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THE NATIONAL CENTER



FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

Amy Moritz
Executive Director

December, 1983

Dear Concerned Citizen:

I am writing to you today about a project of immediate importance and of great concern.

Commissioner von Raab of the United States Customs Bureau has found that Section 307 of the 1930 Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act, which prohibits the importation of goods mined or manufactured with slave labor, is not and has not been enforced. This lack of enforcement is particularly shocking in light of the large quantity of goods manufactured for export in the slave labor gulags of the Soviet Union.

Commissioner von Raab reported that in 1982 alone over \$150 million worth of goods known to be manufactured with slave labor were imported into the United States from the Soviet Union. One report tells of a slave labor death camp where miners, who work without protection from radiation, live but a few months.

The National Center for Public Policy Research and Commissioner von Raab think it is reprehensible that the United States does not actively discourage the immoral practice of using slave labor to produce goods for sale for profit. If you agree, I hope you will join us in a campaign to encourage enforcement of this important law.

Commissioner von Raab has moved to enforce the 1930 Act by writing a memo and sending it to his superior, U.S. Secretary of Treasury Donald Regan. According to federal law, Secretary Regan must place this memo into the Federal Register before Commissioner von Raab can enforce this law. Secretary Regan has not done this. In fact, it is suspected that Secretary Regan might be trying to have Commissioner von Raab's memo lost in the bureaucracy so that big business interests will not lose money when slave labor goods imported from the Soviet Union are banned.

If you feel, as I do, that slave labor is an atrocity and is morally wrong you can help Commissioner von Raab get this law enforced. If Secretary Regan perceives a public outcry against slave labor he will no longer attempt to avoid enforcing the law.

I have written a letter to Secretary Regan telling of my great concern about the importation of goods made with slave labor and asking him to "require the Commissioner of Customs to enforce Section 307 of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930". I have also been asking all concerned citizens to do this.

It is urgent that you also write a letter to Secretary Regan, with copies to your Congressman, Senators, and President Reagan, asking why the 1930 ban on the importation of goods made with slave labor is not being enforced. Only a public outcry can stop this immoral trade.

Your writing letters to Secretary Regan, with copies to your Congressman, Senators and to President Reagan today will be of immeasurable help. Letters to the editor of your local newspaper, with copies to Secretary Regan, will also be extremely useful. If you are unable to send a letter to each of them it is important that you at least send a letter to Secretary Regan and get your family and friends to do likewise.

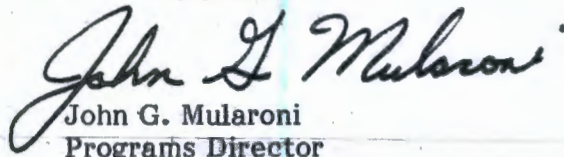
Mail your letter to Secretary Regan at:

The Honorable Donald T. Regan
Secretary of the Treasury
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D.C. 20220

I have enclosed some information on the use of slave labor in the Soviet Union, along with sample letters to Secretary Regan and sample letters-to-the-editor.

As always, your efforts are greatly appreciated. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,


John G. Mularoni
Programs Director

P.S. The letter you write may be the one that finally forces Secretary Regan to act.

JGM/rf
enclosures

The Detroit News

Tariff Act Is One Hot Potato

By George F. Will

WASHINGTON — What wonderful squash courts they would make, those State Department offices currently occupied by people who consider Sen. Bill Armstrong, R-Colo., tiresome because he wants a law enforced.

YOU MIGHT think that even in Washington there would be unanimity about enforcing the portion of the Tariff Act of 1930 that prohibits the importation into the United States of "all goods, wares, articles and merchandise mined, produced or manufactured wholly or in part in any foreign country by convict labor or/and forced labor." The law has been enforced only once against the Soviet Union (between 1951 and 1961, banning canned crab meat), and you might think everyone would want to enforce it against the foremost user of forced labor. Silly you.

