uhdingen - Mühlhofen, 1975.

13

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ABOUT SOVIET CONCENTRATION CAMPS
PUBLICATIONS IN ENGLISH (BOOKS ONLY)

- ATHOLL, (Katherine) Duchess of, The Conscriptio of a People.
Philip Allan, London; Columbia University Press, New York; 1931
- BEAUSOBRE, Julia de [Lady MANIER], The Woman Who Could Not Die,
London 1948
- BEGIN, Menachem, White Nights, The Story of a Prisoner in Russia.
Third English Edition, Steimatzky's Agency Limited, Jerusalem,
Tel Aviv, Haifa (1977, C 1957)
- CILIGA, Anton, The Russian Enigma, London 1940.
- CONQUEST, Robert, Kolyma, The Arctic Death Camps
Macmillan, London 1978; Reprinted by Billing & Sons, Guildford,
London and Worcester, 1978
- DALLIN, David J., The Economics of Slave Labor
Henry Regnery Co., Chicago 1949
- DALLIN, David J., NICOLAEVSKY, Boris I., Forced Labor in Soviet
Russia
Yale University Press, New Haven 1947
- The DARK SIDE OF THE MOON. (Foreword by Helena SIKORSKA). With a
preface by T(homas) S(tearns) ELIOT
Faber & Faber, London (1946)
- DOLGUN, Alexander, with WATSON, Patrick, Alexander Dolgun's Story.
An American in the GULAG
Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1975; Ballantine Books, New York (1976)
- FITZ GIBBON, Constantine, When the Kissing had to Stop.
- GINSBURG, Evgenia Semyonovna, Into the Whirlwind
London and New York 1967
- GLIKSMAN, Jerzy, Tell the West
Gresham Press, New York 1948
- GULAG, The Documentary Map on Forced Labor Camps in Soviet Russia
New York 1951
- HERLING, Gustaw, A World Apart
New York 1951
- HUBBARD, Leonard, Soviet Labor
London 1942

- KOSYK, V., Concentration Camps in the USSR, in: Russian Oppression
in the Ukraine
London 1962
- KRASNOV, N(icolai Nicolaevitch), The Hidden Russia
Henry Holt & Co., 1960
- LARSEN, Otto, Nightmare of the Innocents
Andrew Melrose, London 1955
- LENGYEL, József, From Beginning to End
London 1966
- LIPPER, Elinor, Eleven Years in Soviet Prison Camps
Chicago 1951
- LITTLEPAGE, J., and BESS, D., In Search of Soviet Gold
New York 1938
- MARCHENKO, Anatole, My Testimony
The Pall Mall Press, London 1969
- MORA, Silvester (i.e. ZAMORSKI, Kazimierz), Kolyma-Gold and
Forced Labor in the USSR
Foundation für Foreign Affairs, Washington, D.C., 1949
- MOWRER, Lilian, with a foreword by KOCHANSKA, Olga, Arrest and
Exile
W.Morrow & Co., New York 1941
- NOBLE, John, I Was a Slave in Russia
The Devin-Adair Co., New York 1958
- PETROV, Vladimir, It happens in Russia
Eyre & Spottiswoode, London 1951
- PETROV, Viadimir, Soviet Gold
Farrar, Strauss & Co., New York 1949
- PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE IN THE USSR: THEIR TREATMENT AND CONDITIONS
Amnesty International Publications (AIP), London 1980
- ROUSSET, David (under the direction of), Coercion of the Worker
in the Soviet Union. Edited by Jerzy G. GLIKSMAN
The Beacon Press, Boston (1953)
- The Same, Police-State Methods in the Soviet Union,
As above.
- SHIFRIN, Avram, USSR Guide to the Prisons and Concentration Camps
in the Soviet Union
Stephanus Edition, Uhdlingen/Seewis (1980)

14

SLAVE LABOR IN RUSSIA

American Federation of Labor, New York 1949

SOLOMON, Michael, Magadan

Toronto 1971

SOLONEVICH, Ivan, Russia in Chains - Escape from Russian Chains

London and New York 1938

SOLZHENITSYN, Alexander, The Gulag Archipelago

London and New York 1973-77

SWIANIEWICZ, Stanislaw, Forced Labor and Economic Development,

An Inquiry into the Experience of Soviet Industrialization

Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International
Affairs. Oxford University Press, London-New York-Toronto 1965

TCHERNAVIN, Vladimir, I speak for the Silent, Prisoners of the
Soviets.

Ralph T. Hale & Co., Boston 1935

TCHERNAVIN, Tatiana, Escape from the Soviets

Hamish Hamilton, London 1933 & 1934

KITCHIN, George, Prisoner of the OGPU

New York 1935

MALSAGOFF, S.A., An Island Hell

London 1926

NORK, Karl, Hell in Siberia

Robert Hale, London 1957

RED GAOLS

London 1935

DER KOMMENTAR

Beweislast

ENNO von LOEWENSTERN

Vielleicht bewirkt eine Mitteilung der Frankfurter Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte, was keine Warnung vor den Konsequenzen im Bündnis oder vor der Gefahr, Moskaus Rüstung zu stärken, erreicht hat: ein ernsthaftes Überdenken des Gas-Röhren-Geschäfts. Was in Bonn erst einmal als unbewiesen vom Tisch gewischt wurde, hat nun die französische Regierung zu einer Weisung an ihre Moskauer Botschaft veranlaßt: nachzuprüfen, ob die Sowjetunion beim Bau der Gasleitung KZ-Häftlinge einsetzen wird.

Moskau selber hat durch ein kraß utilitaristisches Tass-Dementi den Verdacht noch verstärkt: „Jeder vernünftige Mensch wird einsehen, daß ein solches Riesenprojekt die Ausarbeitung und die Anstrengung durch eine starke Industrie zwingend macht, die die modernsten Errungenschaften von Wissenschaft und Technik zum Einsatz bringt.“

Jeder vernünftige Mensch weiß, daß dieses System dennoch halbverhungerte und technisch wenig versierte Arbeitsklaven seit jeher bei technisch aufwendigen Vorhaben einsetzte, ehe die Ingenieure antreten; vom Weißmeerkanal mit seinen hunderttausenden Toten bis zu den sibirischen

Blei- und Goldgruben. Denn schaufeln können sie allemal, bis sie selber eingeschauelt werden. Jeder vernünftige Mensch weiß auch, daß die Geheimpolizei bereit steht, nach Bedarf jederzeit neue Arbeitsklaven einzufangen. Jeder vernünftige Mensch hat vermerkt, daß Tass nicht einmal zu dementieren wagt, daß es Konzentrationslager und Häftlinge für Arbeitseinsätze gibt.

Die französische Regierung hat viel weltpolitischen Unfug getrieben, aber sie besteht darauf, die Menschenrechte ernst zu nehmen. Mit Recht wird von Beobachtern in Moskau darauf hingewiesen, daß das Sowjetsystem ein freies Herumreisen und Nachschauen nicht zuläßt. Aber in Paris weiß man genau so gut wie in Bonn, daß die Beweislast bei den Arbeitgebern vom Weißmeerkanal liegt. Inspektionen gehören zu den „vertrauensbildenden Maßnahmen“, von den Kernwaffen bis zu den Konzentrationslagern. Wer sie verweigert, der weiß, warum. Wer die Verweigerung mitgeteilt erhält, weiß auch, warum. Eine Regierung, die dennoch das Röhrengeschäft machte, dürfte sich nie mehr als Hort der Menschenrechte darstellen.

Zwangsarbeiter: Tass spricht von dreckiger Lüge

AFP/DW. Moskau
Informationen über den angeblichen Einsatz politischer Häftlinge in der Sowjetunion für den Bau der europäisch-sibirischen Erdgasleitung haben in Moskau erste polemische Reaktionen ausgelöst. Offizielle Stellungnahmen wurden dazu abgelehnt. Von offiziöser Seite hieß es jedoch, der Bericht der Internationalen Menschenrechtsgesellschaft in Frankfurt, wonach mehrere tausend Polithäftlinge an dem Pipeline-Bau beschäftigt sind, habe die Unterminierung des Gasleitungsprojekts zum Zweck, nachdem das „amerikanische Embargo gescheitert“ sei. Die sowjetische Nachrichtenagentur Tass sprach von einer „dreckigen Lüge“.

In den westlichen Botschaften in Moskau wird die Angelegenheit jedoch sehr ernst genommen. Die französische Regierung forderte am Freitag ihre diplomatische Vertretung auf, über die Anschuldigungen der Menschenrechtsgesellschaft zu ermitteln. Die Existenz von Arbeitslagern wird in der UdSSR offiziell zugegeben. Nach Angaben von Regimekritikern werden dort politische Häftlinge interniert. „Die Lager bleiben ein Reservoir für billige Arbeitskräfte“, versicherte ein Dissident gegenüber AFP.

Mehrere Oppositionsgruppen haben in den vergangenen Jahren versucht, verurteilten Dissidenten in die verschiedenen Lager zu folgen. Von ihnen hat die Internationale Menschenrechtsgesellschaft die Informationen über Häftlingseinsatz am Pipeline-Bau erhalten. Wie sie versichern, können sie ihre Behauptungen durch direkte Zeugenaussagen belegen.

FAZ 9.8.82

Paris läßt Berichte über Gefangenen-Einsatz prüfen

MOSKAU, 8. August (dpa). Westliche Berichte über den Einsatz von Gefangenen beim Bau der neuen Erdgasleitung von Sibirien an die Westgrenze der Sowjetunion sind am Sonntag von der Moskauer Nachrichtenagentur Tass als „dreckige Lüge“ zurückgewiesen worden. Tass bezog sich unter anderem auf einen Bericht der französischen Zeitung „France Soir“ vom Vortag und äußerte den Verdacht, daß Washington Urheber dieser „Sensation“ sei. „... dort werden unter der gegen-

wärtigen Regierung massenweise große Lügen produziert“. Washington wolle mit allen Mitteln das Erdgas-Röhrengeschäft mit westeuropäischen Firmen zum Scheitern bringen. Über den angeblichen Einsatz von Gefangenen hatte im letzten Monat erstmals die in Frankfurt ansässige Internationale Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte berichtet. Danach „sind mindestens 10 000 Strafgefangene sowie mehrere zehntausend weitere Häftlinge anderer Kategorien beziehungsweise Verbannte im zwangsweisen Einsatz“, schrieb Vorstandssprecher Ziegler. Tass dazu: „Diese dreckige Lüge erfordert eigentlich kein Dementi: Jeder vernünftige

Mensch wird einsehen, daß ein solches Riesenprojekt die Ausarbeitung und die Anstrengungen durch eine starke Industrie zwingend macht, die die modernsten Errungenschaften von Wissenschaft und Technik zum Einsatz bringt.“ Unterdessen wurde bekannt, daß die französische Botschaft in Moskau prüfen soll, ob an der sowjetischen Erdgasleitung nach Westeuropa wirklich unter schwersten Bedingungen politische Häftlinge aus der Sowjetunion arbeiten müssen. Das Außenministerium in Paris beauftragte die Botschaft, den Angaben der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte nachzugehen.

Soviets said using forced labor

FRANKFURT, June 25 (AP) — The Soviets force about 100,000 persons, at least 10,000 of them prison inmates, to help build the controversial Siberian natural gas pipeline to Western Europe, the Frankfurt-based International Society for Human Rights said Friday.

In a giant gas for hard currency deal, vigorously opposed by President Ronald Reagan, the Soviet plan to complete the 3,000 mile pipeline next year despite a Washington-ordered embargo on American-designed equipment for the project.

Along the construction sites many new centers with forced labor camps sprung up in the past two years," a society statement said. "In Ust Izhm alone one of these centers is made up of eight camps," it added. Others are near Surgut, Tawda, Tyumen, Irbti and -ysva, the statement said.

In the camps, prisoners are accommodated

in camps unsuitable to protect them from the freezing winter cold. Their supply situation was very bad, the statement said.

The forced labor was made up of about 10,000 persons serving prison sentences for crimes," the remainder are prisoners of other categories, including banned persons, among them many women and elderly people, the statement said.

THE TIME MAGAZIN
30.8.1982

SOVIET UNION **Gulag Gas?**

New charges on the pipeline

The Soviet Union has not allowed Western correspondents to visit sites in Siberia where workmen are building the controversial 3,000-mile natural gas pipeline to Western Europe. Frankfurt's respected International Association for Human Rights has suggested a chilling explanation for that refusal. In letters mailed to West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, French President Francois Mitterrand and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, the association charged that the Soviet Union is using up to 100,000 prisoners to build the pipeline. The claim is based on information from smuggled letters and from interviews with contacts inside the Soviet Union. The Copenhagen-based International Sakharov Committee, which was founded to uphold human rights and defend Soviet dissidents, including Physicist and Nobel Peace Prizewinner Andrei Sakharov, has made similar allegations. The committee has warned that "conditions in these camps are such that a large number of the prisoners will not survive."

The Soviet news agency TASS denounced the accusations as "dirty lies." In a letter to the *Times* of London, Novosti Press Agency Editor Sergei Snegov said that pipeline workers have to be highly skilled and are paid higher than normal wages to make up for the difficult working conditions.

The charges have embarrassed Western European governments, whose participation in the pipeline project is opposed by the Reagan Administration. Alois Mertes, foreign policy spokesman for West Germany's opposition Christian Democrats, has asked Schmidt whether his government would "unwittingly become an accomplice" of a concentration-camp system. Washington has not taken advantage of the latest accusations to press its view that Western European governments are giving unwarranted assistance to the Soviet economy.

Indeed, State Department analysts say that "there are no hard facts at this point" to substantiate the human rights organizations' charges. West German and French officials are similarly cautious but have asked their embassies in Moscow to look into the matter. The allegations are quite plausible. The Soviet Union has relied on prison-camp labor for massive construction projects in the past, including the trans-Siberian railroad, the White Sea Canal and the Moscow subway. Dissident Author Vladimir Bukovsky, who was released from a Soviet prison in 1976 and now lives in England, says that while skilled workers probably are needed to assemble the pipeline, prisoners can be used for such tasks as clearing a way through vast forests. Says he: "Gulag labor is an integral part of the Soviet economy." ■

Daily Telegraph,
14.8.1982

PIPELINE DRIVE BY RUSSIA

By NIGEL WADE
in Moscow

WHILE Transatlantic wrangling intensifies over President Reagan's efforts to stop European firms supplying equipment for the Siberian gas pipeline, Soviet officials report progress on early construction along the pipeline route.

Optimistic claims are also being made about the development by Soviet industry of 25-megawatt gas-pumping turbines which Soviet officials say are the equal of Western equipment blocked by American sanctions.

In a move which has created serious friction between the United States and Western Europe, Mr Reagan has barred European companies using American licences from delivering parts for the pipeline because of Soviet involvement in the Polish crisis.

The Kremlin has publicly undertaken to complete the 2,900-mile pipeline as planned, in the first quarter of 1984. It is designed to deliver 40,000 million cubic metres of gas to Western Europe annually, bringing Russia an estimated annual income of £4,500 million pounds.

Over-riding priority

The Soviet Government has given an over-riding priority to completing the line on time, with exclusively Soviet equipment if necessary.

The Soviet system makes it possible for the Government to focus all necessary resources on achieving this goal, regardless of the cost in terms of money or disruption to other industrial sectors.

More than 200 miles of pipe was welded into place by the beginning of August, according to Mr Grigory Sudobin, a Deputy Minister for Oil Industry Construction. An average of four-and-a-half miles of pipe was being added daily.

Officials say 58 mechanised teams are working on the line. Moscow has rejected speculation by a West German human rights group that labour camp prisoners may be involved, and Western diplomats in Moscow say they know of no evidence to support this suggestion.

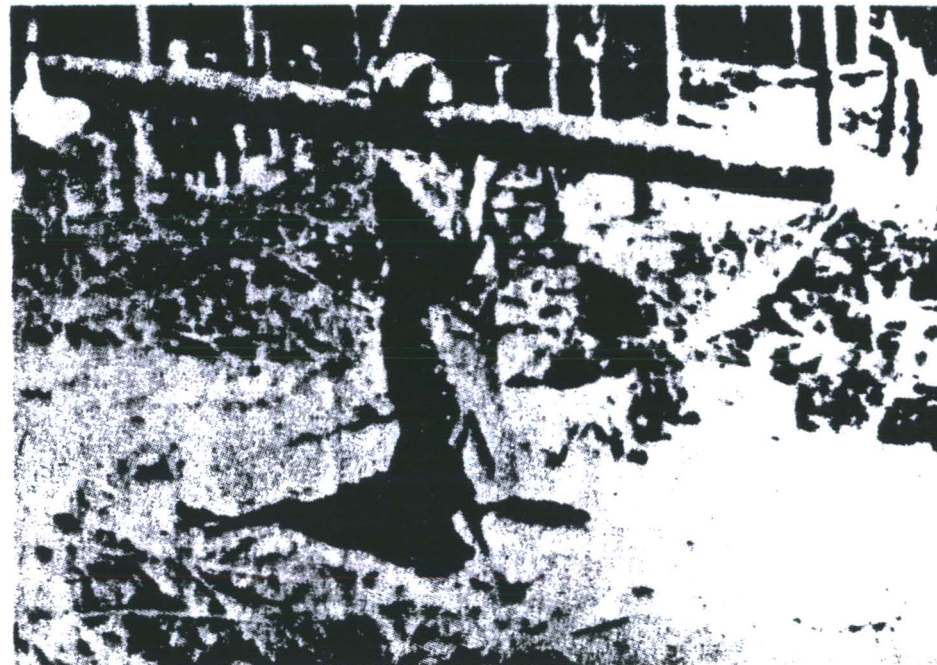
Visits not allowed

But requests by Western diplomats and newsmen to visit the pipeline or factories making parts for it have been repeatedly refused.

A recent Moscow Radio broadcast said young East Germans would work on the project in Western Russia. The initial section of the route, starting near Urengoy in Western Siberia, crosses about 100 miles of permafrost and 400 miles of marshland.

Soviet newspapers describe convoys of lorries carrying workers and supplies battling to get through the "notorious Taiga swamps stretching for hundreds of miles."

Planning for the most difficult northern sections has been finished "much earlier" than expected, thanks to photography from outer space, according to Soviet engineers.



Woman on forced-labour

100,000 people said in forced labor for Russ gas pipeline

FRANKFURT (AP) — The Soviets force about 100,000 persons, at least 1,000 of them prison inmates, to help build the controversial Siberian natural gas pipeline to Western Europe, the Frankfurt-based International Society for Human Rights said Friday.

In a giant gas for hard currency deal, vigorously opposed by President Reagan, the Soviets plan to complete the 3,000-mile pipeline next year despite a Washington-ordered embargo on American-designed equipment for the project.

Along the construction sites may new centers with forced labor camps sprung up in the past two years," a society statement said. "In Ust Ishim alone one of these centers is made up of eight camps." It added: "Others are near Urgal, Lavasa, Fyuzhen, Irbit and Yeva," the statement said.

In the camps, prisoners are accommodated in shaky wagons unsuitable to protect them from the freezing winter cold. Their supply situation was very bad, the statement said.

The forced labor was made up of about 10,000 persons serving prison sentences

for crimes, "the remainder are prisoners of other categories, including banned persons," among them any women and elderly people, the statement said.

These persons were selected to do the heavy earth moving work. Only when this was finished, were Western journalists allowed in to inspect the construction activities, the statement said.

Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning, 2.7.82

KGB utnyttjar 10.000 fångar för gasledning

Från den Internationella föreningen för de mänskliga rättigheterna i Frankfurt am Main kommer skrämmande rapporter om hur tiotusentals politiska fångar under svåra umbäranden utnyttjas för byggandet av den omtalade och ödesdigra gasledningen Sibirien-Västeuropa.

Bland "slavarbetarna" märks många kända intellektuella som fängslats för avvikande politiska uppfattningar.

Bilden ovan är hämtad ur filmen "En dag i Ivan Denisovitjs liv", och har sålunda ingenting med den uppseendeväckande rapporten att göra.

Sid. 3

« 100.000 bagnards travaillent au gazoduc sibérien »

accusent des dissidents. Parmi ceux-là, 10.000 prisonniers politiques

Yvon SAMUEL

C OUP de théâtre à propos du fameux gazoduc sibérien qui sème la discorde entre l'Europe et les Etats-Unis : des dizaines de milliers de prisonniers des goulags soviétiques y travailleraient dans des conditions qui

sont dépeintes comme dramatiques. C'est ce que vient de révéler avec de nombreux détails l'Association Internationale pour les Droits de l'Homme basée à Francfort.

Premiers destinataires de ces révélations : deux des chefs

□□□ Suite page 4



PRESS RELEASE

INTERNATIONAL
SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS Section USA

P.O. Box 2175 • Grand Central Station • New York, N.Y. 10163

TEL. (201) 341-1441

NEW YORK AUGUST 27, 1982

USE OF ELECTRIC SHOCK ON RUSSIAN PEACE MOVEMENT MEMBERS

Well informed sources in Moscow have brought to the attention of the ISHR in Frankfurt/Main, that artist Sergej Batowrin, age 25, who is a leading member of the unofficial Russian Peace Movement was arrested on August 9, 1982 and forceably confined to the Moscow Psychiatric Clinic #14.

Despite the fact that his wife had official permission to visit Sergej Batowrin on Sunday, August 15, 1982, she was denied permission and given no reason. Mrs. Batowrin succeeded in talking to her husband through a window and was told by him at that time that he was being given overdoses of the drug "neuroleitika". This critically affected his blood circulation. He also told her that he was painfully abused with electric shock and because of this he momentarily lost consciousness.

The Soviet Secret Police, K.G.B., are definitely trying with the above-mentioned torture methods, to destroy the Russian Peace Movement, which is in the process of being established. Any peace movement in the West is received with enthusiasm, but their own independent peace movement is called an "anti-Soviet campaign".