Two months ago, Reader's Digest published an article, based on an interview with Armstrong, concerning, among other things, the forced labor law. Before William van Raab, commissioner of customs, read the article, he, like almost everyone else, did not know the law existed. Van Raab saw his duty to enforce it and drafted appropriate regulations.

In the Dark Ages, prior to the Reagan administration, all van Raab would have had to do was publish the regulations in the Federal Register. But the Federal Register has become a symbol of over-elaborated government, and of regulations issued without concern for their costs. Shrinking the Federal Register has become, not without good reason, an obsession to the Reagan administration, somewhat as the capture of Jerusalem was to earlier crusaders. So now an agency wanting to issue new regulations must convince a review group.

Van Raab's regulations were sent to an assistant secretary of the treasury who sent them higher. Result? Trou-

ble, right here in River City, with a capital "T" and that rhymes with "B" and that stands for bureaucracy.

Representatives of State, Commerce, and Treasury departments were not amused. One extremely grand personage at State is said to have "exploded" in exasperation. The hot potato was pitched into the distinguished lap of the SIG.

The Senior Interagency Group contains representatives of State, Commerce, Treasury, CIA, and the Office of the Trade Representative. Treasury and Commerce are infested

"A Treasury official reportedly said that "only a few nuts like Armstrong" want enforcement. Oops."

by persons who think that the purpose of government is to get out of the way of commerce. The diplomats — the speed demons who, after the Korean Airline massacre, took just four hours to decide that there was nothing the United States could do — expressed their usual angst about causing friction — frictionlessness being their idea of appropriate relations with almost anyone.

Later, a deputy assistant secretary of state, speaking about the forced-labor law, piously told a House subcommittee that, "Economic warfare is not the policy of this administration." And he waxed fastidiously about the difficulty of gathering "specific evidence" that forced labor was used in

the production of a "particular article." Other State officials reportedly worry that enforcing the law against the Soviet Union might require enforcing it against other users of forced labor, such as China and Eastern bloc countries. Now, there is a worry for you.

Last year this country imported \$227.6 million of Soviet products in 13 categories, eight of which coincide with the CIA's list of industries and products in which forced labor is used "extensively." Banning such products would have an unnoticeable effect on the U.S. economy: In 1982, the value of all Soviet imports was less than one-tenth of one percent of the value of all imports. But it would deprive the Soviet regime of foreign exchange vital to its purchases of Western technology for its military machine. The fear that the Soviets might retaliate if the U.S. government enforced U.S. law is a peculiar fear, considering how favorable to the Soviet Union are most U.S.-Soviet trade agreements.

Anyway, SIG asked the CIA for "further study." The game evidently is to try to kill enforcement by stalling. A Treasury official reportedly said that "only a few nuts like Armstrong" want enforcement. Oops.

IT TOOK Armstrong just two days to get 44 other nuts, all of them senators, to sign a letter to the secretary of the Treasury, asking that the law be enforced. Also, the Senate passed a resolution in the same vein. During the House debate on the Treasury-Postal appropriations bill, it was made clear that the House was not formally demanding enforcement because the House considers it zany to beg the Executive Branch to execute the laws.

What is zany is allowing potential squash courts to be occupied by people who think they are competent to negotiate verifiable arms-control agreements, but who think that enforcing the Tariff Act is a task too risky and complicated to contemplate.

(NATIONALLY SYNDICATED ARTICLE)

Sunday

November 27, 1983

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am writing to urge you to do everything possible to put an end to the current delay in enforcing the provisions of 19 U.S.C. 1307, which prohibits U.S. importation of goods made wholly or in part with convict "or/and forced labor or/and indentured labor under penal sanctions ---" (19 U.S.C. 1307).

I understand that the Commissioner of Customs must publish his finding regarding the importation of such merchandise in a weekly issue of the Customs Bulletin and in the Federal Register, and that once this is done, the Commissioner may proceed to enforce the law. I urge you to instruct the Commissioner to proceed promptly with publication and enforcement.