One hundred seventy Soviet citizens have signed the declaration of the unofficial Russian Peace Movement which is concerned with disarmament of the Soviet Union. Of the 170, 10 people have been arrested. These include: Oleg Radsinskij, age 23, a philologist, Jelena Wakartschuk, age 30, and Waterij Godjak, age 42.

Mrs. Batowrin is urgently appealing to the entire free world peace movement to support her husband and other leading members of the unofficial peace movement organized by the Russian people.



PRESS RELEASE

INTERNATIONAL
SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS Section USA

P.O. Box 2175 • Grand Central Station • New York, N.Y. 10163

June 29, 1982

FORCED LABOR USED TO BUILD SIBERIAN-EUROPEAN GAS PIPELINE

News has been received from different parts of the USSR that more and more often prisoners are being forced to build the Siberian-European gas pipeline. The total labor force used to build the gas pipeline is estimated to be 100,000. Of these at least 10,000 are concentration camp prisoners. The remaining numbers are made up of people who have been banished to Siberia for religious beliefs or political reasons. Also included are other political prisoners in concentration camps and common criminals taken from jails. Scores of these are women and elderly people.

Among those who are forced to build the pipeline are many well-known people. A few of these include: Semjon Glusman, a psychiatrist who criticized the use of psychiatry for political persecution in the Soviet Union; Sinowi Krassiwski, a writer; Julius Sasnauskas, a Lithuanian architect and human rights fighter; Juri Grimm, another human rights fighter and Wladimir Marmus and Alexander Ussatjuk, both Baptist ministers.

During the past two years numerous new forced labor camps, called gulags, have come into existence along the construction line. In Ustjischim alone 8 new gulags have been established. More have been established along Urengoi, Surgut, Tawda, Tjumen, Irbit and Lyswa. No houses or barracks are provided for these laborers. They are com-

pelled to live in delapidated railroad cars which provide no protection against winter temperatures of minus 22 to 40 degrees fahrenheit (minus 30 to 40 C).

The survival needs of these people are not met. The few stores that are in the camps are all but empty. The only help the laborers receive is from relatives in other parts of USSR in the form of vitally needed food parcels. The loss of teeth and other related diseases are being caused by vitamin deficiencies.

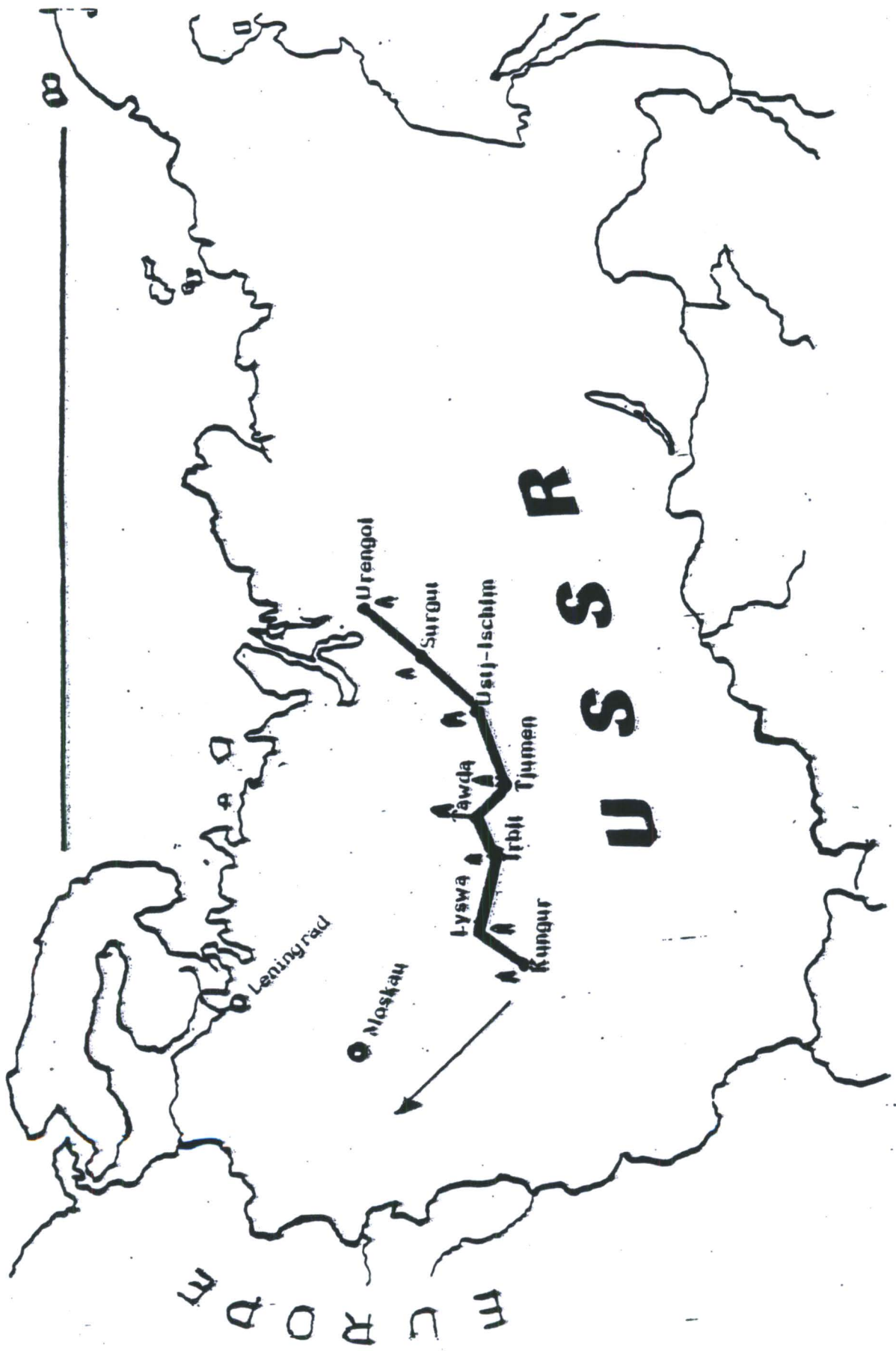
Since very little machinery if any is used to do the heavy earthmoving, the prisoners are forced to do it by hand using wheelbarrows. Accidents are a common occurrence. Women whose job it is to insulate the pipes with asbestos and fiberglass are given gloves only twice a year. It is typical for them to have open blisters and abscesses on their hands that will not heal due to the asbestos and fiberglass. The prisoners who are compelled to work with fiberglass and asbestos are provided no protection, such as masks, from breathing the harmful materials. They are chronic sufferers of lung diseases.

Industries that supply the pipeline are now staffing their workforce with prisoners and people confined to Siberia locations. Even patients in psychiatric hospitals are required to make work-clothes, gloves and crates. Prisoners who are forced to live behind barbed wire are marched to work daily by guards who use specially trained guard dogs.

After the heavy earthmoving preparation for the pipeline is accomplished by the prisoners, the free paid labor called "Komsoml-brigade" are brought in to complete the actual construction. At this point western observers and journalists are allowed to visit the construction site and witness the construction process. The "Komsoml-brigade" became the heroes and no one in the West knows of the countless prisoners who died in the early construction.

The West German engineers who work on the project are completely isolated from the entire work force. In one known case, they are housed in a hotel in Borowskitown where they are under the watchful eyes of the KGB.

A prominent political prisoner was quoted as saying, "When I arrived at the construction site, I was told by the other workers: 'You are the one the Western press has given so much publicity. You are lucky. Some day you will travel the the West, but we must stay here. People live well in the West. Even the unemployed in the West live better than our engineers. We have observed this by seeing the West German workers who are assigned to this project.'"



19

Statement by
Senator William L. Armstrong

August 17, 1982

Today I am sponsoring a resolution calling upon the State Department to investigate charges that forced laborers and many political prisoners are being kept in some 2,000 camps across the Soviet Union to work on the trans-Siberian Yamal gas pipeline, and similar projects. The resolution also calls for investigation of charges that 500,000 Vietnamese workers are being forced to relocate, over the next five years, to the Soviet Union.

This Senate resolution and the profound questions it raises is an appeal to the good conscience of America.

Reports have persisted over the past year in the London Economist, Wall Street Journal and others that workers living in sub-zero temperatures and under unclean, inhumane conditions are and will be providing much of the unskilled labor -- land clearing, equipment moving, etc. -- needed to build projects similar to the 3,600-mile, \$10-14 billion Siberia-to-West Germany pipeline.

Any Western nation considering, or willing to, participate in such a Soviet trade venture should favor a thorough investigation of these unnerving charges. If true, they turn short-term economic benefit from such a deal into complicity with a pipeline holocaust, and make such nations co-conspirators in a massive human rights abuse.

On June 18 the Senate Banking Committee's Subcommittee on International Finance held special oversight hearings on the proposed trans-Siberian natural gas pipeline.

The hearings were the first official response by any government body within the Western alliance to the grave charges that the pipeline is being built with what can only be described as slave labor.

The subcommittee heard three hours of testimony from four witnesses who are with us this morning:

*Mikhail Makarenko, who served more than 11 years in Soviet labor camps, mostly between 1970 and 1978, and who testified on conditions in the camps today. He presented oral, written and documentary film testimony that four to 17 million men, women and children -- arrested mostly for political offenses -- are now engaged in forced labor in the Soviet Union. Mr. Makarenko testified that between 500,000-600,000 prisoners die every year in projects like the Yamal pipeline from starvation, severe cold, disease and hazardous working conditions. Mr. Makarenko said the nutrition provided for these "hard labor" prisoners is often lower than half the amount received by prisoners in the Nazi death camps of Auschwitz and Buchenwald.

*Ms. Le Thi Ahn of the Vietnamese Information Bureau and Mr. Doan Van Toai, author of the Vietnamese Gulag, told the subcommittee that an estimated 500,000 Vietnamese are being sent from so-called "reeducation camps" in Vietnam to do forced labor in the Soviet Union under agreements between the Soviet and Vietnamese regimes. Mr. Toai, a former official of the National Liberation Front, was imprisoned by the North Vietnamese when he refused to go along with their Stalinist policies after the fall

of South Vietnam. Following his release from prison, he wrote his book outlining the result of an arrangement of sending forced labor to the Soviet Union in payment for Vietnam's war debt to the Soviets. Ms. Anh presented letters from relatives of Vietnamese now held in Soviet labor camps. She brings with her today an actual letter from one of the internees, which she obtained through Vietnamese sources in a third country. According to Ms. Ahn and Mr. Toai, many of these prisoners are political refugees -- the tragic "boat people" of Vietnam who were picked up at sea by Soviet naval and merchant ships and routinely interned in the Soviet Union. We will have more to say on this subject later this morning.

*Our last witness, also present here, is Mr. Zdislaw Rurarz, the former Polish ambassador to Japan. He is an internationally known economist -- holder of a Ph.D. and two post doctoral degrees from the Central School for Planning and Statistics in Warsaw. Prior to assuming his ambassadorial post, he served as economic advisor to the Chief of the Polish Communist Party, as Poland's permanent representative to the general agreement on tariff and trade negotiations, and as the economic attache to the Polish Embassy here in Washington.

Dr. Rurarz testified as an economist and as a former high Communist official that the Yamal pipeline must -- like all major construction projects undertaken in the Soviet Union -- necessarily be built with conscript labor. Dr. Rurarz cited economic evidence strongly suggesting that without the additional billions of dollars in hard currency which the Soviets expect to earn from the pipeline deal, the entire Soviet system -- including its network of concentration camps -- could be paralyzed.

Since the June 18 hearings a number of significant developments have

occurred: Just a few hours after the Senate hearings President Reagan announced imposition of his long-considered sanctions against the Yamal pipeline project. In the weeks following that announcement, a number of European leaders criticized the Reagan sanctions and announced their intention to go forward regardless with the pipeline construction and the 7 1/2 percent low interest credits designed to insure its completion. And two weeks ago, the International Sakharov Committee appealed to French and German leaders -- according to a UPI wire report -- to investigate the use of forced labor on the Yamal pipeline. The Committee stated that a number of well-known Soviet dissidents have been arrested and sent to Siberia for forced labor on the pipeline.

I note with consternation the response of members of the European Common Market. It is ironic that the very countries so persecuted and enslaved in World Wars I and II look the other way from similar human rights abuse aspects of an otherwise lucrative business deal. Surely the atrocities of the 1930s and '40s will not be forgotten in a moment of financial temptation.

It is to this mounting evidence of continuing and widespread disregard for the Helsinki human rights accords by the Soviet authorities that we address ourselves today, and I fervently hope that finally, overdue attention and support will come also from officials of Western European governments.

I have here a letter, obtained through the assistance of the Vietnamese Information Bureau, and written by a Vietnamese prisoner now working in the Soviet Union. To protect the author of this account of a day in the life of modern Soviet political prisoners from certain reprisal or execution, we will withhold the name of the individual and the location of the forced

labor battallion.

I would, however, like to read an excerpt of the letter which I believe will give an accurate picture of what a project like this pipeline will cost in human terms in the Soviet Union:

"...It is already two months since I last heard from my family in Vietnam -- I do not know what the future has in store for me in this place...Here I speak a "pidgin" Russian, because I learn it in the workplace, moreover, I am being tightly controlled, all around me are the bo dor, the North Vietnamese soldiers. The unit is composed mostly of northerners, there are not much contacts. Everything has to go through the cadres. That's the rule...I am resigned to this fate for a few years (three to five years)...The pay is very low, and living conditions in this infamous area are very cruel, very harsh. I can summarize it in one sentence: my life here is several times poorer and harsher than in Vietnam. Add to this, homesickness, cut off from friends...I take it for granted that my life is finished...The life of exiles like you and me, what does the future have in store for us, and for our country? The more I think about it, the more I see it clouded in uncertainty and difficulties...I sure think about some way to get out of here...I have considered a lot of routes, running from one place to another...I feel even more that our life is like that of wandering animals, drifting in sadness, despair and worries...I am extremely disillusioned by the word socialism!...Can you spare some money? Can you send me a few clothes? I tell you truly, I have just two sets of clothes and two pairs of shoes and one woolen sweater and one nylon coat and one fur hat. Just that to get me through winter..."

I would not ask the press to accept this single account alone as evidence of massive human rights abuses. That is why I have asked these four individuals, each with a unique perspective, to return and join us here today. I hope that after this meeting you will ask them the kind of tough questions that the letter we have just read raises. I also hope that you will ask the same kind of tough questions of both the Soviet representatives here in Washington, and also of the representatives of the French, British, German and Italian governments as well.

Given the evidence thus far presented and the charges of mass terror and forced labor, it is the feeling of many here in the Senate that the Soviets should be prepared to cooperate in a full and complete investigation by the Red Cross or some other independent international commission. Western nations, too, should be willing -- in fact, anxious -- to have these grave allegations thoroughly aired.

That is why I am asking the Senate to direct the State Department to investigate the extent to which forced labor is or will be employed in construction of the Yamal pipeline, and report back to the Senate within 30 days on preliminary findings, with a final report due January 1, 1983. My resolution will also remind federal agencies to abide by existing U.S. law and treaties respecting importations of goods produced with slave labor. I also note that the governments of the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Italy are parties to the treaties to which I refer.

I also have written to President Reagan this morning advising him of this proposal to be considered by the Senate.

Some months ago we began looking into this question of Soviet forced

labor camps involved in the Yamal pipeline, which has been called the largest East-West trade measure in history. Evidence we have encountered clearly points to a modern day slave trade which rivals in scale, scope, and suffering the Nazi concentration camps of forty years ago.

There are many today -- both in Europe and in our own country -- who would rather not discuss or even think about the character of the regime with which they so earnestly wish to trade.

But I for one feel -- and I'm sure that the representatives of the Polish, Vietnamese and Russian people, with us in this room right now would agree -- that we, the free peoples of the West, must consider the moral consequences of our own actions.

In pressing the claims of these silent millions before the court of world opinion, I believe we can find a worthy model in the great American abolitionist William Loyd Garrison who -- in answer to critics of his own outspoken campaign against human enslavement said: "I am in earnest -- I will not equivocate -- I will not excuse -- I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard."

submitted the following resolution; which was

RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the Senate with respect to human rights violations
in connection with the construction of the trans-Siberian pipeline.

Whereas the Soviet Union is proceeding with its plan to build the
trans-Siberian pipeline, known as the Yamal Pipeline;

Whereas there is Senate testimony that massive use of forced labor
may be used by the Soviet Union to complete its construction;

Whereas there are first-hand dissident reports that there are four
to seventeen million Soviet citizens now being held in some
2,000 work camps in the Soviet Union and that there are persis-
tent published reports of agreements to deport forcibly up to
a half-million laborers from Vietnam to Soviet Union concentration
camps in direct violation of international agreements;

Whereas the Vietnamese Government under the 1973 Paris Peace Agreements
which were signed by former Secretary of State Rogers and North
Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh guaranteed freedom
of residence and freedom of work;

Whereas there is concern that political prisoners from Poland and
other Soviet satellite countries may also be forced to work
on the Yamal Pipeline;

Whereas there have been estimates by Soviet dissidents of enormous loss of lives of workers forced to do the heavy, dirty, dangerous work in Soviet labor camps under sub-human conditions;

Whereas if allegations of forced labor prove to be true, the participation of the West in furnishing either technology or financing to make the construction of the pipeline possible is tantamount to unwitting collaboration by the West in one of the most massive abuses of human rights in history;

Whereas the United States stands, as it has always stood, in the forefront of the struggle for freedom and dignity of every human being: Now, therefore, be it

1 Resolved, it is the sense of the Senate that --

2 (1) the Secretary of State should --

3 (A) investigate the extent to which forced labor
4 will be employed and human rights violated in the
5 construction of the trans-Siberian pipeline and to
6 cooperate with other Western nations which also seek
7 to investigate such violations; and

8 (B) report back to the Congress within 30 days
9 with his preliminary findings and with a final report
10 by January 1, 1983;

11 (2) the heads of the appropriate Federal agencies should
12 take the steps necessary to assure that the United States is
13 abiding by existing treaties respecting the importation of
14 goods produced with slave labor.

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, *Publisher 1896-1935*
 ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, *Publisher 1935-1961*
 ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, *Publisher 1961-1963*

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, *Publisher*
 A. M. ROSENTHAL, *Executive Editor*
 SEYMOUR TOPPING, *Managing Editor*
 ARTHUR GELB, *Deputy Managing Editor*
 JAMES L. GREENFIELD, *Assistant Managing Editor*
 LOUIS SILVERSTEIN, *Assistant Managing Editor*
 MAX FRANKEL, *Editorial Page Editor*
 JACK ROSENTHAL, *Deputy Editorial Page Editor*
 CHARLOTTE CURTIS, *Associate Editor*
 TOM WICKER, *Associate Editor*
 JOHN D. POMFRET, *Exec. V.P., General Manager*
 DONALD A. NIZEN, *Sr. V.P., Consumer Markets*
 LANCE R. PRIMIS, *Sr. V.P., Advertising*
 J. A. RIGGS JR., *Sr. V.P., Operations*
 JOHN M. O'BRIEN, *V.P., Controller*
 ELISE J. ROSS, *V.P., Systems*

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1982

Letters

Forced to Work on the Siberian Pipeline

To the Editor:

I welcome the United States Government's outspoken opposition to the Siberian natural gas pipeline. The reasons, as I understand them, are politics, finance and defense.

But there are other, for me far more important reasons to denounce the project: construction of the pipeline means the destruction of all standards of morality and humanitarianism.

I spent 15 years of my life in a Soviet gulag. During that time, I saw many, many people in locations all over the Soviet Union who were being forced to work as virtual slaves in hard-labor camps. For almost the entire term of my imprisonment, I was one of them. I can testify to the horrible violations of human rights that are occurring daily in order to construct the pipeline.

And I have received reports from various points in the Soviet Union that more and more prisoners sentenced to hard labor are being used to construct the pipeline. Their number is now estimated at 100,000, many of them sentenced for political or religious activities.

During the past two years, a great number of new hard-labor camps have been set up along the route of the pipeline. In Usty-Ischim alone, there are eight. Others are in Urengoi, Surgut, Tavda and Tyumen, Irbit and Lysva. Prisoners are housed in

wagons that offer no real protection from the elements. Winter temperatures can be as low as minus 40 degrees Fahrenheit.

The engineers who have been brought in from West Germany have no contact with the workers. In Borovskii, for example, the skilled German personnel are housed in a hotel and are under constant K.G.B. watch. Western journalists are allowed to observe construction only after the initial hard labor (such as excavation work) is completed.

Following is an excerpt from a letter I received from the parents of a Russian woman imprisoned for illegally printing Bibles:

"Our daughter has seven remaining months until the completion of her sentence. You can well imagine how terrible the conditions in prison are for her, and her health has been greatly affected.

"She spent many months in a penitentiary and now is in a prison camp which is the worst of the camps for women in the Soviet Union. It is not possible to describe it in writing. One must see it with one's own eyes.

"The camp is located in the Taiga, far from any human settlements, and it is in a state of total disrepair. Built to hold 600 prisoners, it now holds 250,000.

"Indescribable filth reigns over the

camp. There are millions of lice and other bugs. The camp does not have its own water supply, and there is always a serious shortage. The prisoners receive only a bucket of water a week.

"The food rations are so small as to barely keep the women from dying of hunger. The daily workload is immense. There are three shifts, and the women must also work at night. The climate is very cruel: terrible storms and other horrible weather. This is only a short summary of the conditions under which our daughter must now live. . ."

By supporting the pipeline, European governments also support a total disregard of all standards of human rights and, in effect, abet the virtual enslavement of many innocent people for political and economic reasons.

It is my hope that these massive violations of human rights are widely exposed. This is a matter of greatest moral concern, a matter that must be acted upon now. The Soviet Union's greatest fear is that its action will be known in the West.