I want to convey to you in the strongest possible way the seriousness with which I view this entire issue.

Because these practices are morally reprehensible, and because a long-standing U.S. law prohibits importation of goods made with such labor, I strongly urge you to take all action necessary to insure enforcement of 19 U.S.C. 1307 without further delay.

I look to you to insure prompt and vigorous enforcement of the law.

Sincerely,

Dear Mr. Secretary:

An article in the September, 1983 Reader's Digest included the information that the United States in 1982 imported from the Soviet Union \$118 million worth of chemicals, \$10 million worth of uranium, \$4.2 million worth of gold, \$3.5 million worth of wood and wood products, and other goods. Much or all of these goods were produced by indentured and slave labor in Soviet camps and prisons. Since importation of goods made by forced labor is specifically prohibited under Section 307 of the 1930 Smoot-Halley Tariff Act, I urge you to take the necessary steps to ensure that importation of goods made with such labor is halted.

Thank you very much for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely,

CONGRESSIONAL ADDRESSES:

The Honorable (name of your Senators)
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable (name of your Rep.)
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Letters to the Editor
Name of the Newspaper
City, State, Zip Code

Dear Editor:

Last year the United States imported over \$200 million worth of goods from the Soviet Union. The U.S. State Department reports that a majority of these goods were manufactured with slave labor in slave labor camps in the Soviet Union.

Commissioner von Raab of U.S. Customs has moved to enforce the 1930 Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act ban on the importation of goods made with slave labor. His boss, Treasury Secretary Donald Regan, has refused to support the Commissioner in this action.

I believe it is morally reprehensible that Secretary Regan has positioned himself in support of this violation of the law and the use of slave labor.

All concerned Americans should write to Secretary Regan to encourage him to change his mind on this critical issue.

Sincerely,

Letters to the Editor
Name of Newspaper
City, State, Zip Code

Dear Editor:

The Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930 prohibits the importation of goods mined or manufactured wholly or in part with slave or convict labor. Yet, in 1982 alone the United States imported \$227.6 million worth of goods from the Soviet Union. C.I.A. and U.S. State Department reports confirm that most of those goods were manufactured in the slave labor gulags of the Soviet Union.

Why does the U.S. continue to support the atrocity of slave labor, when there is a law on books to prevent it?

Sincerely,

DO YOU SUPPORT SLAVE LABOR?

*To Be Silent
is to Vote Yes.*



*In today's world millions
of people still live
lives of slavery—most
with no hope of freedom.
Dare we be silent and deny
them any hope of freedom?*

A Report from
The Committee to Stop
Chemical Atrocities.

August 8, 1942: The U.S. State Department learns that Germany plans to "resolve, once and for all, the Jewish question in Europe." U.S. diplomats react skeptically. The message is nevertheless forwarded to London, where David Allen of the British Foreign Office takes a cautious view of the matter, demanding more evidence. "We have no confirmation of this report from other sources, although we have of course received numerous reports of large scale massacres of Jews, particularly in Poland."

So, while Western officials were demanding irrefutable evidence, in the East the gas ovens had already been operating for more than four months. Will we repeat the mistake now in connection with the Soviet Union?

Slave labor in the Soviet Union

The use of slave labor from the very beginning of the Soviet Union has been well documented. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, in the *Gulag Archipelago*, writes: "Who other than the Archipelago natives (forced laborers) would have grubbed out stumps in winter? Or hauled on their backs the boxes of mined ore in the open gold fields of the Kolyma? Or have dragged cut timber a half-mile from the Koin River. . . through deep snow on Finnish timber-sledge runners, harnessed up in pairs in a horse collar?"