YURI BELCV
 Frankfurt, July 23, 1982

The writer heads a working committee for civil rights activists and political prisoners in the Soviet Union that is part of the Internationale Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte (International Society for Human Rights).

these spirits from the Mideast's vasty deep. But no one came when he did call for them.

It was a frustrating time. The headline writers turned happily to the verb "defy," which fits nicely in a one-column head: "France Defies Reagan Demand." England defied. Even Italy defied. On the day after the president's speech, the Israeli Cabinet ganged up in a bristling statement of rejection: "There shall be no settlement freeze. We shall continue to establish them

Asbury Park Press
Thurs., Sept. 16, 1982

Slave labor building the pipeline

SECRET INTELLIGENCE reports portray an awesome human epic now unfolding in Siberia. A long, lonely stream of slave laborers — tens of thousands of faceless men, existing on starches and water — are working from dawn to dusk, laying the Siberian pipeline.

The reports describe the anonymous workers as Soviet prisoners sentenced to forced labor and Vietnamese "volunteers" shipped to Siberia to help pay off Vietnam's debts. They reportedly are working under grim conditions for bare subsistence.

Our European allies are supplying vital equipment for the pipeline construction, which makes them indirect partners in this massive crime against human rights.

Of course, the Kremlin doesn't permit the Moscow Evening News to film the brutal conditions for all the world to see. So hard proof is lacking to bring formal charges against the Soviet taskmasters.

But letters from the Vietnamese laborers, postmarked in the Soviet Union, have reached the outside world. Our intelligence agencies have also put together other jigsaw pieces which form an appalling portrait of human exploitation.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT has been the most cautious about accepting the intelligence findings. Its Bureau of Intelligence and Research published a classified summary a few months ago citing reports — with no conclusions — that the Soviets are using slave labor to construct the controversial pipeline.

been initialed for their closing session. On the Thursday morning after the Wednesday night speech, it might have been better if such Arab monarchs as Hussein and Fahd had been primed to answer their interviewers with agreeable reactions. Mr. Reagan was cast in the embarrassing role of a leader without a following.

The twin setbacks may be more apparent than real. In the matter of the pipeline, it was said that the president had offended the French, but the French are a very offensive people. What have they done for us lately? In any list of a president's 100 most worrisome concerns, offending the French would rank in the 90s. This, too,

Jack Anderson

But the Human Rights Bureau, insiders say, is convinced of the terrible truth. Pentagon intelligence experts also believe the evidence is compelling.

Intelligence sources told my associate Lucette Lagnado that the Russians don't even hide the fact that Vietnamese "volunteers" are working in the Soviet Union. The precise number could be as high as 100,000.

The sources insist, however, that the youths are not volunteers at all, but are sent to Siberia against their will to work in the harsh environment. According to one report, many are children of families that opposed the Viet Cong during the war.

Sen. William Armstrong, R-Colo., has received several letters from Vietnamese emigres who have heard from relatives about the victimization of the laborers. Some letters have actually slipped through the Iron Curtain.

"It is already two months since I last heard from my family in Vietnam," wrote one desolate captive. "I do not know what the future has in store for me ... I am being tightly controlled ... The pay is very low and living conditions in this infamous area are cruel ... My life here is several times poorer and harsher than in Vietnam."

He tells of dreaming vainly of ways to escape and closes with this poignant plea:

My first thought, in both instances, was that Mr. Reagan was playing poor poker. He had no useful hole card against France and England, and he had no politically realistic hole card against Israel. This is not when one calls. On second thought, with the expulsion of the PLO from Lebanon, Mr. Reagan may have caught one of those tides in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune. I seem to be full of Shakespeare today, but old Bill was a fellow whose works a president could read with profit.

James J. Kilpatrick is a nationally syndicated writer whose column from Washington appears three times weekly.

"Can you spare some money? Can you send me a few clothes? I tell you truly, I have just two sets of clothes and two pairs of shoes and one woolen sweater and one nylon coat and one fur hat. Just that to get me through the winter."

THOSE WERE THE DAYS — Now that the fighting in Beirut has died down, authorities are fondly recalling the friendly arrangement that existed between Israel and Lebanon before the civil war erupted in 1975.

Until then, a top secret CIA document records, there was an "unwritten agreement" between military forces facing each other on the border to deliberately fire off-target when Israeli patrols penetrated Lebanon to raid PLO nests.

Said the report: "The Lebanese reaction to Israeli patrols (was) normally limited to two rounds of artillery fire deliberately intended to miss a target by about 500 meters. If the rounds (came) too close, the Israelis return(ed) the fire — also deliberately inaccurate — as a 'reminder.'"

According to the report, this agreement allowed Lebanon to "maintain the politically expedient fiction that it (was) reacting to the Israeli incursion."

The arrangement to avoid a confrontation was worked out during discussions periodically held at a border village between Lebanese and Israeli officials.

Jack Anderson is a Washington-based syndicated columnist.

by Garry Trudeau

Many of the reforms Musto spoiled were structural, such as its proposals led to enactment of the optional co government charter law. But the commission also has been credited with much the clean water legislation now on books. It has produced more than 20 ports related to county and local government operations.

The commission, though penniless at the start of the fiscal year, reorganized last week. Senate President Carmen Orechio, D-Essex, was elected chair and Doris Dealaman, a Republican in holder in Somerset County, was re-elected vice chairman. Samuel A. Alito, executive director of the Office of Legislative Services, was renamed secretary, a post he held since the commission was set up.

Orechio has lined up 18 co-sponsors a resolution that would provide a supplemental appropriation to keep the commission going as before. Alito noted only a repeal of the law that permanent established the commission could end its existence. The governor's veto of its appropriation "just means we're a commission without any money," he said.

THOUGH THERE WAS some jealousy among legislators over the publicity Musto got out of the commission, and thus some satisfaction over its difficulties, the commission's supporters seem confident that Orechio's resolution will be approved and that Kean will go along with the new chairman. Eugene J. Schneider, the commission's executive director, has been kept on as a temporary Legislative Services employee in anticipation of a return to business as usual.

Kean made a number of line-item vetoes "to bring the budget into balance and create an adequate surplus."

He cut \$435,000 from the Legislature's total budget, reducing it to \$19,645,464. Besides deleting funds for the County and Municipal Government Study Commission, he vetoed a \$250,000 appropriation for a proposed legislative Commission on Economy, Efficiency and Productivity in Government and a \$35,000 budget item for a commission on the proposed sale of state land.

THE IDEA FOR creating a commission on economy, efficiency, and productivity and giving it \$250,000 to work with came out of the Legislature's appropriations committee. As a result of Kean's veto, the proposed commission may be the first in the history of government that ever



PRESS RELEASE

INTERNATIONAL
SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS Section USA

P.O. Box 2175 • Grand Central Station • New York, N.Y. 10163

TEL. (201) 341-1441

NEW YORK AUGUST 27, 1982

USE OF ELECTRIC SHOCK ON RUSSIAN PEACE MOVEMENT MEMBERS

Well informed sources in Moscow have brought to the attention of the ISHR in Frankfurt/Main, that artist Sergej Batowrin, age 25, who is a leading member of the unofficial Russian Peace Movement was arrested on August 9, 1982 and forceably confined to the Moscow Psychiatric Clinic #14.

Despite the fact that his wife had official permission to visit Sergej Batowrin on Sunday, August 15, 1982, she was denied permission and given no reason. Mrs. Batowrin succeeded in talking to her husband through a window and was told by him at that time that he was being given overdoses of the drug "neuroleitika". This critically affected his blood circulation. He also told her that he was painfully abused with electric shock and because of this he momentarily lost consciousness.

The Soviet Secret Police, K.G.B., are definitely trying with the above-mentioned torture methods, to destroy the Russian Peace Movement, which is in the process of being established. Any peace movement in the West is received with enthusiasm, but their own independent peace movement is called an "anti-Soviet campaign".

One hundred seventy Soviet citizens have signed the declaration of the unofficial Russian Peace Movement which is concerned with disarmament of the Soviet Union. Of the 170, 10 people have been arrested. These include: Oleg Radsinskij, age 23, a philologist, Jelena Wakartschuk, age 30, and Walerij Godjak, age 42.

Mrs. Batowrin is urgently appealing to the entire free world peace movement to support her husband and other leading members of the unofficial peace movement organized by the Russian people.

filed 9/82

FILE - 1
PIPELINE 29

THE USE OF FORCED LABOR
IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF GAS PIPELINES SIBERIA-EUROPE
DOCUMENTATION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Map: The Route of the Gas Pipelines Siberia-Europe
Introductory Remarks, Dr. Reinhard Gnauck
Excerpt from the Soviet Constitution of 1977
Not for the First Time - Yurij Below
Excerpt from a Verdict - The Nuremberg Trial
Legal and Historical Commentary, Prof. Wosslenky
Explanation of Definitions
Selected Testimonies from the West
Peter Bergmann
Auraham Shifrin
Machmet Kulmagambetow
Einar Kopm
Georgij Davidov
Boris Weil
Julia Vosnessenskaya

Description of the Camp JAZ-34/2 in Tjumen

Selected Testimonies from the Soviet Union

A. P., Moscow

P. S., Moscow

I. P., Tjumen

Additional Literature

An Open Letter to the Federal Chancellor

Press Review

Action of the International Society for Human Rights

in Behalf of the "Poorest of the Poors"

What is the Society for Human Rights?

21

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In the last couple of months we have received information from the Soviet Union, through correspondence and by telephone, that prisoners, in great numbers, in the construction of the gas pipelines Siberia-Europe as cheap slave-labor are employed. Among them champions of human rights, prisoners of conscience, religious offenders and also women.

As it happened at previous construction projects in the Soviet Union, conditions at the construction sites of the gas pipelines Siberia-Europe are inhuman. Bad food, insufficient clothing and housing, inadequate medical care and work projection, cruel penalties when norms are not met characterize the situation.

With their information these slave-laborers want to alert us and at the same time they call for help.

For this reason the International Society for Human Rights published on June 23, 1982, a press bulletin and an open letter to the Federal Chancellor, Schmidt, requesting a stop of the project based on moral and humanitarian grounds. The echo was surprising. The International Society for Human Rights received, almost exclusively, support from the people. And there is new information and evidence. Yet, while the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs is still trying to verify our information, the Federal Chancellor hastened to assure our concerned citizens that this information "is not correct."

The official Soviet news agency TASS went on August 8, 1982, even further calling our information "dirty lies."

28 4

In order to enable every reader to form his or her own opinion, the International Society for Human Rights presents this documentation. To the governments of Western Europe we propose that they create an international commission of trade unions to examine working conditions in the construction of the gas pipelines in Siberia. Such an examination ought to be in the best interest of the Soviet Government too.

We hope that our documentation will contribute to a new critical evaluation of the natural gas project.

Can we become accessories to the exploitation of slave laborers?

Forced labor of concentration-camp prisoners was not only defined and rendered punishable as a crime against humanity at the trials of war criminals in Nuremberg, but it is condemned every year as real slavery by the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations.

We would like to ask all people to show their sympathy with the victims of human rights violations by sending packages to the exiled, prisoners, or their relatives. We will help you in your efforts.

Signed, Dr. Med. Reinhard Gnauck,
Chairman,
Frankfurt/M. 8-16-1982

NOT FOR THE FIRST TIME . . .

Since its foundation, forced labor has been in existence in the Soviet Union.

Lenin saw in forced labor the best means to educate the "new man." Through forced labor the Party hoped to generate a collective consciousness in the people. The founders of the Soviet Union valued people exclusively for their utility for society. Thus, the working man became a work-tool.

The first forced laborers in the Soviet Union were intellectuals and Russian Orthodox priests in the Solovetzkiy Islands at the White Sea in 1918.

In later years millions were sent to criminal camps for various crimes. The indictments were, in the vast majority of cases, faked in order to generate cheap labor.

During the 30 years of Stalin's rule, hundreds of factories, canals, streets and even entire cities were built by the hands of forced laborers. All these were officially called "Great Constructions of Communism." Among the "Great Constructions of Communism" are the White Sea-East Sea Canal, the Hydroelectric Plant of Dnepr, the Baihal-Amur Power Plant and Railroad, the Moskau Metro, the Volga-Don Canal and enormous steel plants in the Ural and Kasakhstau.

Until the revelations of Khrushchev in 1956, millions of forced laborers died in concentration camps. Yet, while under Stalin only prisoners were sent to forced-labor camps, Khrushchev introduced a new form of forced labor. Since 1956,

6
30

people can be forced to work on forced-labor project without having been sentenced by a court for the commission of a special crime. People are also sent to forced-labor camps by single administrative orders.

The tragedy of millions of forced laborers consists of the fact that they are denied basic human rights, that they must live under inhuman conditions, that they are isolated from their relatives, that they do not receive enough food, and that they suffer from totally inadequate medical care.

The attention should not only focus on political prisoners but without exception on all forced laborers, for each person has a right to be treated as a human being.

These conditions not only damage the forced laborers but also mankind, which is imperiled by the possibility of getting used to these terrible facts. And this means a danger to our civilization.

Signed, Yuriy Below
Head of the Working Committee
on the S. U. of the
International Society for
Human Rights
Frankfurt/M., 8-16-1982

/ 31

EXCERPT FROM A VERDICT
OF THE NUREMBERG TRIALS 1946

As far as the crime against humanity is concerned, there is no doubt that political opponents of Germany, prior to the outbreak of the war, were murdered and that many of them were held in concentration camps under the most terrible and gruesome conditions. This politics of intimidation was for sure carried out and was in many cases organized and well thought out.

8
32

STATE-SLAVES IN THE SOVIET UNION,
A LEGAL AND HISTORICAL COMMENTARY
Prof. Michael Vosslesky, Munich

The usual pathetic Soviet phrase states that the Soviet State was born with the word "peace" on its lips.

This lip service was quickly followed by another one: forced labor. Already two months after the October revolution, a decree on "prison work troops" was drafted and promulgated by the People's Kommissariat for Justice on January 18, 1918.

In September 1918 the first concentration camps, work colonies and work homes were created as a part of the Red Terror. In early 1919, the Bolshevik Party published its program which, among other items, contained the principles of criminal law enforcement in the Soviet State. Instead of prisons, the principles favored corrective labor facilities as the normal form of deprivation of liberty with the objective "to engage the condemned persons in productive work for the society."

In 1920 Trotsky laid the groundwork for the theoretical justification of forced labor in a socialist society. Trotsky called for the "militarization of work" and for the formation of "work armies."

After Stalin's ascendancy to power, concentration camps became the major places of forced labor. A decree on the Criminal Politics and the Condition of Prisons of March 1929 created new work colonies in the Soviet Union. Another decree of the Central Executive Committee of the Council of People's

Commisars of the Soviet Union, on November 6, 1929, listed as prisons corrective labor camps in densely populated areas of the Soviet Union, as well as corrective labor colonies for convicted persons up to three years.

In the course of the "liquidation of landlords as a class," these labor camps received new functions. In a decree published on April 7, 1930, the Communists claimed that in contrast to "the capitalist concentration camps," the corrective labor camps "are not facilities designed to exterminate class opponents."

Since this was written three years before Hitler's ascendancy to power, when not a single concentration camp was in existence in Nazi Germany, this statement is clearly indicative of Stalin's state of mind at that time. Beginning with 1930, these camps in fact became extermination camps. Under Khrushchev between five and six million victims of the GULAG system were rehabilitated post mortem. Yet these were only a part of those exterminated by Stalin. In a conversation with Khrushchev, Stalin claimed that in various camps five million landlords were murdered. Thus, the number of the murdered reached over 10 million, which clearly exceeds the number of those killed in Nazi concentration camps. Though the method of extermination was different. In Stalin's camps people were murdered by starvation, hard labor and cold temperature.

The Soviet prison system was made more human after the 20th Party Congress. The word "camp" was substituted with the word "colony." GULAG (Main Department of the Ministry of the

10
34

Soviet Union to Administer the Camps) was renamed to GUITU (Main Department of Organs of Corrective Labor), and the number of detainees decreased. The number began to increase again at the beginning of the 1970s.

Yet the principles of criminal law enforcement remained the same. Prisoners are forced to participate in slave labor. Their number is still terrifyingly high. In Soviet cities there are as many prisons as in the West. Yet only 0.3% of the convicted persons were to be found in city prisons in 1971. Consequently, the rest of the prisoners must be detained in labor camps. This way millions of convicted persons are prisoners in concentration camps. They build a separate class of Soviet society: the class of state slaves. In a lecture at the second World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies (Garmisch-Partenkirchen) September 30 through October 4, 1980, I previously described the existence of this class of Soviet society.

The constitution of the Soviet Union devotes not a single word to them. Yet perhaps Article 60 can be interpreted as a vague reference to them when it states that: "The refusal to render socially valuable work is irreconcilable with the principles of the socialist society."

But other official Soviet sources, such as "The Principles of the Corrective Labor Legislation of the Soviet Union and the Union Republics, the Criminal Codes of the Union Republics of the Soviet Union" and a commentary entitled "The Soviet Corrective Labor Law," provide an insight into the situation of this class of people without legal rights.

1/
35

Most of the Soviet forced laborers are in Corrective Labor Colonies and (juveniles) in Education Labor Colonies. There are also forced laborers who are not considered prisoners. They live in exile under the supervision of the local administrative agencies. They cannot leave the place of their exile and must work as forced laborers. Otherwise, they are free. Since this category of forced laborers originally worked in the construction of chemical facilities, they are called in the slang of the prisoners "the chemists." In Russian they are called "Seka," which is an abbreviated form of the word Saklutschonnyj (the locked-ups).

Finally, there is the last category of those who work as forced laborers without even being exiled. In most of the cases, they work in the factories in which they hold jobs. They are considered as convicts. Their salary is subject to a specified reduction which is returned to the state. That is the most shameless form of forced labor. [A comment of the interpreter: The constitution states that work is the most sacred right and duty of every citizen. How this sacred right and duty can be turned into punishment is beyond the comprehension of a sound-minded person.] A variation of this forced labor is the "15-day detention" for "Rowdytum." Those convicted for this particular crime are forced to work as apprentices, etc. This group of forced laborers build a social and psychological bridge between the "free" slaves of the Soviet society and the state slaves.

The Labor Colonies vary according to their regime. There are four regimes: (1) The general, (2) the enforced, (3) the

strong, and (4) the special regime. In addition, there are five "community colonies" for persons who committed negligent crimes and six community colonies for those who "are on the way of progress." In prisons there are two regimes: the general and the strong.

Soviet law enforcement is not limited to deprivation of liberty. The most important principle of Soviet law enforcement is the maximum exploitation of the forced laborer. So was it in Stalin's GULAG; so is it today with GUITU. The second most important principle of Soviet law enforcement has admittedly changed. Under Stalin (since 1930), it was the annihilation and exploitation of the forced laborer. The objective was to inflict "suffering and hardship" as a "punishment." The commentary of the Lomonosov University to the Soviet Corrective Labor Law states that "without hardship and suffering, that means without punishment, criminal penalty is inconceivable."

Although Soviet law forbids "the imposition of unnecessary and by its objective unjustifiable suffering as a punishment," the limits of this prohibition have always been very vague.

In short, Stalin's camps accomplished the annihilation of the condemned. Today's camps impose tortures on the prisoners. The main method of torture is the most intensive exploitation of workers' abilities. The prisoners are obligated to work 48 hours a week. Non-prisoners work only 41 hours. Prisoners have no vacation, even if they are sentenced to 15 or 25 years or prison. They can only rest on Sundays. Yet even on Sundays,

10
37

the camp management can order the prisoners to work. The years of forced labor do not count as years of employment. Consequently, these years are not taken into account when eligibility for retirement is considered. And if a prisoner becomes invalid (crippled), as a result of the inhuman treatment in the camp, he has no right to any benefit after his release.

The disability of prisoners is not recognized at all. Article 27 of the Corrective Labor Legislation states: "Every convicted person must work." Pursuant to this provision, even disabled (crippled and invalid) persons are forced to work. They also work 48 hours and are not entitled to any vacation. The age of the prisoner is in no way taken into consideration. And the management is not obligated to take into account the qualifications of the prisoners.

Everything depends on the regime of the colony. The Principles explicitly state that the prisoner must be used at particularly hard labor in the colonies with special regimes.

But this provision applies equally to other regimes. The Soviet daily "Khasachstanskaja Pravda" wrote: "In general, the prisoners do hard labor. Also the norms that the prisoners must fulfill are very high. Yet here no changes can be made. A colony is no vacationing resort. It is a penal facility. Here one must work and work with the sweat of his own face."

How much does this work cost the Soviet state? Almost nothing.

17
38

The management deducts from the salaries of the hard-working prisoners: (1) For the salaries and other expenses of the staff, (2) board and lodging of the prisoner.

There are no further expenses for the state. Consequently, the prisoners themselves finance their own slavery. After paying for everything, the prisoners are guaranteed 10% of their earnings. Even this amount can be denied if the plan was not fulfilled or the prisoners violated prison regulations. In both cases, the prisoner receives no salary at all. In addition, the management of the colony can order the prisoners to take care of the premises and the adjacent land.

Mistreatment and annihilation of prisoners under Stalin was described above. The Soviet prison system exposes the prisoners to permanent mistreatment. This mistreatment is not the result of bureaucratic subjectivism. No, it is demanded by law. The main requirement of the colony regimes is, according to Soviet law, "the unconditional isolation of the convicted person and his permanent supervision." Prisoners wear prisoner uniforms. They can be searched; their correspondence is censored and packages are opened. They cannot carry money or other valuables. Violations of these restrictions trigger immediate penalties.