These practices have not ceased. It is conservatively estimated that there are at least 3 million prisoners in forced labor camps in the Soviet Union today. It is clear that the Soviet Union is capable of and willing to utilize large amounts of slave labor to build the natural gas pipeline. The question is: are they? The answer seems to be yes.

The Vietnamese Connection

On September 17, 1981 the highly respected British journal *The Economist* revealed that Soviet leader Brezhnev and Le Duan, Secretary General of Vietnam's ruling communist party, had met to discuss Vietnam's massive debt to the Soviet bloc. The two nations signed an agreement "on the movement of the people of Vietnam and the Soviet Union between countries."

According to a member of the U.S. State Department's Policy Planning Staff, the Soviets were embarrassed by the publicity that this agreement subsequently received. They know that the world can come to but one conclusion: the workers which Hanoi is sending to the Soviet Union are destined for unskilled work, the hard labor needed before the Western built and financed pipe-laying machinery can be used.

The evidence that the Vietnamese are going to the USSR comes from many quarters:

*****Netherlands.** On November 4, 1981, the London *Daily Telegraph* reports that the Vietnamese community in Amsterdam is becoming alarmed by reports of month-long house-to-house raids in South Vietnam, rounding up people to go to work in the Soviet Union.

*****California.** On August 7, 1981, a woman from Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon) writes to a friend in San Diego: "When this letter reaches you, my husband will no longer be home. Just a few days ago, the State has demanded that he and a number of his friends leave the country for labor in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, to pay back the debts those brother nations have helped us (*sic*) during the time we fought the U.S. and their puppets." She adds, "there is little chance that I will ever be able to meet my beloved husband again."

*****Paris.** January 18, 1982, a Vietnamese man reports to his cousins living in France that their son Dung "has sent words to [them] that he had heard that the government will send the people in reeducation camps to Siberia."

*****Texas.** On April 1, 1982, a family from Dalat in Vietnam writes to their American friends that "the government is conducting a census survey of youth and dividing them in categories. . . . Belonging to category B are youth whose families were connected with the old regime, and they would be sent as laborers to Russia." The couple is worried for their son Trinh, who belongs to that category.

*****Tokyo.** On April 19, 1982, the Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri* cites Japanese government and foreign diplomatic sources in Japan that Hanoi has already sent about 10,000 workers to the Soviet Union as a means of covering a deficit in its foreign currency reserves.

*****Maryland.** On May, 1982, Mrs. LeHoang An, head of the Association for Vietnamese Human Rights, in Paris, wrote to the Vietnamese Information Bureau in the U.S. that information received in April from Vietnam, Thailand and China indicates that "approximately 16,000 Vietnamese were forced to go to [Warsaw Bloc] countries. . . . During the first quarter of 1982, 2,496 workers were sent to Russia in two Russian freighters, the OBDORST and the DOUKINKA; the aircraft carrier MINSK and the destroyer DENSKOUCHT transported 3,200 workers and docked at the OKHOTSK Naval Base on March 26, 1982."

On June 18, 1982, Professor Doan Van Toai, a former official of the Communist National Liberation Front in South Vietnam who served in the Ministry of Finance after the fall of Saigon, author of *The Vietnamese Gulag* and currently, lecturer at the Fletcher School of Law and Dip-

lomacy, listed nine Vietnamese who had already been sent to the Soviet Union in 1980. He stated that the letters he and others have received from Vietnam "have said that the Vietnamese workers who were exported to the Soviet Union have not been allowed to write or contact their family outside the Soviet Union."

Slave labor and the pipeline

Is the Soviet Union using forced labor in the construction of the Siberian pipeline? Some experts are convinced of it, notably Yuri Belov, director of the International Society for Human Rights, located in Frankfurt, West Germany. He wrote a letter published by the *New York Times* on September 1, 1982: "During the past two years, a great number of new hard-labor camps have been set up along the route of the pipeline."