According to data released by the World Health Organization, persons performing physical work need 3100 to 3900 calories per day. The so-called "normal" ratio No. 1 in the colony with strong regime is 2500 calories. Ratio No. 9a (so-called penal ratio) contains 2100 calories. Ratio 9b (the regime of reduced food) has 1400 calories on the first day and only 900

15
39

calories on the second day. Thus, a prisoner receives an average of 1500 calories -- only 30% of the necessary intake of calories. These numbers attest to the permanent torture of the prisoners through hunger. It also demonstrates the hopelessness of their situation. With the hunger ratio No. 1 they cannot fulfill the plan in the long run. As a result, they will be punished with lower ratios, which in turn reduce their potential to perform adequately. This way the prisoners are turned into animals. Under Stalin it was common knowledge that cannibalism was prevalent in the camps. A. Martschenko claims in his book "My Testimony" that such cases are not rare even today.

In this commentary we limited ourselves to official Soviet sources. Although the reality is more horrifying than the official presentations are, even these official sources demonstrate the tragedy of the situation.

A person cannot always choose his neighbors and the structure of the so-called "real socialism" is as it is. But this does not mean that the West should participate in the exploitation of the state slaves in the East. Such a participation can inflict, above all, political and moral damage on the West itself.

16
40

EXPLANATION OF DEFINITIONS

Forced laborers in the Soviet Union can be grouped as the following:

(1) Exiled convicts: Many prisoners must spend additional time in exile after serving their sentences. Others are sent directly by the courts into exile without serving any time in prison prior to that. The convicted persons can move freely within their place of exile. They cannot leave their place of exile without the permission of the command center, and they are locked in for the night. During the day prisoners and their activities are tightly controlled by the command center.

(2) Prisoners: Convicted persons who are imprisoned either directly in a camp in which their workplace is located or who are imprisoned elsewhere and are escorted to a certain factory or other work facility.

(3a) Conditionally Released Prisoners: This category of prisoners is not required to live in a camp or colony while they are taken to perform forced labor. Of course, these prisoners are supervised by the command center of their workplace. They are forbidden to leave the area in which they are employed. As a rule, they work in the spring and summer months. They are called "chemists." The months they spend on forced labor are not considered as time spent in prison.

(3b) Persons sent to work on the Building Grounds of the National Economy without a court decision. These persons are committed to forced labor pursuant to decisions handed down by various administrative organs and agencies.

1 /
41

SELECTED TESTIMONIES FROM THE WEST

Peter Bergmann, age 62, retired, between 1974 and 1977 in criminal camp for attempting to obtain a passport. Since 7-2-1980 he resides in the Federal Republic of Germany. Address: Eutiner Strasse 14, 4800 Bielefeld 17.

"I was in the criminal camp JAZ 34/2 in Tjumen. I heard from many fellow prisoners that there are many more camps along the gas pipelines. I cannot recall the addresses of those camps, but I remember that they are in the Tundra and the Taiga. The prisoners are brought to the camps handcuffed, by planes and helicopters. Many work in the construction of the railroad which is built between Surgut and the Northern territories and in the construction of the gas pipelines.

The prisoners do the most dangerous and hard work along the entire construction site of the pipelines. They clear the way through the Taiga for the pipelines, build streets and bridges - also cabins and camp facilities.

In areas where foreign specialists work, no prisoner can be found. They were transferred to areas where foreigners do not work. Only conditionally released prisoners and volunteer Komsomol brigades are employed with foreigners.

These conditionally released prisoners, or "chemists" as they are called in prisoners' slang, are basically season workers and will be returned in autumn to their camps.

The months which they spend working as forced laborers are not counted. Thus, they spend twice as much time in prison as their verdicts call for.

92

From our camp prisoners were sent to various towns which are situated along the gas pipeline route. These towns are: Surgut, Urengo~~j~~, Salechard and even the peninsula of Jama~~l~~. On the peninsula there are many camps, mainly with strong regime.

The conditionally released prisoners live in cabins. There are two or more persons in a cabin. The cabins are not equipped with flowing water. Water can only be found in the towns. The prisoners receive I.D. cards and pay for their board and lodging. They are permanently supervised by the commando center and are forbidden to leave the area without permission. In addition, they must return to their cabins by 10:00 p.m.

The hard labor and the insufficient food ratios lead to illnesses and physical deterioration. A prisoner cannot visit a physician without the permission of the supervisor. If the prisoner does not fulfill his norm, he will be punished.

Bielefeld, August 1982

17
43

Einar Komp, age 50, computer technician, former political prisoner (1969-1979).

Address: 64 lag 923 17163 Solua, Sweden.

There are forced laborers employed in the construction of the gas pipelines of Siberia-Europe. I personally know about JUS-34/22 (Camp Center Vorkutiuskij Lagerhij Komplex) and WS 389 (Camp Center Pernsluk Komplex).

I object to the gas business and propose that the governments of Western Europe must demand that the Soviet Government explain the use of prisoners in the construction of the gas pipeline.

Sweden, August 1982

19
06

DESCRIPTION OF THE CAMP JAZ-34/2 IN TJUMEN

Address: 625014, Tjumen Territory, Town Tjumen, utsch. JAZ-34/2

The camp is located about 3 to 5 kilometers to the north of the township Tjumen or about 8 to 10 kilometers away from the railroad station. The camp is in existence since 1966.

Railroad

Eisenbahn

Eisenbahn

Kran

Tence
Stacheldrahtzaun

Wachturm

SKIZZE

des Lagers JaZ-34/2

(Tjumen)

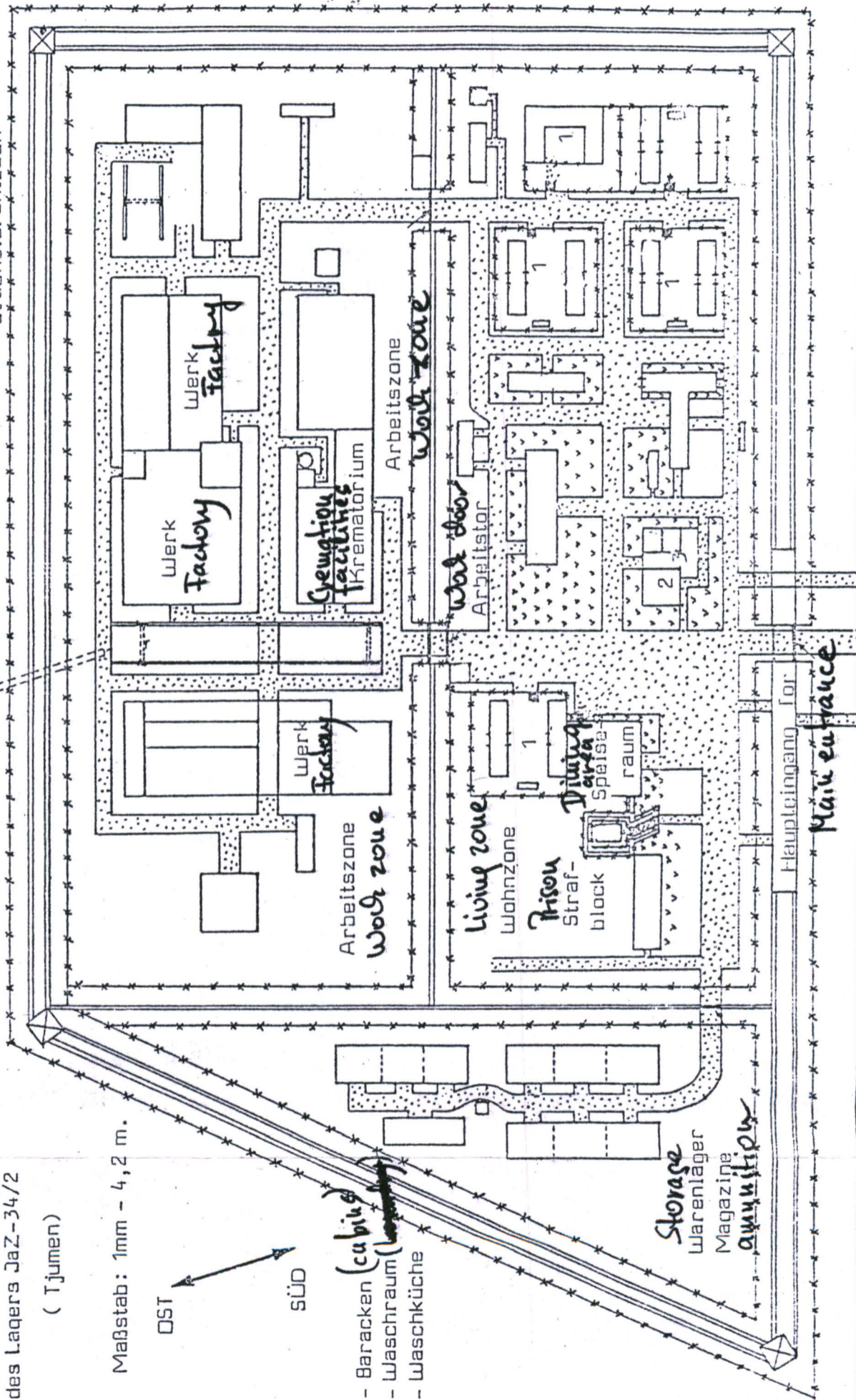
Maßstab: 1mm = 4,2 m.

Ost

Süd

- 1 - Baracken (cubing)
- 2 - Waschraum (laundry)
- 3 - Waschküche

Shower
Laundry



Häuser der Lageroffiziere
Kaserne
Wiltberg
Camp
Häuser of the officers

zum Dorf
to the village

Strassen
street

nach Tjumen

to Tjumen

as

29 46

Quoting from Page 25 of selected testimonies from the Soviet Union - written information from Mrs. A.P., resident of Moscow, July, 1982.

My family, which means my husband, me, and our children, attempted for a long time to obtain a passport in order to leave the Soviet Union. Our applications have been rejected a couple of times with the justification that my uncle is a Soviet military officer in the North with a special division in the Hanty-Manssijskij District. Officially my uncle is an engineer with a "pioneer" unit. Despite this fact, the government claims that he knows military secrets and for this reason we couldn't obtain a passport from the Soviet authorities. At the end of last year my uncles visited us unexpectedly in Moscow and told us that he was released from the Army because of disability. During our conversation I learned the following:

My uncle was employed as a construction engineer at various projects. He worked on the peninsula Famal and also in Perm in the Ural Mountains. The officers and soldiers were told that with the construction of the gas pipeline from Siberia to Western Europe the defense of the northern territories of the Soviet Union should be strengthened. They explained that the influx of manpower will inhabit the densely populated Siberian territories and secondly the pipeline will help to supply army units in the North with gas and oil. They also said that the Soviet Union, by convincing Western

Europe to finance and build the pipeline, outsmarted them and in this way the Soviet Union wouldn't have to divert manpower and other financial resources to the construction of the gas pipeline in Siberia. They also said that Soviet prisoners will be sent to help to build the pipeline, thus further reducing the costs for the Soviet Union. My uncle was surprised by the stupidity of Western politicians who willingly help the Soviet Union to strengthen its military forces by supplying modern technology and strategic materials to the Soviet Union. He also claimed that these deliveries help the Defense Ministry of the Soviet Union to save money and use these resources in other areas. My uncle also claimed that along the entire pipeline the Soviets are building smaller pipelines which shall lead to different military facilities. He also said that the natural gas will help to light these facilities. I am sure that with releasing this information I won'd damage my uncle because he is very ill. His illness resulted from heavy exposure to nuclear radiation and he is about to die. His situaiton is not unique. There are hundreds of people who were exposed to radiation.