Dr. Kronid Lubarsky, editor of *U.S.S.R. News Briefs*, a physicist and former political prisoner currently living in Munich on September 7, 1982, noted that "in the area of the pipeline there are indeed a lot of camps. They were not constructed specifically for the pipeline, however; the Soviets ordinarily use on such construction projects not ordinary prisoners but people conditionally released from camps." Lubarsky stated that he is "absolutely sure that slave labor is used in building the Siberian pipeline. It is used in all heavy construction work in all branches of Soviet economy."

Lubarsky's view is supported by Professor Makhmet Kulmagambetov, a Soviet political prisoner who emigrated to the West in December 1979. In a statement sent from Munich on August 27, 1982, to U.S. Senator William Armstrong, he writes:

In March 1972 I was transferred to the birthplace of Soviet gasoline, Vuktyl, where there were also conditionally released prisoners used for labor. . . . Thereafter, from 1975 to 1977 I worked in the city of Ukhta. In Ust'-Ukhta, near KS-10, there was a 'construction town' where only conditionally-released prisoners lived. When I talked to them, many of them told me that working and living conditions were so hard that it would have been better to return to camp. Some of them were taken back to labor camps forcibly for not having fulfilled their assigned work quotas. . . . in the cities of Ukhta and Surgut there was continuous traffic of large trucks carrying prisoners to work on the construction of gas pipelines.

Kulmagambetov explains that "conditionally released" prisoners remain, in fact, prisoners serving their terms. He says that they should be called "unescorted" prisoners. He saw many of them working on gas pipeline construction.

The Western Response

But what are Western governments doing about the allegations? It is remarkable that even in the United Kingdom, under the Tory leadership of Margaret Thatcher, only a sole voice in Parliament is demanding investigation of slave labor on the Siberian pipeline, that of David Atkinson. West German and French governments have pledged to look into allegations that slave labor is being used to build the Siberian pipeline. But whether this will result in a "white-wash" (as columnist William Safire charged on August 26, 1982, in the *New York Times*) is certainly an open question, given the commercial interests involved. Careful monitoring of the investigations would be highly desirable. Already once in this century, West European officials remained blind or indifferent to reports of atrocities from the East. Will history be repeated?

In the U.S., there is a rising chorus of outrage at the possibility of slave labor being used in Siberia. Senator Armstrong has launched his own investigation, vowing to collect "every shred of credible evidence" on this issue. He has introduced an amendment to H.J. Res. 520 calling on the State Department to investigate these charges. Congress, in turn, should convene hearings and start searching for witnesses. To remain silent or passive on this matter is to become an accomplice to these inhumanities.

Nor can the United Nations ignore the charges of Soviet use of slave labor. In a recent speech assessing the world body, U.S. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar complained that the organization was becoming ineffective. If he is sincere about making the U.N. more relevant as a defender of human rights and dignity, he will mobilize U.N. resources to investigate the charges of slave labor being used to build the pipeline.

Unless Moscow is fully cleared of these charges no Western state, company, or organization should participate in any way in constructing the Siberian natural gas pipeline. In this matter, the burden of proof is on Moscow. Though much of it is circumstantial, the evidence is compelling enough—as it should have been regarding Nazi extermination camps in 1942 and 1943—for the West to conclude, until it is proved otherwise, that slave labor is building the pipeline.

*To Be Silent
is to Vote Yes.*



Please return this to: **Committee to Stop Chemical Atrocities**
413 East Capitol Street, Washington, D.C. 20003

Name _____ Phone () _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

I have read your brochure and would like more information.

I agree that this subject deserves more attention, and I am willing to distribute copies of the brochure. Please send me _____ free copies.

I plan to distribute them in (*check all that apply*) my community friends and family office school/campus other _____.

I will write a letter letters to local newspapers on this issue (*please attach copies if possible*).

I have written to my congressman senators to tell them I am concerned about this issue.

I would like to read the committee's report on the use of chemical weapons in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan. Please send me a copy.

I would like to have more information on how I can help.