Page 26 - Information related on the phone by Mr. P. S. from Moscow, July, 1982.

"Because of my criticism of the Regime, I was kicked out of the institute for mine construction. Because of this, no one wanted to employ me. When I was called by the K.G.B., they explained to me that I could voluntarily go to the construction of the natural gas pipeline before they would send me forcibly to the same place. They also said that I had the chance as a volunteer to go and work there. So I went to Tjumen where I received an order to go to Urengoj. In Urengoj, which is a small, dirty city with primitive cabins and buildings, I worked for a year. I had to share a small room with three other workers. Immediately on the first day I was told that at the construction site there are prisoners employed and I am forbidden to talk to them or to tell anything about them. If I refused to obey these restrictions, they would send me to prison, too. For 11 months, I was able to observe how deadly and unjustly those prisoners and exiled convicts were treated. They were supervised by volunteers who didn't do hard labor. At particularly or especially dangerous works these prisoners were employed with the justification that if they worked hard, they would be released sooner. During these 11 months, I witnessed numerous accidents with deadly outcome which was engendered by gas explosions and gas poisoning. In the summer the concrete was delivered in open trucks, and it

became so hard during the journey that the prisoners had to break it up with their naked hands, which became bloody in the process. Also, the heavy equipments which were delivered from abroad were handled by these prisoners. We had numerous accidents while trying out these new equipments, particularly because no one could read and understand the instructions. So in this way a lot of prisoners got injured, or even died. I tried on numerous occasions to launch a complaint with the Union, but the answer I received was, and I quote - "You shouldn't feel sorry for those. They should have been killed long ago anyway. They must be happy that they received an opportunity to better themselves." The prison camp is not located in Urengoj, but 2 kilometers further in the Taiga so that the inhabitants of the city are not aware of the existence of this Camp. I had the chance to talk to soldiers who served in this Camp, and I learned from them that there is a high mortality rate among the prisoners. In addition, they also told me about suicide cases - not only among the prisoners, but also among the young soldiers who could not tolerate the misery of the prisoners and shot themselves.

The most terrible was the view of female prisoners who had to perform the same kinds of jobs men did. They were absolutely dirty, and they did not have a chance to change their clothing or to wash themselves. In wintertime the

guards had winter clothing and they had a chance to warm their hands at an open fire while the prisoners had to work in their summer clothing and did not have a chance to warm themselves up.

This Translation is the Third Testimony on Page 28 of the German Text. It is also from information relayed on the phone by Mr. I.P. from Tjumen, June, 1982.

The testimony is as follows:

"On June 15, 1982, Mr. I.P. called an acquaintance in the West and told him the following:

Already in the Camp I heard that prisoners have a chance to work in the construction of the gas pipeline for Europe. Based on the very hard working conditions in the Camp, many prisoners are willing to volunteer to go to work on the pipeline because they consider themselves to be more free than being locked up in the Camp. I also volunteered, with about 50 others, to go to Tjumen where we were locked up in a temporary prison where we stayed for 10 days until the militia and M.W.D. determined where we would be working. I, myself, came with a couple of others to Special Work Place No. 7 which is located near Kirpitschnyj, a small village in the neighborhood of Tjumen. We were ordered to follow the orders of the local officer at this Special Work Site. We were staying in a railroad car. There was only a place for 4 men. Although we had electricity, we had no flowing water. Others were housed in cabins which were left from Stalin's time. More were in quickly built homes - usually two-story buildings without any comfort. These places do not have names; they are simply called "Special Work Site Number So-and-So" with reference to the camp management of the

territory in question. Those prisoners who are sent to these work sites must start to work immediately. Among the prisoners there are also political prisoners and prisoners of conscience. The work is mostly physical. We had to insulate the pipes, had to move those pipes from one site to another, dig manually the holes in which these pipes were sunk, and we also had to assist with the setting up of electricity and telephone cables in various areas. In these work sites where we had to struggle to overcome the adverse effects of permanent frost - we had to blow up, occasionally, the earth. We were guarded by soldiers and dogs. Mobil camps and the prisoners are moved with the progress of the works along the entire pipeline. The food is bad. There was no medical attention in the cabins or the railroad cars. It is bitter cold. Discipline is very cruel and it is given frequently. To my knowledge, currently there are 14 criminal camps belonging to the camp complex Tjumenlag: Nishnaja Tawda, Ussetsk, Jalutorowsk, Sawodoukowsk Ipim, Maiitza, two camps in Tobolsk and two camps in Tjumen itself.

All the heavy labor which I mentioned before, will be carried out not only by men but also by women and children (who come from various correction facilities). Currently I would say there are over 100,000 forced laborers who work on the construction of the gas pipeline to Europe."

"GAS FROM THE ARCHIPEL GULAG"

Rarely has a dementi been so obviously false as the latest denial issued by the Soviet news agency TASS over the publication of information by the International Society for Human Rights regarding the use of slave-labor in the construction of the gas pipeline from Northern Siberia to Western Europe. In addition, the French press was essential to shed more light on this aspect of the shabby natural gas deal. The prominent Soviet expert, Michael Vosleusky, who himself was employed at the Kreml, gave an interview to "Die Welt". In this interview he called attention to "the unsettling facts regarding the use of Soviet concentration camp prisoners in the construction of the gas pipeline." He sees in these reports an unmistakable sign of the KGB's intent to have the hard labor carried out by prisoners.

TASS called the information, especially the story that appeared in "France-Soir", a "dirty forgery." In addition, TASS accused members of the Frankfurt-based International Society for Human Rights of having been participants in Hitler's attack on Russia. Whether the Soviets displayed the same degree of diligence in investigating the past of these politicians with whom they are doing the pipeline business is not known. At any rate, TASS suspects Washington to be the real source of the information. As far as we could ascertain, the TASS denial was solely addressed to the West. PRAVDA and IZVESTIJA,

the two government dailies, did not print the denial. Were they afraid of making the Soviet citizens aware of the information? Moreover, Tass did not deny the existence of concentration camps and political prisoners in the Soviet Union. The denial from Moscow was limited to the remark that the construction of the pipeline requires highly qualified personnel and the most modern techniques which render the use of slave-labor impossible.

The pipeline between Urengoj and Ushgorod is, in fact, a huge undertaking. According to Soviet sources, the pipeline will be 3650 kilometers long, from which 150 kilometers will run through the frosty Tundra, 700 kilometers through muddy area, 545 kilometers through the rocky mountains of the Ural and the Carpathians.

In addition, builders of the pipeline will have to overcome 500 rivers and at least that many roads and railroad tracks.

According to plans, the construction will require the moving of 500 million cubic meters of earth. The builders will have to lay, in every 100 kilometers, one million tons of steel pipes. This all will require an enormous commitment of labor force which is a rarity in the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet press there is frequent criticism regarding the lack of adequate working conditions and insufficient technology.

The charges that in the construction of the gas pipeline slave laborers are employed were substantiated by eye witnesses and other information. No one should think, or believe that

in light of Helsinki, human rights, or because of protests in the West, Moscow will reduce or give up readily available and cheap labor in construction of the pipeline.

32 66

WHAT IS THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS?

The International Society for Human Rights is a humanitarian organization, a free initiative of citizens which supports those people who in their respective countries engage in activities designed to fulfill human rights. In this respect we are not only concerned with political prisoners but also reunification of families and so forth.

An additional responsibility of the society is to facilitate international tolerance and understanding. The society represents the view that only the guaranty of human right will ensure peace in the long run. We attempt, through personal engagement and example, to motivate our fellow citizens to take a stand regarding human rights. Our motto is: Don't wait for the government, act by yourself.

The International Society for Human Rights was established as a free citizens' initiative in 1972. Currently, the society has 2000 members and 20,000 supporters and assistants. The honorary Presidium includes prominent personalities, like Ludwig Martin, Chairman of the German Section of the International Commission of Jurists, and the Nobel Peace Prize winner, Prof. Andrei Sacharov from the Soviet Union. They are honorary chairmen of the International Society for Human Rights. Additional members are: Prof. Dr. Hans Urs von Balthasar, Switzerland; Dr. Josef Stimpfle, bishop of Augsburg; Vladimir Bukovski, England; Constantin Freiherr von Heeremann; Eric von Kuehelt-Leddhiu, Prof. Dr. Martin

Kriele, Prof. Dr. Felix Ermacora, Austria; Prof. Vladislav Bartoszewski, Poland, among others. The chairman of the society is Dr. Med. Reinhard Gnauck, a physician from Wiesbaden.

Federal President Prof. Carstens wrote the following to the 10th anniversary of our foundation (April 1982):

"The International Society for Human Rights Inc. has contributed to assisting people throughout the world. It supports people, who in their respective countries stand for the free exercise of basic human rights. It cares for political prisoners and makes us aware of violations of human rights. It calls upon citizens to become actively involved in defending and maintaining human rights.

"For these, the International Society for Human Rights Inc. deserves acknowledgement and support. I would like to encourage you: Go forth in your engagement to guarantee, defend and maintain (preserve) human rights."

We Make Ourselves Accessories:

Natural Gas from the Archipel Gulag

From various parts of the Soviet Union we receive news regarding the use of forced-laborers in the construction of the gas pipeline of Siberia - Western Europe. Their numbers are estimated to be at least 100,000.

They were convicted on political grounds, or because of their religious belief, or of other criminal offenses to many years of deprivation of liberty. Among them are women, older people and even juveniles.

Along the construction site, many camps have been constructed in the last two years. There are 8 camps in Ustj-Ishim alone. Other camps are located in Urengoj, Surgut, Tavda, Tjumen, Irbit and Lisva. Many of the prisoners do not have permanent places of abode. They are housed in cabins or railroad cars which do not provide any shelter during the cold winter months.

The care of the prisoners is extremely insufficient. Storehouses are almost empty. In this situation, only packages from relatives and friends can provide for some relief. In particular, the lack of vitamins results in various illnesses.

At the construction sites prisoners are ordered to do the hardest work. On the frosty earth there is almost no equipment. Huge weights and even monstrous pipes must be carried by man. Accidents occur on a daily basis.

Women who cover the pipes with asbestos and fiberglass are suffering from various skin problems, among other things. They often work with bleeding hands, for prisoners receive protective gloves only twice a year. Lung diseases are the rule with prisoners because they are permanently exposed to the adverse effects of asbestos and fiberglass.

The prisoners are escorted every day by armed guards and bloodhounds.

Only after these prisoners are finished with their hard labor are Western journalists allowed to visit the construction sites.

Inhumane prison conditions turned a 53-year-old man, for example, into his own shadow. His name is Jakow Skornjakow. He is an active Christian and for this reason he was sentenced to 5 years of strong labor. He is expected home in Dshambul by his wife and 9 children.